Learning Quechua online during COVID-19: transformational encounters with 'cosmovision', community and wellbeing

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Abstract

During the COVID-19 pandemic, people began to learn Quechua online in ways that were not frequently used or possible before the transition to online learning in 2020. However, literature on online learning during COVID-19 (Bissessar, 2021a; Fayed & Cummings, 2021; Zhang et al., 2022) and language learning during COVID-19 (Chen, 2021; Harsch et al., 2021; van der Velde et al., 2021) does not consider the role of adult minoritised language learning online in Latin America. This research explores how Quechua was taught and learnt online due to increased engagement during the COVID-19 pandemic, and investigates who was involved in this, and why.

This study draws on ethnography collated online between June 2020 and January 2022. I attended over 600 hours of online Quechua classes, recorded over 360 hours of these, and conducted 14 semi-structured online interviews with teachers and learners of Quechua and one informal focus group. The corpus highlights three key themes: the role of the Quechua worldview in language teaching, Quechua language learners as a community, and reconnecting with heritage and Indigenous identity or connecting with this for the first time, often as a way of healing.

The findings show transformation through engaging with Quechua language learning online, with participants reframing their language ideologies, communities, and sense of self. I argue that online Quechua language classes provided a virtual and temporal 'breathing space' (Fishman, 1991, p.58) in which participants could examine their experiences with Quechua language and culture, in an intentionally welcoming space for learning Quechua. Through these classes, participants could boost their wellbeing and encourage others to achieve their language learning goals, by reengaging with their heritage, language and culture and reimagining its role in their lives. Considering Quechua language classes as a healing space during the COVID-19 pandemic highlights the potential of the digital sphere for Indigenous language reclamation.

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1.1 Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic shifted how education is accessed and experienced worldwide; as physical classrooms closed and digital platforms surged in prominence, the global education sector was forced to rapidly adapt. Among the many linguistic and cultural communities impacted by this transformation were Indigenous language speakers and learners, groups often already marginalised in formal education systems. This thesis examines one such case: the learning of Quechua, an Indigenous language of the Andes. This research investigates how Quechua was taught and learnt online during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through a combination of digital ethnography and interviews with teachers and learners, it explores how online learning reshaped access to Quechua language learning during the pandemic. It presents a picture of those engaging with Quechua language learning online to unpack their language learning motivations and the impacts of learning an Indigenous language online on their lives. It considers the resultant impacts of Indigenous language learning online for language revitalisation and the wider digital language teaching and learning environment.

My interest in learning Quechua impacted my choice of university in 2010, as Newcastle University offered this possibility, although I had to wait until 2018 to start to learn it myself. I have had various ongoing experiences with Peru's Indigenous communities since 2012. However, learning Quechua *online* was not readily available or possible before 2020 and was not a potential topic of study in 2018, when I started my PhD. As I was in the UK preparing to travel to Peru in September 2019 to begin my Quechua language learning, I relied on the Internet to find out about potential language classes in Peru. Despite thorough online searching, few Quechua classes were offered online, and information on in-person Quechua language schools and teachers was also not readily available online. I could only email a few private teachers in Lima and found no information about group or private Quechua classes in Ayacucho. I had to search out teachers from the UK through mutual friends. I could only easily contact teachers and enrol

in classes upon arriving in Peru when I visited various institutions. Only six months later, teaching Quechua online was becoming an everyday activity for many teachers and a fundamental part of many learners' routines. This thesis explores the journey to teaching and learning Quechua online during the move to online learning in the COVID-19 pandemic, when growing numbers of people chose to learn Quechua in this way. To examine online Quechua language learning, it is first essential to understand the language's status and use in offline contexts.

This thesis consists of six chapters. In this introduction, I consider the changing political, social, and linguistic context during this time in Peru and Ecuador to explore the specific context in which participants began to choose to learn Quechua. This chapter introduces the offline context of Quechua in Peru and Ecuador, and the online background to Indigenous language learning, as well as outlining the theoretical perspectives this thesis draws from, including Mezirow's (1991, 1994) transformative learning theory, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice framework. This thesis is situated in the fields of adult education and language revitalisation, within the context of Andean articulations of knowledge, literacy, and wellbeing. This chapter outlines my methodology, including my topic's development, positionality, and ethical considerations. It also explores changes to my planned project due to the pandemic and experiences learning Quechua offline in Peru during my language training period, to show the development of research questions for this project, at this specific moment in time. To answer these questions, I conducted digital ethnography and attended over 600 hours of Quechua classes online with various teachers in different countries, with over 360 hours recorded for this study. I conducted 14 semi-structured online interviews with teachers and learners of Quechua, and one informal focus group. Data was analysed using thematic analysis and highlights three key themes through language learning to promote wellbeing: firstly, through relationship with Quechua worldview, 'cosmovision'; secondly, through community; and thirdly, through reconnecting with heritage and self.

Chapter two introduces the teachers' journeys to teaching Quechua online, and their motivations for doing so, to understand their personal identification with Quechua, which underpins the

purpose of their classes and teaching motivations. Chapter three introduces the virtual class environments the teachers curate, exploring what is being taught and learnt in this environment, within the specific context of Quechua language learning and Indigenous approaches to knowledge. Findings suggest the role of Quechua worldview, 'cosmovision', is paramount in teaching and learning the language, contrasting with teaching and learning many majority languages, whose worldview is already widely prevalent and understood. I argue that the language and content taught in the Quechua classes have a profound individual and communal impact on learners, with 'disorienting dilemmas' leading learners to reconsider their own 'frames of reference' (Mezirow, 1991).

Chapter four presents the language learners who have participated in this study to show who is part of this Quechua virtual language learning community. It builds a picture of their previous experiences with Quechua in family, education and rural areas, and their motivations for learning the language and increasing awareness of and relationship to this. Chapter five builds on this to consider the effects on participants of learning Quechua online during COVID-19. Findings suggest the classes have a transformational impact on participants as they reconnect with or discover their heritage, often as a way of providing wellness or a stabilising factor during global instability. This chapter explores Quechua articulations of health, community and values, with participants coming to identify with a different way of being in the world in this virtual 'breathing space' (Fishman, 1991, p.58) in which they can try out a new way of being in a supportive environment of learning Quechua online. Their changing sense of self and relationship to the Quechua language and culture can have implications for language revitalisation and endangered language contexts.

This thesis investigates online Quechua language learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, offering a detailed account of who participates in these spaces and how they engage with the language. I argue that the language and content taught in the Quechua classes profoundly impact participants. In addition, this research highlights the role of community and cosmovision in shaping the learning experience, raising questions about the broader applicability of Indigenous

approaches to online education. In doing so, it challenges prevailing assumptions about the pedagogical value of minoritised languages. The growing interest in learning Indigenous and minoritised languages online reveals alternative paradigms of teaching, learning, and being that hold transformative potential even for majority language education, despite the often marginalised status of these languages within mainstream discourse.

1.2 Research questions

This study aims to uncover the impact of learning Quechua online during the COVID-19 pandemic on the lives of learners to highlight their agency in shaping micro language policies and activism from the ground up (Hornberger, 2017). To do this, it presents learners' attitudes and practices with Quechua before the pandemic in offline environments to analyse how and why these changed dramatically during the pandemic and their impact on their language attitudes, practices, and identities. This occurs within the virtual classroom context curated by the teacher, where learners are impacted by the teacher's own journey to the language and the cultural elements they choose to teach within their classes. This thesis answers the following research questions, according to the methodology detailed later in this chapter:

What are the effects of Quechua language learning online on participants?

Who is teaching and learning Quechua online and why?

What is the role of Quechua knowledge and language in online language classes?

1.3 Quechua and Kichwa in Peru and Ecuador

Quechua is an Indigenous language, or rather a language family, spoken widely throughout the Andes, mainly in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and less widely in Chile, Argentina, and Colombia, with approximately eight to twelve million speakers across these countries (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004). This represents an area once covered by the Inca empire, in which Quechua was used as the language of administration. However, there is much linguistic variation across this vast geographical area. There are several varieties of Quechua (Torero, 1964), which Torero (1974) divides into two branches; Quechua I from central Peru, and Quechua II, which is further divided into Quechua IIA from select patches of northern and central Peru, IIB from Ecuador, and IIC from Southern Peru and Bolivia.

Figure 1:1 Map of Quechua speaking areas and varieties (Wikimedia Commons, 2024)

However, within this IIC category, there are still regional morphological and syntactical differences between Southern Peruvian Quechua in both Ayacucho and Cusco, and Bolivian Quechua. There is general agreement that Quechua should be divided into dialectal families (Parker, 1963; Torero, 1964, 1974). The main varieties taught in classes addressed in this thesis are Southern Peruvian Quechua in Ayacucho, and Kichwa in Ecuador. Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'Quechua' to refer to the wider language family or a specific Peruvian case, and

'Kichwa' to specifically refer to an Ecuadorian case or example. Within the data, Peruvian participants refer to Quechua as *'Runasimi'*, which translates as 'the language *('simi')* of the people *('runa')*' drawing on the Quechua category of *'Runa'*:

> To be Runa is to be a human being, to speak Runa simi 'Quechua', to be of a place, to live under the rule of reciprocity, *ayni*, and its attendant etiquette (but also 'to cry' over a sense of continual loss). To be otherwise is to be *q'ara*, 'naked', 'uncultured', 'uncivilized'. *Ayni* is understood by Runa, not as an abstract principle governing social interaction, but as the fundamental organizing basis of the material world. (Mannheim, 1991, p.19).

The loss of Quechua language and associated way of life, knowing and being with the environment and within communities can be painful for many Quechua speakers. The importance of Quechua speakers maintaining or returning to and reclaiming these connections to land, language and a communal way of life as a way of recovering from an assimilationist trajectory to national ideals, which denied recognition of cultural diversity and of Indigenous identities underpins this thesis.

Increasing migration of Quechua and Kichwa speakers to urban areas is challenging the geographical limits on where varieties are spoken and the historically rural speaker base of Quechua, with Quechua speakers now living throughout rural and urban environments in Peru and Ecuador. In the Andes, migration away from rural highlands to cities, such as Lima and Quito, has increased significantly (Grebe Vicuña, 1997): in 1940 in Peru, 65% of the population lived in rural areas, however by 1982 only 35% of the population lived in rural areas (von Gleich, 1992, p.59). In 2020, 19.7% of the Peruvian population lived in rural areas, with 33.9% of the Ecuadorian population living in rural areas (CEPALSTAT, 2024b). However, the rural-urban divide relegating Quechua to rural areas is too stark within this context of migration, and it is now common for Quechua and Kichwa speakers to be bilingual in Spanish. Kichwa is the most spoken Indigenous language in Ecuador, and Quechua is the most spoken Indigenous language in Peru. Some bilingual Quechua and Spanish speakers choose to hide their ability to speak and understand Quechua, due to the stigma associated with speaking an Indigenous language. There are few

opportunities to learn Quechua and Kichwa outside of family environments, or in schools in Indigenous communities where Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE)[1] is offered.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the shift to online learning significantly increased the number of Quechua classes online, making this language available to a wide range of participants on a global scale. Coupled with growing activism for Indigenous languages in the digital domain this online offer has created new affordances to learn and discuss the Quechua language and associated cultural practices. This increase in online classes is worth investigating to gauge the scope of the digital environment as an increasingly salient space for Indigenous language reclamation more generally (Llanes-Ortiz, 2023).

1.3.1 Quechua in Peru

In Peru, there are 47 Indigenous languages; Spanish is the 'official' language and 'wherever they predominate, Quechua, Aymara and other native tongues' are also considered to be 'official' (Constitución Política del Peru, 2021). According to the 2017 census, Peru had approximately 3.8 million Quechua speakers, representing 13.6% of the total population (INEI - Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2017). Historically, Quechua speakers have lived predominantly in the Andes. However, this has changed with increasing migration, although Quechua language use is still often relegated to rural areas, due to negative attitudes towards the language. Speaking Quechua in Peru has been stigmatised since the Spanish conquered the Inca empire in 1532. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language use was key in subordinating the Quechua speaking population; the Spanish colonisers used the Indigenous language to further their own objectives of controlling and converting the Quechua-speaking population. Language policy became more overtly Spanish-centred in the mid-seventeenth century, as the Bourbon dynasty demanded Hispanisation, to increase loyalty to the crown (Mannheim, 1991, p.70). Children of Indigenous elite were able to be schooled in Spanish language and culture and "ways" (Galdo Gutiérrez, 1970). Meanwhile, Quechua language, culture and identity were denied at

[1] Intercultural Bilingual Education programmes intend to integrate Indigenous languages and cultures into the curriculum, aiming to use both the Indigenous and the dominant languages as mediums of instruction.

governmental and official levels, with the needs and specificities of Indigenous people ignored and suppressed as contrary to one nation during and after the colonial period. Emphasising the dominance of Spanish language and culture and minimising space for expressing different identities, such as those presented by Indigenous languages, set the scene for educational policy in the independent nations to be explored in chapter 2. The historic marginalisation of Quechua speakers within a Spanish-dominant linguistic context has impacted speakers' linguistic choices, often fuelling language shift towards Spanish (Klee & Caravedo, 2006).

Yashar (1988) considers that the civil war prevented Indigenous mobilisation in Peru, whereas Thorp and Paredes (2010, p.7) consider that rhetoric on ethnicity excludes and disables Indigenous groups: "the idea that when indigenous people enter into contact with 'civilization' they are no longer indigenous is at the heart of the type of discrimination that has created the cultural and psychological barriers preventing indigenous people from organizing politically along ethnic lines". The creation of nation-states throughout Latin America did not include Indigenous groups, who were considered to stand in the way of nationalism (Galindo, 2010). Unlike Ecuador, Peru does not constitutionally recognise itself a plurinational state. Despite entrenched stigma towards Quechua at a national level, and Quechua speakers hiding their language and culture, Quechua remains of cultural significance within Peru, as the most widely spoken Indigenous language and serves as a key marker of cultural identity, with Quechua speakers maintaining their heritage through oral traditions, clothing, and community practices. In recent decades, efforts to revitalise and promote Quechua have gained momentum, although this has not been part of a formal Indigenous movement, as in Ecuador.

1.3.2 Kichwa in Ecuador

There are 13 Indigenous languages spoken in Ecuador in addition to Spanish and Ecuadorian Sign Language, however only three of these are official languages of Ecuador: Spanish, Kichwa and Shuar (INEC, 2006). With estimates of roughly 500,000 speakers of Kichwa in Ecuador (Albó et al., 2009, p.86), Kichwa speakers are based predominantly in the Amazonian and Andean regions. A diglossic situation remains, however, and Kichwa is relegated to certain geographical locations,

mainly rural areas, and domains, primarily within the family and at home. Kichwa language use is often linked to low prestige and negative attitudes, with speakers often facing discrimination and racism from speakers of Spanish as the dominant and hegemonic language (Haboud, 2004). Speakers of Kichwa have faced marginalisation and discrimination since the Spanish conquest in 1532 and after 1830, when nation-building policies removed all traces of Indigeneity which resulted in the subordination and progressive erasure of Indigenous languages and cultures in Ecuador (Haboud, 2018). In this way, associating Kichwa with a backward, rural way of life means Spanish dominates in educational and formal spheres (Krainer, 1996), driving Indigenous language shift towards Spanish (Haboud, 2018). Despite these prevailing negative language policies and ideologies, Kichwa, one of Ecuador's 13 Indigenous languages (INEC, 2006), is part of the most widely spoken Indigenous language family in the Andes with an estimated number of speakers that ranges from 7% of the population in official census data, to 40% according to Indigenous organisations (INEC, 2010; Becker, 2011, p.3). Although Intercultural Bilingual Education is widespread in Latin America and has been implemented in Ecuador on a national scale since 1988, these programmes have not achieved the spread and maintenance of Indigenous languages. Kichwa has remained a language spoken in the home and the community and patterns of shift to Spanish continue unabated (Howard, 2023).

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) was established in 1986 to fight for Indigenous recognition and promote the needs of Indigenous populations, in a movement unseen in this way in other Andean nations (Becker, 2011; Jima-González & Paradela-López, 2019; Wroblewski, 2021). A focus of the CONAIE was cultural recognition of the Indigenous within Ecuador, and indigenous mobilisations resulted in a reform of the Constitution (Constitución Política de la República del Ecuador, 2008) that recognised Ecuador as a 'multinational' and 'intercultural' state. Within Ecuador, Kichwa is a marker of linguistic and cultural identity, with Kichwa people showing their Kichwa identities through their clothing (Meisch, 2021), or specific agricultural or cultural pursuits. Indigenous groups in Ecuador have consistently fought against the idea of one national identity, asserting the need for Indigenous people to explore and reclaim their Indigenous identities within the national context. This context is important in understanding how participants change through their interaction with Kichwa

classes, particularly considering ideas of belonging and identity. This socio-political background is essential for understanding how participants engaged with Kichwa language learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this context, virtual language learning functioned as a form of cultural and political expression aligned with CONAIE's long-standing goals of Indigenous empowerment and intercultural dialogue, rather than just a pedagogical adaptation.

1.4 Developing virtual learning during COVID-19

Globally, education went online as in-person teaching was stopped or restricted in many countries due to COVID-19 restrictions (Bozkurt et al., 2020). However, since the lockdown began in Peru on March 16th 2020, new opportunities emerged to engage with Quechua language-learning provision and language learners throughout the world. There was a substantial increase in online paid group and individual courses for interaction with participants globally over platforms such as Skype and Zoom, alongside many free classes being live-streamed on Facebook or YouTube. Joining from behind a computer screen provided language learners with a certain level of anonymity, particularly in asynchronous classes. The '*Vive el Quechua'* teaching page had six times as many views in April 2020 as it had during the whole of 2019 (RT en Español, 2020; 'Vive el Quechua', 2020). The online upsurge in teaching and learning was not limited to Quechua language learning, with many people also discussing ancestral practices in these same ways: for example, offering classes on understanding and creating textiles, sharing knowledge about herbal remedies and plants to improve health or alleviate symptoms of COVID-19, or giving workshops on storytelling, amongst others. This environment lends itself to transformational encounters, however, has itself undergone significant transformation to enable online learning in this way.

Technological advancements have fuelled developments in teaching and learning online since the early 1990s, when learning online first became possible via networked computers. For language teaching, this marked the beginning of online synchronous learning, initially in a synchronous written conferencing environment, and gradually progressing to audio conferencing. Video conferencing is a more recent development as broadband has become more widely available; in 2005, when many Internet users still had a dial-up internet connection,

Hampel and Stickler (2005, p.315) note that "at present, videoconferencing without Broadband Internet connection is not yet good enough for language learning". The arrival of Web 2.0 has facilitated greater online interaction, and increasing social networking has led to the creation of more language learning communities. Greater smartphone availability and usage has been accompanied by app development, including those for language learning.

Recognising the various ways in which teaching and learning now occurs online, online education encompasses terms with varying definitions, such as:

'e-learning' using electronic resources to aid learning,

'blended learning' using digital teaching as a substantial support in face-to-face learning,

'hybrid learning' using face-to-face teaching to support primarily digital learning,

'm-learning' learning via mobile phone.

Singh and Thurman (2019, p.302) propose, in terms of both online learning and teaching, the following definition for online education, as:

> education being delivered in an online environment through the use of the internet for teaching and learning. This includes online learning on the part of the students that is not dependent on their physical or virtual co-location. The teaching content is delivered online and the instructors develop teaching modules that enhance learning and interactivity in the synchronous or asynchronous environment.

This can be done in various ways; however it is important to note that Singh and Thurman's definition relates to established practices of teaching and learning online, supported by technological equipment and sufficient resources and preparation. The sudden move to online teaching and learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, has stopped some classes from taking place due to insufficient technology, or technological know-how. In addition, sufficient time is required to develop teaching modules, especially if not already familiar with the technology.

In the COVID-19 context, the concept of emergency remote learning may be more applicable than simply 'online education', as it requires:

> a temporary shift of instructional delivery to an alternate delivery mode due to crisis circumstances […] to provide temporary access to instruction and instructional supports in a manner that is quick to set up and is readily available (Hodges et al., 2020, p.8).

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

In the Andes, face-to-face classes were the main source of educational provision pre-pandemic. In Peru, the General Education Law, '*Ley General de Educación'*, (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2003) highlights the possibility of providing education via face-to-face, blended and distance learning at all levels. Distance education occurs when teachers and learners are geographically or temporally distant from each other, with instructional materials delivered in print or electronically (Moore et al., 2011, pp.129–130). However, switching to alternative modes of delivery during the COVID-19 pandemic has proved more challenging in Peru than in other countries that were already more experienced in this, and where distance education was already more common. The lack of technology available to make the sudden shift required in times of pandemic, has therefore left many learners of all ages distanced from their educational provision, as they are unable to take part or access this in any way (Drane et al., 2021; Cullinan et al., 2021).

Quechua language learning during the COVID-19 pandemic fell somewhere between 'online education' and 'emergency remote learning'. Although offering Quechua classes online differed significantly from adapting schooling programmes to be broadcast to children at a national level, there were challenges in a sudden change in teaching practice and environment. Not all of the Quechua classes offered pre-pandemic were available online, as the teachers, institutions and/or students were not able to provide or access the online environment. However, many existing classes moved online in contextually feasible ways for participants and their teachers, with facilitators making use of the technology they had to broadcast their classes in different ways according to the situation. Additionally, new Quechua classes were developed as a result of increased online activity during the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly on YouTube or Facebook. Since lockdown began in Peru on March 16th 2020, Quechua language teaching developed and expanded online, providing new and unique opportunities to engage with Quechua language-learning provision and learners in various locations all over the world. There was a substantial increase in online paid group and individual courses for interaction with participants globally over platforms such as Skype and Zoom, alongside many free classes being livestreamed on Facebook or YouTube.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

In response to indefinite school closures during the COVID-19 pandemic in Peru, the Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación)* began an intercultural bilingual education home-schooling programme '*Aprendo en casa'* [I learn at home] broadcast daily during the week, from April 6th 2020; the teaching videos were shown on national television, the website www.aprendoencasa.pe, and live streamed on Facebook, with recordings uploaded to YouTube afterwards (Ministerio de Educación del Perú, 2020b). The Intercultural Bilingual Education programmes were continued over radio broadcasts in indigenous languages, but also available online in oral and written formats. The educational provision online encouraged families to come together to learn and complete tasks and had the potential for creating a hybrid space for knowledge transmission. This is evident through the additional materials provided online and the sequential classes for children of different ages; the presenters often address children in a particular year group, aware that their siblings, and other family members are likely to also be present. For example, *Aprendo en casa's* series on family history and the transmission of information within families looked at particular family and geographically specific history and traditions, with the idea of encouraging conversation within families about certain aspects of their own heritage and encouraging children in fifth and sixth grades to document this. This also included classes on indigenous languages, traditional festivals, medicinal plants and dances for children in third and fourth grades of primary school (Ministerio de Educación del Perú, 2020a). However, in various programmes, this state initiative promoted endangerment discourses, alongside romanticising an idealised ancestral culture, reproducing the same established ideologies associated with IBE, but in the digital sphere (Zavala & Franco, 2020). As Quechua language learning in adult education contexts was less prevalent offline pre-pandemic, and rarely available online, there were few established courses or spaces for adults to learn Quechua; this created a new canvas for teachers to develop their own courses online, and a virtual space that was distanced from negative language ideologies towards Quechua and Kichwa through its association with technology.

It is important to differentiate between state-led intercultural bilingual education provision and virtual online Quechua classes. IBE programmes are intended for school-age children of

Indigenous origin, and were broadcast through alternative media such as radio during the pandemic to be able to reach as many of their intended learners as possible. However, lack of technology can be a barrier to their participation in education. Virtual Quechua classes online are mainly being attended by adults out of their own choice, rather than necessity. The transition to online learning may have been easier for these Quechua classes as many did not already have an established group of learners they were trying to remain in contact with. It is therefore important to recognise that the participants involved in learning Quechua online have access to the technology and skills required to teach and learn this, with others not able to participate and therefore not included in this study.

Considering the specific online learning environment created during the COVID-19 pandemic, Bissessar (2021a) explores the challenges faced for both teachers and learners, drawing on case studies from virtual learning in Trinidad and Grenada, Ghana, Greece, Ukraine and Jamaica to explore issues of student motivation, engagement and lack of access to technology and resources for both teachers and learners and highlight a need to ensure quality learning even in situations of emergency learning. Focusing on the technical and practical implications of online learning in Trinidad and Grenada and the transition to online learning during the pandemic, Bissessar (2021b) notes decreased attendance, through a lack of access to technology, lack of parental support in learning, and students' lack of resources negatively impacting their motivation, with some teachers also not having access to the resources they needed. Considering the challenges of school closures, technological inequalities, mental health challenges through isolation, Fayed and Cummings (2021) show the weaknesses of educational provision and teaching standards tangential to new opportunities provided by online teaching and learning in order to consider the transformation of the educational environment during the COVID-19 pandemic and the future trajectory of online teaching and learning. Zhang et al. (2022) compare students' experiences of synchronous virtual learning environments where participants are involved in classes in real-time, with their experiences of asynchronous virtual learning environments where teaching and learning do not occur at the same time, such as through video classes, or online portals with uploaded material.

This literature provides an overview of the practical elements of online learning for this initial transition phase to online learning during the COVID-19 pandemic; some of these challenges may have been mitigated over time as teachers and learners adapted to these, with case studies in specific countries and regions limiting their generalisability to other contexts, or specific learning environments. Literature on language learning during the COVID-19 pandemic (Chen, 2021; Harsch et al., 2021; van der Velde et al., 2021) also does not consider the role of adult minoritised language learning online in Latin America, focussing instead on the immediate practicalities of teaching and learning languages online during this particular moment in time, and challenges for teachers and learners. As it is in response to the transition to online learning and documenting this process, there is also little written about learners' motivations in this scenario, as they were often already continuing with an offline course, in an online environment. This thesis looks specifically at the participants' motivations and Indigenous language learning experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic in the Andean context.

1.5 Theoretical perspectives: learning in a transformed communal environment

The context within which this research occurs, at a globally transformational moment during the COVID-19 pandemic, is key to understanding my choice of theoretical framework, because of the resultant transformation in the learning environment and the individuals' motivations. The COVID-19 pandemic caused 'disorienting dilemmas' on a global scale (Mezirow, 1991); Mezirow considers these to be moments in which individuals are confronted with something that challenges their thinking and enables them to begin to question and re-evaluate their perceptions or ways of interpreting the world, leading to different levels of individual transformation. In a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow, 1991), individuals realise that their interpretations of the world do not match up to their experiences and thus re-formulate these; as their original perspectives or interpretations of experiences are questioned and adapted, this can result in transformative learning. Against the backdrop of global communal instability, transformative learning theory is helpful in unpicking and analysing individual change in the context of environmental instability. As Moran and Moloney (2022, p.81) explain:

> Experiential uncertainty, in this case stemming from the Covid-19 pandemic, is both a global crisis and an individual experience for mature students and may involve a fundamental reconsideration of how one thinks, feels, or acts. Thus, transformative learning becomes not only a possibility, but a necessity.

Uncertainty was rife during the COVID-19 pandemic, as people worldwide were required to adapt to lockdowns and online learning, alongside other national and international health guidelines, such as social distancing and stay-at-home mandates, with which they had no prior experience. This specific moment in time set the scene for changing perspectives and potential individual and communal transformation, both positive and negative, as individuals responded to the global environment in different ways.

Participating in different environments such as virtual classes presented teachers and learners with opportunities to change both what and how they were thinking. Throughout the pandemic, environments that had often been conducted in a set way were transformed. With face-to-face interaction limited, the internet was increasingly used for education, news, entertainment and keeping in touch with others. In many countries, this meant greater usage of the online provision already available: in the UK, the number of adults who video call weekly or more doubled from 35% in February 2020, prior to the pandemic, to 71% in May 2020, according to the UK communications services regulator, Ofcom (2020). However, in many countries internet access was less widespread or accessible pre-pandemic. In Peru, 48.7% of the population used the internet in 2017, and in Ecuador, this figure was 57.3% for the same year. This figure for internet users rose to 65.3% of the population in Peru and 70.7% in Ecuador in 2020 (CEPALSTAT, 2024a). Despite the persistent digital divide, online avenues of communication have expanded in the Andes as a result of COVID-19, creating an innovative space for knowledge transmission and learning.

Language classes being moved to the virtual sphere destabilised teaching practice itself, requiring new methods, different technology, and the creation of a learning environment and materials for online education. The change in methods also changed who had access to the classes, as not all teachers and learners in Peru and Ecuador were able to access the internet. This transition to

online learning meant participants could join from all over the world, increasing the diversity of interaction among teachers and learners, as well as the language and knowledge being taught. I therefore consider the role of the new virtual educational environment for Quechua language learning to be key to participants' transformative learning. I argue that online Quechua classes have created new 'breathing spaces' (Fishman, 1991, p.58) for learning about Quechua language and culture, which are intentionally carved out to enable speakers of languages under threat to use that language free from the dominant language. These online classes have enabled participants to experience, celebrate and identify with Quechua in new and transformative ways, both individually and communally, in a positive environment. The increase in the availability of online Quechua classes and the learners' engagement, despite entrenched stigmatisation, is key to understanding the changing relationship of the Quechua language learners in this study during the COVID-19 pandemic.

These virtual 'breathing spaces' have allowed participants to learn Quechua online and to access the Quechua language and culture on a global digital platform. They are spaces that are not linked to one culture but rather permit various cultures to come together, and in which Indigenous knowledge and values can be foregrounded. This includes space for Indigenous cultural practices in knowledge transmission, which differ from those used in 'Western' language learning environments, enabling learners to engage with Quechua in culturally fitting ways. These 'breathing spaces' have the potential to become ones of healing and reconnection for participants, when they are distanced from dominant language ideologies, and encounter an encouraging, communal environment. This can facilitate engagement and emotional connection with the language, heritage, and other participants. It can also enable space to connect with the land, heritage, and the language itself, recognising each of these elements as part of the language learning community following a Quechua animistic worldview. For example, considering the role of the computer itself as part of the community, in permitting participants to connect across geographical and linguistic boundaries, and without which the community and 'breathing space' itself would not exist. This virtual language learning space itself has the potential to challenge the dominant culture in bringing together those within it who are together able to challenge and re-

establish their boundaries and relationship with the language, as well as creating an empowering space of connection with others with a similar goal and drive to see Quechua established, with the potential for broader cultural transformation beyond this virtual environment.

1.5.1 Language and culture

In linguistics, language can be understood at its most basic as a system of communication that provides a way of expressing meaning through structured rules and vocabulary; it serves as a tool that facilitates understanding between people. However, although expressions in one language can often be translated into others, they usually carry certain ideological and cultural connotations depending on the language used. A 'minority language' is spoken by less than half of the population of a specific area or country; however, this basic definition focuses on the number of speakers, rather than considering the prestige or status of the 'minority language' itself (Grenoble & Singerman, 2014). The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe, 2024) considers 'minority languages' to have a smaller speaker group and, in addition, to lack recognition as 'official' languages. I choose to use the term 'minoritised language' rather than 'minority language' to highlight the power dynamics embedded within this process of minoritisation and emphasise the role of social, political and educational factors in actively oppressing and excluding Indigenous languages. A 'heritage language' is one that speakers had exposure to or began learning as children before, or alongside, becoming fluent in the dominant language of their society. It can be a minoritised language, and in many cases, the speakers' bilingualism is imbalanced, with the dominant language prevailing. They may have retained some level of competence in the heritage language; this is usually receptive, but some speakers may be able to express themselves to some extent in the heritage language.

Within the educational sphere, and particularly within Bilingual Intercultural language education, 'culture' often assumes that members of the group in question share a bounded view of their culture, thereby equating 'culture' to obvious elements of folklore. In this study, 'culture' does not assume a homogenised view of a people group's behaviour; instead, it focuses on the individual and shared lived experiences of participants within the broader Andean context, and

whether and how this translates into their online Quechua language learning environments. The flux of participants in the online environment permits the mixing of different nations, languages, and cultures; “cultures are not homogenous, stable units – tending to be in equilibrium, tending to endure in the same form through time and/or tending to involve people with mostly shared understandings” (Borofsky, 1994, p.9). This dynamic and fluid understanding of culture challenges traditional assumptions in Quechua language learning, recognising the multiplicity of identities and experiences that learners bring into the virtual classroom. The term is also used primarily in this thesis not just for broad affiliations, but for specific practices that emerge from a distinct way of being in the world. For example, to refer to textiles, which are not merely craft or art, but expressions of lived knowledge; techniques passed down through generations, shaped by geography and community. These cultural practices are not isolated, but deeply rooted in how people relate to their environment, to time, and to one another.

Language and culture have often been seen as interlinked. Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf proposed a ‘principle of linguistic relativity’ in the 1920s and 1930s, which considers language and thought to be inextricably linked. It is commonly defined as “the claim that the *words* your language gives you determine and *limit* what it is possible for you to think” (Leavitt, 2015, p.19); Sapir and Whorf emphasise that rather than words, it is established language patterns that can influence, or even determine, the way an individual thinks and their perceptions of the world (Leavitt, 2015). Within the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language is not considered merely a tool; rather, it is something that actively shapes cognition and perception. Language therefore “does not merely mirror “reality,” it also shapes it” (Ochs, 1996, p.417). In this context, linguistic relativism can offer a framework for understanding how language shapes not only communication, but also thought processes and cultural perceptions. In the case of Quechua, this may mean that speakers of the language conceptualise time, space and social relationships in ways that differ significantly from those using languages such as Spanish or English. However, this study considers that it is the ‘cosmovision’ or worldview behind both the language and the culture that determines expressions in each of these elements and the relationship between the two.

This study highlights the dynamic interplay between language and culture, emphasising that neither one can be fully understood without the other. Language is not merely a conduit for communication but an active participant in shaping how individuals perceive and engage with the world around them, just as cultural practices reflect and reinforce these perceptions. Both language and culture emerge from a shared worldview, where each influences and is influenced by the other, in a cyclical relationship that resists hierarchy. This reciprocal relationship challenges broader approaches that might prioritise one over the other, particularly in dominant discourses where language is often viewed simply as a tool or culture as a static, external entity. By focusing on the lived experiences of learners in their online Quechua environments, this study underscores the necessity of understanding both language and culture as fluid, interconnected, and equally significant components in the formation of identity and cognition. In doing so, it pushes back against essentialist or reductionist frameworks, advocating instead for a nuanced and holistic view that honours the complexities of both language and culture in shaping human experience.

This proves particularly relevant to understanding the transformative experiences observed in online Quechua learning environments. Indeed, the participants in this study encountered precisely such differences, with teachers explicitly introducing alternative conceptualisations of temporal and spatial relationships tied to environmental and social contexts. These linguistic features are not merely grammatical curiosities but represent fundamentally different ways of organising experience and understanding the world. Teachers did not simply translate concepts from Spanish or English into Quechua; instead, they introduced learners to distinctly Andean ways of thinking and being. The online Quechua learning spaces became sites where this ‘cosmovision’ was actively transmitted and experienced through both language and culture, demonstrating how language and culture are implemented together in ways that can catalyse profound personal and ideological transformation. This suggests that the relationship between language and culture in Quechua language learning is not merely theoretical but has tangible, transformative impacts on learners' lives and identities.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

1.5.2 Adult education: transformative learning theory and communities of practice

To construct my theoretical framework, I draw from both Mezirow's (1981) transformative learning theory and Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice approach from the field of adult education to provide a lens for teachers' and learners' motivations and changing relationships with the language, culture and themselves. These two theoretical perspectives combine with language revitalisation and wellbeing within the context of Andean epistemologies to consider the context in which adult Quechua language learners are individually and communally changed. Since the seminal works of Knowles (1968), Tough (1971) and Mezirow (1981), the field of adult education has been established as a separate field from that of child education, recognising that adults learn in a more self-directed and solution-driven way than children. The ways in which adults learn have been explored through various foundational frameworks within the field, and numerous models have been developed to understand specific aspects of adult learning. These can be separated into frameworks which primarily focus on the development and cognitive learning of an individual (Knowles, 1968; Tough, 1971; Mezirow, 1981) and approaches that favour the social context in which learning occurs (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This suits the reality of the Andean environment and the broader geographical area of the Andes where Quechua is spoken and transmitted, as it enables analysis of an individual's transformation within the wider virtual community they are part of, and within the broader community of Quechua speakers offline.

Knowles (1968) proposed the concept of andragogy, or adult learning, as different from pedagogy, highlighting six key assumptions about adult learners on a continuum towards: being in control of their learning, learning from their life experiences, being ready to learn according to their own needs, learning specifically to solve problems, being internally motivated, and needing to know why they are learning. Tough's (1971) theory of self-directed learning builds on this sense of agency, with adult learners controlling their learning; Tough (1979) found that 90% of Canadian adult learners participating in his study had intentionally pursued learning within their everyday lives and often outside of formal educational settings, to complete on average 100 hours of self-directed learning each over a year. Mezirow's (1981) transformative learning theory

focuses on perspective changes, arguing that adult learners reflect on and adapt their existing frames of reference through their learning, and undergo a perspective transformation. However, these models of adult education focus on individual cognitive learning, facing criticism for not making explicit reference to the broader context in which learning takes place. In contrast to these, social models of learning include Lave and Wenger's communities of practice framework, which began to consider learning as a social, rather than individual pursuit.

Transformative learning is a dominant model of learning within the field of adult education, which focuses on how meanings are made and altered, leading to epistemological changes in adult learners. In his initial introduction to transformative learning theory in Adult Education Quarterly, Mezirow (1978) studies and outlines adults' experiences of returning to college. He draws on Freire's (1970) '*conscientization'* as a way of understanding how people become aware of their perspectives and realise that they have the agency to change their own lives and possibilities. Perspective transformation is a key element of transformative learning theory, which Mezirow (1991, p.167) defines as:

> The process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrating perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings.

Mezirow's (1981, 1991) transformative learning theory focuses on individual change in perspective through a series of ten stages, which he reworked in a later publication (Mezirow, 2000, p.22) as the foundations of transformative learning through:

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self-examination
3. A critical assessment of a personally internalised role
4. Relating one's discontent to similar experiences of others
5. Exploring options for new ways of acting
6. Building competence and self-confidence (self-efficacy) in new roles
7. Planning a course of action
8. Acquiring new knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
9. Provisional efforts to try new roles and assess feedback
10. A reintegration into a society based on conditions dictated by the new perspective

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

The central premise of Mezirow's transformative learning theory is that adults encounter experiences or 'disorienting dilemmas' that make them re-evaluate or critically reflect on their perspectives on specific issues or ways of interpreting the world. As their original perspectives or interpretations of experiences are questioned and adapted, this results in transformative learning. In this way transformative learning theory provides a lens for investigating Quechua language learners' online learning experiences. Participants' relationships with Quechua language and culture change through choosing to learn it. Some are encountering a language that is entirely new for them, and others are beginning to think about a language in their social environment in a new way. Yet others are beginning to explore a familiar language through formal classes for the first time, as a result of interrupted intergenerational transmission. Although I focus mainly on the concepts of 'disorienting dilemmas' and self-examination throughout this thesis to explore learners' changing thinking, Chapter 5 considers the later stages of Mezirow's model, with stage 4 crucial in developing a virtual language learning community, stage 5 possible during the COVID-19 pandemic which provided this space to explore different ways of being, particularly when doing so online in a supportive communal environment. In this context, stage 10 considers how far learners have come with their language learning and thinking, showing different levels of transformation through changed actions and future plans in some situations. This enables analysis of their changing relationship with and perception of Quechua language and culture.

Culture plays a key role within learners' 'disorienting dilemmas' and transformative journeys, as it influences how participants perceive and make sense of their experiences and provides an underlying framework within which their existing beliefs were developed. In this way, experiencing other cultures within a rural community or an online language class challenges participants' thinking, causing 'disorienting dilemmas' when trying to reconcile these new cultural experiences with their previous cultural traditions and experiences. It is these previous experiences that set the scene for transformed thinking, as their previous cultural norms define what is 'disorienting' for participants. Their cultural background also guides how participants reflect on and grow through their initial 'disorienting dilemma'. For example, participants in this

study have grown up with different experiences of colonisation, whether experiencing first-hand oppression, witnessing the marginalisation of Indigenous people, or being unaware of their privilege in a European context. These experiences shape not only how the dilemma is interpreted, but also how deeply it challenges their sense of identity, power and place in the world. For those from colonised or Indigenous backgrounds, the dilemma may trigger a process of reclaiming cultural identity, language or knowledge systems previously devalued or silenced. Conversely, for participants who come from dominant cultural groups, the dilemma may provoke guilt or confront them with inherited privilege. In both cases, the participants' cultural background fundamentally shapes the process, pace and emotional journey of their transformative learning.

This underscores a significant critique of Mezirow's transformative learning theory. Taylor (1997) and Taylor and Snyder (2012) argued that Mezirow overlooked the wider social element of learning and the environment within which this takes place. Further criticising that Mezirow does not consider personal elements that may affect an individual's transformation, such as ethnicity or gender (Taylor, 1997; Christie et al., 2015). In addition, Mezirow does not consider alternative ways of knowing, for example, spiritually or emotionally, or alternative perspectives outside of Europe or North America (Cranton, 2006; Dirkx, 1997). Another strand of transformative learning does consider the creative and emotional processes involved in transformation, rather than Mezirow's rational approach to it. Instead of purely focusing on conscious thought, Dirkx (1997) highlights the role of the unconscious, which he believes can be made visible through personal transformation. For example, through emotions that emerge in the classroom and how these are discussed, processed, or confronted as a group, in such situations individuals come to new realisations of how they think, act or react, and what these thoughts, actions or reactions stem from unconsciously (Dirkx, 1997). Mezirow's approach benefits my analysis precisely because of this emphasis on individual transformation, cognitive changes, and perspective shifts. This enables a focus on individuals within the broader communal context, while also acknowledging the social learning aspect and alternative ways of knowing, which are relevant to the Andean context in which my research is situated. There will have been unconscious elements driving

Quechua language learners' behaviour and thoughts. However, I focus on the analysis of their disorienting moments in virtual classrooms through encountering other ways of knowing and class content, rather than carrying out a deeper analysis of their individual creative or emotional processes within the virtual language classroom.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) conceptualisation of learning shifted the focus of adult education from an individual pursuit to emphasising the social and communal elements of learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) developed the concept of communities of practice through observing and researching various apprenticeships and identifying how they fit into models of learning. They see learning as a social, rather than an individual, endeavour, with the act of learning essential to belonging to a community of practice. In their seminal contribution, Lave and Wenger (1991) conceptualise learning as a social practice and highlight the importance not just of what is learnt, but also the context in which this learning occurs. This is argued primarily in the context of learning through social relationships in the workplace, by analysing the participation of and relationships between apprentices within specific participant groups. Lave and Wenger (1991) observe communities of practice as the social structure underlying the process of learning between apprentices and their masters. They coined the term 'community of practice' to refer to a social environment in which individuals' skills and learning increase through their interaction with experts, ultimately becoming mentors themselves. Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to this progression from trainee to trainer as 'legitimate peripheral participation', particularly in apprenticeship contexts. Brown and Duguid (1991) connected community, domain and practice, which form the organisational basis of communities of practice and within which learning as participation occurs.

> The primary focus of [social learning] theory is on learning as social participation. Participation here refers not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities. Participating in a playground clique or in a work team, for instance, is both a kind of action and a form of belonging. Such participation shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do. (Wenger, 1998, p.4).

This view provides a reciprocal and cyclical aspect to learning in communities, as the students go on to invest in others. In this way, the concept of legitimate peripheral participation allows for analysis of specific social learning environments, with a particular focus on skill development through relationships. This idea is beneficial in the context of online Quechua classes as it highlights the intentionality of social relationships online, which may need more investment than in offline courses; in offline settings participants may be less geographically diverse and more able to meet up outside of class if they choose to.

In contrast to Lave and Wenger's (1991) emphasis on informally emerging groupings, which may exclude formally organised classes from their categorisation, Wenger et al. (2002) shift their perspective to state that communities of practice can be intentionally cultivated and organised, whilst highlighting the role of leaders of such groups. This is an important development, as if a community of practice is going to have people in positions of leadership, it is more formally and intentionally organised, rather than this grouping emerging organically from a grassroots position. Acknowledging leadership positions helps to understand a formal class environment, while also allowing for a non-hierarchical approach between teachers and students. However, the role of the teacher in cultivating a sense of community and facilitating interaction within the class and among participants is often crucial. Wenger et al. (2002, p.4) define communities of practice as "groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis"

> In his 1998 book, Wenger clarified that personal identity and community should not be seen as a dichotomy; instead, they are mutually constitutive, and the focus becomes the processes whereby they interact. One's identity is negotiated while engaging in group interactions and interpreting those interactions through an individual lens coloured by unique individual experiences. Wenger's focus of identity is on what happens when individuals engage in the group practice and those interactions ultimately lead to changes in the group's learning. Hence, CoP theory does not deny the unique experiences of the individual, but emphasizes the interaction of the individual and the community where identity is defined, and learning occurs.(Bence, 2017, p.23).

Contrary to transformative learning theory, learning within a communities of practice framework is only able to be considered on a communal level, relative to other group members; individual

knowledge is not observable within this framework, as learning occurs through social interaction (Fuller, 2007; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2004). Personal experiences and their impact on the group are also absent (Billett, 2003; Edwards, 2005).

More recent developments in the field of adult education branch away from the dominant paradigm of knowledge and learning as a purely cognitive endeavour, to one that has dominated in the Western world. Merriam (2018, pp.90–93) separates these into three key areas of development: 'embodied or somatic knowing', 'spirituality and learning' and 'Non-Western perspectives on learning'. These three perspectives focus respectively on:

A wider understanding of knowing that encompasses the whole being and emotions (Merriam & Bierema, 2014; Dirkx, 2008).

Connection to an outside spiritual force in making meaning (Tisdell, 1999, 2008).

Learning as a holistic and communal endeavour (Kim & Merriam, 2011).

These are important considerations within the framework of knowing and learning in the Andes, where Indigenous knowledge and literacy practices can be deeply embodied and collective.

1.5.3 New literacy studies, Andean knowledge and literacies

Indigenous knowledge (de la Cadena, 2015; Koehler, 2017; Warren et al., 1995; Ngulube, 2017) has traditionally been preserved through the oral medium and alternative literacy practices. Storytelling (Howard, 2002a), music (Stobart, 2002), textiles (Femenías, 2004; Silverman, 2008; Zorn, 2004) and other non-written media remain indispensable in producing knowledge in Quechua communities. For example, Arnold (1997, pp.115–122) demonstrates how weaving techniques, designs and colours are used to inscribe meaning into Andean textiles in Qaqachaka, Bolivia. Although alphabetic literacy plays no role in these practices, knowledge is still documented, with meaning inscribed and readable. The reciprocal relationship between inscribing and reading in non-written literacy practices is reflected intrinsically within the Quechua language; the Quechua term *unanchay* refers both to the creation and interpretation of a sign, implying they are an inseparable part of the same process (Howard, 2002b, p.31;

Salomon, 1982, p.20). This alternative way of viewing literacy through non-written practices highlights how knowledge can be produced and documented independently from alphabetic literacy practices, with expertise coming through other channels alongside schooling and alphabetic literacy. Non-alphabetic practices often have deep cultural and historical significance, having been passed down for generations. In this case, literacy reflects an evolving community heritage, rather than merely the learning of alphabetic skills. This is reflected in how indigenous communities and children "perceive and think about the world, how they use language, and experience literacy, and how they learn" (de Silva Joyce & Feez, 2016, p.115).

The experiential aspect of knowing and living in the Andes is highlighted through learning and demonstrating practical skills, so the process and the product cannot be separated. Thus, in the same way that alphabetic knowledge is tied to books and literacy, so can non-written literacies be expressed by physical skill. Bolin (2006) highlights the role of observation in learning in the Andes, which inherently makes learning a social activity, as knowledge or the skill of how to spin or play an instrument, for example, is being passed down to whoever is observing the action. In addition, the role of embodied knowledge and physical participation is also essential in learning and expressing knowledge in the Andes, for example, through dances and ritual making (Borea, 2008). This was highlighted in the textiles classes attended for this study through analysing astronomical knowledge, and the patterns and knowledge included in this to then compare these with expressions through traditional dances, or through moving together in textiles and Quechua classes. These practical skills are also gained within specific environments and embedded in social practice and rituals, which form an essential part of the process of experiencing and interacting in different learning environments. According to Street's (2013, 2001, 2005) definition of literacy as a social practice, whereby the social setting and power relations surrounding help in determining the literacy events, the multi-faceted role of literacy practices is shown through the many environments in which they are used. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011) document staff engraving in Tupicocha[2], whereby the political hierarchy is re-negotiated each year through a

[2] Tupicocha is a rural community in the Peruvian Andes, where Quechua is widely spoken and Andean practices maintained. Andean practices can be seen in traditional Andean structures of governance and rituals, as well as through Andean record-keeping practices of cord records, or Khipus.

silent process of engraving. The staffs get their meaning from this physical practice and the social context, as there is no language to describe what occurs during these literacy events. This lack of metalanguage shows how non-written literacy practices, or reified objects, communicate in ways that writing, or other forms of social participation, cannot, whilst emphasising the intrinsic link between the process and the product, for example, through Indigenous knowledge practices in the Andes.

In situations of observational or embodied knowledge transmission, there is not an explicit focus on learning, as there would be in a classroom, for example, but rather the learning happens organically. It is this element of social learning that a communities of practice framework (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) helps to unpick. This is particularly the case as learning in Indigenous communities is not hierarchical, but instead occurs through everyday interactions and experiences with others; this study finds how this approach to learning can translate into the online sphere. The virtual Quechua classes provide different learning environments compared to those traditionally found in rural communities. Nevertheless, specific Andean knowledge and methods of learning remain important when applied in a virtual setting classes. Although not the direct focus of this study, non-alphabetic literacy practices are essential to understanding the broader Quechua context and world view, which many participants bring to this project. However, the virtual Quechua classes enable consideration of how these practices and worldview can translate into the online environment.

Alternative literacy practices represent Quechua knowledge and 'cosmovision' upon which the classes are based and through which they are taught. For example, participants are learning from new and past experiences, becoming aware of reciprocity with one another and the natural world, alongside how social, scientific, environmental and political knowledge can be encoded within social and cultural practices and alternative literacies. For example, in the case of a rural Peruvian community, Tupicocha, the community's political system is underpinned by a social process, and embodies a way of life within this community in which no words are needed to understand the process. In this context of the multiplicity of Andean literacies, adopting a

communities of practice approach focuses on the social context in which this knowledge is created and documented and in which literacy events occur (Street, 2013, 2005); this breaks down the power associated with alphabetic writing and reconsiders what knowledge is and how it is reported. Combining a community of practice and a transformative learning approach to meaning-making and language learning enables a social approach to learning where understandings can be discussed, challenged, and changed communally. At the same time, individuals simultaneously confront their perspectives and begin to change them. The space created for online Quechua classes enabled both individual and communal transformation; participants were connecting via online video calls and drew on verbal and non-verbal communications to express themselves, build relationships, share culture and experiences and to create meaning in these spaces. Bringing together these reified objects and the process used to make them is essential within a reciprocal framework of life in the Andes, guided by principles of reciprocity between people and the environment in which they live, and this is reflected in the virtual classroom.

This understanding of knowledge as contextual, relational and embodied closely aligns with the New Literacies Studies framework in Latin America, which recognises both the multitude of literacies and the specific local contexts in which they occur. Through blurring the boundaries between the oral and the literate, New Literacy Studies highlight the plurality of literacies; Street (2016, p.336) focuses on literacy as a social practice, arguing that it is the "sociocultural context and the practices that take place within it that give reading (and writing) its meaning". This sees literacy practices as situated within their specific social contexts and naturally incorporates a broader spectrum of literacy events, which can be written or non-written, or a mixture of both, highlighting the fluidity of literacy events to complement their social settings. New Literacy Studies emphasises the role of social context in literacy events. This is very apparent in the development of alternative or Indigenous literacy practices, as the context in which the event occurs is key to its meaning. For example, this acknowledges the role of the class itself in the production and documentation of knowledge, abstracting from the written class notes, reading, writing or homework materials, and developing the aspect of speaking and orality that is so

important in Quechua culture. Seeing literacy as a social practice challenges the dominant dichotomy between literacy and illiteracy, as seeing literacy practices as situated within their specific social contexts naturally incorporates a wider spectrum of literacy events. Informal literacy events are included alongside formal literacy events in this discussion of literacy practices, with ethnographic research important in highlighting these and "deny[ing] that there is only one literacy and one way of learning to read (and write). This is also significant in education, as literacy is often viewed purely as a skill, which becomes the standard. Street emphasises an "ideological" view of literacy, as "it always involves contests over meanings, definitions, boundaries, and control of the literacy agenda. For these reasons, it becomes harder to justify teaching only one particular form of literacy" (Street, 2016, p.337). This view recognises the existence of multiple literacy forms across cultures and contexts. It can explain the importance of drawing on Andean literacies in teaching and learning Quechua, as well as vice versa.

1.5.4 Teaching second languages and the Common European Framework of Reference

Second-language teaching methodologies have evolved significantly over the past century, reflecting shifts in theories of language, learning, and pedagogy. Rooted in behavioural psychology and structural linguistics, behaviourist models of second language learning (Skinner, 1938; Watson, 1919) suggest that language is learnt through conditioning and reinforcement, leading to heavy use of drills and repetition. Cognitive approaches (Bruner, 1996; Piaget, 1974) responded to the limitations of behaviourism, rejecting the idea that learners are passive recipients of language and instead explaining learning as deep and complex psychological processes, for example, in considering why learners choose to learn a language. Within these cognitive approaches, Piaget (1974) takes a developmental approach, believing that learning occurs sequentially and in stages, whilst Bruner (1996) and Vygotsky (1978) highlight the role of external scaffolding as an important support to learning in a constructivist approach. Sociocultural views of learning (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991) develop this constructivist approach, considering that language teaching and learning occurs within a specific social, cultural and historical context, from which it cannot be separated.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Within a constructivist approach to language teaching and learning, learning is active and social, with learners constructing knowledge together through their communications, experiences and reflections. Specific pedagogical approaches within this paradigm include communicative language teaching, task-based language teaching and content and language integrated learning, to be further discussed in this section. Communicative language teaching (Hymes, 1972; Widdowson, 1978) prioritises communication in language learning, basing curriculum development on learners' communicative needs (Van Ek, 1975). Within communicative language teaching, language is seen as a social tool which speakers employ to communicate orally and in writing, and culture plays an important role in shaping speakers' ability to communicate in the target language (Berns, 1990). Grammatical instruction does have a role in scaffolding communication within this approach. However, grammar is taught through learners expressing themselves with a focus on transmitting meaning, rather than being foregrounded through grammar drills (Canale & Swain, 1980; Savignon, 1971). Within the language classroom, this approach uses activities to simulate real-life communication, such as role-plays and dialogues.

Task-based language teaching (Prabhu, 1987; Long, 1991; Ellis, 2003) grew out of communicative language teaching approaches and is exemplified in the Quechua classes through specific cultural engagement activities. In some of these classes, learners engage in myth writing as individual tasks, crafting traditional stories which they subsequently share with the group, creating opportunities for both independent language production and collaborative meaning-making. Musical activities form another core component, where learners discuss existing Quechua songs or create new ones collectively, using the target language as a vehicle for cultural expression. These tasks demonstrate how language learning occurs when the L2 serves as a tool to achieve specific cultural and creative goals rather than being the primary focus itself.

This task-based approach assumes that learners acquire language most effectively when using it instrumentally to complete meaningful activities or to explore cultural content (Ellis et al., 2019). The focus shifts from explicit language instruction to language as a medium for cultural engagement, where grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation emerge naturally through task completion rather than through direct teaching. A focus on form (Willis, 1996; Long, 2015) occurs

when teachers highlight specific linguistic elements as learners engage with these cultural tasks, supporting language development without interrupting the flow of meaningful communication. While the online learning environment presents challenges for group-based and learner-centred task completion, the myth writing and musical activities in the Quechua classes demonstrate how digital platforms can still facilitate meaningful task-based learning through a combination of individual creation and group sharing.

Content and language integrated learning principles are evident in how these Quechua classes embed cultural content within language learning activities. Rather than learning geography or history as traditionally conceived in content and language integrated learning approaches, learners engage with Quechua worldview and cultural practices through the target language. This approach assumes that the way to learn a language is to use it as a tool to learn something else, though in this context, the 'something else' is cultural knowledge and creative expression rather than academic subject matter. The class content is determined by cultural relevance and traditional practices rather than following a formal academic syllabus (Ellis et al., 2019). Video materials showcasing Quechua cultural elements provide input for learners to respond to in the target language, creating authentic contexts for language use. Although many participants in this study are relative beginners and not fully learning *in* Quechua in their online language classes, the integration of cultural content through myth writing, musical engagement, and video responses demonstrates how language and cultural learning can occur simultaneously. This is particularly important in terms of teaching Quechua worldview and thinking both through and alongside the language. While content and language integrated learning focuses on using content to drive language learning, it is also important to consider how learners' language proficiency can be assessed and structured; the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages can provide guidelines for this.

The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) was launched by the Council of Europe in 2001. It aims to provides an international common standard of language proficiency, classifying learners' language levels into basic (A1, A2), independent (B1, B2) and proficient (C1, C2). This scale is intended to provide a benchmark across countries and languages, detailing the skills

expected to be achieved by language learners at each level in listening, reading, speaking and writing. It is not focussed on assessment, rather seeking to foreground language learners' abilities in the development of language learning programmes, courses and examinations. In this way, the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, pp.5–6) aims to:

> Promote and facilitate co-operation among educational institutions in different countries;
> Provide a sound basis for the mutual recognition of language qualifications;
> Assist learners, teachers, course designers, examining bodies and educational administrators to situate and co-ordinate their efforts.

The CEFR is a tool to consider what language learners need to be able to achieve in each level, and allows teachers to plan their courses and examinations according to this end goal. However, although it seeks to provide a framework for all language learning, the CEFR was designed for European languages and to be used across Europe. Its political origin was to achieve mutual understanding within this linguistically diverse context (Council of Europe, 2020, 2001).

Peru and Ecuador are linguistically diverse countries, yet the CEFR falls short in these contexts by overlooking crucial aspects of Indigenous languages and neglecting the vitality of the language being taught or learnt. Where intergenerational transmission of a language is disrupted, as seen with Quechua, it can affect the level of the language that learners can achieve. Learners operating at a C level of language learning on the CEFR should be able to use the language in a similar way to 'native' speakers. However, not all Quechua speakers are able to "read articles or reports concerned with contemporary problems in which the writers adopt particular attitudes or viewpoints" (Council of Europe, 2001, p.27). In fact, their oral proficiency and literacy skills may be unbalanced, for example simultaneously having excellent spoken proficiency (C1 or C2) and challenges in reading or writing (A1 or A2). In addition to this potential miss-match in the skills of individual Indigenous language users, the CEFR assumes that languages have a written history and that there are materials available for learners to read and listen to (Planchon et al., 2020). It does not consider cultural competence, rather focussing on the skill level attainable in speaking, reading, writing and listening, and assumes that there are proficient teachers in all these skills (O'Grady, 2018, p.330).

Despite these potential limitations of using CEFR within Indigenous language learning contexts, adopting the CEFR does have the potential to provide a framework for multilingual education. It can help in the development of tools and resources for language learning; however, care must be taken to ensure that these are applicable to Indigenous language learning contexts. This has the potential to encourage the intergenerational transmission of the Indigenous language and support language revitalisation efforts, as well as providing a recognised way of certifying Indigenous language proficiency and ensuring teachers are trained to an appropriate level themselves. It is important to recognise that Indigenous language learning, particularly in online contexts, is often not solely about acquiring linguistic proficiency. Rather, it serves as a vehicle for reconnecting with culture, community, land and identity. In this sense, language learning becomes an act of cultural reclamation and resistance, where the process holds as much value as the outcome. For some participants in this study, the primary motivation for being in the language classroom is to make and maintain cultural connections, language learning itself is secondary. Therefore, while frameworks like the CEFR may offer structural benefits, it can be limiting to apply these to Indigenous language contexts without being adapted to reflect the deeper, multifaceted purposes of Indigenous language revitalisation, especially in digital spaces.

1.5.5 Language revitalisation and Indigenous language use online

Language revitalisation has developed in recent decades as a way of counteracting language loss (Hinton & Hale, 2001). King (2001, p.4) defines language revitalisation as "encompass[ing] efforts not only to expand the linguistic system of an embattled minority language, but also to bring the language into new domains for new uses among new types of speakers". Macro-level language revitalisation strategies often include language nests, master-apprentice language learning programmes, or incorporating Indigenous languages in education programmes, such as Intercultural Bilingual Education (Hinton, 2011). There is usually a focus on expanding the language into new domains, which, in the case of Quechua, can include online classes, introducing the language into a technological domain, and utilising it in digital communication. Language revitalisation aims to ensure the language for future generations of speakers, in a way that stays relevant and viable in contemporary society. Micro-level language revitalisation efforts

rely on the agency of speakers and their individual decisions about language use and practices (Cru, 2018; McCarty, 2011). Unlike top-down language policies, they focus on the crucial role of individuals, families and communities in language revitalisation; within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, online Quechua language classes from different teachers have provided a micro-level approach to language revitalisation, promoting cultural identity, traditional knowledge and Indigenous channels of belonging.

This grassroots engagement is further amplified by the increasing use of the internet by Indigenous language speakers to present themselves and their culture to wider audiences. Through digital platforms, they connect with other speakers and interested individuals, highlighting the potential of the internet as a powerful tool for language revitalisation and to engage with other interested individuals or speakers, with potential benefits of using the internet to revitalise languages (Moriarty, 2011), particularly within the context of increasing digital language activism (Belmar & Glass, 2019; Llanes-Ortiz, 2023; Coronel-Molina, 2019). However, using Indigenous languages online does not guarantee an online environment that is free from stigma, with the potential remaining in digital environments for them to become 'hostile' (Soria, 2017) in ways that can further the exclusion of Indigenous languages from these domains. Language ideologies underpin the ways language is used both offline and online, impacting how a community uses a language and their actions to choose to revitalise it, or, more often, to abandon it:

> Language ideologies are not only about language. They forge links between language and other social phenomena, from identities (ethnic, gender, racial, national, local, age-graded, subcultural), through conceptions of personhood, proper human comportment, intelligence, aesthetics, and morality, to notions such as truth, universality, authenticity (Woolard, 2020, p.2).

Language ideologies play a crucial role in shaping revitalisation efforts, determining speakers' relationships with the language, and ensuring the success of revitalisation programmes. However, for language revitalisation to be as successful as possible, it should be led by those whose language is being abandoned (Crawford, 1996; Wurm, 1998; Fishman, 1966). The

internet provides a way for individuals to influence others on a much broader scale, notably through micro-level language revitalisation efforts, whether on or offline.

1.5.6 Summary of theoretical framework

This study draws on a multi-layered theoretical framework that brings together concepts from New Literacy Studies, Indigenous knowledge systems, language revitalisation and second language teaching and learning, including the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, in the broader context of transformative learning within a community of practice.

In considering the teaching of Quechua as a second language, this study acknowledges that traditional approaches to language teaching and assessment, such as those informed by the CEFR, require careful contextualisation. While valuable in offering benchmarks and in designing curricula and assessments, the CEFR was intended for European contexts and for teaching European languages. It does not account for the specific sociolinguistic realities of Indigenous languages such as Quechua. In Indigenous language contexts, particularly where intergenerational transmission has been disrupted and within traditionally oral societies, learners and speakers may not fit within CEFR's linear scale.

To address these limitations, the study draws on New Literacy Studies, which conceptualises literacy not as a universal skill but as a set of situated social practices. It challenges the dominance of alphabetic literacy and foregrounds the multiplicity and contextual nature of literacies across cultures. In the Andean context, non-written forms of literacy are central to Indigenous knowledge systems and epistemologies, and are embedded in the practices, beliefs, and everyday lives of Quechua communities. This framework acknowledges that in Quechua culture, literacy can include oral storytelling, agricultural knowledge, and other forms of embodied practice. These non-written literacies are central to community identity and understanding, reinforcing how language practices shape ways of knowing the world. Virtual Quechua classes, through operating in new digital spaces, continue to draw on these forms of literacy, bringing Indigenous epistemologies into contact with modern technologies. The study emphasises that

language is not merely a tool of communication but is deeply entwined with the culture, worldviews and social contexts of its speakers.

The framework distinguishes between 'minority languages' and 'minoritised languages' to emphasise that the marginalisation of Indigenous languages like Quechua is not simply a result of speaker numbers, but of historical and ongoing processes of political, social and educational exclusion. Quechua is also a 'heritage language' for some learners, who may have grown up with some exposure to the language but were schooled in dominant languages such as Spanish. Language ideologies play a key role in these dynamics: beliefs and attitudes about language and its speakers influence who speaks Quechua, whether it is seen as a source of pride or shame, and how learning and revitalisation efforts are received. Ideologies linking Quechua with backwardness, illiteracy or rurality continue to shape public perceptions and affect language use.

Language revitalisation offers a way to counter these ideologies. While macro-level efforts such as language policy and Intercultural Bilingual Education remain important, this study focuses on micro-level revitalisation through community-driven online learning. The rise of online Quechua classes during the COVID-19 pandemic exemplifies how digital platforms can serve as new domains for language use, identity formation and community building. These spaces allow speakers and learners to connect across different countries and generations, fostering a sense of shared purpose and cultural celebration. Yet, these spaces are not neutral, they are shaped by the ideologies and cultural values of both the dominant and minoritised groups, potentially reproducing existing inequalities. In online Quechua learning environments, the dynamic interplay between language and culture becomes particularly significant, as learners not only engage with a language but also encounter and engage with different cultural understandings. The fluidity of these environments, where learners bring diverse cultural backgrounds and identities into the virtual classroom, reflects the way language and culture are never static; they are continually negotiated and redefined through shared experiences and interactions.

Finally, the theoretical framework is grounded in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1981, 2000). These theories help to conceptualise how language learning is embedded in social interaction and collective meaning-making. In virtual Quechua classes, learners engage not only in acquiring a language but also in rethinking their identities, relationships, and understandings of knowledge. Learning occurs through participation, shared experiences, and mutual transformation; a process that is especially significant in minoritised language contexts, where reclaiming language can also serve as a form of cultural resistance, affirmation, and healing.

1.6 Methodology

This research aims to explore the online Quechua language learning environment, considering which teachers and learners are involved, and their motivations and experiences. It also studies specific classes to explore what knowledge is being transmitted virtually in these spaces, the role of Quechua language in this transmission, and how this impacts language learners. I interviewed twelve learners, of whom five attended the Ecuadorian class, and seven attended the Peruvian class, as well as two teachers in Ecuador and three teachers in Peru. This section sets out the methodology used and project motivations, describing the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the research design itself, and how this led to a change in focus and methodological approach.

1.6.1 Motivations for this project and positionality

This thesis was started in 2018, however the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic have been significant since 2020, disrupting research methods (Rahman et al., 2021) and preventing face-to-face data collection (Lobe et al., 2020). This is evident in this study both in altering the research topic, and changing the methodology to entirely virtual data collection. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that this thesis was written at a pivotal point in time for the development of online learning, particularly in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian contexts where it had not previously been used as extensively. However, it must be recognised that the data and views presented in this thesis represent a snapshot of this specific point in time. The motivation for my original thesis plan was to see how Quechua language, cultural practices and literacies were being passed on

generationally in two communities; this same motivation underpins this thesis, but I am working with the research context that the COVID-19 circumstances allowed.

I started my PhD in 2018 and originally planned to investigate the intergenerational transmission of written and non-written literacy practices between Indigenous women and their children in the Peruvian Andes. There was a particular focus on literacy practices in Andean Peru, both traditional alphabetic literacies and non-alphabetic literacy practices, such as textiles, storytelling, music prevalent in the Andes. I planned to identify, research, and compare the impact of developmental approaches to alphabetic literacy in the Andean communities they serve, and examine how these approaches interact with traditional non-written practices; whether and how the diversity of media and knowledges produces tension, and how this tension might impact on the children's schooling, maintenance of traditional non-written literacy practices and the production of knowledge. This was due to be based on ten months of ethnographic fieldwork in Peru from March 2020. However, I was unable to begin my in-person fieldwork in two communities of Ayacucho, Peru in March 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In both Peru and the UK, national and international travel restrictions were imposed, and stay at home mandates prevented travel even at a local level. This meant that I had no way of contacting my intended participants, as families in rural Peruvian communities often do not have easy access to technology such as internet, and many communities closed their doors to outsiders within Peru. As I worked out how to navigate reshaping my topic virtually from a distance, I drew upon my previous experiences in Peru.

My first extended period of time in Peru was in 2012 as part of my undergraduate degree in Modern Languages, when I was based in Cusco for three months to learn Spanish as part of my year abroad. I attended classes at a language school, but also supported a lady running a textiles collective. As part of this I travelled to many Quechua and Aymara communities and spent lots of time with weavers in rural areas. I also volunteered at a school in the city centre and was particularly involved with helping engage parents with their children's education. The parents had no or little formal schooling themselves and were often Quechua-speakers. I speak Spanish

well having remained in communication with Spanish-speaking friends and maintained my contact to Peru since then. In 2018 I spent a further three months in Cusco, this time to learn Quechua. I had sat in on Rosaleen Howard's undergraduate Quechua module at Newcastle University prior to this so had a basic understanding of the language in advance of starting my PhD, and this trip enabled me to practice in the country. As well as learning Quechua, I was involved with another textiles collective which offered classes on how to spin, weave and braid. I took these classes and used the time to practice speaking Quechua with the weavers and to ask about their lives, the particular patterns in the textiles, and to build relationships with them. These experiences formed the basis of my original PhD topic; however, they have also been fundamental in the subsequent development of my thesis into its current form.

I spent four months learning Quechua in Peru from September 2019 to February 2020. This was split between one month in Lima and three months of language learning in Ayacucho, where I attended Quechua classes in various locations. In Lima, I attended group and individual classes with an actor, and one-off private classes with other teachers. In Ayacucho, I participated in group classes at various language institutes and had individual classes with two different teachers. One of these also took me to his Quechua classes for university students. I was therefore able to experience a wide range of classes and teaching styles, as well as interact with many students of Quechua and talk to them about their experiences.

I found it very challenging to meet people for my first few weeks in Ayacucho and this took persistence; I returned to the same places week in, week out, and it took many fruitless attempts at having conversations with the same people, for them to realise that I was staying and not just visiting. It is important to note the history of Ayacucho underpinning these reactions and wariness of outsiders, as the *Sendero Luminoso* [Shining Path], a terrorist group with Maoist ideologies were active in Ayacucho in the 80s, developing a particular stronghold in this region through both education and exploiting the Indigenous population; they were perceived to be foreign in their violent actions towards Indigenous groups (Isbell, 1994, p.75). However, over time and with dedication, these relationships opened the doors for many conversations about

Quechua language learning and experiences: with friends, with classmates also learning Quechua, as well as conversations in Quechua with people I met. I would speak to my friends about their relationship with Quechua and whether anyone in their family spoke it. A recurring answer was that they had spent lots of time with their grandparents in the countryside as children, and that the small amount of Quechua they knew, they had learnt from their grandma. Some Quechua speakers told me of their own or their family's migration to the city of Ayacucho from rural communities during the Shining Path time, and the stigma they faced, and difficulties in learning Spanish and getting by, and how their relationship with the language changed during this time: one of my friends was monolingual in Quechua until the age of 10 when her parents were killed and she was forced to leave her village and learn Spanish to get by in the city. She had forgotten most of the riddles and stories her grandparents told her, through not regularly speaking Quechua, losing this immediate contact, and moving away. People's reactions to me learning Quechua varied; I was commonly greeted with a shocked reaction that I would want to try and learn the language as a *'gringita'*, whilst Quechua language learners I met in the classes often wanted me to teach them grammar.

During my time in Ayacucho, I was also able to travel to communities with SER (*'Servicios Educativos Rurales'*, Rural education services), my intended collaborative partner for my PhD. Unfortunately, the pandemic meant that I was not able to continue the collaborative relationship for the current project as SER's interest was in the work I planned to undertake with Indigenous women rather than online Quechua learning, but I hope to rekindle this relationship in the future. They asked me to be based in Ayacucho due to their specific relationships with communities in that region, and their interest in researching women's experiences in them. During these trips, I observed workshops on managing community resources, looking after water, and gender equality, amongst others. I was introduced to and able to interact with community members, which would otherwise have proved challenging as an outsider. When the communities found out that I spoke Quechua, I often received one of two reactions; I was told to stay and marry their sons and look after their children or kept at a very wary arm's length. They wanted to hear me speak, and began to speak with me in Quechua. My efforts were met with bursts of laughter,

which made me wonder if I was making mistakes. When I asked, they assured me it was *'allinpuni'*, that I spoke very well. The laughter was not because of errors, but because it was unexpected and amusing to see a white woman speaking Quechua. This reaction reflects how deeply ingrained racialised attitudes around language still are; the idea that someone from a privileged background would willingly learn and use an Indigenous language was surprising, and therefore humorous.

Returning to the UK in February 2020 after my 'difficult language training', I envisioned adapting my topic to focus more on the language use and transmission in communities, having not seen a lot of alternative literacy practices in the particular communities I had visited, although this may have changed if I had spent more time there. However, in the context of COVID-19, I redesigned my topic substantially, drawing on my own experiences and the contacts and information that were available to me from the U.K. I was aware that my 'difficult language training' period was not intended to be my fieldwork, only preparation for it, and I was not expecting it to be used in my study. However, the experiences, conversations and contacts made during this time was fundamental to redesigning my project. I made a list of all the people that I knew in Peru and would be able to contact, and began to think about the sorts of questions they could help me answer. I identified three groups of people, those brought up speaking both Quechua and Spanish, those with limited knowledge of Quechua, and those who had learnt or were learning Quechua. I began to adjust my project to focus more on my proposed participants' relationship with language, however I did not end up needing to involve many of these people in my project after all. During this process, I observed an increasing online presence of Quechua language classes, with some of the classes I had attended in-person reconvening online, and new classes beginning to be advertised. I attended Quechua language classes virtually in Peru for a few months as I was reimagining my project, initially to further develop my language skills and to keep in touch with the field for my intended return to Peru. Since then I have taught and learnt Quechua both on and offline. But as time progressed it became clear that virtual language classes was the new field for my research, providing a new pool of participants, in a new virtual environment.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

1.6.2 Research methods and ethical considerations

The shift in project towards online Quechua language learning during the pandemic, required new fieldwork, adjusting this from face-to-face in Peru, to online from the UK, and changing who was participating in the research and how, as summarised below:

Pre-COVID-19 methodology in-person in Ayacucho	**Redesigned methodology online during COVID-19**
Participant observation of community life and NGO practice, to specifically include educational classes, Indigenous cultural practices and written and non-written literacy practices.	Online semi-structured interviews with Quechua learners to investigate their motivations and experiences of language learning.
1 survey among women aged 18 to 50 to see who uses writing, for what purpose and in what language.	Online semi-structured interviews with Quechua teachers.
Semi-structured interviews, to be carried out with participants at different levels of project implementation and reception, women's organisations and within community settings.	Participant observation in online Quechua classes attended over Skype and Zoom.
1 focus group per community to discuss community members´ priorities for themselves and their children, and their attitudes towards initiatives in place.	Participant observation in online textiles course, ancestral knowledge transmission.
2 family case studies per community to provide further insight into the intergenerational transmission of literacy practices.	Complementary sources (online videos and Quechua teaching materials from online classes).
Complementary (e.g. documentary) sources to contextualise both communities and projects.	

Table 1:1 Changed research methods due to the pandemic and change in topic

I applied for and had been granted ethical approval for my original project before travelling to Peru for my difficult language training, however as my methodology had also changed to online, I updated my ethics application to reflect the new virtual methods required to complete my project, and adhered to this. Whilst reimagining my project I realised that I had copious notes from my in-person Quechua language classes. I knew that I could not use this data directly in my thesis as I had not been able to ask permission of those involved and had no contact to them,

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

however I have included some of my personal reflections from my time learning Quechua in Peru, with details of some of the classes, as these were key to the redevelopment of my project. Morrow and Kettle (2024) highlight a shift towards autoethnography in their own research during the COVID-19 pandemic, using reflections as a way of presenting and understanding the self and navigating this new environment, with some of these classes re-emerging online:

Teacher	In-person classes attended	Individual or group classes?	Time period attending	Continued in some form online?
Santiago In Lima	12 (2+ hours each)	5 Individual classes and 7 group classes	11.09.19 to 11.10.19	Yes (group classes moved online)
Felipe In Ayacucho	28 (2-3 hours each)	Individual classes	12.10.19 to 05.01.20	Yes (organised privately)
Language school 1 in Ayacucho	8 (2 hours each)	Group classes	12.10.19 to 28.12.19	No contact with language school or teacher
	These classes focused entirely on grammar and vocabulary in a very structured fashion			
Private tutor in Ayacucho	24 (2-3 hours each)	23 Individual classes and 1 Group class, as a guest	27.10.19 to 04.01.20	No contact with teacher
	These classes focussed primarily on unpacking complicated grammar points and building on these to create our own examples. He also took me to one group class he taught which followed a similar grammatical format.			
Language school 2 in Ayacucho	10 (3 hours each)	Group classes	24.11.19 to 05.01.20	No contact with language school or teacher
	These classes had a formal grammatical structure, having designed a curriculum for Quechua according to the Common European Framework for language learning.			

Table 1:2 Main Quechua classes attended in-person in Peru during 'Difficult Language Training'

Building on these offline experiences, and following some of these classes into the digital sphere, I attended various online Quechua classes during the COVID-19 pandemic and conducted participant observations and made fieldnotes. These experiences formed the basis of a digital ethnography (Castells, 2011; Abidin & de Seta, 2020) of these virtual learning spaces. This can also be referred to as cyber-ethnography (Hallett & Barber, 2014; Keeley-Browne, 2011), virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000), or netnography (Kozinets, 2015). I use this to refer to ethnographic

fieldwork, in this case participant observation of language classes, that takes place in the digital sphere, with a focus on real-time interactions within these spaces;

> netnography is conducted on the Internet; a qualitative, interpretive research methodology that adapts the traditional, in-person ethnographic research techniques of anthropology to the study of online cultures and communities formed through computer-mediated communications (Kozinets, 2006, p.135).

I participated in various online Quechua, and Kichwa classes, and made all students and teachers aware of my presence in the classes as a researcher, as well as a language learner. I made notes during the classes and expanded these afterwards to document specific topics learnt, how they were being taught, the interplay between linguistic and cultural elements within this. I also decided to participate in textiles classes in addition to learning Quechua and Kichwa. This interest stems from my original topic investigating non-written literacy practices but is also key in the development of online teaching and learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. To recruit my project participants, I first consulted with the class teachers in Peru and Ecuador and discussed whether they would be happy to participate in my project and that that would involve observing, making notes on and recording their classes, and if they would be happy if I approached their students to also participate. They were all excited by the prospect and then we discussed in the next class with the students to see if they were happy for us to record the classes and participate in this research in this way. Two of the teachers recorded the classes themselves and made the recordings available to all the students, who were aware and consented for these to be used as part of my research. Other teachers and students were happy for me to record the classes myself and use them in my research.

Although I attended other Quechua classes before and during the COVID-19 pandemic both online and in-person (list of offline classes in Appendix B), I have chosen to include the following online courses in this study (list of specific online classes in Appendix C), for the reasons I explain below:

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Teacher	Platform	Approx. class length	Classes per week	Course length	Classes attended online	Time period attending	Classes attended in-person	Time period attending in-person
Santiago (Quechua – Peru)	Meet/ Zoom (I hosted)	At least 90 mins	1	No fixed course length, privately organised	53	18.07.20 to 15.01.22	12 (2+ hours each)	11.09.19 to 11.10.19 (in Lima)
Felipe (Quechua – Peru) Individual classes	Zoom (I hosted)	2 hours	1		12	07.10.20 to 19.06.21	28 (2-3 hours each)	12.10.19 to 05.01.20 (in Ayacucho)
Yachak (Kichwa - Ecuador)	Skype	2 hours	2	2 months (x7 levels)	99	15.06.20 to 03.01.22	I also attended various other courses with different teachers and institutions online and in-person that are beyond the scope of this study.	
Emerita/ Valerio (Textiles – Peru)	Zoom	At least 1 hour	2	10 classes (x3 levels)	30	17.09.20 to 17.12.20		
Valerio (Quechua – Peru)	Zoom	At least 1 hour	2	10 classes (x1 level)	10	17.11.21 to 17.12.21		

Table 1:3: Classes attended online and in-person in Peru and Ecuador

These include the two teachers I attended classes with in-person and was able to reconnect with online during the pandemic. I also attended several other synchronous virtual Quechua classes, including some based in the UK, which are not included in this study. These classes were more general in nature, involved limited personal interaction, and I was unable to confirm participation with individual teachers or students, making their inclusion ethically inappropriate. Many of these were large group sessions with minimal engagement between participants and teachers. Similarly, I participated in some one-off virtual classes broadcast from Peru, but irregular attendance, largely due to time zone differences, meant they could not be meaningfully incorporated into this research. Asynchronous courses were also excluded, as they fall outside the scope of this thesis, which focuses specifically on synchronous Quechua language teaching and learning. Among these was Sinchi's class, which, although asynchronous, is of contextual relevance. While the course itself is not included, insights from my interview with Sinchi are drawn upon to help situate the technological transitions in Ecuador. The courses listed in the

table represented the limit of what I could realistically engage with, as I often had to complete homework and prepare between classes, many of which ran concurrently across afternoons and evenings in the UK. I also attended a comparable number of classes while in Peru and Ecuador, though with a broader range of teachers in Peru. Notably, I had no prior contact with or experience studying Kichwa in Ecuador before beginning this study.

Nevertheless, these classes provided a valuable foundation for participant recruitment. To invite individuals for interview, I sent a video message out to each of the class WhatsApp groups to ask for participants. This strategy proved to be particularly effective in recruiting participants in Ecuador. The teacher forwarded my message to a WhatsApp group for all students of the academy, and other students not in my class responded to say that they wanted to chat with me about learning Kichwa. This was less successful in Peru, with only one student responding to this video. This may be due to the way the WhatsApp groups are generally used by the classes: the Peruvian group is used to freely share information and receives copious messages on a daily basis, so it is easy for individual messages to be covered by many other messages. The Ecuadorian classes have various WhatsApp groups that are used mainly for conversations about the classes, but there are also a few for the whole academy that only admins can send messages to. The different participant profiles may feed into this too with generational and technological differences, as well as different political situations between the countries, and willingness to express and talk about things. In the end, I messaged all of the Peruvian participants privately attaching an information image to see whether they would be interested in participating. We had also previously discussed the potential for virtual interviews in the classes and many had seemed eager to participate, but I did not receive messages confirming this until I approached them all individually. I was unsure about contacting them directly at first, particularly those I had not messaged before, but, having made sure to mention it various times in the classes to ask for participation, this proved to be the best strategy to gauge whether or not individuals would like to participate; the fact that they were already attending online classes meant virtual interviews in this context did not pose a technological barrier to their participation (Hay-Gibson, 2009).

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

I decided on WhatsApp as the best method of recruitment as most of our communication is done this way. Therefore, I knew I needed to provide participants with all the project information and a way of consenting, without requiring formal written consent; various participants connect to the classes from their phone and it would not be easy for them to sign and return a consent form. Others do have access to email or a pdf editor to sign and return a document but would need technological assistance to be able to complete this effectively. I decided that the easiest, most efficient and accessible way for all was to send a video, including full details of involvement in the study. Then when the participant got in touch with me individually for further questions or to ask to participate, I provided an information image (in Appendix D) which again detailed the project and what involvement would entail. The participants responded in writing over WhatsApp to show their agreement to participate, and I continuously checked with participants that they had understood the nature of their involvement in my project and provided opportunities for them to ask questions verbally or over messages. I also provided participants with the full information and opportunities to ask questions before each interview, and then asked participants verbally if they consented to participate in my study, and if they were happy for me to record our conversation too. My interview conversations with most participants, with a few exceptions in the case of two Ecuadorian learners, came out of extended relationships with them during class interactions.

The participants involved in this study will be introduced in subsequent chapters in answer to the research question 'who is teaching and learning Quechua online?', however can briefly be summarised as follows:

Participant group	Number
Kichwa teacher in Ecuadorian class	2
Kichwa learner in Ecuadorian class	5
Quechua teacher in Peruvian class	2
Quechua learner in Peruvian class	7
Textiles teacher in Peru	1
Total participants	17

Table 1:4 Participants in this study

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Participants (full list in Appendix A) have been given pseudonyms, which I have chosen to reflect the language of their names, for example Killa, Yachak, Sara, and Sinchi have Kichwa names, so their pseudonyms reflect this. However, Valerio and Emerita asked to be named, and did not want to be given pseudonyms. Having stated in the project information image that participants would be anonymised *if they wished*, I have honoured their request. They are themselves researchers and authors with books in the public domain and wished to have their information and resources credited to them with their details. They are not linked to any other participants in this study, so it would not implicate the anonymity of anyone else (Naidu, 2018).

Prior to the circumstantial transition to primarily online modes of communication during the pandemic, researchers had begun to query the 'gold standard' of in-person interviews, and recognise that online interviews had the potential to be more than a second-place substitute to face-to-face interviewing (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, p.604). During the pandemic, synchronous virtual interviews became an important part of remote data collection (Lobe et al., 2020; Roberts et al., 2021; Teti et al., 2020), with COVID-19 speeding up the online development and practice of qualitative interviewing as a beneficial tool (Keen et al., 2022). I conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with teachers and students, having designed two similar questionnaires, one for students to ask about Quechua language learning experiences and another for teachers to discuss Quechua teaching experiences alongside their previous experiences of the language. I piloted both questionnaires with a Quechua teacher who had learnt Quechua themselves. My semi-structured interviews took place over 5 months from March 2021 to July 2021. As I conducted my interviews, I added to the core list of questions I was asking as new topics were uncovered and participants brought up new issues. I discovered that the best way to conduct my interviews virtually was to let my participants speak freely without interruption, of course providing reassurance using the camera; smiling, thumbs up, or nodding, for example, unless they asked me a question that required a direct response. Otherwise, it was challenging to re-listen as the audio crossed over, to the extent that a simple response on my part could obscure what my participant was saying; this was a particular issue if a participant's internet connection was not stable. Therefore, many of my interviews contain long responses from participants. During the

initial consent briefing, I mentioned that I expected the conversation to last for about an hour with students, or an hour and a half for teachers and that after that time if I had further questions, I would check with them to see if they were able to continue or if they would like to stop our conversation at that point. Five of the interviews ended up being two hours long, as participants were particularly enjoying these, considering the experience to be "helpful" in processing their thoughts (Keen et al., 2021).

Some of the participants were not able to use video, as they did not have a strong enough internet connection or had technical difficulties. One of the Peruvian students did not have access to a camera, and another was not able to access audio. Audio issues were more problematic; they would have meant cancelling the interview as we would not have been able to talk. To mitigate this, I messaged the participant on WhatsApp and tried a few Zoom links; when the specific Zoom link I had set up for our interview did not work, we tried the Zoom link we normally use for our classes. However, my participant remained unable to connect to audio, and her son was not available to help her. I was able to message her on WhatsApp throughout this process and, after trying the first two links, sent a Skype link which did not need a registered Skype account to access, and we were able to proceed with the interview. She did not work out how to turn her camera on, but we could communicate. Conducting interviews virtually without the camera was challenging as I was not able to read my participants' body language or see whether they were thinking about the rest of their answer, or ready to move on to the next question (Wakelin et al., 2024). I ended up leaving more space in our discussion to avoid cutting off their responses. Another participant with no camera access had already explained to me that she preferred to write answers and was a little nervous about a verbal interview but that she had decided to participate regardless as she felt it was an important topic to discuss; she paused a lot after I asked a question and I made sure to wait quietly whilst she thought about her answer, until she spoke or asked for clarification after I had asked something. She also asked to see and edit the transcription of the interview, so I made sure to provide the transcription to her soon after our conversation. Other participants had poor internet connections, so the audio was breaking up, which made the interviews harder to transcribe.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Having mainly interviewed Quechua teachers and learners individually, there were two exceptions to this; firstly, I treated the textiles teacher as a special case. She was not learning Quechua, although she would like to, and therefore does not teach Quechua. However, she is an expert on Andean textiles and uses her knowledge of astronomical events to attempt to decipher the meaning in pre-Colombian designs, whilst also teaching others how to read and interpret this knowledge. I believe her participation to be fundamentally important to my study as she articulates the relationship between Quechua language and culture from a position of understanding Quechua literacy practices. I therefore had to think carefully about the questions I prepared for her, whilst also preparing for the possibility that her husband (a Quechua teacher) could also be present for the interview. In the end the two of us had a conversation about the role of Quechua in her teaching and her perspective of Andean cultural development. This was similarly structured to the interviews I had prepared for Quechua teachers, with questions about Quechua being replaced with those regarding cultural knowledge and importance and its place within Quechua language learning. Secondly, the interview with the Peruvian group Quechua class teacher, Santiago, became an informal focus group as two learners from his class also joined this space; I was interviewing him initially and then explained to the other two participants what was happening and asked if they would also like to be involved, and then had to quickly pick out questions that could work for them all. It proved to be a generative space for communal discussion. The participants present in this, in addition to myself in the UK, were based in Brazil and Peru; conducting interviews online has enabled greater geographic participation with the inclusion of participants in various global locations, in this case enabling group participation (Eiguren et al., 2020; Keen et al., 2022).

After my online fieldwork I had recorded over 360 hours of classes, the majority of which I attended and participated in and wrote fieldnotes on after the class itself. I made notes in Scrivener during the classes which allowed me to collate valuable data from the chat and specific examples from the classes of what was being taught and learnt. After each class, I wrote reflections on the class, including who was present, how it was being taught, and identified key themes. I also had about 20 hours of interview data. I listened to each interview individually and

transcribed it 'verbatim' (Poland, 2002), in full, to analyse later. When participants spoke in Quechua or Kichwa, I transcribed this using the spelling conventions particular to each of their regions, as this can be a contentious issue between Quechua-speaking regions (Hornberger & King, 1998). Sometimes I was unable to decipher everything that was said and left this bracketed. I transcribed all the data myself to stay close to this and to as accurately as possible distinguish between Quechua and Spanish used in these interviews; I did not use any transcription software as I found this to need heavy editing in Spanish, and it did not recognise Quechua. I used thematic analysis to analyse the transcriptions. Through the transcription process, I began to identify themes that could be used to organise the data (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps for carrying out thematic analysis include getting to know the data; coding the data and creating themes from this; reviewing the themes and defining these; and then writing up the analysis. This can be a deductive or 'top-down' approach, where themes are derived from pre-existing theoretical concepts (Boyatzis, 1998; Hayes, 1997), or an inductive, or 'bottom-up' approach in which the data determines the themes (Frith & Gleeson, 2004). I used an inductive approach, transcribing the interviews into Word documents and notating any initial themes in the margins as I did so. I then printed out each interview and read through it again, highlighting key sections and making notes according to my initial themes. I then put these themes into NVivo and coded the data using the software to group together key ideas. I struggled with the rigidity of coding data in this way, and an inability to link themes and ideas as freely as on paper; however, once I had finished coding, I found that it was helpful to have the data collated and organised in a way that I could easily access all the interview comments on a specific theme or according to a specific group of participants. In the next chapter I discuss the teachers involved in this study and their own journeys to learning Quechua.

Chapter 2 *: Yachachikkunamanta* - Becoming Quechua teachers

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the personal and professional journeys of Quechua teachers, highlighting their language learning experiences, motivations to teach Quechua and the cultural missions in their classes. It is organised into two sections. The first section, 'language and culture in education in Peru and Ecuador', traces the evolving role of Indigenous language and culture in educational policy and practice across both countries. This section provides the broader context necessary to understand the significance of the teachers' relationships with Quechua. The second section, 'Teacher profiles and experiences with language and culture', introduces each teacher individually. It offers insight into their early experiences with Quechua, how they began to engage with and teach the language, and how these shape their pedagogical goals. This chapter shows how the teachers' changing relationship with Quechua within the national context has transformed them as individuals and led them to create virtual spaces where participants can have similar transformative experiences.

2.2 Language and culture in education in Peru and Ecuador

The start of this chapter highlights the tension between using Quechua as a technical resource to diminish illiteracy versus an increasing understanding of the relationship and interaction between language and culture; this shift in approach is key to understanding how it became possible for Quechua language classes to be broadcast online. It shows the transition from an instrumentalist view of language, where language is used merely as a tool for acquiring Spanish and increasing literacy. This reduces Quechua to a transitional mechanism devoid of cultural value and was typical in early educational policies. In Peru and Ecuador, educational policies historically treated Quechua and Kichwa as transitional tools to learn Spanish, rather than as languages that embody distinct worldviews. However, language is increasingly recognised as a carrier of cultural knowledge, identity and worldview. The dominance of Spanish in Peruvian and Ecuadorian education exemplifies how language policy can enforce a dominant worldview and marginalise Indigenous epistemologies. The evolution from treating Quechua as an educational

tool to recognising it as an embodiment of a distinct worldview reflects changing understandings of linguistic relativism in practice. Early policies exemplified what Whorf (1941) identified as linguistic dominance, where one language's cognitive framework (Spanish) was imposed while marginalising Indigenous ways of thinking embedded in Quechua and Kichwa.

2.2.1 Peru: Historical marginalisation and instrumentalist approaches (1820s-1960s)

Spanish became the official language of Peru in 1823, prioritising Spanish over Quechua (Valdiviezo, 2013), and marking a move away from Quechua use in official spheres (Godenzzi, 1996). The Peruvian public education system began to be developed in Lima in the 1860s, within this context of Spanish dominance (Espinoza, 2013, p.3). In this way, education policy in Peru continued to promote linguistic and cultural assimilation throughout the early twentieth century, and to exclude Indigenous languages; the sole purpose of Indigenous languages in education was instrumental, as a technical resource to increase literacy (Trapnell & Zavala, 2013, pp.15–16). Indigenous languages and cultures were suppressed and relegated to use in rural areas and in the family, with speakers marginalised and discriminated against. The dominance of one language enforced the cognitive and cultural worldview embedded within it, while rendering others invisible or inferior.

During the 1950s and 1960s, schooling in Peru expanded due to rural-to-urban migration and the construction of new schools. Although education enrolment increased primarily in urban areas to approximately 90%, rural education also improved, with 63% of children in rural areas attending primary school. To lower illiteracy rates, UNESCO (1953) recommended that literacy had to be taught in the child's first language in their first few years of schooling, arguing that this would enhance their understanding of, and ease transition to, a second language later in their schooling. Using Quechua as a "bridge" to Spanish literacy reveals the limitations of instrumentalist approaches to language in education: treating Quechua as a tool overlooks the Indigenous worldview and cultural richness it offers. This approach overlooked what linguistic relativism suggests: that Quechua's grammatical structures and conceptual categories, such as

evidentiality markers and spatial-temporal orientations, shape speakers' cognitive processes in ways that Spanish cannot replicate (Nuckolls, 2010; Floyd, 2011).

2.2.2 Peru: Emerging recognition and Intercultural Bilingual Education (1970s-1990s)

The 1975 declaration of Quechua as an official language marked a turning point in linguistic recognition, granting it the same status as Spanish (Godenzzi, 1992; Klarén, 2000 and recognising the need to include and preserve the language at national level, as an integral part of Peruvian culture (El Comercio, 1975; Compendio de Decretos Leyes y Resoluciones de Educación, 1975). IBE programmes introduced in the 1970s still primarily served transitional purposes, moving children from Quechua to Spanish literacy rather than maintaining and developing both languages as carriers of distinct knowledge systems (Howard, 2007). By reducing Quechua to a mere tool for literacy, early IBE programmes overlooked the idea that this language can express and shape Indigenous thought in ways Spanish does not. The dominance of Spanish exemplifies how language policy enforces a dominant worldview and can marginalise Indigenous epistemologies, central to Whorf's (1941) idea that language restricts or enables particular forms of thought.

Within these offline educational settings, the official aims of IBE have been to revitalise Indigenous languages and to build a curriculum based on Indigenous knowledge, recognising the value of Indigenous knowledge and language in certain learning environments. However, in the context of Spanish linguistic and cultural dominance, learning Quechua has often been seen as a hindrance; formal education has focused on promoting Spanish language skills, with Indigenous languages taught only in rural areas. Indigenous internalisation of prevalent negative discourses towards Indigenous language and culture has led some Indigenous people themselves to disparage their own language, culture and identities. This is seen through Indigenous people not admitting to speaking Quechua, for example (Zavala, 2014). The recognition of Quechua as an official language opened the door to the potential for addressing these historical injustices and promoting tokenistic social equity. Although negative ideologies towards Quechua still predominated, recognising Quechua at an official level reflected the start of a potential broader

societal shift towards acknowledging and embracing the country's diverse cultural and linguistic heritage, serving as a reminder that language is not just a tool for communication but an important aspect of cultural identity and heritage. This began to recognise diversity, rather than aiming for assimilation, with an awareness that the nation was not only Spanish speakers, but also Indigenous people, with diverse languages, cultures and identities.

2.2.3 Peru: Contemporary challenges and digital opportunities (2000s-Present)

Educational policies have continued to oscillate between promoting Quechua and emphasising Spanish, with many Indigenous parents preferring Spanish-language education for their children due to its perceived economic advantages. The 2011 *Ley de Lenguas Indígenas* or 'Indigenous Languages Act' stated that Peru's 47 Indigenous languages are official 'in the areas where they predominate', again highlighting the awareness and recognition of Indigenous languages and cultures, but only in specific locations. As Quechua is not seen to offer the same opportunities to progress, Spanish use has continually characterised formal and educational settings (Krainer, 1996). Additionally, implementing IBE programmes only in rural areas restricts intercultural transmission of knowledge, language and culture as these same courses are not widely provided in the cities. This inhibits their intercultural potential and restricts Indigenous culture to specific geographical areas, as teaching Indigenous languages and culture in this way is not commonplace throughout Peru. It risks relegating culture to visible elements of folklore in Indigenous areas (Gonzalez, 2001). Although the focus of IBE programmes is to celebrate cultural and linguistic diversity, this is done within a national context that has not always approached Quechua in this way. However, learning Quechua online has the potential to cut through this geographical division.

Despite ongoing challenges, learning Quechua has increasingly become a wider interest, that is not restricted geographically. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, universities in Latin America, Europe, and the United States offered Quechua courses, targeting non-Indigenous learners. This broader interest has reframed Quechua as a national heritage language, encouraging people to engage with it beyond traditional rural settings. The pandemic-driven shift to online education

accelerated this trend, enabling more individuals to explore and reclaim the language, regardless of their geographic location or prior cultural identification with Quechua. This recognition and valuing of Quechua as part of the nation by non-Indigenous people, and a desire to learn can lead non-Indigenous people to realise that Quechua is a part of their own heritage that they would like to explore, rather than deny. The circumstantial transition to online learning during the COVID-19 pandemic provided many people with the option to explore this Indigenous language further whether or not they were based in the Andes, or already identified with Quechua language, culture and heritage, leading to a diverse pool of participants who helped to shape and re-shape each other's language ideologies. This shift in recognition of Quechua language, culture and identity from one of marginalisation, to increasing awareness and Indigenous movements, and wider recognition of Indigenous language and culture is key to understanding the context behind teachers' and learners' journeys with the language.

2.2.4 Ecuador: Historical resistance and underground education (1940s-1980s)

The role of Kichwa in Ecuadorian education has undergone significant transformations, shaped by Indigenous activism and state policies. Similar to Peru, Kichwa was initially used as a literacy tool for Spanish acquisition before evolving into a central component of IBE programmes. However, in contrast to Peru, Ecuadorian Indigenous movements have been instrumental fighting for and establishing bilingual education for Indigenous groups in Ecuador and in fighting to make Kichwa language, culture and identity visible on a national scale. Indigenous movements have advocated for the visibility of Kichwa language and culture on a national scale, leading to key policy shifts over time. In the context of Indigenous uprising in the early twentieth century in Ecuador, Dolores Cacuango formed hidden schools to teach children Kichwa alongside Spanish in Ecuador during the 1940s. Due to the cultural and linguistic suppression, Indigenous schools went against assimilationist policies by acknowledging and teaching Indigenous values, languages and cultures, and resisting the imposition of Spanish; these survived until they were shut down in 1964. The very existence of these underground schools exemplifies resistance to a monolingual worldview. As in Peru, UNESCO's 1953 recommendations influenced language policies in Ecuador, framing Indigenous languages as a means to reduce illiteracy rather than as integral

cultural assets. During the 1950s and 1960s, educational access expanded across Ecuador, with increased school construction and migration to urban areas. However, twenty years after the closure of these schools, IBE began to be piloted in rural Ecuadorian primary schools as a result of a strengthened Indigenous movement.

2.2.5 Ecuador: Indigenous movement strength and educational control (1980s-2000s)

By the 1980s, Ecuador had a unique Indigenous movement in the Andes, exemplified by the creation of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in 1986. This organization fought for Indigenous recognition, culminating in Ecuador's 2008 constitution, which declared the country a plurinational and intercultural state. Unlike Peru, where Indigenous movements remained fragmented, Ecuadorian Indigenous groups successfully unified to advocate for their linguistic and cultural rights. One of CONAIE's initial priorities was gaining recognition for Indigenous groups within the nation, and this intensified in the 1990s as Indigenous groups in Ecuador contended for plurinational recognition (Cruz Rodríguez, 2012). These Indigenous uprisings resulted in constitutional change and the declaration of Ecuador as a 'multinational' and 'intercultural' state, but this was still done in a manner managed by the state (Constitución Política de la República del Ecuador, 2008).

In Ecuador, Indigenous groups have consistently fought against the idea of one national identity, asserting the need for Indigenous people to explore and reclaim their Indigenous identities within the national context. As part of this, they have fought for Indigenous education, wanting to control their own schools as a way to incorporate Indigenous traditions and language into their children's education and to value these. They pushed to transform the understanding of bilingual education not just as a resource for literacy, but as an expression of the acceptance and respect and consideration of these languages and cultures as part of these national societies. Although these schools did provide education in Indigenous languages in Ecuador, many Indigenous IBE experts chose Hispanic schools over IBE for their children as IBE was not associated with a good quality education (Howard, 2007, 2023; Hernandez-Zavala et al., 2006).

One of CONAIE's major achievements was securing Indigenous control over part of the state education system at a national level, setting a precedent as the first case in Latin America for this (Manresa Axisa, 2018, p.45); In 1988 the *'Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe'* (National Direction of Intercultural Bilingual Education, DINEIB) was created. This allowed for the incorporation of Kichwa traditions and language in schools and shifted the understanding of bilingual education from a remedial tool for literacy to an expression of cultural identity and national diversity. Although 'intercultural' education highlights the importance of both language and culture as an intrinsic part of education; in spite of this, it is, in practice, intended solely for indigenous groups, rather than society at large (Walsh, 2009). This geographic limitation confines Indigenous identity to specific regions, preventing widespread intercultural exchange. Although Ecuador has recognised Indigenous languages in policy, their implementation in education remains inconsistent.

2.2.6 Ecuador: Contemporary developments and digital expansion (2000s-Present)

The Correa administration (2007-2017) attempted to reduce Indigenous control over IBE, replacing DINEIB with state-controlled alternatives and diminishing emphasis on bilingualism (Bretón, 2013; Walsh, 2013). As the strength of the Indigenous movement and IBE were seemingly linked, Correa's sought to lessen Indigenous involvement and control in IBE, with Indigenous groups no longer able to be instrumental in its implementation; this was later replaced with a new education law that removed the emphasis on bilingualism and the role of Indigenous languages within that in IBE. Although education has been at the heart of Indigenous movements in Ecuador, learning Kichwa in IBE settings is not always well received, with challenges in implementation due to lack of qualified teachers, and limited educational resources in Indigenous languages. Recognition for Indigenous groups and languages has been a concern for Ecuadorian Indigenous movements, however the education provided does not always celebrate the country's linguistic and cultural diversity. This period exemplifies ongoing political struggles over whether Indigenous epistemologies should have equal status with Western knowledge systems within national education.

Despite these setbacks, Kichwa has gained broader recognition beyond Indigenous communities (King, 2001). Pre-pandemic, international universities offered Kichwa courses, attracting learners interested in Indigenous worldviews and knowledge systems. COVID-19's digital transformation further democratised access, enabling global engagement with Kichwa language and culture through online platforms (Galla, 2016). As digital platforms continue to expand, they offer new possibilities for Kichwa revitalisation, supporting broader efforts to challenge linguistic marginalisation and promote Indigenous identity in Ecuador.

2.3 Peru and Ecuador: Implications for online learning

Both countries' trajectories demonstrate gradual recognition that Quechua and Kichwa are not merely communication tools but carriers of distinct epistemologies, different ways of organising experience and understanding reality. This evolution created conditions enabling online Indigenous language teaching that goes beyond vocabulary and grammar to transmit alternative cognitive and cultural frameworks. The digital shift during COVID-19 allowed transcendence of geographical restrictions that historically confined Indigenous languages to rural areas. Online platforms enable exploration of linguistic relativism in practice: learners can encounter Quechua or Kichwa conceptual frameworks regardless of their physical location or prior cultural identification. This represents a fundamental transformation from instrumentalist approaches toward recognising Indigenous languages as legitimate, valuable knowledge systems with global relevance.

2.4 Teacher profiles and experiences with language and culture

The teachers in this study emerged from these complex historical trajectories, each learning Quechua within the evolving socio-political landscape outlined above. Their individual experiences form part of this wider transformation, carrying personal histories of discrimination, Indigenous mobilisation, and changing relationships with their heritage language. Some grew up overtly with Quechua in their households or communities, while others encountered it later. Each teacher faced significant moments where they chose to either distance themselves from or

engage more deeply with Quechua and its speaker communities throughout their lives. Their interactions with the language shifted within family contexts and professional settings, sometimes by choice and sometimes out of necessity.

These pivotal moments of empowerment or transformation in their language use became catalysts for their journeys toward becoming Quechua teachers, driving their desire to share the knowledge and linguistic resources they had acquired and come to value. Their decisions to teach online reflect the broader historical shift from viewing Indigenous languages as obstacles to recognising them as resources for understanding alternative ways of being in the world. The four main teachers whose stories are presented in this chapter are Felipe, Santiago, Emerita and Yachak as these are the focal classes I attended regularly that will be investigated in following chapters.

2.4.1 Felipe's journey to teaching Quechua in Peru, Age 50+

Felipe grew up in a Quechua-speaking family, however the intergenerational transmission of the language was broken, and he ended up learning Quechua out of necessity later in his life. He is a teacher in Ayacucho, specialising in language, literature and communication. He teaches Quechua in a primary school but also teaches adult pupils in a private language school and tutors individually. He is passionate about sharing his knowledge of the Quechua language and culture with children and adults. Felipe's parents were both monolingual Quechua speakers until they migrated from the countryside to the city, where they had to learn Spanish due to assimilationist language policies:

> **Felipe**[3]**:** *Los profesores en sus tiempos enseñaban siempre en Español o en Castellano, entonces forzados a aprender pues, para aprender ya los conocimientos. Pero en su mente siempre han llevado la primera lengua, o sea la lengua originaria, la lengua 1 que han aprendido de sus padres, de sus abuelos. Pero ya es la ciudad, la ciudad. Entonces bilingües mis padres.*
>
> [Teachers in their time always taught in Spanish, so they *were forced* to learn [the language] in order to access the knowledge. But they have always carried the first

[3] [Felipe, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

> language in their minds, their Indigenous language, their L1, that they learnt from their parents and grandparents. But it's the town, the town. So, my parents are bilingual.]

Felipe's parents' experience with learning Spanish shows how Spanish and knowledge have been linked in educational domains particularly through assimilationist policies, with Quechua seen as a language for home use. In order to learn and access education, Felipe's parents had to first learn Spanish; speaking Quechua was a barrier to knowledge provided through formal schooling. Intergenerational transmission of Quechua language and culture was also ignored by the formal education system, with educational institutions often seen as the primary place to acquire Spanish knowledge and language. Increasingly, this has broadened to include other ways of knowing and learning. However, Howard-Malverde's (1998) examination of a literacy programme in Bolivia shows how Indigenous knowledge and cultural practices can be devalued, even by Indigenous people themselves, in favour of acquiring knowledge associated with Spanish and formal articulations of literacy. Although this programme studied involved intercultural elements and tried to include Indigenous knowledge and ways of life, the Indigenous people participating in the programme chose to value the knowledge present in the written course materials over the oral testimony of an older woman present, showing how literacy practices can change the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and language (Howard-Malverde, 1998). Felipe's parents became bilingual out of necessity, as speaking Spanish was required for them to participate in life in the town. However, once they were able to speak Spanish, they largely stopped speaking in Quechua, distancing themselves from the language.

Felipe also grew up bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. His parents went out to work; his father worked away, returning fortnightly or monthly, whilst his mother was out long days selling produce in the markets. Felipe and his siblings were looked after by their grandmother who was monolingual in Quechua. It is now no longer common to find monolingual Quechua speakers due particularly to the dominance of Spanish in Peruvian and Ecuadorian society and education and through increasing contact with urban populations and migration. However, Felipe's grandmother spoke:

> **Felipe:** *Nada pues de Castellano. Todo Quechua! Entonces yo con un poco de Quechua, un poco de Castellano y al comunicarme constantemente con mi abuelita… y pero*

> *comunicarse significa también comunicarse del momento, para comprar, para atender algo, darle comida a las gallinas etcétera. Pero hay otro método, otro espacio donde en un descanso con mi abuelita después de hacerla pushka y nos acercábamos a su ladito 'abuelita cuéntanos un cuentito'. Entonces nos contaba, no nos decía 'pues yo soy solamente Quechua', simplemente nos contaba en Quechua. Y eso era riquísimo pues para nosotros, saber la lengua Quechua, pero intuitivamente, inocentemente.*
>
> [No Spanish at all. All Quechua! So, I had a bit of Quechua and some Spanish to communicate constantly with my grandma. But communication also means communicating in the moment, to buy things, to deal with something, to feed the chickens etc. But there's another method, another space in which my grandma would relax after spinning on her drop spindle and we would come alongside her and ask, 'grandma tell us a story'. So, she told us, she didn't say 'oh but I'm only Quechua', she simply told us a story in Quechua. And this was wonderful for us, knowing the Quechua language intuitively, innocently.]

Felipe reminisces about his childhood with Quechua, and his ability to enjoy being alongside his grandmother in her everyday tasks; although his parents were bilingual out of necessity, Felipe needed to use Quechua to be able to communicate with his grandmother and relish in cultural and linguistic intergenerational transmission of this though using Quechua practically in the home. Felipe reflects on this as a time before he began to distance himself from the language and culture and intentionally exclude himself from the Quechua speaking community. His knowledge of Quechua in an 'intuitive' and 'innocent' way suggests a wistfulness, hiding the shame and hurt that was coming that stopped Felipe being able to enjoy the Quechua language in this way, due to the negative language ideologies surrounding his language use and his internalisation of this. As he went to school in the 80s, he stopped speaking entirely in that environment*: "tenía que taparme la boca, o sea ser mudo"* [I had to close my mouth and be mute]. Felipe comments that the school was full of children from wealthy families and that he was consistently made fun of and laughed at for being a Quechua-speaker, and for the way he spoke Spanish; to avoid being ridiculed, he stopped speaking entirely at school for a number of years.

Some of Felipe's language experiences and choices occurred during the context of the Shining Path. Emerging in the *Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga – UNSCH* (San Cristóbal of Huamanga University), the Shining Path learnt Quechua as a way to recruit indigenous people,

with Quechua speakers "considered not only ignorant and dirty, but also willing converts of a violent Maoist doctrine" ('Pancho', 2005, p.357). However, this period of violence caused many Quechua speakers to distance themselves from their language, culture and identities:

> In the 1980s, many families in Ayacucho began to deny their identities, and therefore Quechua, using only Spanish to speak with their children; Quechua had an almost forbidden status, as the Quechua speaker was considered to be a terrorist, being flagged, persecuted, discriminated and marginalised. (Coronado-Cárdenas et al., 2021, translation mine).

This denial of identity significantly interrupted the intergenerational transmission of Quechua in the region, as a result of individuals changed relationships with the language. Having only spoken Quechua with his grandmother due to his parents' own challenging experiences of having to learn Spanish in order to participate in town life, Felipe continued to choose not to speak Quechua and began to also mock the language and culture. His lack of pride and disassociation with Quechua language and culture was apparent during his time at university when he had to attend Quechua classes as part of his teacher training, he did so out of a need to pass his course believing indignantly at that time that Quechua had nothing to teach him: *"Los cuatro niveles que he llevado en la Universidad han sido así como para aprobar el curso no; 'que nos va a enseñar a nosotros Quechua?!'"*. [I took four levels at university in order to pass my course; 'what can Quechua teach us?!']. However, years later, Felipe did end up teaching Quechua out of necessity; he had been teaching Spanish at a school for ten years when the main Quechua teacher died, and Felipe was immediately required to take over his classes. Although able to speak Quechua, Felipe had no experience of teaching it and ended up reading about and teaching himself about the Quechua language in order to be able to give classes. Over the years, Felipe began to be recognised as a Quechua teacher, grow in confidence and be recommended to different institutions, as *"me han visto fortalecido"* [they saw I've been strengthened] through his growing relationship to Quechua language and culture.

In describing his journey coming to teach Quechua, Felipe comments that "*quizás es una reacción tardía*" [perhaps it is a delayed reaction], because:

> **Felipe:** *Si me hubiera dado cuenta del gran valor de la lengua Quechua, ese valor valiosísimo de la presencia de la lengua Quechua en nuestra cultura, pero me hubiera dado cuenta así, a profundidad no, con conocimiento de causa como lo tengo ahora, hubiera sido muy diferente mi camino no.*
>
> [If I had realised the huge value of the Quechua language, the incredibly valuable presence of the Quechua language in our culture, but if I had really realised deeply, with the knowledge that I have now, my path would have been very different.]

Through experiencing transformation in his thinking towards Quechua language and culture, and his own relationship with that, Felipe's sense of self has been transformed as his relationship with Quechua language and culture is now fundamental to who he is. The circumstantial change in his workplace led to a transformed relationship with Quechua that would not have occurred without him needing to learn how to teach Quechua to fulfil his job, yet these interactions have changed the way that he understands the world and the role of Quechua within this.

> **Felipe:** *[El Quechua] tiene una valía inalcanzable, Miriam. Ahora, con la edad que tengo, con los años de servicio que tengo en una institución pública, le doy esa valía grandiosa. Justamente por lo que quisiéramos, que todos absolutamente le den la prestancia que corresponde a la lengua Quechua. A tal punto de que las personas tendrían que pensar en Quechua. A ese nivel nos falta muchísimo.*
>
> [The value of Quechua is out of reach, Miriam. Now I'm this age and have worked in public institutions for many years, I give Quechua great value. Precisely as we would like it, that everyone gives Quechua the importance it deserves. To the point that people would need to think in Quechua. There we are still lacking a lot.]

Having come to the realisation of the importance of Quechua in his own life, Felipe wants others to experience these same changes, not just through learning the language, but through beginning to change the way they think about and live in the world, and to begin to have a Quechua perspective. For Felipe, the link between language and culture is undeniable in Quechua teaching and particularly the role of 'cosmovision' and culture that will be explored in chapter 4. Through teaching the language, he therefore wants people to come to a place of pride in their Quechua language, culture and heritage, adopting and living in this, as he himself has done whilst valuing Quechua in its own right.

2.4.2 Santiago's journey to teaching Quechua in Peru, Age 50+

Santiago was brought up in the city of Cusco that, once the centre of the Inca empire, and with a certain level of pride in the Quechua language, however this did not exempt it from discriminatory attitudes and practices. Santiago lives in Lima, where he is a member of a theatre group that produce works to reflect on the social and political reality of Peru through bringing together music, dance, costumes, places and ways of life. Santiago is a Quechua speaker and learnt the language as a child from his mother and grandmother who were both bilingual in Quechua and Spanish:

> **Santiago**[4]**:** *El Quechua yo siento que lo he mamado desde mi abuela y mi madre. […] Con mi madre yo creo que desde la teta, desde que mamaba, y desde que escuchaba como ella se dirigía de una manera particular a los Indígenas que se iban a los mercados.*
>
> [I feel that I have suckled Quechua from my grandmother and my mother. […] From the breast, from being breastfed, and from when I was listening to how my mother addressed Indigenous people in a special way who were going to the markets.]

Santiago considers Quechua to be an intrinsic part of him passed on generationally, but also a learnt and experienced way of being and acting. This intimate relationship with Quechua from birth has instilled in him a particular kindness towards Indigenous people and an inherent valuing of their shared language and culture. A sixteenth-century writer and historian, Inca Garcilasco de la Vega's writings refer to suckling the Quechua language, affirming his lineage and linguistically asserting himself as a Quechua speaker and different from the Spanish speakers he was surrounded by during a period of Spanish domination (Zamora, 1988; Ruan, 2016). However, it is also common for Quechua speakers to acknowledge the intergenerational transmission of trauma and suffering from mother to child in the womb or through breast milk; particularly in cases of rape or violence through unsolicited interactions with the Shining Path (Theidon, K, 2022; Theidon, 2013). Santiago has an affinity with the language, culture and speakers through his mother's own experiences and tenderness towards Quechua and Quechua speakers that he believes have been positively passed on to him through this closeness with his mother and her

[4] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

language; he acknowledges that he had a natural link with Quechua language and culture from birth.

In spite of Santiago's positive experiences with the Quechua language growing up, he still had to wrestle with his relationship with Quechua in order to negotiate and establish the role of Quechua in his adult life:

> **Santiago:** *Ha habido una lucha muy grande en mi, porque siempre pensé que el Quechua era algo muy inaccesible, o sea no es tan grande, que voy a hacer esto. Pero después me he dado cuenta, después de haber tenido varios instructores de Quechua y maestros muy buena intencionados y muy conocedores, mucho mas que yo, el Quechua finalmente es ante todo una actitud. Es una practica, es la posibilidad de insertarse dentro de una manera de entender la vida, el mundo, y el trabajo.*
>
> [I had a big internal struggle, because I always thought that Quechua was something very inaccessible; it's not that big, is it worth it. But after having had various Quechua teachers and well-intentioned and knowledgeable maestros, who knew much more than me**,** I realised that Quechua is primarily an attitude. It's a practice, it's the possibility of inserting oneself into a way of understanding life, the world and work.]

Santiago's relationship with Quechua was not immediately easy to navigate, and he required others to help him realise how he himself identified with the language and culture through their own experiences and identification with the language; he battled with internalisation of negative ideologies surrounding the Quechua language and this hindered his engagement with the language. However, Santiago's informal searching out of Quechua teaching to navigate these dilemmas is reminiscent of master-apprentice language learning programmes, where learners are paired with masters in an Indigenous language in order to learn it (Hinton, 2013). This approach values the presence of experienced mentors in shaping other individuals who are following a similar path to them, and the cyclical sharing of experiences with others lends itself naturally to wanting to pass on the knowledge that one has acquired through this process. It also values the knowledge of those who may not normally be considered teachers, for example elderly community members well-versed in oral tradition, despite their lack of literacy skills.

Santiago sought out Quechua teaching, learning with private teachers for at least twenty years, and only began to offer classes five years ago. As he is not a trained teacher, rather continually

in the process of learning and developing himself and trying to increase in knowledge and respect of Quechua way of life, Santiago encourages the sharing of experiences. His relationship with teaching itself is very informal, he defines it as: *"intentar acercarme a la posibilidad de compartir lo que ya conozco"* [Trying to approach the possibility of sharing what I already know]. Interacting with other Quechua speakers and teachers has enabled Santiago to find his confidence in the language, realising that speaking Quechua is an internal choice that he is not making for approval from others; he is secure in his decision to speak Quechua and tries to teach from this particular way of viewing and interacting with and being in the world that has greatly shaped him as a person.

Santiago has a deep internal connection with Quechua worldview, and having made this connection, he is frustrated with the society that denied his identity and exploration and identification with Quechua language and culture and prevented him from realising who he was as a Quechua person for so long.

> **Santiago:** *Tenemos que portarnos de distintas maneras para no ser nosotros mismos, sino parecer lo que no somos. Creo que el Quechua permita, pero supongo que otras lenguas originarias también, pero en este caso a mí me permite desnudarme y mostrarme tal cual soy. Lo tanto es una herramienta de introspección también y de reconocimiento permanente, de autoestima, de valoración, de los espacios colectivos. Por eso es importante transmitir la lengua.*
>
> [We have to behave in different ways to not be ourselves, but to appear a certain way. I suppose other Indigenous languages do too, but in this case, I think that Quechua allows me to undress and to show myself as I am. Therefore, it is also a tool for introspection and permanent recognition, self-esteem, assessment, and collective spaces. That's why it is important to transmit the language.]

Santiago is exasperated that he spent so much of his life putting on appearances having to fit into the dominant culture and way of life, although he now sees it as entirely incompatible with Quechua way of life. Developing his own relationship with Quechua language and culture has enabled him to find out who he is and understand himself as a person in a way that was not possible as a Spanish speaker. He now actively challenges the dominance of Spanish through teaching Quechua and focussing in particular on teachings and values that the language has to

offer. This is a reaction against having Spanish imposed on him for much of his life, which 'made him rebellious':

> **Santiago:** *Hablar una lengua que no es mía me ha tornado rebelde. Con causa. Porque creo que es una posibilidad de pasar por un filtro de conciencia lo que me da esta sociedad.*
>
> [Speaking a language that isn't mine has made me rebellious. With good reason. Because I believe that it's possible to pass what this society gives me through a consciousness filter.]

Santiago is working towards and promoting a Quechua way of viewing the world in everything that he does and with everyone that he meets. He can no longer separate his identity and actions from the Quechua language and values that dictate to him how he must live his life. This compels him to share his experiences and deep-seated beliefs with others through his Quechua classes, although he is aware that he himself has not been formally trained in this. He wants others to have the opportunity to explore Quechua and in turn to choose how they relate to the language and its teachings. He assesses everything according to Quechua values and remains critical of Spanish dominance, wanting others to see how they can extract themselves from this through alternative worldviews and languages. His priority is those in front of him at any given moment, and how he can help them process their own experiences through a Quechua worldview, whilst learning more about Quechua language and culture, and encouraging them to look at society with a new perspective.

2.4.3 Emerita's journey to teaching textiles in Peru, Age 40+

Emerita and her husband Valerio offer textiles and Quechua classes that provide insight into the role of Andean knowledge in language classes and vice versa; although Emerita herself is not a Quechua speaker or teacher, her journey to teaching textiles and engaging with Andean culture will be presented here, as an important counterpart to Quechua language teaching online. Emerita is from Switzerland, where she trained and worked as a primary school teacher. She also taught in secondary schools due to a lack of teachers there. In addition, she began to train as a stone sculptor and spent one semester at art school in Switzerland to do this. However, she did not like this formal course, preferring to work with stone sculptors in their own workshops where

she could learn practically. She had always been fascinated by Pre-Colombian art and by Andean art and culture, and this motivated her to begin seeking out courses on this. Emerita enrolled for a year-long course in Cusco's art school, believing that they would be teaching Andean art and culture. Again, she left after one semester there as she was not able to study what she wanted: "*No se han cumplido mis expectativas y al final tenía que encaminar un camino autodidacta, personal, sólito, porque no hay un centro educativo de la cultura andina o de algo así, no hay, no hay. Tampoco en los libros".* [My expectations weren't met and in the end, I had to teach myself - on my own - because there is no institution to learn about Andean culture, it doesn't exist. And it is not in books either.] Indigenous knowledge has also been devalued and not preserved, with Quechua non-written records suppressed and destroyed during the colonial period and Spanish literacy prioritised; in many cases accompanying intergenerational transmission of Indigenous knowledge ceased, for example, non-written literacy practices or traditions such as storytelling, keeping and reading *khipus* or cord records, and textiles practices amongst others.

Emerita realised the lack of information and possible teaching available to her and began to investigate and teach herself out of a personal need to learn more about Andean culture. This was particularly important to her as by this time she was living in the Andes in a rural community with her husband Valerio, who had been brought up in a Quechua-speaking family. Emerita began researching through books, however she often found herself challenging the interpretations that were offered. Simultaneously, she became entirely involved in Andean life, going to celebrations and experiencing Andean culture and became increasingly curious in this way of life and in searching for the deeper meaning behind Quechua practices:

> **Emerita**[5]**:** *Yo pensaba ninguna cultura es tonta, ninguna cultura es tonta. Entonces, si ellos adaptan algo y lo hacen durante siglos y milenios, es porque hay algo muy interesante, hay algo muy cierto en el fondo. Entonces, eso era simplemente lo que yo me metí a la cabeza. Entonces, cuando yo miraba un arte precolombino, una cerámica o un textil, algo así, entonces yo pensaba 'guao, te has dedicado justamente en la textilería, que fabricar un textil de tres metros de largo y con tan finos hilos que ellos han hecho y guao. No, es una obra que es tan excelente, es tan fina, no puede ser que representaban voces imaginarios o creados por una mente humana, No. Tú inviertes tanto tiempo, tiene que haber una lógica, tiene que haber algo que te conjunta'.*

[5] [Emerita, 29th July 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

> [I thought no culture is stupid, no culture is stupid. So, if they adapt something and do it for centuries and millennia, it's because there is something very interesting and very true behind it. That's what I thought. So, when I looked at pre-Colombian art, a ceramic or a textile, then I thought 'wow, you have dedicated yourself to textiles, to making a textile three meters long and with such fine threads as they did and wow. It is a work so excellent, so intricate, it just can't be that it represented imaginary voices, or something created by a human mind. You invest so much time into something like this, there has to be some logic behind it, there has to be something that brings you together.']

Although she was first attracted by Andean art and cultural practices and wanted to unpack these further and work out why they were being done in a certain way, Emerita's desire to go further than the explanations offered to her in books and her drive to understand Andean culture at a deeper level and the logic behind this was fuelled by her outsider's perspective, which helped her to interpret and understand what she was researching and seeking to understand.

Emerita has a rare perspective on Quechua language and culture as she is intimately involved with every aspect of rural Quechua life, yet has had to develop her understanding, awareness and appreciation of this. Emerita values Quechua language and culture in a different way to those that have grown up with it and views cultural practices and the associated role of language as fascinating and deeply worth exploring to uncover hidden value and knowledge.

> **Emerita:** *Mi motor inicial era fascinación, curiosidad y un cierto entusiasmo. No lo puedo explicar. Es como enamorarse, no puedes explicar que 'por qué ese tipo'. A veces no se puede explicar porque te enamoras. Entonces, es algo así. En los Andes no puedo decir qué cosa realmente, simplemente llamaba la atención.*
>
> [My initial driving force was fascination, curiosity and a certain enthusiasm. I can't explain it. It's like falling in love, you can't explain 'why that guy'. Sometimes you can't explain why you fall in love. So, it's something like that. In the Andes I can't really say what it was, it just caught my attention.]

Emerita did not have to overcome shame or internalisation of discrimination associated with Quechua, yet she did have to deal with the consequences of negative language ideologies through having very limited resources and no one to learn from. She has an excitement to investigate Andean knowledge that has led her to wanting to also understand the Quechua language. "*Por eso quería aprender Quechua. Justamente a través del arte me daba cuenta que*

el Quechua es chévere, que el Quechua es fascinante y el Quechua es space time". [That's why I wanted to learn Quechua. Through art I realised that Quechua is cool, that Quechua is fascinating, and that Quechua is space time]. Whilst trying to understand Quechua language and culture, Emerita drew on Minkowski's (1908) synthesis of space and time and Einstein's (1916) theory of relativity, looking to books and formal courses in order to understand her increasing awareness of the world around her, before focusing on Quechua cosmovision and increasingly understanding the spacial and temporal dimensions of Quechua language and culture through her husband and life in a rural community.

Learning the Quechua language enables greater understanding of the culture it represents; for example, the different articulations of space and time represented in Andean art and textiles, yet this is also present in the structure of the Quechua language itself. Emerita comments that: *"El arte expresa muy claramente el pensamiento y es el idioma que forja el pensamiento".* [Art expresses thought very clearly and its language that shapes thought]. Emerita's perspective aligns with the principle of linguistic relativity, which suggests that language shapes how individuals perceive and conceptualise the world. Her comment draws a parallel between art as an expression of thought, and language as the medium that forms it, suggesting that neither art nor thought exist independently of the cultural and linguistic frameworks through which they are articulated. Emerita's statement implies that to truly understand Andean thought, one must engage not only with its visible cultural expressions, such as art or textiles, but also with the language that informs and sustains the worldview. Her position also challenges the assumption that fluency grants deeper cultural insight. Despite not yet being a Quechua speaker, Emerita's intentional exploration of its linguistic and cultural meanings allows her to connect with Andean epistemologies, potentially more deeply than those who speak the language but have disconnected from its cultural and philosophical roots due to historical marginalisation. In this way, Emerita's reflection becomes a call to recognise Indigenous languages like Quechua not merely as heritage or communication tools, but as carriers of distinct worldviews, and essential to the recovery and revitalisation of supressed knowledge systems.

2.4.4 *Yachak's journey to teaching Kichwa in Ecuador, Age 25+*

Yachak was born and brought up in Quito and grew up with little awareness of Kichwa and had no contact to Kichwa within his family; his grandfather was able to speak Kichwa but Yachak never met him and only found out that a family member spoke Kichwa after his grandfather had died. Yachak's main contact with the language was in the markets around his house but he paid very little attention to it and did not interact with Kichwa speakers there. He enjoyed studying history, philosophy, theology and politics at school and chose to study social sciences at university at which point he started to become aware of alternative ways of viewing and being in the world. Rather than just noticing Spanish language and culture surrounding him, he began to become aware of the existence of Indigenous cultures in Ecuador and realised that: *"no existe solo lo hispano sino que hay mas allá de lo hispano ya"* [Spanish isn't the only thing that exists, there's also [cultures and languages] beyond the Hispanic]. From this realisation, Yachak withdrew from university and started to learn Latin and Kichwa simultaneously to explore *"dos cosas muy contrarios no es cierto, el Kichwa es lo más propio de aquí, y Latín que sería lo más relacionado con la colonia"* [Two very opposite things, Kichwa is the most typical of here and Latin would be most related to the colony]. He chose to learn these languages to investigate the most colonial and Indigenous languages available to him. However, through his learning, and particularly his experiences with Kichwa people, language and culture, his awareness shifted from the dominant to the Indigenous, which prompted his subsequent linguistic and cultural exploration.

Yachak began to focus solely on studying Kichwa and particularly focussed on getting to know Kichwa speakers and building friendships with them as well as attending a formal Kichwa language course for four hours a week; Yachak was able to question and develop his relationship with Kichwa language and culture through interacting with established Kichwa speakers and seeking their guidance.

> **Yachak**[6]**:** *a la medida que yo entablaba una relación de amistad, también iba aprendiendo el Kichwa. Entonces conocí a mucha gente Kichwa y también conocí obviamente esa*

[6] [Yachak, 19th March 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

> *realidad kichwa que esta negada y que es invisibilizada para los ecuatorianos y bueno ahí aprendí Kichwa y al siguiente año inmediatamente empecé a dar clases de Kichwa.*
>
> [As I made friends, I was also learning Kichwa. So, I met many Kichwa people and I obviously also got to know this Kichwa reality that is denied and made invisible to Ecuadorians and I learnt Kichwa there and immediately started teaching Kichwa the following year.]

Choosing to learn Kichwa in this way enabled Yachak to benefit linguistically as he practised and developed his Kichwa language skills; however, he also gained new friends, interests and immersion into a new way of life. Yachak found his sense of self through throwing himself into these relationships and activities that learning and speaking Kichwa permitted him. His quick journey to teaching was a result of this drastic change in his own identification with the Kichwa language, from something that he was interested in, to something that he could no longer separate from his everyday life, his chosen daily language, and his friends.

During his year learning Kichwa, Yachak made the decision to only speak in Kichwa and not to use Spanish as he wanted to develop friendships and be corrected by his Kichwa friends to realise what he was getting wrong. In this way:

> **Yachak:** *Durante todo este año tuve a mis primeros amigos Kichwas y yo decidí más bien siempre utilizar la lengua Kichwa y no la lengua española. Obviamente era difícil porque todavía estaba recién aprendiendo, pero sabía que lo importante era eso.*
>
> [Throughout this year I made my first Kichwa friends and I decided to always use Kichwa, rather than speaking Spanish. Obviously, it was difficult as I was still learning, but I knew that was what was important.]

As a Spanish speaker, choosing to learn and speak only Kichwa goes against linguistic norms in Ecuador. However, Yachak realised that he now had the ability to choose to speak Kichwa. Although, his family had not identified with the Kichwa language, and he himself had not been discriminated against for his language use, Yachak now stands with his fellow Kichwa speakers in challenging discrimination towards Indigenous people in Ecuador, with the goal of increasing Indigenous recognition. His language choices proved he was fully involved with the Kichwa community and helped him develop relationships within that. Yachak's year learning Kichwa and Latin helped him to discover that "*hay mucho de aprender de Latín, pero le di mi vida al Kichwa*"

[There's much to learn from Latin, but I gave my life to Kichwa]. Through his friendships and cultural experiences Yachak was able to immerse himself in Kichwa thinking, life and culture in such a way that setting out to learn Kichwa during his year of language learning resulted in him changing his own identification and mission.

Through learning Kichwa, Yachak began to identify as a Kichwa person, and this started even before he was fully able to speak the language. Through his interactions and experiences with Kichwa friends, he began to dress as a Kichwa person, wearing the hat typical to his region; within Ecuador, Kichwa is a marker of both linguistic and cultural identity, with Kichwa people showing their Kichwa identities through the clothing they wear (Meisch, 2021), or specific cultural activities. However, Yachak's relationship with the Kichwa language is much deeper than his changed external appearance:

> **Yachak:** *Cuando tú ya hablas Kichwa, o sea… estas aquí. O sea realmente estás aquí, o sea ves lo que pasa, ya ves qué es lo que está pasando con los otros Kichwas, ves la realidad de los otros Kichwas, entonces a mí me permite estar aquí. O sea, si es que no hablara kichwa, no estuviera aquí nada más, se estuviera solo mi cuerpo aquí, pero con la mente allá. Entonces me permite autentificarme como Kichwa, me permite ligarme a la historia Kichwa, estar aquí este y… y sobre todo me alegro, o sea a mí me provoca mucha alegría cuando hablo kichwa con otros Kichwas me alegra mucho, porque o sea me permite dar cuenta a mí que hay gente que está resistiendo, y que mientras hablamos Kichwa estamos resistiendo ya.*
>
> [When you already speak Kichwa, you are here. You're really here, in other words, you see what's going on and you see what's happening with other Kichwa people, you see their reality, so it lets me be here. That is, if I didn't speak Kichwa, I simply wouldn't be here, only my body would be here but with my mind elsewhere. So [speaking Kichwa] allows me to identify as a Kichwa person, to link me to Kichwa history, to be here and… above all I am happy, it brings me a lot of joy when I speak Kichwa with other Kichwa speakers, because it helps me to realise that there are people who are resisting, and whilst we speak Kichwa we are resisting.]

Through experiencing Kichwa language and culture in every aspect of his life whilst learning it, Yachak's identity is now inseparable from his chosen language; Kichwa defines how he positions himself in the world, how he is able to intentionally observe, be present and participate. Through his language and culture choices he has distanced himself from the Spanish dominant society

surrounding him, and that he was brought up in. Yachak's aim is for people to experience the same closeness with Kichwa that he has and is particularly interested in helping people far from Kichwa engage with the language in this way; *"Mi objetivo para enseñar Kichwa es expandir el Kichwa al mundo."* [My objective in teaching Kichwa is to make it spread throughout the world]. This has been helped by the transition to online learning and expansion of virtual Kichwa classes that will be discussed in the following chapter, as *"La pandemia nos hizo darnos cuenta que se puede aprender Kichwa mediante internet."* [The pandemic made us realise that Kichwa can be learnt online].

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter tracks the personal and professional transformations experienced by four Quechua teachers through their diverse journeys to learning and teaching Quechua and how they have changed their perceptions of the Quechua language and culture. The teachers' journeys highlight how individual experiences of linguistic marginalisation, cultural reclamation and identity formation intersect with broader socio-political contexts in Peru and Ecuador. Each teacher's story demonstrates that the path to valuing Indigenous language and culture is neither linear nor predetermined. Felipe's transformation from someone who mocked Quechua to a passionate advocate of the language illustrates how circumstantial changes can lead to profound personal growth. His experience shows that even those who initially reject their Indigenous heritage can develop a deep appreciation for it through direct engagement with the language and culture. Santiago's experience highlights the internal struggle that Indigenous people can face in asserting their authentic selves within a Spanish-dominant society. His metaphor of 'undressing' through Quechua reveals how the language serves as a tool for introspection and self-discovery, allowing speakers to challenge imposed identities and connect with themselves in new ways. Emerita's journey demonstrates that curiosity and cultural understanding can lead to meaningful engagement with Indigenous knowledge systems, even without understanding the language. Yachak's deliberate choice to embrace Kichwa identity despite his urban, Spanish-speaking background shows that language can act as a bridge to cultural belonging and political resistance. His decision to 'give his life to Kichwa' represents a conscious rejection of colonial dominance

and an active choice to participate in Indigenous cultural continuity. For all four teachers, learning from other teachers and being placed in teaching roles themselves enabled them to confront assimilationist discourses of language that they had each adopted in their own lives, enabling them to reclaim their Indigenous identities and sense of pride in Quechua language and culture.

The teachers recognise that their personal language choices challenge dominant power structures and contribute to the preservation of Indigenous worldviews. As they create virtual classrooms for teaching Quechua, they are not simply transmitting language skills but facilitating transformative experiences that mirror their own journeys. They each have a specific cultural mission that comes from their own experience, whether this be passing on knowledge about textiles that they have been uncovering themselves or wanting to reach participants that are far from Kichwa as they themselves once were. Their goal is to increase the number of Quechua speakers in the hope that more people would begin to value the language and culture. The expansion of online Indigenous language education means that geographical boundaries no longer determine access to cultural knowledge. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the teacher became the link between the physical and virtual space with international participants able to connect with a territory through their interactions with the teacher despite national and international travel restrictions. These teachers demonstrate that revitalisation of Indigenous languages includes reclaiming the right to think, feel and exist in Indigenous ways within contemporary societies, so they try to create spaces in which learners can begin to confront their own thinking. The following chapter illustrates how teachers curate their virtual classrooms.

Chapter 3 : 'To speak in Quechua, you have to think in Quechua' – Teaching culture in online Quechua classes

Santiago[7]**:** No tengo propiamente una metodología, tengo algunos conceptos que me parecen esenciales. Yo creo que es como entrar a conocer la escritura con un informe, me imagino, de alguna manera, a ver, empezar a descifrar ciertos códigos, creo que permiten ir armando como le había ocurrido probablemente a Champollion[8], ir reciclando que una serie de imágenes podían llevar a construir un pensamiento y una acción. Yo creo que con el Quechua, tratándose de que no es una estructura arcaica, si no es una cultura viva que no pertenece a los museos, hay la posibilidad de acceder a sus enseñanzas, a su función orgánica, práctica, integradora, comunitaria. Y eso es esencial no, en un país y en un mundo que está atendiendo a un individualismo y aún a una cultura ególatra alrededor del dinero, y el capital… con la máxima aspiración humana. En el caso de Quechua permite ampliar las miradas, los horizontes. Yo creo que es más bien una mirada hacia adentro, o sea el reconocimiento de lo que, del valor que tiene cada ser humano; en este caso de quienes estamos interesados en el lugar de esta fuente de conocimiento.

[I don't really have a teaching method; I've got some concepts that I think are essential. I think it's like getting to know writing with a report, I imagine. Beginning to decipher certain codes, I think they allow us to be piecing things together as probably happened to Champollion[8]; going over a series of images that could lead to constructing a way of thinking and doing. I believe that with Quechua, since it is not an archaic structure, but a living culture that does not belong to museums, there is the possibility to access its teachings, it's organic, practical, integrating, community function. And that is essential in a country, in a world that is catering to an individualism, and even an egotistical culture towards money and capital, with the highest human aspiration there. In the case of Quechua, it allows us to broaden our perspectives, our horizons. I think it is rather an inward look, that is the recognition of the value that each human being has. In this case the value of those of us in this class who are interested in this source of knowledge.]

3.1 Introduction

Building on the transformative journeys of the teachers explored in Chapter Two, this chapter examines the classroom environments that the teachers create and the pedagogical choices they make in their online Quechua classes. It investigates how their personal experiences with language, identity, and cultural recovery shape their teaching and foster spaces for meaningful

[7] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

[8] Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) was a French linguist known for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs, and the first to discover that certain hieroglyphic signs had different meanings and functions to express different ideas.

learning and transformation. This chapter introduces the online classes taught by Felipe, Santiago, Emerita, and Yachak. It also looks at Quechua and Textiles classes taught by an additional teacher, Valerio, to explore the role of Quechua knowledge and language in teaching and learning. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first two, 'offline language learning background' and 'online language learning background', trace how Quechua was taught before the COVID-19 pandemic and how this shifted with the move to online platforms. These sections provide the foundation for understanding the adaptations teachers made in response to in-person restrictions and online opportunities. The following sections address the main issues raised in Santiago's quote: 'making and interpreting meanings', 'alphabetic and non-alphabetic literacy practices, and 'Quechua knowledge and teachings'. These delve into the forms of knowledge embedded in Quechua cultural practices and how they are conveyed in the virtual classroom. The final section, 'clashing cultural ways of thinking and being; potential role of Quechua in changing perspectives and values', examines how the transmission of Quechua knowledge invites learners to reconsider dominant worldviews and engage with alternative ways of knowing and being. By tracing the development of these classes during the pandemic, this chapter reveals how teachers curate environments that not only transmit language but can also foster cultural reconnection and personal change.

3.2 Offline language learning background

Prior to the pandemic, the Quechua language learning context was very different as it depended on private tutors and group language school classes in-person; however, the pandemic led a global shift to online education, with school closures affecting over 1.2 billion learners across the world (Li & Lalani, 2020; UNESCO, 2020). Although I was not able to research this offline scenario in detail, prior to conducting my online research I attended various private and group language classes in Lima and Ayacucho and draw on my own experiences in these classes for this section.

In Ayacucho, I experienced various teaching styles and class groups, with group class sizes ranging from two to twelve. The majority of the classes were very grammar-focussed and teacher-centred; learning materials offline are often focussed on grammar (Acat & Dönmez, 2009) and in

majority language contexts on passing exams for qualifications (Zohrabi et al., 2012). The participants joining offline, however, were more likely to need to be taking the classes in order to advance their careers or being required to learn Quechua; many of them were not choosing to learn Quechua themselves and therefore lacked motivation for their classes. Whereas those learning online were choosing to do so for their own interest and gain, learning Quechua was frequently something they had wanted to do for years, or been involved in in some way for years, as will be investigated in the next chapter. The pedagogy in one particular institution stood out, as they had adopted the 'Common European Framework of Reference for Languages' to teach us Quechua. The Institute was trying to apply this framework for the other languages taught there, particularly English, in order to provide a standard marker of linguistic competence throughout the Language School. This framework is well established for European languages and used widely in Europe; however this Eurocentric focus is not easily transferrable to the teaching and learning of Indigenous languages, which have different cultural and linguistic realities; the resources available therefore overlook and are not directly applicable to these elements of Quechua language learning. This prevented curriculum development according to the specificities of the Quechua language, and cultural context. We used the resources on a website for Spanish speakers to learn English, translating these sentences directly into Quechua. The classification of difficulty (A1: Beginner to C2: Proficient) was therefore no longer appropriate as we were translating entire sentences rather than just conjugating the verb 'to do', for example, so the exercises were more challenging than those provided:

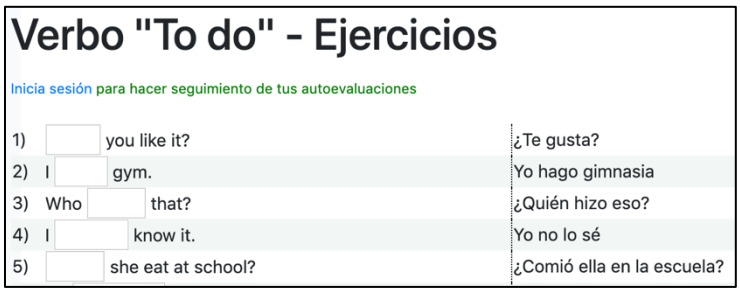


Figure 3:1 Sample exercises from aulafacil.com (AulaFacil, 2020).

5) <u>(Did)</u> she eat at school? *¿Comió ella en la escuela?*

Pay escuelapichu mikurqa? / Pay yachaywasipichu mikurqa?

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

As the cultural settings are also not equivalent, many of the translations were complicated in Quechua as they referred to a concept or required vocabulary that was not readily available in the language. The grammar point intended to be tested in this exercise at A1 level English, was replaced with discussions about how to say, and write 'school' in Quechua. These experiences highlighted different people in the classes and their backgrounds, as well as the different styles of teaching and materials used. However, these moments of 'negotiation of meaning' (Wenger, 1998, p.54), explore the dynamics of coming to an agreement, with meaning occurring within this process:

> The negotiation of meaning is a productive process, but negotiating meaning is not constructing it from scratch. Meaning is not pre-existing, but neither is it simply made up. Negotiated meaning is at once both historical and dynamic, contextual and unique.

The 'frames of reference' for an Indigenous person or a European learner would be very different due to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds; in another example, the Quechua learners were required to translate 'we are the champions'. The translation given of *'llalliqkunam kaniku'* translated the phrase correctly, however it was not able to transmit the cultural differences between a society in which competition is prevalent, and the Quechua understanding of communities based on reciprocity and mutual aid, in which the concept of 'winning' is not easily translatable. However, these clashes of understanding and interpretations of meaning could lead to transformative learning as participants encounter Quechua concepts and think about how to translate these, whilst also challenging their own and others' language ideologies.

The offline classes tended to be teacher-centred, in a hierarchical learning environment in which students had limited opportunities to network amongst themselves (Emaliana, 2017); Contact with the group class teachers was mediated through the language school itself, and there was no interaction between participants during the week between classes. The differences in pedagogy were more apparent in offline classes, where the use of physical location played a role in determining the classroom experience; Santiago used the room they were in, as well as drawing on cultural elements such as musical instruments for language teaching, that did not translate into all being together online in the same way. Felipe mixed outdoor trips and indoor grammar and reading work. Whereas some of the more formal classes were entirely teacher-centred;

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Weizheng (2019) found that teachers' offline focus tended to be on the presentation of information, rather than on interaction with students. This hierarchical classroom environment meant that there was less space for meaning to be negotiated together as the teacher was focused on giving the information, rather than questioning and exploring these. The participants were not as able to personally engage with the materials as these were often copying down grammar points, translating sentences from tasks associated with the Common European Framework of reference into Quechua, or reading stories and interacting with these in a set way. In these offline classes, to question or explore concepts or grammar points, would result in teachers' stories, rather than individuals connecting with their own experiences and reflecting on these and being prompted to share these as they were in the online environment. In the offline environment participants were able to maintain a certain distance from Quechua thinking and cultural elements. Many of the learners joining offline were taking classes out of necessity, as they required the qualification rather than choosing to learn Quechua themselves; they came to class each week as a way of gaining the qualification, rather than learning the language.

Having attended classes in-person in Ayacucho, I lost contact with some of these private and group language teachers during the pandemic. One of the language school teachers was in his eighties and did not have access to the technology that would have helped him teach online; he did not have WhatsApp, and I was not able to stay in touch with him during this period. In addition, this in-person class would have been hard to continue in the online environment; they consisted in copying down vocabulary and grammar points from the blackboard and were based on the idea that once something is written down, then it is learnt. This shows how emergency remote learning was only possible in situations where the technology was already in place to support this, as well as the knowledge of how to use this, as it immediately excludes those without the technology or technical or pedagogical abilities to participate in these spaces. In addition, the teachers' technical skills required to teach and learn online are "socially situated" (Alvarez et al., 2009, p.322), and not just a question of being able to use the required technology or pedagogical skills (Goodyear et al., 2001), but rather the ability to adapt and be flexible in shifting learning contexts (Ally, 2019, p.312). Where this was not possible, the in-person Quechua

classes did not transition into the online sphere. However, learning with them in-person, I was able to continue the classes with Santiago and with Felipe virtually from the UK during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Santiago's group classes were already well established in Lima; they had been meeting regularly for five or six years prior to the pandemic as one of the participants had suggested to Santiago that he should start to run classes in her home at that time. These had moved to being held in Santiago's home multiple times a week by the time I attended these classes in person in September and October 2019 as part of my difficult language training in Peru. I made contact with Santiago through the people I was lodging with, as they had previously had some classes with him. The first group met on a Thursday morning and was mainly attended by people looking to gain further knowledge of, or continue their engagement with Quechua during their retirement. Many of them had had contact with Quechua communities during their working lives. A few of these participants were able to understand and speak some Quechua, whereas others had never had the opportunity to learn the language before these classes. In this class, learning Quechua vocabulary often provided a space for more elaborate discussion of life in the Andes. The second group met on a Saturday morning and was made up of young professionals. They had often experienced Quechua through their grandparents, yet were not able to speak it themselves. However, many of them remembered a few words picked up during their childhood from their grandparents, and in some cases also their parents, which had sparked an interest in the language. This class focused on improving Quechua language skills through sharing experiences with the language; this was often done through music and dance, as two classmates were active members of a traditional dance group. Both classes were open to anyone. As Santiago is an actor, he frequently made use of the space in his home to act out scenarios to practice speaking Quechua, but also through this to teach and reflect on different ways of thinking and specific cultural elements. The walls of his home were covered with traditional Andean masks and musical instruments that were sometimes included in role plays. As he already had a group of interested participants coming to his home every Thursday or Saturday to learn Quechua,

during lockdown he made the transition to online classes so they could keep in touch with each other and continue to discuss and learn together.

As part of my difficult language training from October 2019 to January 2020 in Ayacucho, I had individual Quechua classes with Felipe. He was recommended to me over email by an acquaintance before arriving in Ayacucho and was the only teacher or institution I was able to contact in advance of my trip. We often met in local cafes or places with the potential of speaking to other Quechua speakers, and he showed me many different areas of Ayacucho, whether that be market stalls and speaking with stallholders in Quechua, going to specific buildings to discuss their historical context in Quechua, or sampling '*muyuchi*', a typical Ayacuchan ice cream, amongst other activities. We also went through lots of Quechua stories to learn about cultural and linguistic elements of Quechua. I spent New Year's Eve 2019 with Felipe and his family, where I was greeted in Quechua by his mother inviting me to "riddle together" in Quechua, which we did, and sang together in Quechua, but also engaged with his adult children who have a working knowledge of Quechua but do not speak it. This is common in families that have migrated as Felipe's parents had, with generations of families increasingly choosing to use the dominant language over their heritage language (Fishman, 1966); this can result in broken intergenerational language transmission and contribute to language shift, away from Quechua language use in this case. This can result in broken communication within a family, where (grand)children find it hard to speak to other members of the wider family (Guardado, 2002). Felipe did have contact with Quechua as a child within his family and this was key to his later rediscovery of the language and Quechua teaching practices.

A formative part of Felipe's journey with Quechua was being touched deeply by his grandmother's storytelling when he was a child, and her unapologetic joy in sharing her language through these stories. Although he was later exposed to and internalised negative views of Quechua language and culture and only returned to Quechua language and culture when he had to learn how to teach it out of necessity, he now thrives on the value of Quechua and is proud of his cultural and linguistic heritage and wants others to also experience this:

> **Felipe**[9]**:** *Quisiéramos que todos absolutamente le den la prestancia que corresponde a la lengua Quechua. A tal punto de que las personas tendrían que pensar en Quechua. A ese nivel nos falta muchísimo. Hace 20 años para mí sonaba algo gracioso que alguien me dijera […] 'si quieres escribir en Quechua, debes pensar en Quechua'. Pues cómo pensar en Quechua? Y tiene razón. Y usted seguro sabe, ha experimentado eso, porque para hablar en Quechua tienes que pensar en Quechua. Para hablar en Castellano tienes que pensar en Castellano.*
>
> [We would like everyone to give Quechua the prestige it deserves. To such an extent that people would need to think in Quechua. We've got a long way to go in this regard. 20 years ago someone saying 'if you want to write in Quechua, you need to think in Quechua' would have sounded funny to me. Well how do we think in Quechua? And it's right! And you surely have experienced that, because to speak in Quechua you have to think in Quechua. To speak in Spanish, you have to think in Spanish.]

Felipe draws heavily on Quechua myths to teach this to his students in his classes, as these epitomise sharing the enjoyment of Quechua language and culture, as his grandmother did with him. In his classes, storytelling was a primary teaching method as it incorporated cultural elements as a key part of his classes, whilst encouraging emotional connection with the language and culture and a joyful learning experience. His goal is not just academic proficiency, but the cultural empowerment of his students, and a desire to restore prestige to Quechua. His view of language aligns with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which posits that language shapes the way we think and perceive the world; in the classroom, this suggests that true fluency involves more than vocabulary and grammar, it requires immersion into the worldview encoded in the language. In the virtual classroom, Felipe continued to use Quechua myths and videos to support this goal.

Most of the teachers in this study praised offline meetings, whilst also recognising the benefits that online teaching had for them. For Felipe and Santiago, they were able to use offline classes to connect with a physical space and the people in that environment through using Quechua. However, the transition to online learning for Quechua language learning enabled further teachers to build their own teaching plan and find their own style, rather than needing to follow a set format as determined by a language school. Therefore, the teachers online were a self-selecting group, able to use technology and thrive in their own curriculum development, leading

[9] [Felipe, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

to a different style of classes, in terms of knowledge and language and how these were presented, and learners interacted with them.

3.3 Online language learning background

Felipe and Santiago's Quechua classes existed prior to the pandemic, but others were created during. Moving Quechua classes online has enabled people to learn Quechua who may not previously have had access to remote classes; learning from the UK, I have been in classes with people in Curaçao, the USA, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Denmark, Chile, Peru and Ecuador, amongst others. This allows for wide range of cultural experiences and relationships with the Quechua language to be present in one group; those who have grown up in Peru or Ecuador tend to have greater exposure to Quechua and often a more varied vocabulary, whereas those outside have fewer opportunities to listen and practice Quechua but may have more experience in formal language learning. The specific learners and participants involved in these classes will be introduced in the following chapter to consider who is learning and why and explore their motivations and goals for the classes, and the impact these have had on them as individuals.

The Quechua classes that I attended all occurred online in similar ways, and all transitioned into similar online environments, each taking place over video call, such as Zoom or Skype, with supplementary discussion and materials over WhatsApp; however, the classes developed very differently, according to the teacher's focus. The textiles classes use Quechua to help understand concepts and situate these in their wider Andean context. Each of the classes use the technology in different ways to aid knowledge transmission, and their different teaching backgrounds and experiences make for varied 'classrooms' online, especially considering the role of Quechua and the role of cultural knowledge in this transmission. Lestiyanawati and Widyantoro (2020) propose that many teachers found incorporating technology to their online classrooms very challenging, and the Quechua teachers in this study had various challenges in transitioning to online learning. However, Sinchi, a language teacher in Ecuador, used his technological background and expertise to promote and structure his Kichwa classes, and had 25 000 people sign up for his course. I was able to interview Sinchi to talk about this transition to online learning and his Kichwa teaching

and will occasionally draw from this interview in this chapter, although these classes are not being fully analysed in this thesis.

'Unpreparedness' to teaching in the online environment due to a lack of curriculum for online teaching (Rahiem, 2020, p.17) may have enabled Quechua teachers to consider and develop their own teaching strategies for the online sphere. Sinchi was able to capitalise on his background in technology to adapt to the new environment quickly and had online resources to support his classes from years of language activism; although he was not prepared for the response, he was able to draw on his technological know-how to adapt to, and benefit from, the situation.

> **Sinchi**[10]**:** *No habíamos pensado algo así, pero fueron 25 000 y ya se cambio todo, todo lo que nosotros teníamos previsto, porque nuestra cuenta de Zoom daba para 100 personas y tuvimos que ampliarlo para mas […] Yo no había pensado algo parecido de que 25 000 personas pudieran estar interesados en aprender nuestra lengua ancestral.*
>
> [We didn't expect 25 000 people signing up to our classes and that changed everything that we had planned, because our Zoom account was for 100 people and we had to expand this […] I had not thought that something like this was possible, that 25 000 people could be interested in learning our ancestral language.]

The great level of interest in his classes, with 25 000 subscriptions, meant that Sinchi had to livestream his classes on Facebook and YouTube and change his teaching methods and tools to make the most of the technology available to them and the interested participants. However many participants in their classes, adapting to teaching online was fundamental to be able to capitalise on the interest in learning Quechua online and the specific circumstances that allowed it. The different teachers have varying course outlines, teaching styles, and goals from the classes. Each of the classes are made up of people of assorted nationalities, age groups, and with varying experiences of Quechua language and culture. In terms of teaching Quechua, Yachak and Felipe have a more structured approach to language learning, with Yachak's grammatical focus leading him to teach a certain number of suffixes per module and give a lot of written homework; the earlier modules taught two or four suffixes in detail, and these progressed to introducing approximately ten suffixes in later modules. Felipe's focus was also primarily on writing in the

[10] [Sinchi, 21st April 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

online environment, with reading and discussing texts central to his teaching methods. Santiago's classes are more informal, with spoken interaction prioritised, giving space for everyone to contribute, to use and experiment with Quechua, and discuss matters of interest to them. Valerio and Emerita use Quechua as a vehicle for understanding Andean thinking and textile techniques. Santiago's online classes took place every Saturday, initially on Google Meet but we had some technical issues, so I set up a recurrent Zoom meeting as part of my contribution to the classes. Participants contributed in different ways, some financially according to what they were able to give, others through expertise in certain areas, and others through bringing different people to the classes; this lack of set structure throughout the classes enabled participants to be flexible in attending and contributing, and highlight the importance to Santiago of not having any barriers to people attending them in a non-hierarchical 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998) of which he was also part. The classes usually lasted 90 minutes but often overran as conversation was flowing. The classes were very informal and welcoming; anyone interested in Quechua language or culture could turn up at any point. Participants came sporadically or whenever they were able, with others able and eager to attend more regularly. Many of the participants who had been attending offline continued online, with new members also joining over the period of lockdown. This was a very flexible meeting with spontaneous discussions appropriate to the participants present in that moment. Santiago observed key lessons about how to engage with other people with care and respect, through his mother and grandmother interacting with Indigenous people in markets, and this care for individuals is clear in his classes, as well as prioritising learning through discussion and experience.

Santiago loves to encourage discussion about Quechua language and culture; how the language is used in communities or could be used within society and what knowledge is contained within the language and associated way of life. He wants participants to apply Quechua teachings to their own lives and regularly discusses 'key Quechua concepts' or teachings as the base of these meetings, such as the role of play – '*pukllay*', or reciprocity – '*ayni*', or community – '*ayllu*'. He also wants to encourage play, and fun. He aspires to create an informal space in which experiences can be shared with others. He encourages talking about personal experiences in rural

communities with Quechua-speakers and making new experiences together. Santiago's classes were improvised, and he invented his own Quechua online learning environment. They had no specific structure and no learning objectives, creating an open meeting to chat, where Quechua language and culture was often, but not always, discussed. Language learning was not a priority in this space, rather engaging with Quechua culture, thinking, community and values.

As I had private classes with Felipe and was still in contact with him and his family from the UK, it was easy to reconnect and ask if we could organise online classes together to keep in touch with the Quechua context. We used my University Zoom account to meet regularly; both Felipe and Santiago relied on me setting up the virtual meetings in order for them to happen, due to technological and financial constraints. However, Felipe and I often struggled to find times that would work for both of us, due to our individual commitments and the time difference. Felipe continued to emphasise the role of cultural materials in his teaching of Quechua, and particularly the role of written texts, including stories, riddles, and songs amongst others. Moving to virtual classes removed the possibilities of in-person language learning experiences or trips to certain places, so Felipe chose to focus mainly on stories and myths and speaking in Quechua about them in his virtual classes. In the absence of being able to go out and experience Quechua in markets or the local environment, Felipe drew heavily on videos of local cultural elements, for example carnival, or farming environments, or videos of Quechua stories. The classes came to be a place where Felipe would explain certain situations in detail rather than being able to experience these, or he would show a YouTube video in order to explain certain points he wanted to make.

Emerita ran various in-person courses in Peru alongside her husband, Valerio: predominantly 'Quechua language', 'Traditional textiles', 'Andean music' and 'Andean cosmovision'. These were residential courses near Cusco, where individuals and groups were able to visit and stay with Emerita and Valerio in order to learn the specific linguistic or cultural skill they were interested in. Having struggled to find teaching on Andean art and culture, Emerita is offering the courses she herself wanted when she began her journey of looking into Andean art and culture. During lockdown, Emerita and Valerio focused particularly on making their textiles course available

online and developed further levels for it; each of the 3 levels was made up of 10 classes (2 per week), forming the 'Semiotics of Andean textiles' course from September to December 2020. The participants varied each level, with some having previously participated in in-person courses. These classes did not have a specific focus on learning Quechua, yet Quechua language learning was of paramount importance in their textiles classes; for example, looking closely at Quechua terms for specific parts of textiles and observing how their meanings alter and aid the interpretation of cultural elements. The textiles classes were an interesting gateway into the Quechua language for the participants. Emerita explored astronomical knowledge contained within the textiles, but also provided astronomical background to understand the space that these pieces reflect, using Quechua to explain the textiles and vice versa. Valerio is a musician from a Quechua community in the region of Cusco, teaching specific textile techniques grounded in Andean worldview and Quechua morphology. They each taught one class per week of the textiles course using their different approaches.

After focusing on teaching textiles and running the three levels of their course on various occasions online throughout 2020 and 2021, Valerio offered a Quechua course; participants had been interested in learning the language through their experiences with textiles. The Quechua classes occurred over five weeks, with two classes per week. These classes had an explicit focus on teaching 'cosmovision' and Andean culture as well as an introduction to the Quechua language, with one class dedicated to Andean thinking and the other to Quechua language learning each week. This was a small group of five participants who wanted an introduction to Quechua language and culture. The textiles and the Quechua classes each cost between 50 and 100 dollars per level. I was not able to interview Valerio individually for my project, but attended his classes, and these textiles and Quechua classes provide an important point of discussion for understanding teaching and learning culture and Andean thought within the context of this chapter.

New groups of online Quechua classes have also been formed online during the COVID-19 pandemic. Yachak founded a Kichwa language school with the aim of creating a learning

establishment with its origins in nature and the Kichwa territory; teaching Kichwa through Kichwa culture and environment and seeking to teach and counteract dominant perceptions of the language and history. Yachak was already teaching Kichwa online to indivudals, however his online teaching increased during lockdown in Ecuador with group classes in his virtual academy. He offers a structured course of four levels (each made up of three modules), which is based on an adaptation of the year-long agricultural cycle of corn. The course takes two years to fully complete all levels:

Level	Basic			Intermediate I			Intermediate II			Advanced		
Module	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**
Equivalent phase in corn cycle	*'Sapiyay'* *Enraizamiento* Grounding			*'Wiñay'* *Crecimiento* Growing			*'Sisay'* *Florecimiento* Flourishing			*'Pukuy'* *Maduración* Maturing		

Table 3:1 Yachak's course structure

Each module focused on cultural elements to support Kichwa learning: a specific genre of music, the preparation of a particular dish, audio and written myths, an aspect of philosophical, historical and linguistic background. The participants remained the same once the module has started, with some variation when starting a new module. Classes occurred twice weekly for two hours, with substantial homework in addition to prepare for the following class.

Yachak's classes costed between 100 and 150 dollars per module, and Yachak offered a 20% discount for booking one level, or three modules, in advance. Participants who booked a single module of the class together with someone else also each received a 20% discount. The Kichwa language school also offered scholarships to young people from Kichwa communities, with a basic understanding of the language; this was to encourage them to become highly proficient in Kichwa and go on to teach it, with other participants being encouraged to develop in their understanding of and identification with Kichwa. Yachak set up various WhatsApp groups, with a different one for the whole language school, or for those particularly interested in linguistics or history were a way of bringing the whole language school together in one virtual space. He consistently advertised the new modules there, although most members of these groups had already signed up to his classes, he was also very active on Facebook in tagging current

participants and hoping to reach a wider audience for his classes through his current students. Yachak used different virtual environments for different purposes, with more personal interactions over WhatsApp and hoping to promote and recruit new participants through his current contacts on social media. However, Yachak did not use these various WhatsApp groups to encourage interaction or community between learners, rather restricting permissions so that only admin could send messages and proceeded to regularly send promotional messages over these channels to those already engaging with his classes.

Yachak uses a variety of teaching materials to illustrate different aspects of his Kichwa language classes. He uses lots of videos to show specific cultural concepts, for example of *'ranti ranti'*, a practice of exchanging produce with others and thereby strengthening communal links through reciprocity. He also uses lots of songs to showcase different genres of Kichwa music and different artists and use this as a way to explore their culture; he would always speak about the artist themselves and their background which may have been different to his own, and lyrics that opened up a different way of looking at the world and enabled an entrance into this and a discussion of it through song. He also incorporated written elements, with each module ending with a poem that we translated together as a group, and myths which we read aloud together.

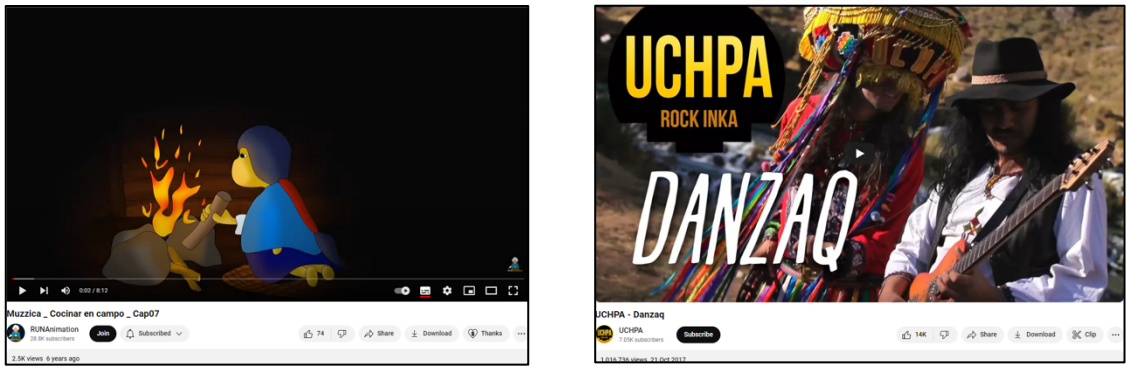


Figure 3:2 Sample videos from Yachak's classes on cooking a traditional food 'Muzzica' (RUNAnimation, 2018), and Kichwa dances accompanied by Kichwa music (UCHPA, 2017)

The materials Yachak used were suitable for people of all backgrounds and encouraged discussion between those in the classes to share knowledge and experiences on certain topics.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

For example, in one class[11] examining the myth of '*Chipicha',* an Indigenous student from a rural part of Ecuador began to tell a different version of the one being explained in the class, as his grandma used to tell it to him in that way. This showed the regional differences not only in language, but also in knowledge and the ways in which this was expressed. However, this also enabled Yachak to validate and emphasise the importance of Indigenous stories and language, placing scholarship students' knowledge above others and enabling other participants to learn from their experiences. Yachak uses videos as a way of showing learners different aspects of Andean life and culture, through experiencing different aspects of music, cooking, stories or videos of certain places or practices.

Each of the different tasks used a different linguistic skill, yet the one practiced least in this class was speaking. Yachak's classes were intended to provide participants with an alternative view of language and culture and help them to get closer to Kichwa and in turn distance themselves from dominant Spanish language and culture. Yachak[12] considered this to be his main objective in teaching Kichwa online, commenting "*sobre todo mi objetivo es que haya Kichwahablantes de personas que hayan estado alejados del Kichwa, que no tengan casi conocimiento del Kichwa*." [My primary objective is that people that have been far from Kichwa, who almost know nothing about it, become Kichwa speakers]. As someone who himself had been 'far' from Kichwa language and culture, not growing up with the language, yet now identifies as a Kichwa person, this mirrors his personal journey with the language, and he is able to engage with participants who have no background to Kichwa language and culture and begin to explain his own experiences. He comments on the ease of this during the pandemic, as the transition to online learning expanded this language learning potential to people interested in Kichwa, wherever they are in the world, and wanted to capitalise on this opportunity. There was a diversity in his classes of people from different countries and this diversity encouraged discussion, and a variety of questions and experiences within the classes, often prompted by his own background and experiences with Kichwa. However, the role of Quechua knowledge and language in his classes,

[11] [20.05.21 Class 8, Level 5, Yachak, Skype]

[12] [Yachak, 19th March 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

and various other online classes, goes further than this, offering an opportunity for teachers to share an alternative way of being in the world, and participants to begin to question their own 'frames of reference' and interpretations of the world. This was more possible in online classes, due to the teachers' flexibility in curriculum development as will be discussed later in the chapter.

3.4 Making and interpreting meanings

The view of meaning-making as an active process within language education is reflected both in a transformative learning theory and communities of practice approach, however meaning is created and interpreted differently according to each of these. Meaning-making is a key unifying element of language learning, transformative learning theory and a communities of practice framework. Questioning meanings and meaning-making is at the centre of transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1991, 1994) as individuals realise that the original meaning held is problematic in some way and re-examine their own beliefs about that notion, initiating a process of personal transformation and changing the way in which certain meanings are interpreted. A transformative learning approach says that meaning is made internally and interpreted individually, with meanings able to be transformed through encountering different perspectives. Within a communities of practice framework, meaning is created and interpreted together as members of a particular community come together around a shared goal, they each bring their own individual experiences. A key concept in Wenger's (1998) communities of practice framework is the 'negotiation of meaning', through which learning occurs and identities are created.

Meaning is active and changing according to Wenger, co-constructed with others and in constant development as individuals learn about and understand others' views of the world; "A way of talking about our (changing) ability – individually and collectively – to experience our life and the world as meaningful" (Wenger, 1998, p.5). This occurs through the paired concepts of participation and reification that make up Wenger's negotiation of meaning process. Within this, participation is active, and social (Wenger, 1998, pp.55–57); participation highlights the social aspect of creating meaning through experiencing life. Wenger argues that activities that can be

considered individual often include others who are not present at that moment, for example, an individual process such as writing is social when considering the reader. However, Tusting (2005) criticises the lack of engagement with language within this social practice and Wenger's limited engagement with the role of language in his communities of practice framework, arguing that language is central to negotiation of meaning and social interactions and therefore must be considered in these processes to better understand social and power relationships within communities of practice. Barton and Hamilton (2005) argue that Wenger overlooks the role of language in his framework, expanding on this by arguing that understandings of language and literacy as a social practice are key to understanding the creation of meaning within communities of practice.

Reification (Wenger, 1998, pp.57–62) refers to the process of expressing meaning with others through products such as theories, tools or the written word, amongst others. whether this be through making, naming, or interpreting, amongst others, creating a thing out of them; "Whereas in participation we recognize ourselves in each other, in reification we project ourselves onto the world, and not having to recognize ourselves in those projections, we attribute to our meanings an independent existence" (Wenger, 1998, p.58). The processual nature of participation and reification in meaning-making within a communities of practice framework enables analysis not only of individuals, but also the wider community they make up, and how this community fits into other spheres, for example in language revitalisation contexts:

> "The duality of participation and reification […] is a fundamental aspect of the constitution of communities of practice, of their evolution over time, of the relations among practices, of the identities of participants, and of the broader organisations in which communities of practice exist" (Wenger, 1998, p.65).

Within an Andean context, these concepts are helpful to explore both the environment in which the meaning is created, and how it is documented; meaning-making is often participatory as it involves social practice and experiences, with the environment itself also contributing to and inseparable from the meaning produced. The documentation of these meanings can occur through alternative literacy practices; meanings have been documented and passed on through mediums other than the written word, for example through textiles, or songs or stories, but also

within a wider reciprocal environment of meaning-making. I use the concept of meaning in this thesis to understand individuals' ways of interacting with the world, within their wider communal setting, acknowledging the key role of language in social endeavours. Meaning is not always tied to language in the case of non-alphabetic literacy practices in Quechua communities, which participants began to return to during lockdown and whose teachings were able to be expressed through Quechua language classes. Within a framework of the multiplicities of literacy practices in the Andes, I consider literacy and encountering and making different meanings to be a transformational practice.

3.5 Alphabetic and non-alphabetic literacy practices; Quechua knowledge and teachings

Some scholars attribute great importance to written texts, whilst differentiating between different mindsets of oral and written cultures, and the impact of writing systems on cognition (Goody, 1977; Ong, 1982). Whilst others began to question the dichotomic separation of these elements to consider how literacy is used more broadly in different contexts by different cultures, and the resultant impact of these different environments and literacy uses on the skill set of people using them (Scribner & Cole, 1981). Literacy, communicating culture and experiential learning are inseparable in virtual Quechua language classes and in documenting and transmitting meaning; each play a key role pedagogically in developing Quechua language skills, whilst also enabling teachers to create links with Andean life and thought in online environments. Andean articulations of media and knowledge support a diverse view of literacy that is fundamental to understanding online Quechua classes, and this is seen primarily in two ways. Firstly, in how alphabetic literacy is used to teach the language itself in online Quechua teaching and secondly how taking a wider view of literacy and alternative Andean media enables participants to engage with Andean culture and different experiences through alternative media. Cultural elements of classes are often considered a supplementary element to language learning, rather than something that explicitly needs to be taught. In an Andean context these 'cultural' elements, such as music or textiles, sometimes constitute literacy events in themselves and are therefore both part of communicating culture by being cultural elements themselves and expressing this culture through non-written literacy practices. It is important to consider these

sources of literacy and knowledge alongside alphabetic literacy as a gateway into Andean thought and life; accessing Andean thinking is otherwise inaccessible if focused purely on alphabetic literacy.

This study takes a wide definition of literacy, considering alternative media practices as well as alphabetic literacy sources to be of equal textual importance and to each encode specific cultural information intrinsic to Quechua language learning. In this way, literacy itself is an entrance point to various ways of viewing, understanding and being in the world, and therefore cannot be separated from ideas of communicating culture and experiential learning. Commenting on the multiplicity of literacies in the Andes and potential for understanding these, Sichra (2017, p.10) argues that:

> Writing must cease to be a form of acculturation, and be incorporated into indigenous cultures' social practices, without implying a loss of value for the spoken word and these cultures' own writings. Writing's social value needs to be acknowledged; moreover, it should stop being understood as educational or technical value.
> At the same time, this means recognizing the wealth Andean cultures exhibit in their diverse textual expressions. For example, Franquemont (1994, p.362) wonders, "How could textiles represent information and ideas so effectively that the sophisticated Andean civilizations never felt the need to develop writing?" From this perspective, failing to understand the textile system condemns us to be perpetually illiterate in Andean thought.

The existence of alternative literacies in the Andes enables entrance into a different culture itself; however, beginning to understand and consider these alternative literacies can cause disorienting dilemmas in participants and cause them to consider their own perceptions of what counts as literacy. Alphabetic literacy is mainly used in online language classes to provide a view of and link with Quechua culture and to begin to decipher knowledge contained within textiles or co-create knowledge through interactions within and outside the classes. Beyond that, both alphabetic and non-written literacy practices within the Andes relate to a specific context and each has a different way of communicating specific information within that context; their presence in the classes is often inseparable.

3.5.1 Alphabetic literacy

This section examines literacy as alphabetic literacy and how that is used in virtual Quechua language classes and textiles classes online, whilst also considering a broader view of literacy as a social practice and alternative practices that reflect this different way of being in the world, enabling discussion of 'communicating culture' and 'experiential learning' alongside and intertwined with alphabetic literacy practices. Alphabetic literacy has a complex history in the Andes as it marks the encounter between two different cultures and is linked to Spanish colonisation, marking a clash of cultures and worldviews, with these moments constituting a huge 'disorienting dilemma' for Andean people. Literacy became a symbol of colonisation that has often been expressed through Andean culture as a traumatic subordinating encounter (Mac Cormack, 1988). The clash of alphabetic literacy and Andean media did not eradicate the latter, but rather emphasised the domination of Spanish. However, the Incas already had established systems of documenting information without using the alphabet, from the physical acts of engraving (Salomon & Niño-Murcia, 2011) or weaving (Arnold, 1997; Zorn, 2004), to the social practices surrounding the literacy practice itself (Salomon & Niño-Murcia, 2011; de la Piedra, 2009), or the re-appropriation of alphabetic practices for indigenous purposes, for example through letter writing (Skar, 1994; Lund, 1997; Lienhard, 1997) or in fiestas or ritual environments (Salomon & Chambi Apaza, 2006; de la Piedra, 2009, 2010). Despite this conflicted past, Salomon (2004) emphasises the potential interconnectedness of alphabetic writing and *khipus*, Andean cord records, arguing that they existed alongside one another as complementary media for centuries. The relationship between alphabetic literacy and non-written media has often been one of coexistence alongside one another rather than interacting with each other; the virtual Quechua language classes and textiles classes in this study show how alphabetic and non-written literacy practices can complement each other in the virtual environment and enable access to Andean life and thought.

The resultant coexistence of cultures and worldviews and ways of being could be considered 'hybrid', however hybridity itself as a result of colonial encounters has often been presented as a moment of clashing and mixing, rather than a process (García Canclini, 1989; Rosaldo, 1995).

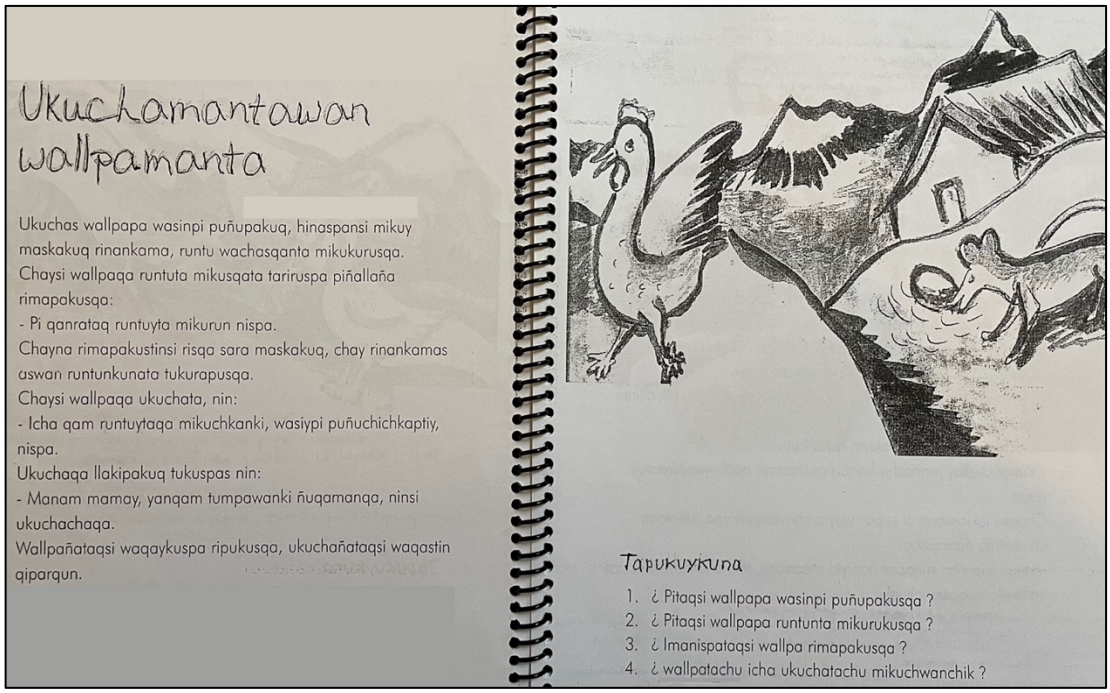
Considering these as a process highlights the continual clash of worldviews and ways of being that can be considered disorienting dilemmas with the resulting outworking of that in individuals and in a society; literacy has been a continual site of clashing and disorientation in the Andes. For Bhabha (1994), this process of negotiating meaning between the colonised and the coloniser is a continual interaction in which the culture of the coloniser continually transforms the colonised. Santiago, Felipe and Yachak consider learning Quechua as a way to resist colonial domination, and a way of '*aproximarnos a la lengua a través de descolonizar nuestro pensamiento, más que la gramática aprender Runa simi es una acción anticolonial*' [approaching the language through decolonising our thinking, more than grammar, learning Quechua, the language of the people, is an anticolonial action] [13]. For Santiago, leaning into and processing disorienting dilemmas as a communal endeavour as a way of changing thinking and 'decolonising the mind' (Ngugi, 1986) is more important than formal language learning. In the online classes, the teachers continually referred to the role of the mind and changing thinking as an important factor in Quechua language learning; this was possible through the cultural elements they were introducing in the classes, alongside the alphabetic framework. The curriculum development had to be adapted to work in the online environment, with less grammatical focus and a greater inclusion of cultural elements. Perhaps this was a result of a wider mixture of people from all over the world, some of whom had little or no prior understanding of Quechua language and culture, or link to the Andes so the class needed to be tailored towards them; this is different offline, where participants are experiencing life in a specific location, either immersed in the target culture and language or learning this from their own country.

Many of the online Quechua classes rely on traditional alphabetic literacy practices, such as reading and writing texts in order to function effectively in the online sphere, and as a benchmark for learning and progress. Yachak sets homework tasks on Google Classroom at the end of each class that require completion in writing to be discussed and marked in the following class. In this way he uses literacy to evaluate progress, with participants required to catch up on homework tasks if they have missed them; they will not get the certificate for that module unless they have

[13] [22.08.20 Class 5, Santiago, Zoom]

completed all of the homework for it. However, this method of assessment does not necessarily show an understanding of the concepts or points in question or that the homework task aimed to test. Although Yachak corrects the homework every class, the mark given (out of 10) reflects how 'complete' the task is, rather than the quality of this. For example, if all 18 sentences have been written, but needed lots of correction, this will result in 10/10, whereas if half of the sentences have been completed, but to a high quality, with minimal correction, and using many of the grammar and vocabulary points learnt throughout the course, this will lead to a score of 5/10, and a 'need to complete'. The marks and certificate show that the homework has been completed, but the quality of the work and level of understanding or linguistic skill has no bearing on this. As the course itself is paid, he would be unlikely to prevent someone from continuing based on lack of homework completion, unless they were a scholarship student and required to fulfil these requirements to continue.

Felipe also depended on written myths to structure his classes, starting each time with reading a myth out loud to first translate this from Quechua into Spanish to check understanding, and then



Ukuchamantawan wallpamanta

Ukuchas wallpapa wasinpi puñupakuq, hinaspansi mikuy maskakuq rinankama, runtu wachasqanta mikukurusqa.
Chaysi wallpaqa runtuta mikusqata tariruspa piñallaña rimapakusqa:
- Pi qanrataq runtuyta mikurun nispa.
Chayna rimapakustinsi risqa sara maskakuq, chay rinankamas aswan runtunkunata tukurapusqa.
Chaysi wallpaqa ukuchata, nin:
- Icha qam runtuytaqa mikuchkanki, wasiypi puñuchichkaptiy, nispa.
Ukuchaqa llakipakuq tukuspas nin:
- Manam mamay, yanqam tumpawanki ñuqamanqa, ninsi ukuchachaqa.
Wallpañataqsi waqaykuspa ripukusqa, ukuchañataqsi waqastin qiparqun.

Tapukuykuna

1. ¿ Pitaqsi wallpapa wasinpi puñupakusqa ?
2. ¿ Pitaqsi wallpapa runtunta mikurukusqa ?
3. ¿ Imanispataqsi wallpa rimapakusqa ?
4. ¿ wallpatachu icha ukuchatachu mikuchwanchik ?

Figure 3:3 Sample story from Felipe's classes – 'The mouse and the chicken' (DREA Dirección Regional de Educación de Ayacucho, 2010, pp.20–21)

using the story itself to prompt discussion and answer questions based on the reading. Before checking understanding of the story in Quechua by answering the 'Tapuykuna', questions provided alongside the story, Felipe first asked for a detailed description of the accompanying image in Quechua, requiring a specific explanation of who and what was present in this. However, although discussing a set myth and literate element, Felipe carefully controlled this discussion with specific questions that often required a very specific answer. There was little flexibility in spoken response, as he had a specific answer in mind, or wanted to share certain information through the story being studied, with no room to deviate from this. Therefore, the fixed literate myth the class was built around controlled all aspects of interactions in Quechua, including oral communication. The literacy-based classes had a certain structure to them and a repeated format each week that was not often changed. Although challenging and improving participants' written comprehension, Yachak and Felipe's literacy-based classes tended to also have a lack of linguistic fluidity; treating literacy or literate elements in the classes as a set format to be followed, equating the written word to a set way of thinking or responding and of specific knowledge contained within it, with no room to deviate from this.

Yachak's structured format emphasised practicing all of the skills, speaking, reading, writing, and listening, yet there was very limited speaking opportunities created in these virtual environments. The speaking opportunities in Kichwa that were given were structured and formulaic and based in literacy; Yachak would think of sentence examples on the spot based on the specific cultural and linguistic points of that class and ask each of us in turn to translate a new sentence verbally. Although Yachak classified this as speaking practice, or reading myths or sentences or poems out loud, or reading the homework out loud, there was no space for unstructured speaking practice in these classes. This is paradoxical considering the specific role of speaking in his personal Kichwa language learning journey:

> **Yachak**[14]**:** *yo decidí más bien siempre utilizar la lengua Kichwa y no la lengua Española, aunque obviamente era difícil porque todavía estaba recién aprendiendo ya, pero sabía que lo importante era eso, o sea que lo importante era equivocarme. Al inicio sí tenía miedo de equivocarme y no hablaba mucho en Kichwa, pero después me di cuenta que*

[14] [Yachak, 19th March 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

> *más bien lo importante era equivocarse para para recibir correcciones y y también uno mismo darse cuenta en que se equivoca. Entonces a la medida que yo entablaba una relación de amistad también iba aprendiendo el Kichwa. Entonces ahí conocí a mucha gente Kichwa y también conocí obviamente esa realidad kichwa que está negada y que es invisibilizada para los ecuatorianos y este bueno ahí aprendí Kichwa y al siguiente año inmediatamente empecé a dar clases de Kichwa.*
>
> [I decided to always use Kichwa and not Spanish although this was difficult because I was still only starting to learn it, but I knew that this was the most important thing; to make mistakes. At the start I was afraid of making mistakes and I didn't speak much Kichwa but then I realised that the important thing was to get things wrong so that I could be corrected, and also realise myself which aspects I was making mistakes in. So, as I made friends, I also learnt Kichwa. And I also met many Kichwa people there and obviously got to know this Kichwa reality that is denied and made invisible for Ecuadorians. I learnt Kichwa and immediately started teaching Kichwa the following year.]

The role of speaking and communication and community was key in absorbing both Kichwa language and culture for Yachak; he had his own disorienting dilemmas with the language and the culture during his time of learning. Perhaps he was expecting that participants would also find friends outside of the classes to practice with, however most of the people in that group did not have contact with other Kichwa speakers, only knowing the people in the classes with whom to practice Kichwa. In spite of this there were different levels represented, particularly concerning scholarship students; some could speak Kichwa already and wanted to learn how to write and the formal grammatical elements of the language, whereas others had no previous knowledge or contact to the language. The teachers' own experiences with Quechua impact their teaching practice as Yachak learnt with others and began to change his thinking through interacting with them, he prioritises encountering this different way of thinking and being in his classes. Santiago learnt Quechua through everyday interactions in market and Quechua-speaking areas and wants participants to speak and communicate above all else in his classes.

Santiago[15] focusses on the role of speaking in his classes; "*hay que privilegiar el acto de hablar – la transmisión de la lengua Quechua se ha mantenido así durante años*" [It's important to focus

[15] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

on the role of speaking – the Quechua language has been transmitted this way for years]. Santiago values the Inca heritage and believes in a continuation of this way of life, reclaiming and continuing the oral tradition of Quechua, rather than defaulting or attaching importance to the imposed alphabetic ways of transmitting knowledge. Therefore, rather than just promoting the use of spoken Quechua, Santiago rebels against the formalities of alphabetic literacy and using this in his classes. Although some participants in his classes had previously learnt other languages and wanted grammatical input to underpin their Quechua language learning, Santiago does not believe that languages should be learnt in this way, preferring spontaneous oral interaction, and prioritising communication over accuracy. He continually expressed the importance of learning from one another through spoken interactions, and repeatedly emphasised the lack of a set specific way of writing Quechua. He believes that writing is not necessary for language learning and that a focus on grammar and literacy can be off-putting, when the Incas transmitted knowledge in other ways; he continually tried to bring his classes attention to these, by focussing on their present and past experiences and activities. This mirrors his own experiences learning Quechua in rural areas and through his mother and grandmother; he had no formal training himself and would struggle to explain grammatical concepts or rules as they come naturally to him without thinking about these. He therefore emphasises the fluidity of the language and prioritises communication and understanding between 'variants', rather than geographical separation.

Santiago's classes are very unstructured, but this allows for participants to bring elements of their own lives or interest to discuss freely in that space. Santiago discusses writing as a way of understanding a culture, linking writing as a way of expressing a way of thinking and being and living in the world and with other people and cultures, which allows for the potential of changing thinking through revisiting own perceptions and expressions of being in the world. Santiago explores alternative content for his classes as participants are interested in Quechua culture and bring elements of this to discuss or go deeper into, or questions they have about specific elements that Santiago, or another class member, can answer from their own experiences. He sees Quechua as a living and active language that is not accurately represented by those outside

of it, or by those who seek to display it as a relic of the past, but rather it is fluid and changing and dynamic and involves different aspects of life. Whereas Santiago believes writing to be an archaic structure that is fixed and that does not express a way of being in the world in this same way; Quechua and non-written media permit an exploration of this that alphabetic literacy does not.

3.5.2 Andean media offline and online

Learning textiles techniques in Andean communities is often done by observation and participation by children in Indigenous areas. However, they learn from their surroundings and from the physical act of copying weaving practices. This is all done without using alphabetic literacy practices, and according to specific gendered weaving roles and practices. It is linked to a specific place, containing specific geographic information within the patterns. I participated in offline textiles classes in 2018 in Peru, where textiles practices such as weaving, spinning, and sling making were taught through observing a weaver. In offering commercialised workshops, the classes were mainly available to tourists, and as such they were provided with written information on how to learn the practices, making this knowledge accessible to those familiar with an alphabetic learning environment.

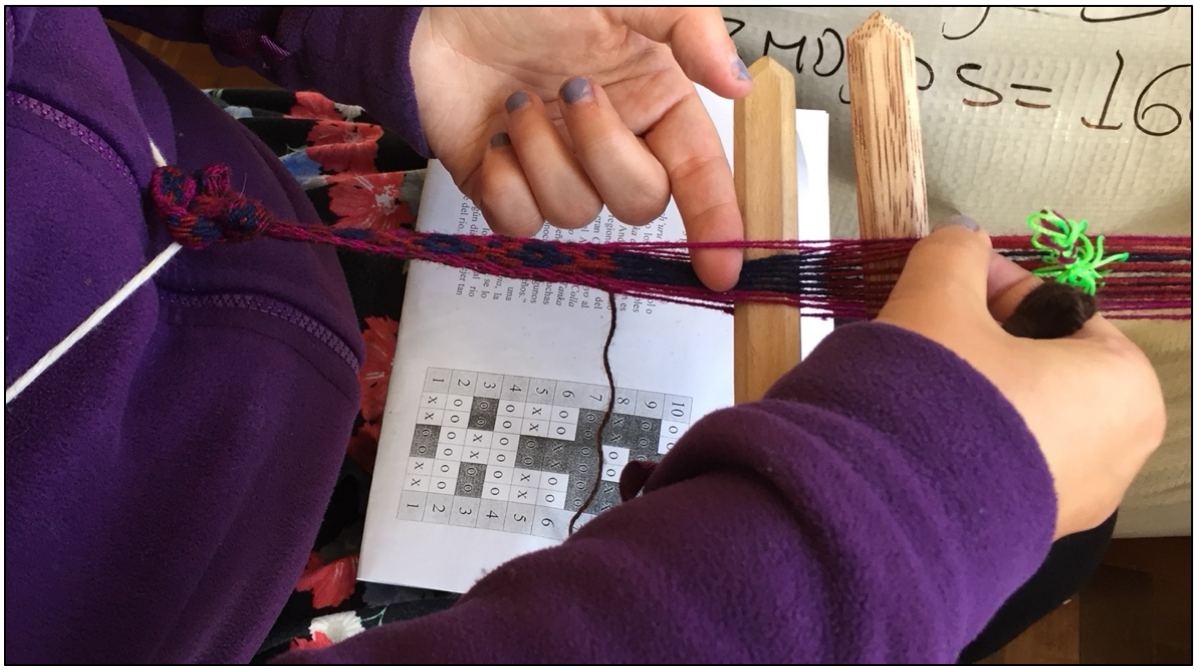


Figure 3:4 In-person textiles class; teaching materials for non-alphabetic practice (Liggins, 2018)

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

These classes were taught by an Indigenous person who would demonstrate a particular skill and then the learner would copy. This image shows the clash of cultures and literacies, but also how they can come together to support and potentially revitalise practice in certain environments. Although this was not replicable online, there was a great diversity of literacy events, both alphabetic and non-alphabetic, in online Quechua and textiles classes, with teachers using additional materials to support the participants' learning and setting literacy-based tasks.

For many learners in the virtual classes this expansion of their own definition of literacy to include Andean myths or music, or even a more oral focus of the classes, was challenging; interacting with literacy in new ways challenged their thinking in what constitutes meaning-making. This occurred through teachers presenting them with different forms of literacies or using non-alphabetic means to create meaning together for example through moving their bodies in a certain way as a way of unifying the group with everyone facing north, or carrying out the same physical exercises, a common practice in both Santiago and Valerio's Quechua classes. Participants were particularly challenged when asked to present Andean thinking in both alphabetic and non-alphabetic ways; for example, through writing their own myths drawing on the appropriate cultural context in Yachak's class, or participants in Emerita's class were required to 'draw the land and the sky as abstract concepts' to consider how they could best represent these visually without using images they would usually associate with these concepts.

Online it was not possible to engage in the physical act of weaving, so Emerita and Valerio's textiles classes online primarily focus on decoding the information contained within textiles and on the environment in which they are constructed. These classes introduce textiles as literate elements, and initially broke these down into sections so that the participants could understand the component parts of the textiles and what these represented. In his classes, Valerio introduced the practical and social elements of the textiles and their creation and use, whilst Emerita unravelled the knowledge contained within the textiles and how to begin to decipher this and relate it to the natural world. Valerio began by introducing the constituent parts of the *'lliklla'*, an Andean woven blanket or carrying cloth used for many purposes in the Andes, such as

carrying goods or children. Valerio broke the *'lliklla'* down into its component sections of different designs and purpose: *'pampa', 'lista', 'pallay'* and *'pata pata'*, and we spent a class discussing introductory elements of these categories, before discussing certain aspects further.

Figure 3:5: Component parts of a lliklla (Fernández & Bucher-Fernández, 2020a)

For example, discussing in depth the different linguistic uses of the term *'pampa'* and elaborating on this concept during one class. Understandings of the *'pampa'* are that it represents large swathes of fallow land (Arnold, 1997, p.111), with Andean textiles providing geographical mapping of *'ayllus'*, the land area of a specific community group, through cloth (Platt, 1978; Cereceda, 1978; Gisbert et al., 1987). This shows how the specific breakdown of an Andean textile can relate to the environment around it, with the role of land in Indigenous knowledge and language to be explored later in the chapter. In addition to this, the classes provided by Emerita and Valerio draw specific attention to the importance of Quechua language within their textiles classes, as well as the potential depth of information contained within the textiles that goes beyond social environment and the local geographical elements that are clearly represented in such pieces. The spacial element of textiles knowledge is an important part of their literacy practice within and beyond a certain environment that is not restricted to the textile itself.

Arnold (1997) explores the social element around the weaving practice itself and the specific elements that feed into this, such as men and women each weaving textiles for different

purposes, or particular days or seasons or places where weaving should occur with most vigour, showing that literacy practices are not separate from the environment in which they occur. Valerio drew on Spanish literacy and dissection of terms to develop a more detailed understanding of the spacial and linguistic parameters within which Andean literacy practices occur. Although most participants in Valerio and Emerita's textiles class did not speak Quechua, and some did not have any familiarity with the Andes, the Quechua language was drawn upon heavily to understand the textiles and explain different parts of these.

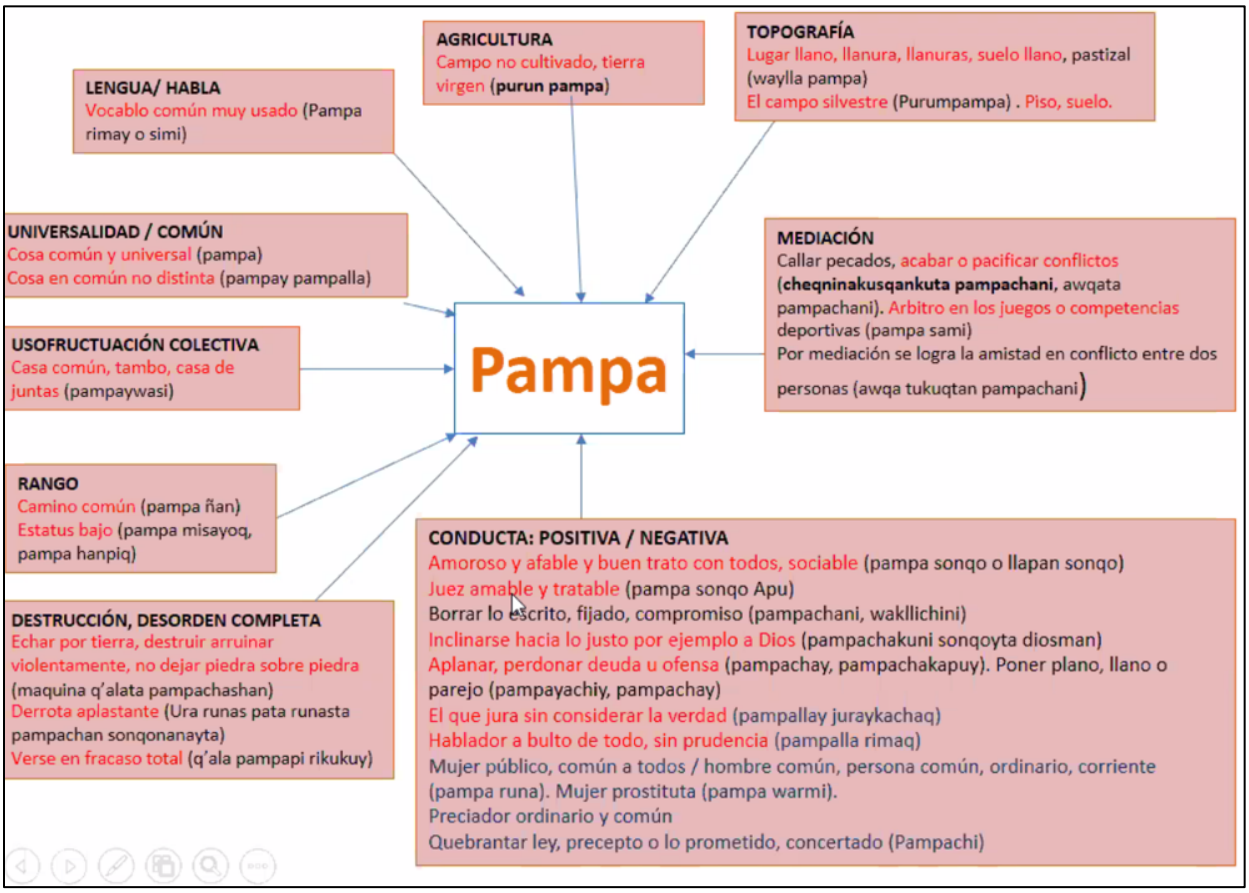


Figure 3:6 : Discussion of textile element 'pampa' (Fernández & Bucher-Fernández, 2020c)

Valerio[16] explained each of the uses of the term *'pampa'* in Quechua and their translations into Spanish; *"Usamos siempre términos Quechuas para acercarnos a una cultura y su filosofía, es importante para llegar a la profundidad y entenderla a través de la lengua originaria."* [We always use Quechua terminology to connect us with the culture and philosophy, it's important to sink

[16] [07.09.20 Class 1, Level 1, Valerio, Zoom]

deeper into understanding through the Indigenous language]. Valerio highlights the role of Quechua language as the bridge between the language classes and Quechua culture and 'worldview', the element that links participants to a way of thinking and being in the world. Having labelled the *llikIla* with Quechua concepts to explain the knowledge contained within specific sections, he further expanded upon these to show how they can relate to a spacial environment in the Andes; there is a limit to the depths of cultural and environmental understanding that can be reached without knowing the language. Andean culture and environment are reflected in the class environment and cultural elements themselves through a reciprocity between process and product; for example, reading the textiles but understanding the wider context in which it is made, or playing music but also understanding why an instrument is decorated in a certain way or the way in which dancers move in specific formations when they hear it. The literacy events or elements have a wider social context that is evident through both the grammatical formation of Quechua, and non-written media that reflect a specific way of being in the world by linking to specific geographical places and reflecting Andean thought.

3.5.3 'Cosmovision'

'Cosmovision' is a term to describe an Indigenous worldview, and has been used widely by Indigenous movements. I use this term as it was my participants' chosen way of referring to a Quechua way of life, one that expresses a distinctly Indigenous mode of being, grounded in reciprocity, relationality and the inclusion of non-human actors. These relationships between people, space and knowledge are communicated not only through cultural practices but also through the Quechua language itself and its embedded ontological assumptions. Indigenous channels of knowledge transmission, such as myths (Allen, 2002; Zuidema, 1964), provide a lens through which this worldview is passed on, and are intertwined with linguistic structures that shape perception and understanding (Howard-Malverde, 1990). In the Quechua case, the grammar and lexicon reflect a relational ontology, foregrounding reciprocity, collectivism and non-human agency, thus reinforcing cosmovision through everyday speech.

In an Andean context, observation is key to learning. Although not all participants are physically located in rural Quechua-speaking areas, the virtual Quechua language classes, broadcast from Peru and Ecuador, carry with them the cultural and linguistic logics shaped by these environments. Through her ethnography detailing textiles practices and the transmission of this knowledge in Andean contexts, Crickmay (2002, p.43) notes that:

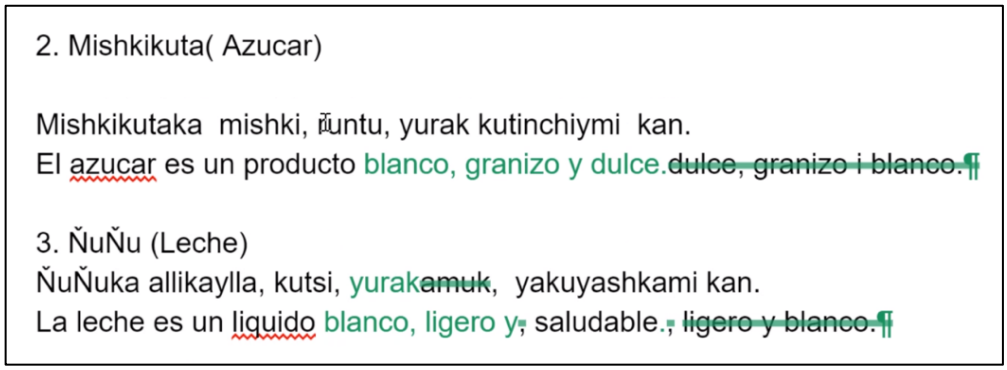
> the concept of learning is understood in the Andean region as related to experience, to knowing and living as a single process […] Those who grow up in rural Quechua communities do not learn first and then live, they learn as a part of living; a wise person is one who has lived, one for example who has filled all the positions of authority in his or her local community, it is possible to express this sense of interconnectedness in English by referring not to knowledge, but to learning, in which the outcome of study (learning) is indistinguishable from the process of study (learning).

This definition distances learning from acquiring specific academic knowledge, widening the definition to include everything that happens within daily life. This encompasses having and responding to disorienting dilemmas when confronted with alternative viewpoints or ways of life, wherever and whenever they may occur. This integration of learning with daily life resonates strongly with the linguistic encoding of Quechua cosmovision, where grammar, such as evidential markers or relational suffixes, expresses knowledge as contingent, lived, and always situated. In this way, learning is not only about acquiring abstract knowledge but about participating in a worldview that is linguistically and culturally embodied.

Such a perspective aligns with Wenger's (1998) concept of *practice* as 'building a shared history of learning'. This concept is helpful to understand a transformative learning approach within the context of communities of practice, considering their participation within Quechua language classes. In the context of Quechua language classes, this means that language learning becomes a process of ontological transformation, a shift in how learners understand themselves, others, and the world, through participation in culturally grounded communities of practice. Learning the language is not simply about mastering grammar or vocabulary, but about inhabiting a different way of seeing, knowing, and relating, a process both shaped by and reflective of linguistic relativity. Participants do not have a shared history, or come from countries with shared histories, yet they create their own history together in terms of the class and building

relationships with one another. Within this environment, they can face and process their disorienting dilemmas and change how they relate to and engage with wider global histories of exclusion, of colonialism, of nationalism, of identity, of education, of language, and they work through these together in the classes. This can lead to them interacting with these histories in a different way by discussing their individual histories in a communal environment and creating a shared history of learning. Creating this within a learning environment, encourages participants to explore their own perceptions, their own experiences and perhaps reformulate these and come to new conclusions**.** In addition, the process of interaction, or practice within the classes themselves led to building processes to respond to disorienting dilemmas; creating deep friendships in those moments of insecurity, building support for one another. This creates a shared history of supporting one another and overcoming obstacles and dilemmas in community and encapsulates Wenger's concept of practice (Wenger, 1998).

Within Quechua language classes, Spanish literacy is often used as a gateway to speaking and understanding Quechua, typically through translation. While this can aid comprehension, it also presents a potential disconnect. When participants rely on Spanish as the medium through which they interpret Quechua, they may unintentionally impose Spanish ontological and epistemological assumptions onto Quechua expressions, and obscure or misinterpret elements of Quechua cosmovision. This is evident when checking understanding through written translation; learners' sentence constructions can reveal misunderstandings of core Quechua concepts:


2. Mishkikuta(Azucar)

Mishkikutaka mishki, ɸuntu, yurak kutinchiymi kan.
El azucar es un producto blanco, granizo y dulce.~~dulce, granizo i blanco.~~¶

3. ŇuŇu (Leche)
ŇuŇuka allikaylla, kutsi, yurak~~amuk~~, yakuyashkami kan.
La leche es un liquido blanco, ligero y~~,~~ saludable.~~, ligero y blanco.~~¶

Figure 3:7 Correcting homework sentences in Yachak's class[17]

[17] [23.07.20, Class 12, Level 1, Yachak, Skype]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

In this example, Yachak has the sentences on the screen and is editing them to ensure the translation matches the Kichwa sentences written, this involves changing vocabulary use from the '*amuk'* [soft] to '*yurak'* [white]. However, Yachak also ensures that the meaning in Spanish is clear according to the priority of ideas and vocabulary; this is written in the 'opposite' way to how it is expressed in Spanish, as the adjectives closest to the noun have the highest priority. In this case the Spanish translation is changed to convey this important distinction in meaning, as the speaker deemed *'mishki'* [sweet] to be the most important element:

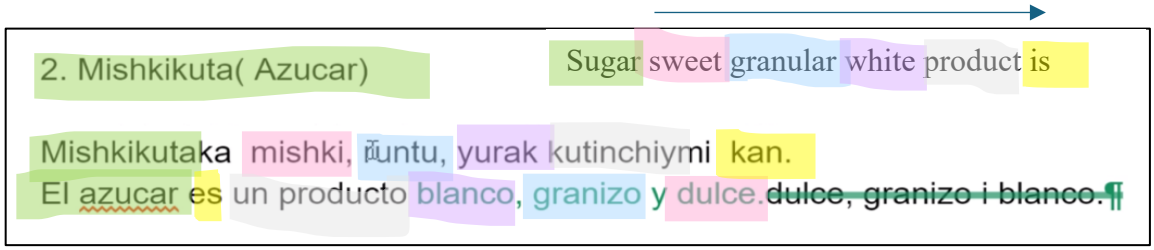


Figure 3:8 Translation of homework sentences[18]

Learning Quechua language with its own intricacies in understanding is done through Spanish, the common language of participants' proficiency; using Spanish itself as a way to enter Kichwa thought and increase proficiency in the language by checking specific concepts and clarifications in Kichwa. As participants are writing they are experiencing clashes with their own thinking through linguistic differences. Two friends from Curaçao were learning Kichwa in Yachak's class and realised through his classes on spatial suffixes, showing how language is used in time and space, that their own view of time was the same as in Kichwa where the future is behind and the past is ahead[19];

Ñawpa: lo que decimos primero es lo que esta adelante
Washa: lo que decimos después es lo que esta detrás

[*Ñawpa [before, past]:* what we say first is what is in front
Washa [behind, future]: What we say afterwards is what is behind]

[18] [23.07.20, Class 12, Level 1, Yachak, Skype]

[19] [11.02.21, Class 7, Level 4, Yachak, Skype]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

In these examples a literal translation would make sense according to a linear 'western' view of time, past-present-future, however this would not transmit the same meaning; due to a Quechua view of time which is multi-directional. Here, 'in front' refers to the past. Although fluent in Spanish and English, these first-language Papiamento speakers had never realised that Spanish and English use promoted a view of time different to their own; *"no sabiamos que el castellano era diferente*" [we didn't know that Spanish was different!]. When learning 'majority' languages it was assumed that their view of time and space was the same, in a way that cannot be when learning an Indigenous one. The Kichwa classes drew attention to these similarities and differences and Yachak as a teacher who has learnt Kichwa as an adult, is excellent at explaining these intricacies. These grammatical elements relate closely to a Quechua view of time and space that will be discussed later in this chapter. In a similar way, engaging with the cultural elements of Kichwa, such as writing myths, participants are challenged to think in an 'Andean' way in order to write a culturally appropriate myth; these occur in a specific place, with specific worldview that has been introduced through vocabulary and through similar myths studied in the classes. Then when participants come to write their own they are familiar with the format and content and language and able to produce something similar. Beyond linguistic challenges, this presents participants with an opportunity to enter Kichwa thinking through writing a myth in this way and incorporating cultural elements and thinking about how to do this in a way that matches and supports the Kichwa language it is being written in. Producing cultural elements such as myths or songs enforces a cultural level of understanding and production from the participants as the language itself does not easily allow for alternatives.

Yachak also believes that language is a gateway to Quechua thinking and emphasises the role of first learning the language to then learn about the history and the wider context associated with the language, as they continue to step away from the colonial and towards the Indigenous. As in his own life, the Quechua language is a gateway to a different way of life. This was the same in colonial times, with physical books and literacy practices used as a gateway to Spanish domination and alphabetic writing. The teachers often presented Kichwa as the opposite to the colony, for example in terms of being outside of the monetary system, but also through linguistic

markers. For example, through Spanish influence; *"este '-yuk' va desapareciendo mucho y siendo remplazado por castellanismos con 'chariy' (tener)"* [this suffix '*-yuk'* is disappearing and being replaced by *'chariy'* (to have), using the Spanish grammatical format in Quechua] [20] the Quechua suffix '*-yuk'* means to own or to possess the adjective that came before it, for example the owner of a house (*wasi*) would be a *wasiyuk*. In Spanish the verbal construction involving '*tener* - to have' is used to express possession and this grammatical structure is increasingly being used in Kichwa with the verb *chariy*, to have. This in itself is very colonial as possession and ownership came through that, rather than a communal understanding of land rights, or other elements. Emphasising the role of teaching Quechua in its wider context, drawing in particular on social, political and economic activities, Yachak continually emphasised the role of language in understanding history*; "Si no habla Kichwa, tiene una historia distorsionada; primero estudias la lengua y después te metas a la historia"* [if you don't speak Kichwa, your perspective of history is distorted; first you study the language and then you enter into the history]. Yachak, therefore first teaches linguistic elements in his classes before using these to present cultural, historical economic and political and social activities as key parts of his language course.

Quechua language is specific in terms of movement within geographical areas, and requires the speaker to position themselves in relation to other people and to their surroundings; this connection is seen both grammatically and through non-written representation of Quechua thought. The Quechua language requires speakers to continually position themselves in relation to specific events and where they were when they happened; where are they going to or coming from, did they see it or not, can they claim to be part of that or not. These alternative literacy

[20] [05.01.21, Class 15, Level 3, Yachak, Skype]

practices are also linked to this way of being in the world as they show how similar linguistic patterns are found in Andean life. Although the classes occurred online, they still link to a physical place, which will be explored in the following section, and the knowledge present in the classes reflects this wider reality. Emerita and Valerio are unpacking the meaning behind textiles in order to show the link between astronomical knowledge and information contained within Andean textiles. The *'pata pata'* patterns shown in the weaving can be seen replicated in other ways of

Figure 3:9 Textiles patterns in the surrounding environment (Fernández & Bucher-Fernández, 2020d)

Andean life, from striped patterns on ceramics to planting crops in a similar formation, or the terraces built into mountainsides to ensure food security for the Inca empire; these represent a way of life and the physicality of these patterns that are seen as 2D but then see how they work in everyday life. The textiles classes built on this to decipher textiles and see how these can represent astronomical events and see how patterns are reflected in the universe. This different thinking and experiencing even online through the way the course is set up allows participants to begin to question and develop their own thinking, relationship to knowledge and to their place in the world and how this is represented.

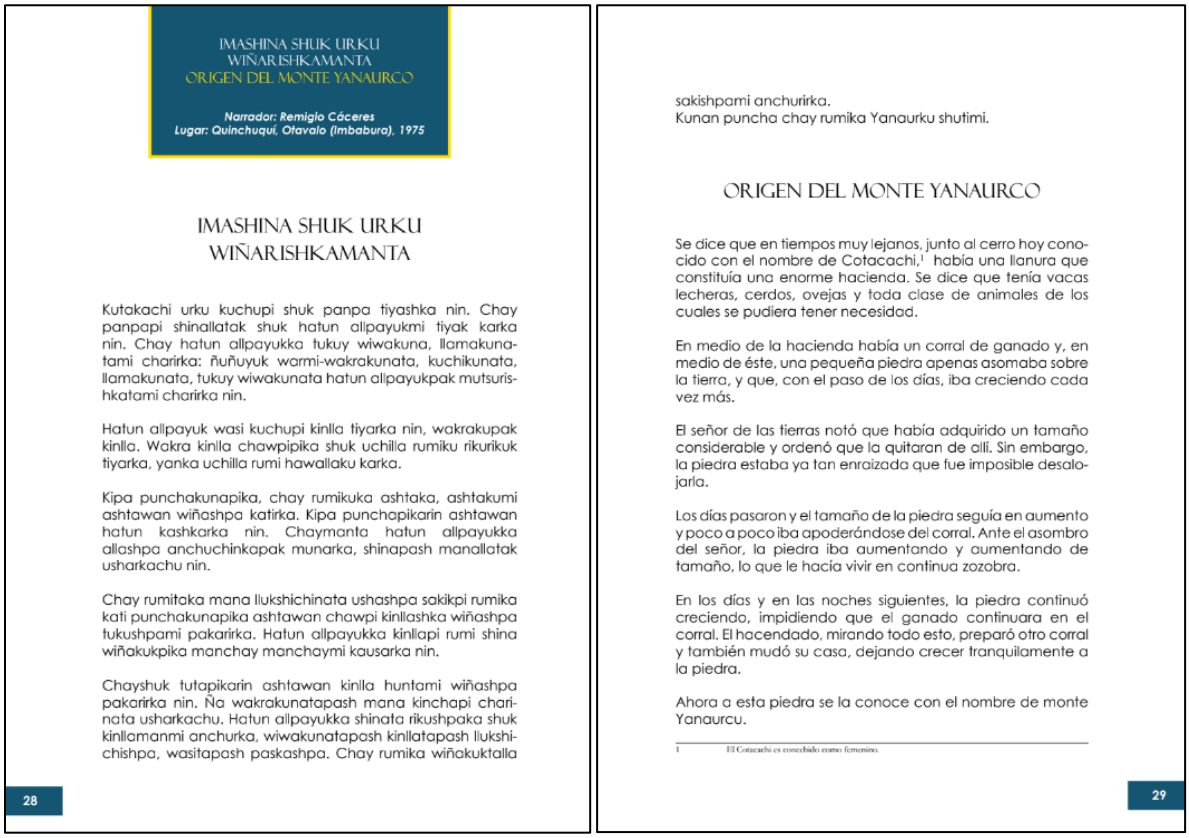
Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

3.6 Clashing cultural ways of thinking and being; potential role of Quechua in changing perspectives and values

The Quechua language classes provide a space where thinking can be challenged, and clashing interpretations and meanings can be discussed and reformulated. Western science tends to favour alphabetic, analytical knowledge, that is separate from the environment around it, and separate from the land (Nakashima & Roue, 2002). However, separating knowledge from nature is challenging in traditional knowledge systems, where knowledge is created in a certain context, through interpreting the world in a multidimensional and holistic way (Mazzocchi, 2006); "From an Indigenous perspective, ways of knowing and learning are derived from Creation, therefore, knowledge is sacred; inherent in and connected to all of nature, its creatures, and humans" (Graham & Ireland, 2008, p.33; Battiste, 2002). The connection of knowledge to land in Indigenous environments is based on reciprocal relationships between communities and the area in which they live, with the land sustaining them and in turn the communities looking after the land; "land contains the language, the stories and the histories of a people. It provides water, air, shelter and food. Land participates in the ceremonies and the songs. And land is home." (King, 2012, p.229). Andean non-alphabetic literacy practices express a way of linking to the social environment in which they occur, as well as the physical environment in which they are embedded. However, the 'deterritorialization' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980) of Indigenous knowledge, language and literacy practices in the online environment removes this immediate physical connection of language to a place, that is of paramount importance to Indigenous language and knowledge transmission. At a moment in time where international travel was not possible, learning Quechua online during the COVID-19 pandemic provided participants with a link to their country that they may not otherwise easily have had, or with a way of deepening their understanding of a place, whether or not they were physically in the Andes.

Yachak, Felipe and Santiago all expressed the value of myths in their classes, explaining that they contain the scientific knowledge of a community to be passed down intergenerationally in a way that does not restrict access to this knowledge; Myths can contain information on how to survive in a place, or explain origins of communities or people groups, and draw upon human understandings of themselves and their existence (Cajete, 1994, 2017). These proved a vital fount

of knowledge within the classes, as a way of presenting a way of life and thinking to participants, whilst also being able to translate and understand the vocabulary contained within them.



IMASHINA SHUK URKU
WIÑARISHKAMANTA
ORIGEN DEL MONTE YANAURCO

Narrador: Remigio Cáceres
Lugar: Quinchuqui, Otavalo (Imbabura), 1975

IMASHINA SHUK URKU
WIÑARISHKAMANTA

Kutakachi urku kuchupi shuk panpa tiyashka nin. Chay panpapi shinallatak shuk hatun allpayukmi tiyak karka nin. Chay hatun allpayukka tukuy wiwakuna, llamakunatami charirka: ñuñuyuk warmi-wakrakunata, kuchikunata, llamakunata, tukuy wiwakunata hatun allpayukpak mutsurishkatami charirka nin.

Hatun allpayuk wasi kuchupi kinlla tiyarka nin, wakrakupak kinlla. Wakra kinlla chawpipika shuk uchilla rumiku rikurikuk tiyarka, yanka uchilla rumi hawallaku karka.

Kipa punchakunapika, chay rumikuka ashtaka, ashtakumi ashtawan wiñashpa katirka. Kipa punchapikarin ashtawan hatun kashkarka nin. Chaymanta hatun allpayukka allashpa anchuchinkapak munarka, shinapash manallatak usharkachu nin.

Chay rumitaka mana llukshichinata ushashpa sakikpi rumika kati punchakunapika ashtawan chawpi kinllashka wiñashpa tukushpami pakarirka. Hatun allpayukka kinllapi rumi shina wiñakukpika manchay manchaymi kausarka nin.

Chayshuk tutapikarin ashtawan kinlla huntami wiñashpa pakarirka nin. Ña wakrakunatapash mana kinchapi charinata usharkachu. Hatun allpayukka shinata rikushpaka shuk kinllamanmi anchurka, wiwakunatapash kinllatapash llukshichishpa, wasitapash paskashpa. Chay rumika wiñakuktalla

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sakishpami anchurirka.
Kunan puncha chay rumika Yanaurku shutimi.

ORIGEN DEL MONTE YANAURCO

Se dice que en tiempos muy lejanos, junto al cerro hoy conocido con el nombre de Cotacachi,[1] había una llanura que constituía una enorme hacienda. Se dice que tenía vacas lecheras, cerdos, ovejas y toda clase de animales de los cuales se pudiera tener necesidad.

En medio de la hacienda había un corral de ganado y, en medio de éste, una pequeña piedra apenas asomaba sobre la tierra, y que, con el paso de los días, iba creciendo cada vez más.

El señor de las tierras notó que había adquirido un tamaño considerable y ordenó que la quitaran de allí. Sin embargo, la piedra estaba ya tan enraizada que fue imposible desalojarla.

Los días pasaron y el tamaño de la piedra seguía en aumento y poco a poco iba apoderándose del corral. Ante el asombro del señor, la piedra iba aumentando y aumentando de tamaño, lo que le hacía vivir en continua zozobra.

En los días y en las noches siguientes, la piedra continuó creciendo, impidiendo que el ganado continuara en el corral. El hacendado, mirando todo esto, preparó otro corral y también mudó su casa, dejando crecer tranquilamente a la piedra.

Ahora a esta piedra se la conoce con el nombre de monte Yanaurcu.

1 El Cotacachi es concebido como femenino.

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Figures 3:10 Myth about the origin of the Yanaurco mountain (Moya & Jara, 2009, pp.28–29)

Written myths were used in Felipe, Santiago and Valerio's classes to present the learners with an understanding of life in the Andes. However, more than this, the myths enabled participants to discuss their own experiences with the stories told and compare and contrast their experiences; for example, in Yachak's class, some of the learners realised that they each had different versions and interpretations of a certain myth depending on where they were from and who had told it to them, and that this was particularly the case when it concerned specific territorial knowledge such as the assigned genders of volcanoes. At other times learners were not easily able to decode the myths as they did not know the physical environment in which it was set in order to do so - perhaps that it was always cloudy above a specific mountain, or the altitude of these – and that such knowledge would have enabled deeper understanding of the historical and geographical knowledge within the myths. Therefore, when given homework tasks to write myths, this was a much more challenging task than purely linguistic and grammatical. It required a detailed

knowledge of the local environment, and of specific linguistic terms to address certain 'earth beings' (de la Cadena, 2015). Having never travelled to Ecuador, I found this particularly challenging. However, this resulted in learners helping each other as some were used to formal language learning and more linguistically and grammatically proficient, with others having greater knowledge of the environment and cultural aspects and able to share this together.

Within Quechua language learning it is also important to understand the environment in order to be able to position oneself in that place, by using the correct vocabulary. Valerio spent time introducing the Quechua terms in his textiles classes to be able to understand this link to the environment and position the speaker within this. In this example, he explained a specific textiles design *'Inti lloqsimuchkan'* – Sunrise:

Figure 3:11 'Inti lloqsimushan' (Fernández & Bucher-Fernández, 2020b)

This Quechua sentence breaks down as: *Inti lloqsi-mu-chka-n*, *Inti:* the sun *'lloqsiy'*: to come out *'mu'*: towards, in benefit of *'chka'*: present progressive *'n'*: 3rd person singular, present tense. However, the translation is not as simple as 'sunrise'. Valerio translated *'Inti lloqsimuchkan'* as *"El sol sale hacia mi y me beneficia"* [The sun comes out towards me and benefits me], highlighting that the suffix '-mu' can mean both 'towards' and 'in benefit of'. He went on to explain that: *"Cuando decimos 'el sol está saliendo' en Castellano, no formamos parte de este evento, pero en Quechua si estamos involucrados, por eso utiliza el 'mu'."* [When we say 'the sun is coming out' in Spanish, we're not part of this event, but in Quechua we are involved, and so we use the suffix *'mu'*"]. Silverman (Silverman, 2008, p.78) translates *'Inti lloqsimuchkan'* as "the sun is rising away from the speaker and is moving towards him", further implying that "*mu*

suggests that the sun is benefitting them because it is moving towards them" (Silverman, 2008, p.86). Distancing from the environment is present in language and cultural elements, but this is an important part of Quechua that cannot be avoided, as the speaker themselves are inherently involved, by being present in a place. This way of interacting with the environment and with knowledge itself through evidentiality within the Quechua language - requiring speakers to acknowledge whether they witnessed any given action, or if they did not see it occur - continually locates the speaker in relation to other speakers, a geographical location and the knowledge being spoken of. For learners more familiar with a 'western' scientific worldview, this can result in 'critical reflection' as they seek to position themselves in relation to this language and culture they are learning, and challenge themselves to think and write in a way that acknowledges Quechua worldview in their classes and language use.

For example, after introducing the concept of '*pacha',* referring to space and time as a mutual reality that exist without separation. Emerita [21] emphasised the need for participants to *"cuestionarse mucho y desprenderse de lentes occidentales"* [question themselves a lot and separate themselves from western ways of seeing things] in order to immerse themselves in their textiles and Quechua learning; she is drawing on her own experience having grown up in Switzerland, and been through a transformation in her own thinking to become involved in deciphering Andean textiles as a result of this. Emerita introduced certain aspects of how objects in the natural world are represented in textiles, for example drawing on size and number of elements to visually represent these. Having explored some of the intricacies of including astronomical knowledge in textiles, and in what ways planets can be presented through fabric, Emerita set homework to "draw the abstract concepts of land and sky", with the express

[21] [10.09.20, Class 2, Level 1, Emerita, Zoom]

instruction of distancing from ideas of using clouds or things that may easily represent these. As one of the first classes, this was an immediate challenge to consider alternative non-alphabetic

Figure 3:12 : Textiles homework – "Draw the land and the sky as abstract concepts" [Images collected online] (Liggins, 2020)

ways of conveying information. In the same way that writing myths required an awareness of the cultural setting, this task simultaneously asked participants to begin to think about the world in a different way and challenged them on how this could then be represented visually. In doing so, it caused a deeper understanding of and reflection on Andean textiles and the patterns used to create these.

In both online and offline contexts, alphabetic and non-alphabetic literacy practices can be transformational for participants. These different articulations of literacy and relationship with the natural world highlight the various practices of creating and documenting meaning in the Andes, yet literacy has the potential to be a transformational practice that can change relationships with self and others. Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1996, p.xi) argue that gaining literacy skills can 'create new social identities or new kinds of people'. The use of Quechua knowledge and language in online Quechua classes through literacy practices shows a way of being in the world, in which meaning is documented and understood in different ways; the learners in the online classes are interested in these practices, and become increasingly aware of and interested in the knowledge contained within these practices. Encountering these different meanings and participating in certain environments can lead to learners' experiencing disorienting dilemmas, as will be shown in the following chapter. In offline educational environments, alphabetic

practices in Indigenous communities can also be transformational. Skar (1994) highlights a loss of respect through schooling and education, and the changing priorities within the community concerning what is learnt, and how. The traditional intergenerational transmission and pursuit of agricultural and ancestral knowledge was favoured and passed down within the community, yet increasingly stands in stark contrast to acquiring literacy skills and working in the city: "Accepting this foreign (*qala*) learning is an issue of great tension between generations, literacy's power to 'corrupt' the young being cause for considerable apprehension" (Skar, 1994, p.223). Emphasising the changing property of literacy and its important role in transforming communities and the lives of indigenous people, Skar (1994) discusses the changing temporal relations, and different relationship with past, present and future amongst Lima *illaqkuna,* the 'absent ones' from the community. This results in different expectations for their children's future, yet also affects the way they represent their own pasts. However, underlying this is a sense of acknowledging where they come from, but also where they are going, through a process of redefining oneself, within which literacy has a crucial role: "Because literacy is essentially foreign, it remakes Runa who have acquired this knowledge" (Skar, 1994, p.224). Therefore, once literacy has been acquired it fundamentally changes an individual, in this case often resulting in a distancing from the community. Although this transformation through literacy can occur in this instance for 'illiterate' Indigenous people, the transformation occurs in terms of thinking and acting as a result of learning to write; non-alphabetic literacy practices contain similar worldviews and challenging points that have the potential to change learners as they come into contact with Quechua 'cosmovision', Quechua language and Quechua culture.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how Quechua knowledge and language function not only as subjects of study, but as gateways into fundamentally different ways of knowing, relating, and being. For participants in the online Quechua classes, engagement with Quechua 'cosmovision' became an entry point into rethinking their personal and cultural assumptions. These classes offered more than linguistic content, they created spaces for learners to begin questioning dominant worldviews and reflect on their positionalities.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

The teachers' class curation was key to creating this transformative space of engagement with Quechua 'cosmovision'; the online format allowed teachers greater curricular flexibility, enabling them to shape learning environments that were non-hierarchical, and culturally grounded. The teachers facilitated spaces where learners experienced disorienting dilemmas and could actively negotiate meaning, creating new understandings of themselves and their place in the world. This process was particularly evident in how teachers integrate alphabetic and non-alphabetic literacy practices, challenging learners to expand their definitions of knowledge, learning, and meaning-making itself. The classes encouraged learners to participate in unfamiliar literacy practices and engage with Indigenous worldviews, and the teachers' personal transformative journeys with language, identity, and culture fundamentally shaped the learning environments they created. Examining the teaching practices of Felipe, Santiago, Emerita, Yachak, and Valerio demonstrated that these virtual classrooms can serve as more than mere language transmission spaces; teachers like Yachak emphasise that language learning must precede historical understanding, arguing that without linguistic competence, learners' perspectives remain 'distorted' by colonial frameworks.

During the pandemic, language instruction was removed from its geographic and traditional sociolinguistic context and this 'extraction' of Indigenous local knowledge from the contexts and land in which it occurs, and meanings created there (Klenk et al., 2017, p.2) became a generative virtual space. For globally dispersed learners, the classes served as a connection to a Quechua way of life, offering a relational connection to land, culture, and cosmovision through digital means. Online learning enabled teachers to create an environment in which participants were regularly being challenged in their thinking. This occurred through a less structured curriculum, encountering and participating in different literacy practices, and cross-cultural differences in interactions within the classroom. These classes became sites of potential transformation rather than mere linguistic acquisition. Participants did not simply learn new words, they were drawn into Quechua ways of thinking. The following chapter delves into these diverse individual learner journeys, tracing their prior engagement with Quechua knowledge and language and their motivations for online language learning.

Chapter 4 : Learners' experiences and motivations – Disorienting dilemmas with Quechua

4.1 Introduction

Having seen who was teaching Quechua online, how the classes were being taught and the knowledge and language presented in the virtual classrooms, this chapter introduces the language learners who participated in this study. It focuses on those enrolled in Yachak's online classes in Ecuador, and Santiago's classes in Peru. It explores who is learning Quechua in these virtual spaces, what brought them to the language, and how their past experiences and present motivations shape their learning journeys. The chapter is organised into four sections. The first presents brief profiles of the learners individually and communally in each class to provide a sense of the diverse community that has formed around online Quechua learning. The second explores learners' prior experiences with Quechua, whether through family, community, education, personal heritage, or none at all, and considers how these shaped participants' relationships with the language before formally studying it. The third section examines the possibilities of disorienting moments in language learning, and the final section explores learners' motivations for learning Quechua. In order to explore how these learners' engagements with Quechua in online classrooms shaped their sense of self and led to moments of transformation in the following chapter, this chapter centres on participants' journeys with Quechua, and the varied paths that brought them into the virtual Quechua classroom in the first place.

4.2 Introducing the learners

The participants in the classes were varied, with learners in rural Ecuadorian communities, cities in Ecuador and in Peru, and around the world; this mixture would not have been possible in-person, without some participants travelling internationally for classes. However, this heterogenous group were united during the pandemic in their online classes, having each chosen to participate in learning Quechua at that specific moment in time. The learners interviewed for this study took group classes with Yachak in Ecuador, or group classes with Santiago in Peru, so only learners from these two classes are going to be discussed in this chapter. The learners each

had different levels of engagement with Kichwa or Quechua before taking the classes, as not all the participants are from Ecuador or Peru or had any contact to the language within those countries. The participants have been grouped according to teacher and country.

4.2.1 Learners in Yachak's Kichwa class, Ecuador

The learners in the language school come from Kichwa and non-Kichwa speaking parts of Ecuador, as well as internationally, with participants joining from the USA, Spain, Germany, France, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Peru, amongst others. The participants in Yachak's classes interviewed in this study had varying levels of interaction with Kichwa before enrolling for language classes, with some participants having grown up in Kichwa communities, or with family members who speak Kichwa. Participants with some or no linguistic proficiency in their heritage language, but who do have a familial link to the language are often considered 'heritage language learners', finding themselves between 'native speakers' and 'foreign language learners' (Draper & Hicks, 2000; Campbell & Peyton, 1988). Seals and Shah (2018, p.3) consider heritage language learners to be:

> People who have a recent or ancestral connection to a language that is not the dominant societal language in their current region of residence. Furthermore, heritage language speakers use their agency to identify with heritage language(s). Heritage language speakers may be at any level of proficiency.

Yachak's Kichwa academy was formed just before the pandemic and began as an entirely virtual establishment. It attracted participants from all over the world, although most had some connection to Ecuador already established:

Learner	Age	Gender	Profession	Nationality	Living in
Ariana	33	Female	PhD student	Ecuadorian	USA
Sara	49	Female	Professor	Ecuadorian	USA
Pilar	(25+)	Female	PhD student	Spanish/Colombian	USA
Killa	29	Female	Tour guide	Ecuadorian	Ecuador – rural
Lorenzo/Inti*	25	Male	Farmer	Ecuadorian	Ecuador – rural

*Lorenzo changed his name from a Spanish name to a Kichwa name during the Kichwa language course; he has a Spanish and a Kichwa pseudonym to reflect this change.

Table 4:1 Learners interviewed from Yachak's class in Ecuador

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Three participants, Ariana, Sara and Pilar, are currently living in the USA and began learning Kichwa through online classes with Yachak during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ariana is an Ecuadorian PhD student, who grew up in Quito. She had no family contact to the language and her first contact with Kichwa was at university, where she was required to study it. She began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic, marking the start of her intentional journey to learning Kichwa. Sara is also originally from Ecuador and is now a professor at a university in the USA. She travelled around a lot as a child, however did not have any contact to Kichwa. Her grandparents and some of her aunts spoke Kichwa, however, her father did not. She was interested in learning the language during her time at university and began taking online classes with Yachak during the COVID-19 pandemic. Pilar is a PhD student in the USA. She describes herself as half-Spanish and half-Colombian and grew up in Spain. She had no contact to Ecuador prior to her Kichwa classes, when she began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Yachak wants to expand the reach of Kichwa and Quechua to other parts of the world and also help Indigenous people to re-engage with Kichwa, and as such his classes attract a diverse pool of participants from other nations, as well as throughout Ecuador. Killa is an Ecuadorian tour guide. She was working in Otavalo prior to the pandemic, when she returned to live in her rural community. Her parents speak Kichwa, and she grew up hearing the language spoken around her in the community, however she did not learn to speak it herself. She began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic. Lorenzo/Inti is an Ecuadorian farmer. He grew up in the south of Ecuador in a rural community where Kichwa is no longer spoken. He had no family contact to the language. He is a scholarship student with the academy and began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic. Lorenzo started off the classes with a Spanish name, however officially changed his name to a Kichwa name, Inti, during the Kichwa language course, he has a Spanish and a Kichwa pseudonym to reflect this change, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Ariana, Sara, Lorenzo, and I started learning Kichwa at the same time and were together in the same class from the second module; initially Sara was part of a parallel group, but participants dropped out of both classes after the first module and these classes were combined to continue as one group. Killa and Pilar had both been attending classes for longer and were in a more advanced level. They encourage participants to invite friends outside of the Andes to join the classes, so that increasing numbers of people can have contact to Quechua language and culture and experience a different way of thinking and living. They want others to experience the change they themselves have experienced through their contact to Quechua language and culture.

The participants in Yachak's class were more interested in formal language learning and a structured approach to this, particularly as various participants had an academic background in linguistics:

> **Ariana**[22]**:** *Todos las tres somos lingüistas, estamos ahí armando el rompecabezas no. Entonces me gusta mucho aprender de gramática y… darme cuenta de lo difícil que es el Kichwa, de lo distinto que es al Español.*
>
> [All three of us are linguists, we're there putting the puzzle together. I really like learning about grammar and realising how difficult Kichwa is, and how different it is to Spanish.]

One participant in the Ecuadorian class, Killa, a scholarship student, had limited exposure to Kichwa prior to learning online, although she grew up in a Kichwa-speaking community. She wanted to learn how to speak and use the language but appreciated consolidating grammatical knowledge in order to be able to write, associating formal classes with acquisition of alphabetic literacy skills in Kichwa:

> **Killa**[23]**:** *Escribir […] no lo sabía muy bien entonces estas clases de Kichwa que he tenido me han permitido estudiar esta área de la gramática y fortalecer mis conocimientos.*
>
> [I didn't know how to write very well [in Kichwa], so these Kichwa classes have allowed me to study the grammar and strengthen my knowledge].

[22] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[23] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Indigenous language learning often occurs within the family through oral transmission, and learning to write the majority language, Spanish, is usually favoured in school settings. The participants in the Ecuadorian class all appreciated this formal and structured approach to grammatical knowledge and alphabetic literacy, whether this helped them learn for their own linguistic interest, or supplemented their receptive language skills. Interacting with the culture and language in a cross-cultural environment made space for disorienting moments in their language learning.

4.2.2 Learners in Santiago's Quechua class, Peru

As Santiago's Quechua class in Peru took place in person prior to the pandemic, the participants were less geographically diverse than in Yachak's academy, although new learners did join during lockdown from other parts of the world; in order to participate they had some link to Santiago or another course member as the classes were privately organised and not formally advertised.

Learner	Age	Gender	Profession	Nationality	Living in
Bianca	72	Female	Retired sociologist	Peruvian	Peru – city
Isabel	68	Female	Retired diplomatic staff member	Dutch	Peru – city
Luis	(70+)	Male	Retired fireman	Peruvian	Peru – city
Emilia	(25+)	Female	PhD student	Brazilian	Brazil
Cecilia	72	Female	Retired nutritionist	Peruvian	Peru – rural
Ramón	70	Male	Retired doctor	Peruvian	Peru – city
Lola	(70+)	Female	Retired diplomatic staff member, NGO co-founder	Peruvian	Peru – city

Table 4:2 Learners interviewed from Santiago's classes in Peru

Bianca is a retired charity worker. She grew up in the south of Peru and did not have any direct contact to Quechua within her family or childhood, other than witnessing an act of discrimination towards a Quechua speaker and questioning this as a child. She moved to Lima when she was 15 for university, and first began to connect with Quechua during her studies. Whilst studying sociology, she travelled to rural communities to conduct fieldwork and live for extended periods of time. She had foundational experiences with the language during these times and developed a deep love for it, subsequently adopting Quechua as an important part of her identity, and increasingly trying to live according to Quechua values. She became aware of Quechua speakers

migrating to the cities and began to support them. In addition, she has maintained her relationship with these rural communities since her student days and is always looking out for Quechua people to engage with. She began to learn Quechua with Santiago in-person prior to the pandemic to keep this connection to the language.

Isabel is retired diplomatic staff. She grew up in the Netherlands and first encountered Spanish as her parents were learning the language. Through this she started to learn Spanish herself and went on to also study Latin American language and literature. This introduced her to Arguedas'[24] work, whilst she was still living in the Netherlands. Although she did not understand much of the Spanish, and even less of the Quechua, she was fascinated by both. During this time, she met a Peruvian and moved to Peru with him, where they got married. She has lived in Peru for over 40 years and through that time maintained a fascination with Quechua language and culture. Despite this, she did not have time to actively engage with Quechua during her working life and has been enjoying coming back to her interests in her retirement. She has been attending Santiago's Quechua classes in-person to pursue this.

Luis is a retired fireman. He grew up in Peru and his grandparents spoke Quechua, so he had a relationship with the countryside during his childhood, however this language was not passed on to him due to negative language ideologies towards Quechua within his family. Through his work as a fireman, he has worked across the country and found a need to communicate with those around him in emergency situations. He had prior contact with Santiago and began to learn Quechua with him during the pandemic, through his online language classes.

Emilia is a Brazilian PhD student. Her Swiss grandfather went to work in the mines in Peru and he learnt to speak Quechua in advance of this. She has family contact to Peru, although Quechua has not been passed down to her. Emilia has spent time in Quechua festivals in rural areas and

[24] Arguedas was a Peruvian novelist who was brought up in a Spanish home, but was fluent in Quechua; his writings show the contrasts between these.

been greatly impacted by these. She knows Santiago and benefited from his classes going online during the pandemic as she was able to join them virtually from Brazil.

Cecilia is a retired nutritionist. She grew up in the central highlands of Peru. Her grandparents spoke Quechua, however this was not passed on to her. Since 2010 she has spent increasing amounts of time in rural areas travelling with her sons who are working there, and this is how she first became interested in and began to engage with Santiago's in-person Quechua classes. During lockdown, she spent time living with a Quechua family and would share her stories of this in the virtual Quechua classes.

Ramón is a retired doctor. He grew up in Peru and has memories of his grandparents speaking Quechua when he was a child, and his parents were also Quechua-speakers, however, he did not grow up speaking Quechua himself. He first became interested in Andean culture in the 90s through his investigations of traditional Indigenous medicine. He has sought out various experiences with maestros and participated in Quechua rituals and ceremonies through this. He has known Santiago for a long time, however, only began to attend his Quechua classes during the pandemic.

Lola is retired diplomatic staff. She grew up in an international mining community in rural Peru. During her childhood she heard Quechua spoken by employees in her childhood home, however she did not engage with them. Later on she began to try and understand what this language was that she experienced as a child, and she sought help from maestros. She then co-founded an NGO working in Quechua-speaking areas of Peru. Around 5 years prior to the pandemic, Lola asked Santiago to start his in-person Quechua classes and offered her house for this; when they first began there were 5 or 6 of them learning Quechua and sharing together.

I met Bianca, Isabel, Cecilia and Lola in September 2019 during in-person Quechua classes in Santiago's house in Lima. Luis, Emilia and Ramón joined the class later. Except for Emilia and myself, the participants in the Peruvian class were mainly retired. They were willing to talk for an

extended period about their journeys with Quechua. This flexibility was also evident in the relaxed nature of the classes, and the scheduling and attendance of these; they were more interested in a place to come together and chat, rather than a formal grammatical class and therefore chose to learn with Santiago. Many participants had had contact with rural Quechua speaking communities during their working lives and wanted to maintain this contact with the language and culture in their retirement as it had impacted them significantly, or sparked a desire to learn it or 'get closer to it'. These started off as two groups on Zoom that merged during the pandemic; participants in the first were more interested in learning the language, whereas the second group mainly discussed Quechua 'cosmovision'. Combining these classes led to a group discussing Quechua language and culture very informally, with no set plan.

4.3 Prior experiences in a journey to learning Quechua: 'Disorienting dilemmas' and shifting language ideologies

Mezirow (1991) argues that 'habits of mind' become a natural way of thinking and acting and this makes changing them difficult; individuals' world views are composed of their upbringing, life experiences and education and often remain unquestioned. I consider language ideologies to be 'habits of mind' and key to this study, as changing these can impact participants' language use, with lasting consequences for indigenous language reclamation:

> Ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling, and law. (Woolard, 1998, p.3)

In this way, language ideologies determine an individual's language use, or reaction to this within the wider social context. However, Mezirow uses the concept of disorienting dilemmas (1981) to refer to extreme and unexpected life events, crises, or transitions, such as death, divorce, or job loss, which often result in sudden perspective changes as individuals reframe their experiences, beliefs, and habits in order to move forward. Mezirow (1991) also highlights more gradual perspective change over time, similar to Freire's 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1963; Montero, 2014).

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Whilst participants in this study have repeatedly come into contact with Quechua language, culture, and people, many have also grown up surrounded by negative ideologies connected to this language, they have each experienced moments of gradual disorientation, reflection and alteration leading them to develop their perspective of the language and culture and learn Quechua. Three main areas of disorienting moments in the data prior to the pandemic, occur through family, education, and community language contact. In this context, Quechua language learners' perspectives change gradually prior to learning the language, until they choose to learn it and can engage with it on a deeper level, sparking disorienting moments, critical reflection, and sudden changes of perspective.

The COVID-19 pandemic was a globally disorienting dilemma that placed people in an uncertain situation, where they began to consider their own ways of being in the world and query and change ontologies (Lange, 2004). Learning Quechua online through this specific time period provided participants with a space in which to encounter different ways of being, and process their disorienting dilemmas. Building on Fishman's (1991) concept of 'breathing spaces', Belmar and Glass (2019) argue that virtual communities create space for revitalising minoritised languages, in which the use of minoritised languages is encouraged, and where minoritised languages can be freely taught and discussed. I take this concept to be both a physical and a temporal 'breathing space' for Kichwa classes during the globally destabilising moment of the COVID-19 pandemic. I argue that not only did the pandemic provide breathing spaces through online language classes, in which participants could explore Quechua language and culture in a Quechua-centred environment, but that lockdown itself was a temporal breathing space that facilitated participants' engagement and interaction with virtual classes. Having both time and space to engage with Indigeneity online accelerated participants' identification with and acknowledgement of Quechua language and culture as a constant and important element of their lives, during a period of global uncertainty.

In order to consider in the following chapter whether and how participants' relationships with language, belonging, culture, themselves and the world have changed, this chapter first considers

participants' prior experiences with each of these before they started learning the language, and as they came to choose to study the language. Prior to learning Quechua online, the participants' experiences with the language according to country can be summarised as follows:

	Prior to learning Quechua online, Peru	**Prior to learning Kichwa online, Ecuador**
Relationship with the Quechua language	Mixed prior contact to Quechua within family; most participants' experiences were negative or non-existent. Often broken intergenerational transmission due to negative view of Quechua, or no transmission due to lack of family contact to the language. Some participants had contact to Quechua through household employees who spoke it. Participants outside of Peru had limited previous contact to Quechua. Participants were generally aware of Quechua prior to learning it online, whether through witnessing discriminatory encounters, coming across literature in university, or becoming aware of Quechua speakers around them whilst living in a new city.	Participants came from Kichwa and non-Kichwa speaking parts of Ecuador, and all had little to no prior contact with Kichwa in their families. Most participants did not know anyone who spoke Kichwa. Some participants had relatives who spoke Kichwa, but no intergenerational transmission. Participants outside of Ecuador had limited previous contact to Kichwa. The participants in the Ecuadorian class were not as aware of Kichwa in their immediate environments and had not previously paid the language or its speakers much attention.
Channels of belonging	Many participants had experience travelling to rural communities and engaging with Quechua and Quechua speakers. Through these encounters, participants began to emotionally connect with the language in one of two ways; either adopting it as part of their identities and engaging with the Quechua speaking community, or becoming interested in understanding what they had experienced, even though they had not understood or felt very distant from it.	Little to no prior interaction with Kichwa speakers in community, or knowledge of those who speak. The one participant with contact to a Kichwa speaking community had actively distanced herself from this due to her own negative language ideologies, she was choosing to live in the city and preferring the novelty of Spanish language and culture, and hiding her origins.
View of Quechua culture	Participants were often interested in Quechua culture, having learnt about this through their interactions with Quechua speakers.	Participants were largely unaware of and uninterested in Kichwa culture prior to taking their language classes.
View of self and the world	Quechua was an important part of various participants' identities through having spent time in rural communities, festivals, and learning from maestros.	Participants' lives did not include Kichwa, and they did not consider it to be part of who they were prior to learning the language.

Table 4:3 Experiences with Quechua prior to learning it - participants in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian class

The participants in Peru had more exposure to Quechua prior to taking their language classes than the participants in Ecuador had had with Kichwa. In some cases, participants in the Peruvian

class had already established a relationship with Quechua language, culture, community and even incorporated it into their own sense of self. They were exposed to and experienced disorienting dilemmas during these encounters that led them to question their own perceptions and relationships with these things, in a way that participants in the Ecuadorian class had not encountered as much prior to their online learning. The main points of exposure and disorienting dilemma with Quechua prior to choosing to learn the language were in the family, in education and in rural communities.

4.3.1 Experience: In the family

The table below presents the participants according to their background and exposure to Quechua and Kichwa within their families, this ranges from no contact to having grown up with Quechua- or Kichwa-speaking parents:

Contact to Quechua or Kichwa within family	**Participant** Santiago's class (Peru)	**Participant** Yachak's class (Ecuador)
Quechua- or Kichwa-speaking parent(s)	Ramón	Killa
Quechua- or Kichwa-speaking grandparent(s)	Luis, Cecilia, Emilia (Brazilian)	Sara
No direct family contact, but Andean Spanish	Bianca, Lola	Ariana, Lorenzo
No family contact	Isabel (Dutch)	Pilar (Spanish/Colombian)

Table 4:4 Family contact to Quechua in Peru and Kichwa in Ecuador

The distribution of participants' exposure to Quechua and Kichwa within their families, for example participants with Quechua-speaking parents or grandparents, is split quite equally across both the class in Peru and the class in Ecuador. In both classes, participants' varying prior experiences with Quechua and Kichwa in their families indicates generational shift; younger family members have had exposure to the language through those around them, however they have not acquired it fully themselves, so they are now choosing to learn the language. Some participants' prior contact to Quechua and Kichwa in their families came through Andean Spanish, which is heavily influenced by Quechua and Kichwa. These participants were often unaware of the presence of Quechua and Kichwa in their lives and speech, believing they had

little contact to this Indigenous language prior to learning it. For the European participants, the lack of family contact with Quechua and Kichwa suggests either academic or personal interest in the language rather than heritage-based transmission. However, this does conceal the families' other linguistic endeavours, such as Isabel's family learning Spanish, or connections, such as Pilar's family contact to Colombia. In both Peru and Ecuador, for most participants in this study, their prior experience with Quechua or Kichwa in their families was either negative or non-existent.

Quechua- or Kichwa-speaking parent(s)

Although growing up 40 years apart in different countries, Killa and Ramón are united in the fact that their parents spoke Quechua or Kichwa, but did not speak Kichwa or Quechua to them; the intergenerational transmission of the Indigenous language within their families was broken at this point. While Killa heard her parents using Kichwa, this was never directed at her; "*no hablan con nosotros el Kichwa, más bien ellos hablan con otras personas de la comunidad*" [they don't speak Kichwa with us, rather they speak with others in the community]. Although Killa did hear Kichwa spoken around her, Ramón's parents "*nunca hablaron Quechua delante de nosotros, de sus hijos*" [they never spoke Quechua in front of us, in front of their children]. Killa and Ramón's language use within their families reflect the linguistic policies of both Peru and Ecuador to promote Spanish over Indigenous languages. However, these family language policies affected Ramón and Killa's use of Spanish, engagement with the Indigenous language and relationships with Quechua and Kichwa speakers.

Despite the lack of direct contact within her family, Killa was able to understand some Kichwa prior to starting the classes, with receptive skills developed through her indirect family contact and community upbringing. Killa had lots of exposure to Kichwa as a child as she grew up in a rural Ecuadorian community where she was surrounded by Kichwa, although her family spoke Spanish together at home. Similarly to Ramón, Killa's most direct contact to Kichwa was with her grandparents as they were monolingual Kichwa speakers, and she grew up understanding them but unable to respond in Kichwa. Although a certain level of receptive skill is to be expected for

heritage language learners, Killa's inability to speak Kichwa restricted her communication and her relationship with her grandparents; *"era una limitante entre mi familia, entre mis abuelos y yo para podernos conocer mejor"* [it was a limitation in my family, between my grandparents and myself in being able to get to know each other better.] Killa's parents had learnt to speak Kichwa from their parents, but they did not pass this on to their daughter. However, in the cases of Luis, Cecilia, and Sara, the intergenerational transmission was broken between their grandparents and their parents; their grandparents could speak Quechua but did not pass this down to Luis, Cecilia and Sara's parents.

Ramón assumes the intergenerational transmission of Quechua was broken in his case so that it would not interfere with his education; his parents believed that speaking Quechua would put him at a disadvantage and result in him not being able to speak Spanish well. This is a view that he himself has internalised as, although only speaking Quechua with his grandparents until the age of 7, he believes that using Quechua as a child with his grandparents has affected, and continues to affect, his Spanish use:

> **Ramón**[25]**:** *Cuando escribo me doy cuenta que construyo de manera extraña. Es decir, hasta ahora […] mi uso de los verbos, de los pronombres, mi uso digamos del sujeto predicado me genera un problema, o sea yo mismo cuando escribo, leo y digo 'que extraño, no redacto bien', como si no fuera mi idioma natal.*
>
> [When I write, I realise that I construct [sentences] in a strange way. That's to say even up to now […] I have problems with verbs, pronouns and subject predicate usage, so when I'm writing, I read it and say, 'that's strange, I don't write well', as if [Spanish] wasn't my native language.]

This quote highlights the role of alphabetic literacy as a point of encounter between language ideologies in the Andes and a site of internal conflict for Ramón; Ramón's self-deprecation and insecurity around his Spanish writing abilities stem from prevalent ideologies of language purism in the Andes, where speaking Spanish is considered to be more beneficial than Quechua. Ramón emphasises this hierarchical element, as although he is a fluent Spanish speaker, he considers his own Spanish linguistic ability to be lacking, and somehow contaminated by his contact with

[25] [Ramón, 26th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

Quechua as a child. He distances himself from Quechua as a language that has 'caused him problems' yet simultaneously queries his relationship to Spanish due to this 'linguistic interference'. These ideologies reflect the marginalisation of Indigenous languages and speakers and show challenges to revitalisation; linguistic prescriptivism as a result of purism can prevent language revitalisation efforts (Dorian, 1989; Crystal, 2000).

Quechua- or Kichwa-speaking grandparent(s)

Similarly to Killa and Ramón's experiences, Luis and Cecilia's contact to Quechua within their families in Peru was mediated through negative language ideologies associated with Quechua that continued to reinforce the lack of transmission within the family. Luis's contact to Quechua and the countryside was through his grandparents, however he was not allowed to speak it himself; "*A nosotros nos prohibieron hablar. Podíamos entender, no quería que habláramos, no sé por qué. Porque decían que no era un idioma adecuado, era un idioma para los indios."* [We weren't allowed to speak it. We could understand, but they didn't want us to speak, I don't know why. Because they said that it wasn't an adequate language, it was a language for Indians.] Cecilia confirms a similar language policy in her family, where "*más bien había una motivación de **no** hablar el Quechua, porque hablar Quechua era como un atraso*" [the motivation was rather **not** to speak Quechua, as speaking Quechua was as sign of backwardness.] In the case of these two Peruvian participants, prevalent negative language ideologies prohibited language transmission within their families and led to their parents and themselves not being able to speak or understand Quechua. Despite this Cecilia's overarching feeling of Quechua is that it is a language full of joy and feeling that joy has kept her interested in the language since her childhood. In the Ecuadorian class, Sara's grandparents and aunts spoke Kichwa, but her father never learnt; he was one of the younger siblings and when he was five years old the family moved to the city, losing the direct contact to Kichwa that they had had in the countryside until that point. Although Sara's aunts spoke Kichwa they also did not pass it on to their children, with Sara commenting that no one speaks Kichwa in her family now that her older aunts have died.

4.3.2 Experience: In education

Education has often been a place of language contact in the Andes, where Quechua children from rural areas first come into contact with Spanish as the language of teaching in both Peru and Ecuador, or with specific ideas about their own culture and way of life in bilingual intercultural education programmes (Jacobsen Pérez, 2009). However, language learning itself is full of disorienting moments, as participants encounter another way of being and speaking in the world; this is more so when learning a minoritised language, with different values to those present in society more generally. Education can therefore be a site of transformative learning as participants experience ideas that are different to their own, particularly for adult learners. Communicating with others from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds can result in learners continually having disorienting moments whilst trying to reconcile new perspectives and experiences with their own thinking or language ideologies (Fehrman, 2022).

Various participants had their first encounters with Quechua through university education, both in Peru and Ecuador and further afield. Sara and Ariana both studied linguistics in Ecuador, during which time they were offered Kichwa language classes. However, they came to their courses with different experiences of Kichwa – Sara was interested in the language and wanted to learn it, whereas Ariana had not previously noticed the language. Ariana's first experience with Kichwa was learning it as a compulsory part of her linguistics course: *"Ahí fue la primera vez que aprendí Kichwa, realmente era parte del currículo, no era algo que yo había escogido, y me gustó mucho."* [That was the first time that I learnt Kichwa, and it was really part of the curriculum. It wasn't something that I had chosen, and I really liked it]. Although not by choice, Ariana's contact through university opened an interest and desire to further learn the language and work with Kichwa people, even though she had previously paid little attention to the languages spoken around her.

> **Miriam:** *¿Y antes de estudiar el Kichwa qué experiencia tenías con el idioma?*
>
> **Ariana**[26]**:** *Poca, casi nada. Porque pienso que en Quito realmente, aunque obviamente hay gente que habla Kichwa, tú estás como en tu burbuja y no prestas atención a lo que la gente*

[26] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> *habla. Entonces incluso antes de estudiar lingüística yo poco sabía de las lenguas indígenas, o sea creo que sí sabía que existía el Kichwa, pero no tenía la verdad.*
>
> [And before studying Kichwa, what experience did you have with the language?
>
> Little, almost nothing. Because I think that in Quito really – although there are obviously Kichwa speakers – you're in your own bubble and you don't pay attention to what people are saying. So even before studying linguistics I knew very little about Indigenous languages, I think I knew that Kichwa existed, but I didn't know the truth.]

Learning Kichwa at university as a compulsory module challenged Ariana's thinking about the languages around her and the way she interacted with or overlooked these. Her first disorienting moment with the language was becoming aware of it and realising it existed, and her reflections on this sparked an interest in learning Kichwa, realising that she had overlooked an important part of her country's linguistic and cultural heritage. Engaging with the language at university challenged her own linguistic ideologies and indifference towards Kichwa as she enjoyed learning the language. This realisation led her to investigate and learn more of the language and began a journey of discovering the Kichwa language and culture. Without having to learn Kichwa at university, Ariana may not have begun to be interested in the language and culture, or even continued to be unaware of it. Conversely, Sara was aware of and wanted to learn Kichwa but was not able to due to timetabling issues, as the University offered multiple German, French and Italian courses, but there was only one Kichwa class, so she ended up having to take Italian: "*Kichwa siempre me interesó y no la pude tomar porque no ofrecían oportunidades*." [Kichwa always interested me, but I couldn't take it because they didn't offer opportunities to learn]. This shows the priority for language learning in Ecuador at that time, with Kichwa seen as inferior to other languages in education policy.

During her time at university in Peru, Cecilia began to engage with Quechua for the first time since her childhood experiences with the language. She realised that Quechua speakers were all around her, and became aware of the challenges that they were facing:

> **Cecilia**[27]**:** V*i como en la época que llegaba la gente de la Sierra y venía a invadir unos terrenos y vivir en condiciones difíciles, pude ver esa transformación del idioma de la gente que llegaba*

[27] [Cecilia 18th June 2021: Skype participants in Peru and the UK]

> *a Lima y que se tuvo que adecuar a Lima y dejar el idioma, porque para vivir en Lima y para hacer sus negocios y sobrevivir en Lima tenían que hablar en Español entonces.*
>
> [I saw how at that point people were arriving from the mountains and came to take over land and live in difficult conditions. I could see this transformation in language use of people who arrived in Lima and had to adapt to Lima and leave their language, because to live in Lima and do business and survive in Lima they had to speak Spanish]

Although she was not directly studying the language, Cecilia's interactions with others through her university course stirred up an awareness of the language that she had not engaged with since she was a child; she was reminded of her childhood encounters with Quechua until she moved to Lima aged 10.

Ariana (33), Sara (49) and Cecilia's (72) encounters with Quechua in education or as a result of their studies each occurred a few decades apart. These temporal differences highlight how access to Quechua and its place within educational domains have evolved over time, and how physical relocation has shaped their interactions with the language and culture. In pre-colonial Andean societies mobility was integral to the vertical economy, which required movement across ecological zones (Murra, 1972; Harris, 2000). More recently, urbanisation has driven increased rural to urban migration, resulting in the continual movement of people and goods (Vindal Ødegaard, 2016). Migration has consistently facilitated language shift, particularly due to often unfavourable attitudes to Quechua speakers in the cities and the dominance of Spanish in these settings that leads speakers to choose to use the dominant language. Cecilia has been on the receiving end of this encounter, seeing Indigenous people arriving in the city when she was studying there in the 70s, and it provoked a compassion in her towards Quechua speakers. Decades later, Killa, as an Indigenous person in the city, chose to hide her origins.

As a result of her studies, Killa moved to the city from the rural Kichwa-speaking community she had grown up in, where she adapted to life in the city and lived for seven years, hiding her Kichwa origins. Killa's exposure to Kichwa as a child within her community reinforced her desire to move away and live in the city. This did not initially help her to engage with the language and culture and reinforced her perception of Kichwa language practices as unsophisticated and

uninteresting. Killa comments that her contact with life in the city caused her to re-evaluate her relationship with the Kichwa language and culture, as this contact: "*generó en mi muchas situaciones de menosprecio hacia mi propia cultura porque lo vi como demasiado retrograda mi cultura, y vi que ellos [en la ciudad – un mundo distinto y novedoso] tenían muchas más cosas para ofrecer*" [made me disparage my own culture in many situations because I saw it as too backwards-looking, and I saw that those people [in the city – a different and new world] had many more things to offer]. Although growing up in a Kichwa community surrounded by the language and having family members who speak it, Killa appropriated and internalised the dominant narrative of Kichwa as backwards and inferior to Spanish, with little to offer. Her physical move to the city became symbolic of an ideological distancing towards Kichwa language and culture, as she focussed on the novelty and positive aspects of Spanish language and culture and the negative side of her familiar Kichwa language and culture. Her previous contact with Kichwa had been tainted with negativity and inferiority in comparison to her 'different and new' experiences with Spanish in the city. Direct and indirect educational encounters within Peru and Ecuador changed participants' contact to the Indigenous language. Through attending university, Ariana began to learn Kichwa, and develop an awareness of Kichwa speakers. Cecilia also became more aware of the wider Quechua-speaking context around her through her experiences at university in Peru. However, for Sara, and Killa their educational encounters served to reinforce barriers or further distance them from the language, as Sara was unable to study Kichwa in Ecuador, and Killa actively chose to move away from the language.

Growing up in Europe, Isabel first came into contact with Quechua outside of Peru and Ecuador, distanced from negative ideologies towards the language, and in areas where minoritised languages were beginning to be seen as worth investing in. Although physically distant from Quechua language and culture, Isabel's journey to learning Quechua began with her parents' interest in learning Spanish in the Netherlands; she was studying French and began to help them. Through this, she developed an interest in the Spanish language that led her to begin a degree in Latin American language and literature. Isabel had contact with Arguedas and Peru through the literature she was reading; "*Leer los ríos profundos en Castellano, yo no entendí mucho. Y había*

mucha palabra en Quechua" [Reading 'Deep Rivers' in Spanish, I didn't understand much. And there were a lot of words in Quechua]. This began to make her inquisitive about Quechua language and culture although she did not really understand it, and was constantly trying to translate it into something she could relate to. Although she had no direct contact to Peru at this point in her life, she bought a book to learn Quechua during her university studies in the Netherlands:

> **Isabel**[28]**:** *era un pequeño librito de Quechua escrita, o sea para aprender Quechua, lo compre en Holanda porque en la Universidad de Leiden yo sabía que se podía estudiar Quechua, y no sé porque, era antes siquiera que llegue al Perú y tenía mi librito de Quechua.*
>
> [It was a small book of written Quechua, to learn Quechua, I bought it in Holland because at the University of Leiden I knew that you could study Quechua, I don't know why! It was before I even arrived in Peru and I had my little book of Quechua.]

Learning Quechua had an almost exotic attraction for Isabel as she was interested in Latin America and was unaware of the negative ideologies that surround Quechua language and culture in Peru. It was her educational experiences that allowed her to engage with it in this way and begin to explore her interest, as she was instinctively drawn to the language and wanted to learn more about Spanish, Quechua and Latin America. Isabel's journey reflects how Quechua, when encountered outside its sociolinguistic context, can be stripped of its complex associations with marginalisation, becoming instead a site of intellectual engagement that contrasts sharply with the lived realities of many Quechua speakers in Peru.

4.3.3 Experience: In rural communities

Many participants in the Peruvian class had extensive prior experience with Quechua in rural areas, for different reasons. These included living in households that had Quechua-speaking employees, travelling to Quechua-speaking communities to fulfil university course requirements, or engaging with Quechua-speaking rituals through festivals and interactions with *maestros*. These experiences provided participants with experiences of Quechua and interactions with Quechua speakers prior to learning the language. These included either direct personal

[28] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

interactions with the language or cultural exposure, often forming emotional connections with the language before formal study. Whether these experiences were positive or negative, one-off or repeated, most participants in the Peruvian class had been exposed to the Indigenous language in some way prior to learning it, and it had a lasting impact on them. Various Peruvian participants had already begun to recognise Quechua as a key part of their identity through these encounters, having already connected with the language on a deep level. Others had become curious to know more about this culture, or the people they had briefly engaged with. In contrast, many of the language learners in the Ecuadorian class had little experience of Kichwa and Kichwa speakers. Killa is the exception to this, having heard some Kichwa spoken around her in the community growing up. The participants in the Ecuadorian class often had very little exposure to Kichwa in rural areas, and limited exposure to Kichwa in urban settings, prior to taking their online classes during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The participants' different experiences depended on the sociolinguistic situation of Peru and Ecuador, their family language policies and their individual language contact and use. Those learning in the Ecuadorian class had not necessarily had the same prior interactions or connections with the language, which left them more prone to experiencing disorienting dilemmas during their virtual language learning. The participants in the Peruvian class had often already had their own perceptions challenged by Quechua thinking, or through experiencing Quechua rituals or life in rural areas. As a result, many had begun integrating Quechua into their sense of identity even before formally studying it.

Participants' experiences with Quechua in rural areas of Peru often led to an emotional connection with the language, even before they were fully aware of the presence of the language, or that they had an interest in it. This disorienting dilemma for participants often came through experiencing and connecting with the language in a way that challenged their own, and wider language ideologies. Cecilia's contact with Quechua began in her childhood through visiting her extended family, and she began to develop a love for Quechua through these interactions:

> **Cecilia**[29]**:** *Yo gozaba de mi familia y personas que me rodeaban que ellos gozaban hablando Quechua no, porque siempre hablar Quechua era reír, era tener una actitud más alegre, entonces a mí me quedó eso de que el Quechua te impregnaba más bien una cultura de optimismo.*
>
> [I really enjoyed that my family and the people around me really enjoyed speaking Quechua, because speaking Quechua always meant laughter, it meant having a happier attitude, so this stuck with me, that Quechua instilled within you a deep sense of optimism.]

As a child, Cecilia was aware of negative attitudes surrounding Quechua; within her immediate family the language policy was to avoid speaking Quechua. However, through her repeated encounters with the language in her extended family, she began to develop a positive association with Quechua and associate it with a sense of community and means of social bonding, which can be important for language learning motivations (Tecedor & Pascual y Cabo, 2020).

Similarly to Cecilia's ingrained love of Quechua despite the prevailing language ideologies, Emilia recalls a cross-cultural interaction as she visited a Peruvian community in her twenties with other Brazilians. Her experiences with Quechua speakers and the opportunity to be part of a festival there led to a deep emotional connection with the language:

> **Emilia**[30]**:** *Estábamos un grupo grande de Brasileros y les compramos bastantes cosillas de pulserita, ch'ullu. Y estamos felices y ahí yo me acuerdo que ella agarró así una pulsera que yo compré, que la tengo, y habló un montón de cosas en Quechua, que no entendí nada. Pero fue tan fuerte y yo y unas amigas que estaban ahí empezamos a llorar. Y fue súper fuerte, sin entender una palabra. Pero la fuerza de la palabra y de la cultura no, y pasó por esta pulsera y la tengo hasta hoy como un amuleto de suerte.*
>
> [We were a large group of Brazilians, and we bought many little bracelets, Andean hats. And we are happy, and I remember that she [an Indigenous lady from the community] held a bracelet that I bought, that I have, and said lots of different things in Quechua that I didn't understand a word of. But it was so so strong, that I, and a few friends who were there, began to cry. And it was so so strong, without understanding a word. But the strength of the words and of the culture came through this bracelet and I still have it as a good luck charm.]

[29] [Cecilia 18th June 2021: Skype participants in Peru and the UK]

[30] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

Emilia has continued to be reminded of this emotional moment and of being in a place and with people that have become special to her, associating these with Quechua and keeping the bracelet as a reminder of this specific moment and a symbol of her link to the Quechua language and culture. Although this initial response to the Quechua language and culture could be considered one of exoticisation and commodification, the emotional connection to the Quechua people and language may have been the start of Emilia's journey towards learning Quechua; this momentary encounter planted in her a deep and lasting love of and respect for Quechua language and culture. Although she did not understand Quechua, this did not create a barrier to cultural participation, with the language reinforcing this powerful moment for Emilia. The emotions associated with the language and this moment created a sense of intrigue for Emilia to want to revisit this experience later on, through discussing this moment in an interview and in her Quechua language learning classes.

These quotes show participants' different critical reflections on their language experiences, with learners encountering Quechua in rural areas prior to choosing to learn the language. These meetings began a connection with the language and reflection on their relationship with it. For example, the experiences in each of these areas triggered strong emotional responses that began to challenge participants' existing assumptions; their encounters with an unfamiliar language and culture began a connection with Quechua through the strong emotions experienced, even though they did not understand it, or may not have even been immediately aware of it. Cecilia had been brought up not speaking Quechua as her immediate family believed it would stop her progressing; however, hearing Quechua spoken in wider family encounters and experiencing the communal enjoyment overrode these negative language ideologies, and became Cecelia's foundational interaction with the language as something beneficial to her.

Growing up, Lola[31] also faced 'disorienting moments' prompted by language use; she grew up in a rural international mining community, where they were the only Peruvian family, and English was the main language of communication within the community; as such she grew up unsure

[31] [Lola, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

about her linguistic and cultural heritage. She also had contact with Quechua speakers who helped in their home: '*las señoras que ayudaban a mi madre en casa hablaban está lengua y cantaban en Quechua. Entonces desde muy pequeña escuché la lengua, pero nunca la entendí*' [the ladies who helped my mother at home spoke this language and sang in Quechua. So, from being young I heard the language, but I never understood it]. Hearing Quechua spoken around her left an imprint on Lola from a young age. Despite her inability to understand the Quechua language, she engaged with it on an emotional level, and was struck by the sadness that the Quechua songs conveyed to her: '*era una lengua que más bien me traía mucha melancolía cuando escuchaba a las señoras cantar en su idioma, me daba mucha tristeza*' [it was a language that brought me melancholy when I was listening to the ladies singing in their language, it made me very sad.] However, although feeling sadness, she felt distanced from the language, unsure of the role that her experiences with Quechua played in her life, or even what it was that she was experiencing. Unlike Cecilia and Emilia who connected with Quechua without understanding it, Lola felt very separate from the language. She grew up feeling a barrier between her and Quechua during her childhood encounters with the language, reflecting ideologies of linguistic separation. However, these initial encounters and disorienting dilemmas, as she tried to process what was being sung and the resultant emotions she felt, may have sparked her interest in understanding the language. Harrison (1989) shows how songs can make Kichwa speakers feel sorrow, whilst simultaneously making them feel love. In the Sullk'ata community, Van Vleet (2008) finds that sadness can show a disconnect between people, yet it can also be a basis of establishing care and affection towards others. In this way of thinking, being separate from the language or not understanding it, does not necessarily mean being emotionally distant from it, and can even help engagement with it later on.

The complex emotions displayed by participants in their earlier and formative encounters with Quechua are fundamental in their language learning journeys and in considering the role of Quechua in their lives and in the environments in which they are living. These initial disorienting dilemmas enable the participants to question their engagement with the language, or others' engagement with the language around them, and begin to make their own linguistic choices

associated with it. For example, Cecilia chose connection and an affinity and curiosity with Quechua, rather than adhering to her immediate family's negative language ideologies. Killa began to question her relationship with Kichwa and distance herself from this, through moving from her Kichwa-speaking community to the city and encountering a different way of life. Through these initial encounters with Quechua, participants began to experience, question and formulate their own relationship with and emotions towards the language and culture, irrespective of the environment they had grown up in.

Connections with Quechua speakers show how everyday interactions can promote and challenge language use and bring language ideologies to the fore; Peruvian participants in particular had sought out experiences with Quechua-speaking *maestros* or developed relationships with communities. Bianca spent time living in a community whilst studying as she was carrying out fieldwork there. Through her interest in Quechua 'cosmovision' and experiences in rural communities, particularly in Ocros, Bianca's experiences of a Quechua way of life challenged her academic training; through participating and learning by experience she was able to begin to examine her own knowledge and interpretations of the world that clashed with her experiences in the community.

> **Bianca**[32]**:** *Cuando llegamos arriba a la pampa, vi unas piedras, probablemente restos arqueológicos, [el presidente] me dijo 'espéranos un momento, dame los fósforos y las velas, que vamos a hacer un pago a la tierra'. Entonces yo le dije 'pero yo quiero ir', 'no' me dijo, 'porque tú no crees en eso', y me dejó ahí. Entonces yo respeté, esperé y cuando regresaron le pregunté pues por qué, 'por qué no podía conocer que yo tenía interés'. Entonces más que explicármelo con palabras porque esa era mi entrada de formación universitaria, me dijo 'te vas a ir dando cuenta'.*
>
> [When we arrived at the top of the Andean plain, I saw some stones, probably archaeological remains, [the president] said to me 'wait here for us for a moment, give me the matches and the candles, we are going to make a payment to the land'. So, I told him 'but I want to go', he said 'no, because you don't believe in this' and he left me there. So, I respected and waited and when they came back, I asked why, 'why wasn't I able to go, I'm interested?'. But more than explaining it to me in words, which was my university training, he said to me 'you're going to keep realising why'.]

[32] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

Bianca experienced a 'disorienting dilemma' through her encounters with Quechua speakers as she began to observe and reflect on her own way of knowing and how that is different in the Andes. In questioning why she was not allowed to go and through subsequent clashes of thinking in her experiences, she realised that understanding would come gradually, and she became more open to this process; she saw that her way of learning had impacted her relationship with Quechua cosmovision and understanding the culture, and even how her way of thinking had limited her interaction with Quechua. Bianca was not able to participate as she had different beliefs and values.

Through Bianca's time and experiences in the community she began to adopt a Quechua perspective that has continued to shape her life since her university days and maintain her desire to keep in touch with Quechua language and culture, as part of who she is.

> **Bianca**[33]**:** *El Runa Simi es un idioma que amo. He aprendido a amarlo en mis trabajos de campo, y lo he reconocido como parte de mi identidad. Particularmente en Ayacucho en la comunidad de Ocros donde estuve más tiempo.*
>
> [Quechua, the people's language, is a language that I love. I learnt to love it in my fieldwork, and I recognise it's part of my identity. Particularly [through my experiences in] Ayacucho, in the community of Ocros where I spent the most time.]

Bianca realised that being interested in Quechua language and culture was not enough, she needed to adopt it as a way of life and has tried to maintain contact ever since. She had already identified Quechua as part of her identity prior to connecting with Santiago's offline and online Quechua classes. However, the pandemic disrupted her face-to-face interactions with Quechua speakers, and online classes became her only link to this aspect of herself. Like Bianca, other participants' earlier encounters with Quechua speakers had introduced them to a different way of life, prompting them to reflect on how, or whether, they could see themselves as part of it.

For participants in the Peruvian classes, their prior experiences with Quechua in rural communities, whether positive or negative, helped them to engage with the language through

[33] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

their classes later in life. These disorienting dilemmas pushed them to question and take a position on their relationship with the language, the ideologies surrounding it, and their connections with Quechua speakers. As a result, many participants in the Peruvian class had already begun to incorporate aspects of Quechua language and culture into their identities. Others, while perhaps not yet feeling a strong sense of identification, had developed a growing curiosity and a desire to learn more. Participants in the Ecuadorian class had not been exposed to Kichwa in rural communities as much prior to the online classes. This lack of encountering Kichwa lifestyle and speakers prior to learning the language, meant that they were exposed to Kichwa ways of thinking for the first time in their online language classes, leading to transformation, as they processed their relationship with the language and culture throughout their online learning journey.

4.5 Disorienting moments in language learning

For many participants engaging with classes in Ecuador, it was the globally disorienting dilemma of the pandemic that first enabled them to access language classes online. Pilar is half Spanish and half Colombian and had not previously intended to learn Kichwa, planning to learn Asturian in an in-person class in Spain as her second language requirement for her PhD course in the USA. She had no prior contact to Kichwa until she ended up living with an Ecuadorian during the pandemic, who was already having classes with Yachak, it was during the pandemic that she decided to learn an Indigenous language and Kichwa online classes were able to fulfil this requirement for her:

> **Pilar**[34]**:** *Comenzó con todo el tema de la pandemia, como teníamos que estar en casa y bueno de cierta manera tenemos como un poco más de tiempo, aunque luego eso no es verdad, pero sí me anime. […] Antes de la pandemia no tenía ningún tipo de relación [con el Kichwa], ahora sí tengo bastante.*
>
> [It started with the pandemic, as we had to stay at home and in a certain way had a little bit more time, although that didn't end up being true, but it did encourage me to engage [with learning Kichwa] […] Before the pandemic I didn't have any type of relationship [with Kichwa], now I have quite a lot].

[34] [Pilar, 16th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

Sara is Ecuadorian, but now lives in the United States; she did not think that she would have the opportunity to learn Kichwa, having been interested throughout her life but unable to participate in formal classes until given this opportunity by online classes during the pandemic:

> **Sara**[35]**:** *Nunca me imaginé que tomaría un curso aquí. En Estados Unidos. Durante la pandemia. En línea. […] La pandemia hizo posible que estudiara Kichwa, entonces si hay algo de positivo que puedo sacar de la pandemia, del virus, ha sido esto.*
>
> [I never imagined I would take a course here. In the United States. During the pandemic. Online. […] The pandemic made it possible for me to study Kichwa, so if there is anything positive that I can take from the pandemic, from the virus, it has been this]

Lorenzo was interested in Kichwa but did not know anyone who spoke it and was not aware of any classes he could learn in from his Indigenous community in Ecuador:

> **Lorenzo**[36]**:** *Diría pues gracias a la pandemia estamos tomando este curso y lo estamos siguiendo y mira ya en qué nivel estamos y vamos conociendo mucho.*
>
> [I'd say it's thanks to the pandemic that we are taking this course and carrying on with it, and look at what level we're at now, and we are learning a lot].

These are participants who would not otherwise have learnt Kichwa, had it not been for the circumstantial classes offered during the pandemic, and contact with individuals who knew about and encouraged them to participate in the classes online. Whether joining from the States or from Ecuador, participants in Yachak's classes were able to access Kichwa language classes online in a way that had not previously been available to them. Simultaneously to this, the circumstances of the pandemic, particularly stay-at-home mandates, less commuting time, and changes in routine, meant that they seemed to have more time to learn and were able to invest in a new hobby. The COVID-19 pandemic was a specific moment of slowing down and pausing in education settings as well as for individuals (Droit-Volet et al., 2021); many participants in Yachak's class credit the pandemic with enabling them to learn Kichwa.

[35] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[36] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

For the participants in Santiago's class, who were already learning in-person prior to the pandemic, their learning journey made a natural switch to the online environment. For the majority of participants, this was a positive continuation of their Quechua language learning, maintaining their connection to other interested people; for various participants, the pandemic meant that their travel to rural communities ceased, so the online classes became a space for them to share experiences and compare stories of their times in rural areas. However, Bianca struggled with having less contact to Quechua, as the language was less present in her mind. Coupled with additional safety concerns for herself and her family during the pandemic, she found that the pandemic negatively impacted her Quechua language learning, and that she was able to engage more with in-person classes than learning online:

> **Bianca**[37]**:** *Al principio lo hacía, pero ahora estoy en tanta cosa tan distinta, tan diversa, asuntos familiares, la seguridad para que mi hijo salga a trabajar con todos los cuidados, protocolos, entonces las cosas me envuelven de tal manera que en realidad yo soy la que me restrinjo. Antes yo preparaba mucho mis clases para entrar con Santiago, entonces repasaba todo lo anterior y entonces podía hablar algo en Runa Simi, pero ahora lo más común es que escucho.*
>
> [At first, I did it, but now I am involved in so many different things, family matters, making sure my son is safe to go to work and comply with the protocols, these things surround me in such a way that I am the one who restricts myself. Before I prepared a lot for my classes with Santiago, I revised all our previous work and so I was able to say some things in *Runa Simi*, but now I mainly listen.]

Bianca struggled to engage with Quechua because of the pandemic and the additional stress it caused her; her hobby has been pushed out by additional focus on keeping safe during the pandemic. Her Quechua language learning is not a helpful distraction from the global circumstances, but rather a potential hindrance to ensuring her family's safety. She has discounted herself from participating in the classes as she has lost confidence in her own language abilities through having less intentional contact with it; however, she does still attend whenever she is able and maintains her interest in learning the language and remaining in touch with Quechua culture. Participants in the Peruvian classes tended to have somewhat established relationship to Quechua in their everyday lives, as the majority had been learning in-person

[37] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

before the pandemic; the shift to online learning enabled them to continue learning, rather than providing them with a new opportunity to learn the language. Participants responded to the unifying global uncertainty in different ways; Bianca became consumed with processing the current fearful environment she found herself in, whereas others were able to use Quechua classes as a way of keeping themselves occupied at a globally unstable moment, with classes providing a social and emotional outlet for participants.

4.7 Motivations for choosing to learn Quechua: from an initial interest to something more

The participants' initial interest in learning Quechua was, in some cases, long-standing, based on experiences in their childhood, whilst others first became interested through experiences at university, or by seeing classes become available online during the pandemic. However their language learning journey began, participants in both Peru and Ecuador were beginning or continuing this through choosing to engage with Quechua in their online classes. The learners in online Quechua classes have different experiences with Quechua and backgrounds with the language prior to choosing to learn it. However, they have all chosen to learn it and invest their time, energy, and money into online Quechua language classes.

Within adult education, adult learners are "not very inclined to learn something they are not interested in, or in which they cannot see the meaning or importance" (Illeris, 2016, p.76). However, Indigenous languages are often considered to have few benefits of learning them than majority languages (Harasta, 2017); this results in different language learning motivations as participants are not choosing to learn the language for economic reasons, or because they are interested in travelling to a certain location or have family members that speak a certain language. The spread of English worldwide has led to second language learning as a way of enhancing communication and economic opportunities . Ferrari's (2013, p.123) study of Italian language learning motivations of 26 adults whose first language is English highlighted the main language learning motivations as:

"Culture	7
Art, architecture, history	7
Attractiveness of Italian	7

Cookery and food	6
Italian geographical areas	2
Music and opera	2
Weather	2
Fashion	1
Literature	1
Cycling	1”

These motivations show that the learners in Ferrari’s study are mainly choosing to learn Italian as they are interested in travelling to Italy and attracted to the country itself. However, for some participants in Ferrari’s study, learning Italian was a symbol of a new beginning and a turning point in their lives after bereavement, retirement, or illness, for example (Ferrari, 2013, pp.127–128); the learners’ language learning journey was transformational in as much as it marked a specific moment of transition to a different phase of life. This shows the potential of language learning to impact students in a profound way, although in this case the language learning experience itself seems to be providing learners with stability in a moment of personal transition, rather than impacting the learners’ sense of self.

The Quechua language classes online circumstantially provided language learners with a stable community and interest at a time of global upheaval; the COVID-19 pandemic was arguably the main driving factor behind participants’ language learning motivations, whether it facilitated their learning through online connection, or helped them to maintain emotional stability during this time through connection to a heritage language or ancestral knowledge. Participants’ stated language learning motivations were varied in this Indigenous language learning context:

	Reason given by participants in:		
Quechua language learning online motivation	**Ecuador**	**Peru**	**Total**
Interest in Quechua ‘cosmovision’	3	4	7
Strengthen own identity, understand self	3	3	6
Prevent loss of language, knowledge, way of life	3	2	5
Unity with Quechua speakers, part of community	2	3	5
Experiences with Quechua in rural areas	0	4	4
Linguistic interest	3	0	3
Confronting stigma	2	0	2

Table 4:5 Reasons for learning Quechua

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

The participants' motivations were similar in both Peru and Ecuador, although the experiences behind these and the social contexts were very different. For example, participants in the Ecuadorian class expressed very general language learning motivations, such as being interested in the language itself, and through that becoming interested in the culture and realising that there was a lot more to learn. Their initial motivations for learning Kichwa were mainly related to the status of the language itself and a wider awareness of Kichwa speakers, rather than something they were doing for personal benefit. Many of them realised over the course of their language learning journey, that learning Kichwa was important as a way of learning more about themselves; however, this was often not an initial language learning motivation. In contrast, participants in the Peruvian class were often reminiscing about specific personal experiences or encounters with Quechua that had fuelled their desire to learn the language. They were able to picture and understand the community that they wanted to be part of, or had seen specific ways of being and acting in rural areas that meant that they wanted to understand the thinking and rationale behind this, through Quechua 'cosmovision'. Participants' Quechua language learning motivations showed their previous (lack of) contact to the language in both Peru and Ecuador, marking different starting points in their language learning journeys.

The following table shows what led participants to learn Quechua in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes:

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

	Wanting to learn Quechua online, Peru	Wanting to learn Kichwa online, Ecuador
Relationship with the Quechua language	Participants able to continue their Quechua language learning journey online, building on the links they already had established to the language in rural areas and through learning from *maestros*, and attending in-person Quechua classes. The online journey was mainly positive, however some learners found this challenging, preferring to learn offline. The participants increasingly realised that Quechua has always been around them and part of their lives and that they can make an active choice to engage with it, such as learning the language. Many participants were concerned about the language 'dying' or 'disappearing'.	Participants had gradually become more aware of Kichwa, or the lack of Kichwa in their immediate environments or heritage; whether this be wondering why their family member or community did not speak it, or coming into contact with the language at university. The pandemic enabled participants in the Ecuadorian class to access online Kichwa language classes and gave them an opportunity to learn the language, having begun to change their views of the language. Some participants had become concerned about the language being 'lost', or not being spoken in certain areas.
Channels of belonging	Interested in learning Quechua as a way of building and maintaining relationships with the Quechua speakers they already engaged with, and building further relationships, as a way of valuing the language and its speakers. Many saw Quechua as a unifying language, and as a language that enables a communal sense of being. Some participants also felt a lack of belonging and wanted to investigate and understand more of the Quechua language and culture to understand some of their own past experiences of being distanced from the language. Others had been made to feel that there was something 'wrong' with them, or that they did not fit in because of their interests in learning or experiences with Quechua.	Participants were gradually becoming more aware of Kichwa in their environments and the plight of Kichwa speakers, and saw learning Kichwa as a way to be united with Kichwa speakers through language use. As they became aware of the language ideologies perpetuated in their wider communities, they increasingly wanted to challenge these within themselves. Their increasing interest in Kichwa helped them to understand their Andean Spanish and the influence of Kichwa on their own speech, even without realising this, and made them interested in learning the language. One participant moved back to Kichwa community and began to take more interest in the language and culture during the pandemic, coupled with beginning to learn Kichwa online.
View of Quechua culture	Most of the participants in the Peruvian class were first interested in Quechua culture and lifestyle, and it was this that led them to engage with the language. They had already identified Quechua as a way of life that was valuable and interesting to them, and that they want to learn more about living a lifestyle that they had seen in Quechua communities. The participants often had a specific interest that led them to	Most participants were primarily interested in learning Kichwa for linguistic reasons, and their cultural interest came later. As they set out to learn the language, they realised that the cultural elements also interested them, and that there were many aspects they had been completely unaware of. One participant had begun to identify with Kichwa as a way of life before learning it,

	engage with certain aspects of Quechua culture, such as rituals, or Indigenous medicine.	and wanted to learn the language as a way of solidifying this ethnolinguistic identity.
View of self and the world	Various participants had family links to Quechua and/or Peru and wanted to understand this part of their heritage more. Some participants had a conflicted sense of self from not understanding or engaging with Quechua when they previously encountered it, and wanting to fully immerse themselves in the language in order to understand some of their own personal history with the language and culture. Many participants had experienced a different way of being in the world through Quechua 'cosmovision' that challenged their own thinking, and they wanted to know more about this.	Most participants in the Ecuadorian class wanted to learn Kichwa as a way to learn more about their country of origin and/or heritage. Having become more aware of the language and the stigma associated with this, they wanted to value the language and its speakers. Participants' growing interest to see how Kichwa could help them to interact with their environment, for example through nature; however, they often positioned themselves as observers rather than participants in this. One participant had begun to identify as a Kichwa person, and knew that he needed to learn the language to fully engage with this.

Table 4:6 Participants' language learning motivations in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes

Considering motivation in education according to Rogers and Horocks' (2010, p.105) definition: "Motivation in learning is that compulsion which keeps a person within the learning situation and encourages them to learn", the participants' reasons for learning Quechua resemble linguistic activism and an internal compulsion to learn the language, in a way that is not as prevalent with majority languages. These motivations stem from participants' previous experiences with Quechua and personal backgrounds. These themes have been grouped for discussion under broader conceptual categories; 'awareness of the language and increasingly valuing this' considers 'preventing loss of language, knowledge and way of life', alongside 'linguistic interest' and 'confronting stigma'. 'Interest in Quechua 'cosmovision' and experiences in rural areas' covers 'interest in Quechua 'cosmovision'', 'unity with Quechua speakers' and 'experiences with Quechua in rural areas'. 'Connecting with heritage and self' includes 'strengthening own identity and understanding oneself', as well as 'being part of a community'. Notably, the motivation to strengthen identity and gain deeper self-understanding was cited as an initial motivation by three participants, and emerged as a secondary motivation for others, who came to recognise this benefit only after engaging in the language learning process.

4.7.1 Motivation: Awareness of the language and increasingly valuing this

This section explores how adult learners became increasingly aware of the presence of Quechua and Kichwa in their environments and lives, which in turn led them to seek out language learning opportunities. Their motivations were shaped not only by a linguistic interest, but also by a growing recognition of the language's marginalisation, and a desire to respond to that exclusion. Some participants became conscious of the absence of Quechua in their families or communities, realising that the language was no longer being passed down generationally. For these learners, studying Quechua became an act of reclamation and preservation, a way to reconnect with a way of life and to resist language loss.

Many adult learners in this study described a shift in how they perceived Quechua; as not distant or irrelevant, but as something present and interwoven in everyday life, even if previously overlooked. For example, Killa described living in a 'bubble' of Spanish, unaware of Kichwa in Quito prior to engaging with it through formal learning. Similarly, Isabel reflected on how Quechua had always been around her in Peru, yet she had never chosen to engage with it. Now, she consciously makes the choice to learn. This shift reflects a growing sense of responsibility to steward a language that forms part of the cultural and linguistic heritage of their country. For many, this realisation marked the beginning of their language learning journey, a moment of disorientation and reflection that led to intentional action. Choosing to engage in 'self-directed learning' is a key principle of adult education (Knowles, 1975, p.18) and for these learners, that choice involved embracing a minoritised language that can be dismissed as 'useless' or 'backward' by dominant ideologies (Harasta, 2017).

Linguistic interest

Quechua has not been visible in many Andean nations as it has been stigmatised and therefore easy to ignore and not an obvious choice for language learners, who often prefer English, or other majority languages. This is particularly the case in bilingual education programmes, where Spanish is often favoured over Quechua (Garcia, 2005), yet increasingly adults have been choosing to learn Quechua. Prior to the pandemic, Zavala's (2019) study of three youth in Peru shows their changing trajectory of engagement with Quechua, as a way of advocating for and

raising awareness of Quechua language use as they present and empower themselves as Quechua speakers and challenge what it means to be a Quechua speaker. Participants learning Quechua online are realising that Quechua language and speakers are part of their country and that they have not been aware of it due to exclusion, negative language ideologies, and the stigma associated with it. Rather than this being a deterrent to their language learning, participants are intentionally choosing to learn Quechua to increase their engagement with the language and in time promote its use. Most of the participants in Peru had prior experiences with Quechua, and were choosing to learn it for cultural reasons, rather than a purely linguistic interest. They had already become interested in Quechua culture and thinking, beyond language use alone. Where Intercultural bilingual education programmes were offered to Indigenous children in rural areas, learning Quechua in these classes was often seen as a remedial and compensatory programme for Indigenous people as they were restricted to rural areas (Oliart, 2011; May & Aikman, 2003; Howard, 2007). However, non-Indigenous people choosing to learn Quechua online has the potential to expand the reach of the language and begin to create intercultural engagement amongst different sectors of the population.

Isabel has become more aware of the presence and importance of Quechua in her own life, which has become part of her initial Quechua language learning motivation:

> **Isabel**[38]**:** *Recién la comprensión, o sea que de que lo tenía siempre cerca, siempre lo tenía, en mi mesa, lo tenía acá, lo tenía en la comida, lo tenía en los viajes, lo tenía en el encuentro con la gente, lo he tenido en mi trabajo […] Y ahora lee, disfruta, aprende algo de paso de Quechua.*
>
> [I've recently understood that [Quechua] has always been close, I always had it on my table, I had it here, I had it in food, I had it on trips, I had it in meeting people, I have had it in my work […] And now: read, enjoy, learn some Quechua along the way.]

Her reflection shows how learning Quechua became a process of reawakening to something already present in her life. Structural discrimination had made the language invisible to her, but recognising its quiet persistence allowed her to reframe it as a source of connection and joy. Isabel's thinking has changed from being distant and unaware of the language in her

[38] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

environment, to realising it has always been present there, enabling her to rekindle her initial interest in learning the language from her time in the Netherlands. For Isabel, learning Quechua is a way of making sense of her own life and time spent in Peru; her thinking towards Quechua has changed as she now sees it as something that is and has been woven into her daily life, that is close and she can have a personal connection to, and enjoyment of. This illustrates how Isabel's language learning motivations come through her growing awareness of Quechua and realising that it was never far from her.

While Isabel's motivation stems from a personal reawakening to Quechua in her environment, in Ecuador three participants started out learning Kichwa as a purely linguistic endeavour, similarly through their growing awareness of and interest in the language. Sara highlights the nearness and accessibility of Kichwa as the point of her initial interest in learning Kichwa, attracted by the language itself. Her drive to learn this is shaped by her linguistic training, as well as her own Ecuadorian heritage:

> **Miriam:** *¿Y por qué te interesó el Kichwa?*
>
> **Sara**[39]**:** *Yo creo que, en parte por ser lingüista, porque es una lengua que en mi opinión estaba tan al alcance nuestro. Usamos muchas palabras en Kichwa en el Castellano de Ecuador en el Español andino de Ecuador […] y entonces me parecía casi un crimen no saberlo.*
>
> [And why are you interested in Kichwa?
>
> I think it's partially as I'm a linguist because it's a language that is so accessible to us in my opinion. We use many Kichwa words in Ecuadorian Spanish, in the Andean Spanish from Ecuador […] and so I think it's almost a crime to not know [Kichwa].

Sara's awareness and interest in learning Kichwa stems from her pride in realising the linguistic influence of Kichwa in her own speech. She identifies being a linguist as part of her language learning motivation, especially through becoming more aware of the Kichwa words used in Ecuadorian Spanish, and her increased sense of moral accountability for not knowing a language

[39] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

so embedded in Andean life. The accessibility of Kichwa as something *'al alcance nuestro'* [within our reach] makes her language learning motivation less about acquiring something foreign, and more about reclaiming or fully inhabiting something familiar, reframing language learning as an act of reclaiming rather than discovering. Sara feels a responsibility to do this having become aware of the presence of Kichwa, and because of her own expertise.

For participants in Peru and Ecuador, this kind of realisation occurred through disorienting dilemmas through migrating to a different region of Peru or Ecuador, or moving abroad, and becoming aware of how their Andean Spanish differed. In this way, they have become aware of certain Quechua grammatical constructions or words they use, often as a result of being challenged by others or experiencing misunderstandings. Others were mocked for using words of Quechua origin like *puputi* instead of *ombligo* [bellybutton], as Bianca recalls: "*se reían de mí porque por ejemplo decía puputi en lugar de ombligo, y jamás en mi vida había pronunciado la palabra ombligo* (Bianca)" [they laughed at me because I said '*puputi*' (bellybutton – Quechua) instead of '*ombligo*' (bellybutton – Spanish), and I'd never said '*ombligo*' in my life before]. These moments of linguistic disorientation prompted Ecuadorian and Peruvian participants to reflect on the Quechua roots of their speech, and become more aware of their own language practices. In Ariana's case, learning Kichwa became a way to raise awareness of the language contact between Spanish and Kichwa in Ecuador, and to challenge the binary of "them and us":

> **Ariana**[40]: *cuando aprendemos Kichwa tú te encuentras con el Español que hablas y puedes entender u poco la relación que hay del contacto entre el Español y el Kichwa. Entonces eso También me gustaría en Ecuador revindicar que existe un contacto de lenguas y que no haya esta separación de 'ellos y nosotros', porque Nuestro Español está muy marcado por rasgos que vienen del Kichwa no. Me gustaría que la gente… la población mestiza o blanca sepa para que no sea un objeto de burla sino más bien de orgullo la variedad que hablamos.*
>
> [When we learn Kichwa, you come face to face with the Spanish that you speak and can understand a little more about the relationship between Spanish and Kichwa. So, I would also like to assert that there is language contact in Ecuador and that there is not a separation of 'them and us', because our Spanish is very marked by features that come

[40] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> from Kichwa. I would like people… the mestizo or white population to know that so that it is not an object of ridicule but rather of pride.]

Ariana's statement reflects how language learning becomes a political act for her: one of reclaiming hybrid linguistic identities and confronting ideologies that separate or stigmatise Indigenous languages and their speakers. In choosing to learn Kichwa, she wants to begin to change others' ideologies; she is choosing to learn Quechua as a way of actively confronting the stigma that has been associated with the language and in the hopes of raising awareness of the potential for unity with Quechua speakers.

Prevent loss of language, knowledge, way of life

Although Quechua influence is still present in Andean Spanish, a repeated theme amongst participants when asked why they wanted to learn Quechua, was a concern for the language 'being lost'. Their worries echo wider discourses of language endangerment, which highlight the gradual decline of speaker numbers and use of a language in various domains. Participants in this study expressed similar concerns about the future of Quechua language and culture. Language endangerment discourse has drawn attention to the value of linguistic diversity and fostered global efforts to support this (Brenzinger, 2008), such as the UNESCO decade of Indigenous Languages, beginning in 2022. However, such discourses often portray languages as static, isolated entities that can die, rather than highlighting the agency of speakers and the sociopolitical dynamics that lead to language shift; speakers can ultimately choose to use, or to stop using a language.

In Peru, participants voiced a strong desire to prevent the loss of not only the Quechua language, but also Quechua knowledge systems and ways of life, reflecting their focus not just on the Quechua language but also the importance of Quechua culture and life. This concern was shared by participants in rural and urban areas, including those who had developed a connection with Quechua through being in Peru. For example, Isabel[41], having become aware of the value and presence of Quechua in her own life, continues: *Cuánto hablamos de idiomas muertos, ya no*

[41] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

vivos, entonces digo 'NO NO NO NO' O sea, el Quechua tiene que mantenerse viva, y cómo se hace esto? ¡Hablando! [How much do we talk about dead languages, not alive anymore, and I say, 'NO NO NO NO', Quechua must stay alive, and how does it do this? By speaking it!]. Isabel rejects the idea that Quechua is, or should be a 'dead language', and emphasises the responsibility and individual and communal agency of speakers and learners to actively maintain its use. Yet for her, this motivation goes beyond preserving vocabulary or grammar, it reflects a deeper connection to a way of life.

Bianca similarly stresses that learning Quechua is not only about language learning, but also about protecting a cultural worldview and identity, recognising Quechua as a way of life; learning Quechua represents cultural survival and a desire to maintain a connection to knowledge systems and ways of being:

> **Bianca**[42]**:** *La otra respuesta que te puedo dar de porqué estoy en el Quechua es porque no quiero que esa forma de vida desaparezca. Es cuando escucho a gente como Richard Webb, que es un economista interesante, pero en una conferencia dijo que el Quechua va a desaparecer y él ha viajado bastante por el Perú, dijo que con las migraciones y la juventud que venía, el Quechua desaparece, me entró una rabia! Y dije, no, está equivocado, y entonces si hay algo que yo pueda hacer porque persista, lo haré, porque no es el idioma, es un modo de vida, es una manera de amar lo nuestro y de vivir de acuerdo a lo que es nuestra configuración territorial y espiritual ¿no?*
>
> [The other reason I can give for my interest in Quechua is because I don't want this way of life to disappear. When I listen to people like Richard Webb, who is an interesting economist, but in a conference, he said that Quechua is going to disappear, and he has travelled extensively in Peru. He said with migration, and the youth that are arriving, that Quechua is disappearing, I got so angry! And I said no, he's mistaken, and so if there's anything that I can do for it to continue, I will do, because it isn't the language, it's a way of life, it's a way of loving what is ours and living according to our territorial and spiritual setting.]

For both Isabel and Bianca, the act of learning Quechua is intertwined with a profound sense of identity, belonging and cultural stewardship. Their passion and intrinsic motivation for learning Quechua stems from personal values and cultural connection to the language rather than being externally driven. Through becoming aware of the presence of Quechua and connecting with

[42] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

that, participants have increasingly noticed and developed an affinity with the language and culture or questioned its absence; they are willing to take action, in this case through learning the language online during lockdown. Active engagement is crucial for successful language revitalisation efforts. Whether they were initially interested for linguistic reasons or not, through their growing awareness of the language and experiences in rural areas connecting with it, they believe that they each have a role to play in learning and maintaining the Quechua language.

In Ecuador, similar concerns have emerged alongside grassroots Indigenous movements advocating for linguistic and cultural recognition and survival. Sinchi explains:

> **Sinchi**[43]**:** *ahora mismo hay una pequeña corriente que hemos igual venido trabajando un poco más de 12 años de concienciación del tema lingüístico, de la situación en la que el Kichwa y el resto de las 14 lenguas originarias del Ecuador se encuentran, que es en eminente peligro de extinción no. […] Y parece que hay una pequeña concienciación al respecto.*
>
> [Right now, there's a small trend that we've been working on for a little over 12 years to raise awareness of the linguistic issues, of the situation in which Kichwa and the other 14 Indigenous languages of Ecuador find themselves, which is in imminent danger of extinction. […] And it seems that there is some awareness of that.]

This increased awareness is also evident in learners who have confronted the absence of Kichwa in their own communities. Lorenzo, for instance, began questioning why Kichwa was no longer spoken in his community before taking his Kichwa classes. Through his questioning of his community's language use he began to consider his own relationship with Kichwa as part of that. He was critically reflecting on the linguistic state of his community and why language contact had been lost with Kichwa; although it was still spoken in neighbouring communities, he and his family had no direct contact to the language within their environment.

> **Miriam:** *¿Y qué experiencia tenías del Kichwa antes de estudiarlo?*
> **Lorenzo**[44]**:** *Antes no he tenido ninguna. Pues sí ha habido una curiosidad de mí, cómo vivía con mis abuelitos pues. Había una curiosidad y me preguntaba 'y por qué se ha perdido' así, tantas preguntas que hacía pues. Ellos me respondían pues que, porque se ha acostumbrado la mayor la mayoría pues, nos acostumbramos a hablar español, y se está perdiendo pues.*

[43] [Sinchi, 21st April 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

[44] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

> [And what experience did you have of Kichwa before learning it?
> Before, I didn't have any. But I was curious as I lived with my grandparents. I was curious and I asked myself 'why did Kichwa disappear?' and I asked so many questions. My grandparents replied that most people got used to it, that we got used to speaking Spanish, and so it's disappearing now.]

Lorenzo lives in Saraguro, where Kichwa used to be spoken as the primary language, however with fewer and fewer Kichwa speakers, Spanish monolingualism is increasingly common in Saraguro, and Spanish is the main language of communication there (King, 2001). This is a case of language loss where the 'community gives up a language completely in favour of another one' (Fasold, 1992, p.213), common in situations of diglossia with an Indigenous language. Lorenzo is aware of the importance of Spanish in his community, but simultaneously aware of the absence of Kichwa; his previous lack of experience with Kichwa underpins his motivation for learning the language. Lorenzo was troubled by his discussions with his grandparents that Kichwa was no longer being spoken in his community, and that cultural aspects associated with this were also being lost. He describes searching before the course and feeling attracted to the Kichwa language, whilst also feeling and grieving its loss in his community and environment and wanting to do something about this; he "*sentí este dolor que se está perdiendo pues nuestra propia lengua nuestra"* [was pained that our own language is being lost]. Lorenzo's words point to an often-overlooked aspect of Indigenous reclamation that has to do with the impact on wellbeing, both at the individual and community level, that these processes may have.

Confronting stigma

Participants came to Quechua from varied backgrounds, and not all had prior knowledge of the language or opportunities to engage with it. Pilar, for instance, first encountered Kichwa in the United States, where she met Ecuadorians and speakers of other Indigenous languages who had begun learning or teaching these languages during the pandemic. This exposure sparked her own interest in learning Kichwa. Others had lived in Andean regions for years without being fully aware of Quechua's presence in their everyday environments. Ariana, for example, only began to notice Kichwa more consciously after learning about it in university. Her growing awareness

extended to the stigma attached to speaking Indigenous languages, which motivated her to challenge that stigma and explore her own relationship to linguistic identity.

For many, the decision to learn Quechua during the pandemic was driven by an increasing awareness of the linguistic inequality and diversity within Peru and Ecuador, and the growing visibility of Indigenous movements in Ecuador. These shifts highlighted the social and political challenges that Quechua speakers face and inspired participants to take part in language learning as an act of solidarity:

> **Ariana**[45]**:** *Me interesa aprender Kichwa primero porque me parece una manera de revalorizar la lengua. Yo como mestiza hablo Español, nací hablando Español, y nunca supe, nunca viví las injusticias que viven las personas que son bilingües Kichwa hablantes o de cualquier otra lengua indígena en Ecuador.*
>
> [I'm interested in learning Kichwa firstly because it's a way of revaluing the language. As a *mestiza*, I speak Spanish, I was born speaking Spanish, and I never knew, never experienced the injustices that bilingual Kichwa speakers, or speakers of other Indigenous languages in Ecuador face.]

Ariana became more attuned to the different and often difficult experiences of Kichwa speakers. Her own privilege, in never having faced discrimination for her language use, prompted her to see learning Kichwa not just as education but as a political and relational act, rooted in building relationships with Kichwa people and a desire to contribute to cultural and linguistic resilience. Some participants, particularly in Peru, saw this learning as part of a broader commitment to becoming active in speaking Quechua and promoting a Quechua way of life, recognising their own responsibility in this to champion a way of life they identify with on a deep level, despite prevailing discrimination towards it. In this way, Quechua becomes not just a language to learn, but a lens for understanding life more fully. Together, these cases from Peru and Ecuador show that language learning is not just about acquiring skills, it is a form of emotional and cultural engagement. Whether through grieving loss, resisting stigma, or rekindling cultural pride, participants are taking steps to ensure that Quechua and Kichwa continue to be spoken, through them, and because of them.

[45] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

4.7.2 Motivation: Interest in Quechua 'cosmovision' and experiences in rural areas

At the heart of many Indigenous worldviews lies a profound interconnectedness between all beings, human and non-human, as well as between the natural and spiritual worlds, time, and space. Escobar refers to this interconnection as the *pluriverse* (Escobar, 2012), a concept that challenges the dominance of singular, universalist ways of understanding the world:

> Notions of the pluriverse imply multiple ontologies, multiple worlds to be known – not simply multiple perspectives on one world. Universalist discourses and globalist projects are grounded in a unitary ontology and imperialist epistemologies which assume that the world is one, that it is knowable on a global scale within single modes of thought, and is thus manageable and governable in those terms (Conway & Singh, 2011, p.701).

This pluriversal way of seeing the world is fundamental to the Quechua worldview or cosmovision, and it plays a key role in the language learning experiences described by participants in both Peru and Ecuador. Encountering Quechua 'cosmovision' in their Quechua language classes, or in their earlier exposure to Quechua culture, or in realising that their lack of contact to the language and its speakers was from structural exclusion and marginalisation, is at the centre of participants' 'disorienting dilemmas', prompting learners to question their own assumptions and worldviews. Interacting with Quechua 'cosmovision' in online classes enables participants' singular way of thinking to be challenged. This was seen in the previous chapter through the concept of '*pacha*', as time and space, and the ideas of drawing the land and sky as abstract concepts, with participants required to represent a complex element of Quechua philosophy in a non-alphabetic way.

In Peru, many participants reported that their first encounter with Quechua culture and worldview occurred in rural communities. These experiences often sparked a process of questioning and re-evaluation, eventually leading to their decision to learn the language. Some participants described how Quechua culture resonated with their personal histories or offered alternative ways of understanding health, joy, and community. Various participants came to engage with Quechua language learning and 'cosmovision' first through a cultural interest, rather than a linguistic interest. For instance, Ramón explained that his journey began in 1994 during a

research project on traditional Indigenous medicine in the Amazon. This experience fundamentally challenged his views as a medical professional and deepened his interest in Indigenous knowledge systems:

> **Ramón**[46]**:** *Pero mi interés en la cultura andina se retomó cuando realice una investigación en medicina tradicional indígena en el año 94. Y entonces estas experiencias del aprendizaje de la medicina tradicional indígena, y mi contacto con un maestro específico en la Amazonía, me llevó a intentar entender el mundo andino, conocer más del mundo andino no sólo por mis raíces, sino por lo rico que podía hacer la medicina tradicional indígena y la cultura andina.*
>
> [But my interest in Andean culture resumed when I carried out research in traditional Indigenous medicine in 1994. And then these experiences of learning about medicine and my contact with a specific *maestro* in the Amazon, led me to try to understand the Andean world, to know more about the Andean world, not only because of my roots, but also because of how rich traditional Indigenous medicine and Andean culture could be.]

Ramón's first interaction with Indigenous medicine challenged his perceptions of medicine and how patients are treated, despite being in the medical field himself. This caused him to critically reflect on his own cultural background and connection to Indigenous knowledge systems, wanting to further this connection through classes with a *maestro*, and continue to learn about Indigenous medicine. He also began to be interested in Quechua culture and in learning the Quechua language from this point. He first joined Santiago's Quechua classes during lockdown to continue to explore this interest. Similarly, participants such as Lola and Cecilia emphasised how their time in rural communities showed them that learning Quechua was more than a linguistic endeavour, it was a means of connecting with the people and values of those communities. For Lola, learning simple greetings made her interactions more meaningful; for Cecilia, Quechua was a language of joy, sincerity and emotional depth. Through these encounters, participants began to value the Quechua worldview not only as an academic or cultural interest but as a meaningful way of being.

As most of the learners in the Peruvian class were drawn into language learning through their initial cultural interest, in Ecuador, participants often began with a linguistic curiosity or an

[46] [Ramón, 26th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

academic interest in national identity and history. In their language classes they were subsequently able to experience and explore aspects of Kichwa 'cosmovision'. For participants in the Ecuadorian class who had less previous interaction with Quechua speakers, becoming aware of Indigenous thinking and cultural elements was an additional challenge and bonus:

> **Sara**[47]**:** *al principio yo tenía curiosidad. Una curiosidad lingüística más que… más fuerte que una curiosidad cultural. Pero cuando voy raspando la superficie y veo que hay mucho más que descubrir.*
>
> [At the start, I was curious. Linguistically curious, more than a cultural curiosity. But as I am scratching the surface, I see there is much more to discover.]

This 'scratching the surface' became a journey into Kichwa thinking, expressed not only through words, but through traditional practices like weaving, storytelling and ritual. Participants were surprised and moved by the depth of this alternative worldview. Their increasing awareness of cultural diversity and an alternative way of thinking through contact with Quechua cosmovision and cultural practices can cause disorienting dilemmas as they are exposed to other ways of knowing and documenting knowledge, becoming aware of the plurality of this. Lorenzo had encountered the belief that if he spoke Kichwa, he could communicate with the mountains, plants and animals, entities with whom Quechua speakers share a connection:

> **Lorenzo**[48]**:** *alguien me dijo que debo hablar en Kichwa y ellos me entenderán, digamos las plantas, los cerros, los surcos, los apus, todo. Y los animales si es que yo me comunico con ellos en Kichwa, pues me van a entender y voy a tener como que una comunicación con ellos, y como que eso pues. También tengo una curiosidad a full pues y yo pienso que lo voy a lograr como que algun rato pues eh algún tiempo pues, tener esa conexión esa comunicación con ellos y pues a ver cómo es, cuan emocionante sea pues. Sí como que eso también es otro punto que me está pues llevando a aprender el Kichwa.*
>
> [Someone told me that I should speak in Kichwa and they – the plants, the mountains, the furrows, the mountain gods – would all understand me. And the animals are going to understand me if I speak to them in Kichwa and I'll communicate with them, and that's that. I'm also really curious and think that I am going to achieve it at some point, having that connection with them and I'll see how it is, how exciting! Yes, that's another point that is leading me to learn Kichwa.]

[47] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[48] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

Increasingly, the participants' motivation developed from language learning to learning about and participate in Quechua way of life; they show a willingness to understand this and an interest in becoming more acquainted and conversant with a culture they already admire. For example, Lorenzo's disorienting dilemma of considering whether plants were able to communicate deeply inspired him and motivated him to pursue language learning as a form of ecological dialogue. His comments show that he gained an understanding and awareness of this as an observer, however, through processing this initial disorienting dilemma in class he began to identify with and incorporate these practices into his daily life and identity. As participants encountered Quechua language, culture and thinking and processed this, they were fundamentally shifting their understanding of their world through their experiences with Quechua 'cosmovision'.

Lola's[49] story is emblematic of this journey. Her engagement with the Andean worldview started as a cultural interest, that was enhanced through her visits to Quechua-speaking communities in her NGO work. *En primer lugar, por mi interés en la cosmovisión andina me di cuenta que para entender el pensamiento detrás de una cultura era importante conocer la lengua, la forma de comunicarse*" [Firstly because of my interest in Andean 'cosmovision', I realised that to understand the thinking behind a culture, it was important to know the language, the way of communicating] she explained. As many other Peruvian participants, Lola was first interested in the culture, however she began to increasingly value and experience Quechua thinking and way of life, leading to a desire to learn the language and to interact with Quechua speakers, who she had previously felt distant from: "*como yo visitaba la comunidad también me di cuenta que la forma de relacionarme con la comunidad era acercándome a su lengua no, intentando por lo menos saludar, agradecer, algunas palabras en su lengua cosa que apreciaron mucho"* [I realised that the way in which I could relate to the community was getting closer to their language, trying to at least say hello, thank you, a few words in their language that they appreciated a lot.] Learning Quechua also helped her to understand aspects of her childhood interactions with the language, showing her transition from cultural observer to engaged participant. By recognising that language is not merely a tool for communication but a bridge for meaningful connection,

[49] [Lola, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

Lola underscores a key value in the Andean cosmovision, that of relationality. Her attempts to greet and thank community members in Quechua were not just symbolic; they were received as acts of respect and solidarity, reinforcing the importance of linguistic reciprocity in building trust and mutual understanding.

Connection with each other and with the world is at the centre of Quechua worldview, and this also formed an important part of Cecilia's[50] language learning desire. Her motivation to learn Quechua stemmed from how it made her feel when around Quechua speakers, as a joyful language. In turn, Cecilia was able to feel happier and more connected to Quechua people and a Quechua way of life through her language learning: "*Yo quiero aprender el Quechua porque me parece que es un idioma que tiene otro sentimiento, que tiene un espíritu, y que me permite estar más unida, y gozar más la vida"* [I want to learn Quechua because I think it is a language that has a different feeling, that's got a spirit, that helps me to be more united and enjoy life more]. Prior to living in Quechua-speaking communities and from her experiences with Quechua in her family, Cecilia associated the language with joy and happiness. However, living in rural communities has only served to reinforce this view of the language, culture and people, and make her engagement with these elements even more important in her own life:

> "*Cuando he vivido el año pasado en las comunidades veo que la gente es más alegre, más natural, es más este sencilla, o sea este como que vivir su su mundo les hace más, ser más transparentes con ellos mismos y con las otras personas también, con con los que viven no, o sea se comunican mejor."*
>
> [Last year when I lived in these communities, I saw that the people are happier, more natural, or simpler, that's to say that living in their world makes them more transparent with themselves and with others, with the others they live with, that is, they communicate better.]

For participants like Cecilia, joy, simplicity, and sincerity were not just incidental cultural traits, they were foundational to how Quechua people related to one another and the world. However, these experiences of Quechua are different to the way Quechua culture is presented in the

[50] [Cecilia 18th June 2021: Skype participants in Peru and the UK]

dominant Peruvian society, or as she had experienced it prior to living in communities. These deeply felt lived experiences challenged participants' assumptions and invited them to embrace alternative values that stood in contrast to the individualism and detachment often seen in urban or 'Westernised' settings.

As participants' understanding of the Andean worldview grows, many begin to see themselves as part of a richer, more interconnected reality. Language learning becomes a form of transformation: not only in terms of communication, but in how participants understand identity, community, and what it means to live well. Participants are seeing Quechua as an alternative, by coming close to it and the way of life it offers and wanting to engage with that more and more. As they do so they are beginning to resist dominant values that can be threatening to Indigenous thinking. Through returning to the way of life that a Quechua worldview allows, they are empowering themselves as they connect, or re-connect with the language.

Isabel's reflections capture this shift. Initially driven by academic interests in literature and culture, she comes to see Quechua not just as an object of study, but as a gateway into a different set of life values. Yet, whilst reflecting on this, she recognises the contradiction of having long ignored Quechua, despite her deep engagement with Andean culture and the Peruvian nation and people:

> **Miriam:** *Y por qué quieres aprender, o acercarte al Quechua?*
>
> **Isabel:** [51] *Porque, un poco obviamente o sea regresando a mis intereses de estudio de investigación o de hacer carrera, la cultura y la literatura. Entonces al final ya no importa tanto en que idioma no, o sea, en si no, la literatura te puede acercar a apreciar diferentes valores no de la vida, la historia, fin. Y cuando, obviamente es mi historia, el poder estar tanto en el mundo andino y en el Perú en general, y América Latina […] También dije 'ay qué raro que nunca me he dedicado más a aprender el idioma original de la población originaria de esta gran cultura'.*
>
> [And why do you want to learn, or get closer to Quechua?
>
> It's a little obvious in that I'm returning to my interests in research and in my degree, culture, and literature. So, in the end it doesn't matter what language it is, literature can

[51] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

> help you appreciate different values in life, history. And when, obviously this is my story, being able to be in the Andean world and in Peru in general and Latin America […] I also said, 'how strange that I have not dedicated myself more to learning the original language of the native population of this great culture'.]

Her realisation marks a moment of critical self-reflection. She acknowledges that although she has spent years intellectually engaging with Latin America and the Andean world, even living in the Netherlands while cultivating these interests, her lifestyle allowed her to remain distanced from Quechua. It is only now, through a re-evaluation of her relationship with the language and its speakers, that she is seeking to intentionally draw nearer. Importantly, Isabel does not position herself as someone who will ever fully learn Quechua. Instead, she often speaks of a desire to '*acercarse*', to get closer. This speaks to an acknowledgment that Quechua is not simply a tool for communication or scholarly analysis, but a living, relational way of being that cannot be fully possessed. Her goal is not fluency in the conventional sense, but connection, a coming into relation with a worldview, a history, and a form of life that she now recognises as integral to her own story. This process of drawing nearer is transformative: in seeking proximity to Quechua, Isabel is not only reshaping how she sees Andean culture, but also revisiting her own identity and past choices. Her language journey becomes a means of reconciling aspects of herself she had previously neglected, and of forging a future that is more attuned to plural ways of knowing and living.

Other participants in the Peruvian class mirror this process prior to engaging with Quechua language classes online. Catalysed by time spent in Quechua-speaking communities, many find themselves re-evaluating their values and the systems they inhabit. Their motivations for learning Quechua shift from curiosity or academic interest to something more embodied and relational; an engagement with the '*cosmovisión andina*', which offers an alternative to the alienation, individualism, and disconnection often felt in dominant modern lifestyles. As participants come into closer contact with Quechua language and culture, they are not just learning, they are unlearning, reconfiguring, and beginning to live differently. Their stories suggest that this process has the potential not only to reshape personal identities, but also to challenge wider societal norms by opening space for Indigenous knowledge systems to flourish on their own terms.

For participants in Ecuador, meaningful engagement with Quechua language and its associated ways of thinking began during the reflective space created by the pandemic, as will be explored in the following chapter. Unlike participants in the Peruvian class who had already had the opportunity to engage with Quechua in rural communities, participants in the Ecuadorian class generally had limited prior exposure to Kichwa language and culture, both in rural areas and in their families. For some, the online classes marked their first real encounter with the language. These classes provided an entry point into Kichwa cosmovision, offering a potentially transformational experience as they opened themselves up to engage with Kichwa, as their teachers and participants in the Peruvian class had already experienced. Although participants in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes' initial interest may have been cultural, emotional or familial, engaging with the Quechua language often became a gateway to questioning the dominance of modernity, colonialism, and 'Western' values. In doing so, participants' relationship with colonised cultures, and often their own positionality within them, began to shift.

4.7.3 Motivation: Connect with heritage and self

Many participants in the Peruvian class chose to learn Quechua not just as a linguistic pursuit, but as a way of reconnecting with their family histories. For some, Quechua had been present in childhood through family members, while for others it remained a distant or even erased part of their heritage. Across these varied experiences, participants are united by a process of critical reflection and a desire to understand who they are, through and with Quechua. Ramón[52], for instance, recalls childhood moments when Quechua was spoken in his grandmother's home as his primary language learning motivation: '*Lo que tenía son los recuerdos de niño que hablaba Quechua este en la casa de mi abuela. Y luego ya mi interés por el Quechua era porque me interesa la cultura Andina.'* [My childhood memories were of speaking Quechua in my grandma's house. And then I'm interested in Quechua, because I'm interested in Andean culture.] Though his everyday life later moved away from Quechua, the early exposure to Quechua within his

[52] [Ramón, 26th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

family left a mark that resurfaced in adulthood, rekindled by his interest in Andean culture, and curiosity to know more about his heritage.

Similarly, Emilia's connection to heritage comes not directly from her mother, who is from Lima, but rather from her grandfather, a Swiss man who learnt Quechua while working in Huancavelica:

> **Emilia**[53]**:** *Es una lengua que tiene también que ver con algún tipo de interés y origen de mi madre, es ella peruana y, que ella no es de los Andes, ella es de Lima, pero igual, o sea, que es como… pero mi abuelo este es Suizo, pero cuando fue a Perú, fue a trabajar en las minas de Huancavelica y aprendió el Quechua antes.*
>
> [It's a language to do with my mother's interest and origin, she's Peruvian, and although she's not from the Andes, she's from Lima, but that doesn't matter… my grandfather is Swiss, but when he went to Peru, he went to work in the mines in Huancavelica and learnt Quechua first.]

Although Quechua was not passed down directly, the language's presence within her family narrative spurred Emilia's interest as part of an ongoing search for belonging and connection. Luis also wanted to understand his Andean roots and offered a more emotionally-charged memory of language suppression within his family:

> **Luis**[54]**:** *Soy andino, tengo raíces. Por parte de mi padre él es Italiano, pero se casó con una andina neta mochica, […] Y con los abuelos siempre había ese contacto con el campo, con la gente y un poco entenderlos. A nosotros nos prohibieron hablar. Podíamos entender, no quería que habláramos, no sé por qué. Porque decían que no era un idioma adecuado, era un idioma para los indios. Pero uno se da cuenta de la importancia que tiene esa actitud… esa lengua nuestra, es de nuestra propia gente.*
>
> [I'm Andean, I have roots. On my fathers' side, he is Italian, but he married an Andean woman from Mochica, […] and with my grandparents there was always that contact with the countryside, with the people and understanding them a little. We weren't allowed to speak [Quechua]. We could understand, but they didn't want us to speak, I don't know why. Because they said it wasn't a suitable language, it was a language for the Indigenous

[53] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

[54] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

> people[55]. But one realises the importance of that attitude… this language of ours, it belongs to our own people.]

Luis's reflections reveal a deepening personal awareness, and a re-evaluation of Quechua as a language that *does* belong to him and to his family and community. In commenting that Quechua "belongs to our people", Luis shows how his perceptions have changed. Despite the linguistic prohibition faced as a child, Luis has reclaimed Quechua as part of his identity, challenging this inherited belief that it is 'not suitable'. This reflects a transformative learning process, in which Luis has begun to reframe the language not as a source of shame, but as an emblem of belonging, community and pride.

The participants reflect on their past experiences and how these have come to underline their current interests in Quechua language learning, despite the interrupted intergenerational transmission of the language. Both Luis and Emilia critically reflect on the fact that their family members, Luis' father and Emilia's grandfather, do not come from the Andes, yet both conclude that Quechua is an important part of their family history and personal journey, irrespective of their relative's nationality or the intergenerational transmission of the language. Luis processes his changing relationship to the language; reflecting on his childhood, he realised that he wants to reclaim a part of his identity that was previously supressed, as in the case of many learners, and wider Indigenous language users (Gomashie, 2023). On reflection as an adult he realises that he has a connection to the language and would like to be able to choose to speak it himself. He is beginning to change his thinking towards his own relationship with the language, and align himself with this and see it as belonging to him as his own cultural heritage, linking him with Quechua speakers, in spite of limited language abilities. For various participants in the Peruvian class their language learning journey began with an Indigenous self-identification that they began to flesh out with more knowledge through online classes.

[55] 'Indios' is a widely used term for Indigenous people with negative connotations, as a way to marginalise Indigenous people – being reclaimed by some Indigenous people as a form of self-identification and cultural pride.

For some participants in the Peruvian class, the absence of Quechua in their upbringing created a sense of cultural alienation. Lola reflects on the painful disconnection she felt growing up in the Andes, unable to participate in the Quechua life she was surrounded by:

> **Lola**[56]**:** *eso es mi identidad, formó una grieta, como era Peruana que hablaba inglés y viví en los Andes, no hablaba Quechua, no entendía las festividades, las tradiciones. Las miraba. Yo siempre digo cómo mirarla a través de una ventana, pero no las tocaba. Entonces por eso llegó un momento en mi vida, ya grande adulta, que dije bueno quiero entender qué era todo esto. Todo esto que vi, quiero entender.*
>
> [That is my identity, it formed a crack, since I was Peruvian who spoke English and lived in the Andes. I did not speak Quechua, I did not understand the festivities, the traditions. I looked at them. I always say it was like looking at them through a window, but I couldn't touch them. So that's why there came a moment in my life, when I was already an adult, when I said, well, I want to understand what all that was. Everything that I saw, I want to understand]

Her decision to learn Quechua as an adult came from a deep longing to understand what she once only observed from a distance, as a child. Bianca's experience also reveals that she also grew up feeling alienated from both society and her family, for being interested in the Quechua language:

> **Bianca**[57]**:** *Nosotros como somos cuatro hermanos y cuando yo les cuento mi experiencia, parece que fue otra familia la que ellas han vivido. Cada uno vive a su manera. Y yo he vivido y siempre me he sentido muy salqa, muy silvestre, fuera de lugar en la sociedad en que vivíamos. Siempre he sentido que me presionaron a ser algo que yo no era, pero no sabía cómo, simplemente que he sido rebelde porque no tenía idea de qué me pasaba. Entonces si desde muy chica estaba en búsqueda algo que me hiciera sentir yo, y eso empató mucho con mis trabajos de campo, y en particular con el mundo Quechua.*
>
> [We're four siblings, and when I tell them my experience growing up, it seems that they lived in a different family. Everyone lives in their own way. And I have always lived and felt very *salqa* (wild - Quechua), very wild, very out of place in society. I have always felt that I was being pressured to be something that I was not, but I didn't know how, I just knew that I have been rebellious because I didn't know what was wrong with me. So from a very young age I was searching for something that made me feel like myself, and that clicked through my fieldwork, and particularly with the Quechua world]

[56] [Lola, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

[57] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

Her connection to Quechua allowed her to reconcile her inner sense of identity with a worldview that made sense to her. This marked the beginning of a transformative journey in which Quechua became both a source of knowledge and communication, and a space of belonging.

Various participants in Peru are choosing to learn Quechua as a way of self-discovery and cultural belonging, wanting to understand themselves and their place in the world through their learning, and knowing they have previously been able to do this through Quechua. Lola was always intrigued by Quechua culture, yet her experience of cultural alienation, of living in a Quechua community and not being able to participate or understand created a disconnection with her sense of self. Bianca was drawn to Quechua and to learning this as it made her 'feel like herself' having felt within the dominant society that there was something 'wrong with her'. Various participants had experiences with Quechua and Quechua speakers and through these encounters had begun to connect with the language and culture, like Lola and Bianca; however, they joined language classes as a way to work through their own disorienting dilemmas and found themselves in a community in which others were wrestling with similar questions of belonging and a personal identity struggle. Many have been on a lifelong journey of discovery and engagement with Quechua, and are now returning to the language as a way to understand themselves better. Bianca's transformative moment as a student during her fieldwork where things 'clicked' into place began to help her reconcile her identity with her cultural heritage, and started a lifelong journey of 'rebelling' against dominant society, during her process of critical self-reflection.

For Isabel, Quechua was an interest, but also a tool to help her understand herself and her environment more. She was interested in it prior to moving to Peru and had a very different perspective of the language to those in Ecuador and Peru. Whilst working in the Netherlands, she met a Peruvian and moved to Peru with him; "*No sabía suficientemente el idioma, ni el contexto, ni la cultura, ni nada. Conocí solo a un peruano*" [I didn't sufficiently know the language, or the context, or the culture, of anything. I only knew one Peruvian.] She became fascinated with Peru and Quechua through reading Arguedas, but recognises that in her first encounters with Spanish

and Quechua during her university days she did not understand much of either. On returning to the language she developed an enjoyment of these and a greater appreciation of the sociolinguistic context where it is spoken; Spanish is no longer a barrier to her understanding and she can focus on using Quechua to complement this. These experiences show that Quechua language learning motivations for participants in the Peruvian class was rarely just about gaining language proficiency. For participants like Ramón, Emilia, Luis, Lola and Bianca, Quechua was a way of revisiting fractured identities, healing intergenerational wounds, and establishing a meaningful relationship with their heritage. Some came to Quechua with childhood memories, others with questions, but through their connection to Quechua in communities, they are finding a space to reimagine who they are, and connect with others with similar values. Participants in Ecuador had not had the same opportunities to engage with Kichwa prior to learning it, as the participants in the Peruvian class. However, various participants had family connections to the language. In spite of this, in the Ecuadorian class, most participants' lives did not include Kichwa prior to learning the language and they did not consider it to be part of who they were. Lorenzo was an exception to this.

Although he did not yet speak Kichwa, Lorenzo had begun to self-identify as an Indigenous person before learning the language and already felt a close and personal affinity to Kichwa. Te Huia (2015, p.618) shows that heritage language learners' increasing engagement with knowledge of their heritage language helps their sense of belonging and identity. In online Quechua language learning, participants become more motivated to learn the language as they become more involved with it and learn more about it. However, this can even be the case for those with no prior connection to the language in their family. Lorenzo had already been looking for this connection before finding the classes, despite no family or community connection to Kichwa:

> **Miriam:** *¿Y por qué quieres aprender Kichwa?*
>
> ***Lorenzo***[58]***:*** *Bueno digamos o sea es como que lo sentí. Antes. Antes de tomar el curso pues, lo buscaba, igual buscaba.*
>
> [And why do you want to learn Kichwa?

[58] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

Well it's like I felt it. Before. Before taking the classes, I was looking for it, I was searching].

However, although choosing to identify as a Kichwa person prior to starting his Kichwa classes, his internal choice and identification as an Indigenous person was not evident to others. This revelation was key in beginning his journey towards learning Kichwa:

> **Lorenzo**[59]**:** *Yo me identifico como indígena Saraguro y ahora yo puedo vestirme de indígena. Pero un amigo me dijo pues… 'es como que solo estas disfrazado'. Y ahora vamos al habla pues, debemos hablar. Entonces si es cuando hablamos y actuamos, ahí pues somos realmente indígenas. En realidad, indígenas Kichwas Saraguros.*
>
> [I identify myself as an Indigenous person from Saraguro, and now I can dress as an Indigenous person. But a friend said to me… 'it's like you're just playing dress up'. So, we move on to speech, well, we should speak. It's when we speak and act that we are really Indigenous. Truly Indigenous Kichwa people from Saraguro.]

Lorenzo was already aware of an interdependent connection between Indigenous language and identity before he began learning Kichwa. He tried to show his internal identification to others by changing the way he dressed, which is a key signifier of identity in the Andes (Meisch 2021). However, as he did not speak Kichwa, his evolving and newly chosen self-identification was called into question, being seen by his friend as '*solo estas disfrazado*' [you are just playing dress up], rather than *being* an Indigenous person. This disorienting dilemma made him critically re-evaluate his conceptualisation of what it means to be an Indigenous person; he concluded that he needed to speak Kichwa to be able to identify as a Kichwa person, and therefore should begin to learn the language. For Lorenzo, being Kichwa means speaking Kichwa, so his identification as an Indigenous person was not valid until he learnt that language. This shows how Lorenzo's motivation to learn Kichwa was underpinned by the need to build a strong ethnolinguistic identity, which often is a necessary pre-requisite for successful language maintenance and revitalisation within a minoritised community (García, 2012). In this way, Kichwa was important both for himself and to show to others that he is 'really' an Indigenous person; this negative or questioning reaction to his self-identification as a Kichwa person led to him choosing to seek out Kichwa classes online to cement and justify his chosen ethnic identity. External validation of one's identity is key in this quote. Norton (2013, p.45) argues that identity is 'how a person understands

[59] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands the possibilities for the future'. Yet these identities are also constrained by how others see individuals, and this limits a person's individual identity choice. In this case, Lorenzo lives in a rural community and works the land, he dresses as an Indigenous person, yet does not speak the language. Therefore, his self-identification as Kichwa was limited by the ascribed identity of others. As he begins to learn Kichwa he is becoming more aware of what it means to be an Indigenous person, and how this requires him to act and, in particular, speak.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the prior experiences and motivations of Quechua language learners, exploring how participants' personal histories, whether through family heritage, rural immersion, or educational encounters, shaped their relationship with Quechua and informed their decision to study the language. For many participants in the Peruvian class, early contact with Quechua was marked by negative experiences, however many of them connected emotionally with the language from a young age, and were particularly faced with disorienting dilemmas through experiences with the language in rural communities where many came to see Quechua as part of their own identities. For them, learning the language was not merely about acquisition, but about reaffirming identity, connecting with others who shared similar values and sharing cultural interests. Conversely, many learners in the Ecuadorian class had more limited previous exposure to Kichwa and discovered the personal significance of Kichwa only once they began studying it. These learners in the Ecuadorian class experienced a more emergent process of discovering and changing their sense of self, as language learning became a gateway to understanding their roots and building new forms of belonging.

While initial Quechua language learning motivations were often linguistic curiosity or cultural admiration, they also included a desire to counteract loss, stigma, and marginalisation. For several learners, studying Quechua was an act of resistance, a conscious effort to challenge dominant ideologies that have long devalued Indigenous languages and to engage in language

revitalisation as both a personal and political act. As Te huia (2015, p.613) notes "the responsibilities of HL2 learners are likely to differ substantially from the responsibilities of L2 learners of globally dominant languages, or languages where the pressures associated with language decline and revitalisation are not central concerns", and this can be seen in participants' language learning motivations and experiences. A common thread among participants was the shift from seeing Quechua as a subject of interest to embracing it as a way of life. This suggests that the transformative potential of Indigenous language learning is not dependent on prior cultural exposure, but rather on the depth of their engagement with the cosmovision embedded within the language. These findings set the stage for the following chapter, which examines how the online classroom environment facilitated transformative journeys with the language, particularly for participants in Ecuador with limited prior exposure to Kichwa.

Chapter 5 : *'Runasimiwan hampikusun'* – We'll heal ourselves with Quechua

Isabel [60] **:** *[Acercarme al Quechua durante la pandemia] me ha dado la suficiente tranquilidad como para mantenerme con confianza. Cada vez tenemos más amigos en común en mi entorno, que ha sido siempre, mucho al entorno de [mi pareja] también, porque eran todos buscadores de mejorar el mundo, así a través de la sociología, la filología, la arqueología la antropología, o sea muchos, las ciencias sociales, filosofía también, idiomas que siempre he logrado mantener como entorno de amigos o sea amigos porque compartimos un interés común, no digo ideal, pero interés común, que es cooperar, cooperar. Justo anoche uno de estos amigos me dice 'oye ya déjense de llorar o lamentar, si así la gente y nuestros amigos también se están muriendo en esta pandemia es cierto' y nos preguntamos cómo es posible que gente tan erudita, gente estudiosa, gente que se supone se cuidaban, se mueren ahora que mande este virus. Y será que no han tenido oportunidad de mantenerse más cerca a lo que la naturaleza o un idioma Quechua, o el mundo Quechua, cultura Quechuas nos puede enseñar?*

[Getting closer to Quechua during the pandemic] has given me enough peace of mind to stay confident in the situation. We have more and more friends in common in my environment [who were close to my partner too], because they were all seeking to improve the world through sociology, philology, archaeology, anthropology, through social sciences and philosophy and languages too. I've always managed to have a group of friends that share a common interest, not a common goal, but a common interest, that is to cooperate. Only last night one of these friends told me 'hey, stop crying or lamenting, it's true that people and our friends are dying in this pandemic' and we began to ask ourselves how it's possible that such erudite and studious people, people who were supposedly looking after themselves are dying now from this virus. Could it be that they haven't had the opportunity to stay close to what nature or the Quechua language, or the Quechua world and Quechua culture can teach us?]

5.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the exploration of transformation by shifting focus to the learners' virtual classroom experiences. Chapter two introduced the transformative journeys of the teachers, while chapter three demonstrated how the teachers' experiences shaped the environments they cultivated in their online classrooms. Chapter four explored the learners' backgrounds with Quechua and motivations for language learning. This chapter now turns to the effects that learning Quechua online during COVID-19 had on the participants, as they reconnect with or discover their heritage, often as a way of providing wellness or a stabilising factor at a time of

[60] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

global instability. This chapter considers individual and communal effects, from providing them with another interest, or being a way of interacting with people, to keeping them well during a global pandemic. It particularly considers the impacts of language learning on Quechua language learners' wellbeing (Sivak et al., 2019; Zuckermann, 2020). This chapter has six sections, the first 'discourses of health and healing in the Andes' explores Quechua articulations of health and community. The following four sections highlight areas of potential change in participants' 'relationship with the language', 'view of culture', 'view of themselves and the world', and 'channels of belonging'. Each section on 'changing' starts with a table summing up participants' prior experiences and motivations alongside their classroom learning journeys; these are separated each time according to the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes. The final section, 'healing in a global health crisis' considers the role of Indigenous language learning for participants' health and wellbeing.

5.2 Discourses of health and healing in the Andes

From colonial encounters, the Spanish colonisers brought new diseases to which Indigenous populations had no immunity, resulting in swathes of Indigenous deaths. In addition, colonisation destroyed many Indigenous languages and cultural beliefs and practices associated with these, causing increasing distance to Indigenous languages and cultures (Sivak et al., 2019; Whalen et al., 2022). This legacy of separation from land, language and culture continues to shape the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples today. This is shown through continuing unequal opportunities to land, education, healthcare and a lack of consideration of indigenous rights (Paradies, 2016). As a result, Indigenous people in Peru and Ecuador have faced marginalisation from health care due to prohibitive distances to the nearest facilities, lack of transport or finance. Beyond practical limitations, a major barrier that can prevent Indigenous people accessing provision is "poor cultural sensitivity and appropriateness of health care systems (disregard of health personnel towards Indigenous peoples or their culture, disrespect for traditional healing practices, language and religious barriers, or uncomfortable and impersonal environment of hospitals and clinics)" (Montenegro & Stephens, 2006, p.1865). These barriers not only hinder access to essential services, but also perpetuate a sense of alienation from mainstream systemsir

Despite these challenges, Indigenous communities have resisted domination by maintaining and transforming certain aspects of Andean worldview through cultural adaptation and syncretism, such as preserving traditional healing practices and rituals. A key part of Quechua worldview involves a different relationship with the body, nature and with others and an idea of communal wellness and support that is not reflected in these dominant healthcare models. As such, assuming Indigenous people universally seek access to formal healthcare provision is problematic.

One notable concept is *'Sumak kawsay'*, a Kichwa term that has spread from Ecuador to other Quechua-speaking areas, being assimilated in Peru as *'allin kawsay'* (Rengifo, 2002). It is often translated as 'living well' or 'good living', drawing on principles of reciprocity with one's own body, others in community and relationships with the natural world in order to maintain a balance of health and wellbeing (Coral-Guerrero et al 2021). In Ecuador, these Indigenous principles are written in to the constitution. Considering health and wellbeing as reciprocal and wider than an individual is fundamental to Andean cosmovision and Indigenous epistemologies beyond the Andes, and challenges dominant, individualised conceptions of progress and wellness:

> The key factor to reaching the *sumak kawsay* is identity; that is, the search for the values that make it possible to attain and maintain a way of life in harmony with nature and with other human beings, with the indigenous culture itself, and with its ancestral traditions. (Hidalgo-Capitan et al. p414).

The opposite concept is *'llaki kawsay'*, or 'bad living' and refers to living out of balance with Indigenous principles, nature and the community, which is often broken through acquiring Western values (Viteri, 2003). Many participants in this study were living separated from, or unaware of, Quechua language, knowledge and values prior to learning online; "the decline of Indigenous languages has become a prevalent characteristic of colonisation, negatively impacting the wellbeing of Indigenous populations over time." (Sivak et al., 2019, p.2). In this way the personal and collective loss of language and culture for Indigenous people can be painful, with language shift for individuals contributing to a lessened sense of self as there is more distance between them and their heritage language and culture, in an increasingly globalised world.

Online Quechua classes bring different worldviews, histories and languages together into one space: Western and Indigenous epistemologies conflict, with different understandings and articulations of health, literacy, and self, causing disorienting dilemmas in participants. Using Mezirow's (1991, 1994) transformative learning theory, helps to explain how individual's thinking changes through 'disorienting dilemmas' and 'critical self-examination' that can lead to an outworking of this in their actions. However, Mezirow's 10 steps of transformation focus on the cognitive changes that occur in an individual and this is not easily transferrable to the Andean context, due to the different relationships with knowledge. Apffel-Marglin (1998) separates Western and Andean ways of knowing as being based on thought and experience respectively. In this way, Andean concepts are not easily defined, they need to be lived in relationship with others and with the natural world in order to be understood. Within the Andean worldview, the concept of '*Pachakutik'* (or '*Pachacuti')* refers to a profound transformation or the reversal of an established order and is a way of understanding change in the past, in process and yet to occur. This can be on a wider scale such as colonisation, or "on a microcosmic level a *pachacuti* can take place within the body of an individual" (Classen, 1993, p.33). This is an experiential transformational experience that involves the whole person, rather than focussing entirely on changes in thinking as Mezirow's transformative learning theory explores; pachakutik incorporates the relational and experiential ways of being that can initiate transformation.

Webb's (2012) autoethnography exploring the Andean concept of *'yanantin'*, loosely translated 'complementary duality', to be further explained below, provides an example of an individual's transformation through experiential encounter with Andean worldview. This autoethnographic account focuses on her own personal growth and changing thinking through conducting fieldwork in Peru on Andean thought; Webb (2012, p.59) observes: "In "looking for *yanantin,*" I was consciously putting myself into a position for a personal *pachacuti* to take place". She traces her changing thinking, from conceptually engaging with Andean thinking to begining to participate, actively engage and understand concepts through her experiences. She started initially asking people about *yanantin*, and questioning what it would take "for a Westerner such as myself to be able to disrupt my usual patterns of thinking and dissolve these blockages? This,

it seems was what was being asked of me if I was going to understand *yanantin* at the level that I wanted to."(Webb, 2012, p.46). Seeking to understand this Andean concept clashed with her own epistemological framework, and she was prompted to experience this concept as the only way of understanding it, it was not something that could be explained to her, without her participating first hand:

> My intense reaction to his suggestion that I "download the information from the cosmos" was highly revealing. Western culture is one of Ultimate Meanings, one more interested in understanding the universal than the particular. Our search for knowledge attempts to identify that which is unchanging accross time, space and within all states of consciousness. Western science and religion both have their roots in this same fundamental belief that there are universal standards and/or laws that are constant over time, over space, and that are independent of situation or circumstance (Webb, 2012, pp.28–29).

These intense reactions when fundamental and core values are challenged, in this case where knowledge comes from, and what constitutes knowing, highlights this clash of worldviews. This goes beyond a 'disorienting dilemma' prompting rational critical thinking and self-examination to change perspective, through an experiential connection with Andean thinking, as participants have experienced in their online learning, leading to a shift in cultural framework.

After beginning to experience '*yanantin'* on a camping trip, Webb (2012, p.89):

> suddenly understood what Amado had meant during that first meeting when he told me I needed to "download the information from the cosmos." Through an experience with San Pedro, I had become "united in conversation" with the cosmos, not metaphorically, but at a very literal level. In this way I had come to "know" yanantin in a way that I could integrate it – even just a little – and that changed my psychological sense of myself in a truly profound way.

This moment marked a shift in her understanding of both the world around her and herself. It occured not through abstract knowledge, but through a direct, embodied encounter with her present environment, an experience that led her to participate in and contribute to a reciprocal setting she had once questioned her capacity to engage with. Before the pandemic, such insights were typically gained through immersion in Quechua regions or participation in rituals. Some participants in the Peruvian Quechua class had previously taken part in similar ceremonies with Quechua *maestros*, and they were able to share and discuss these moments of engagement

during Santiago's online classes, although they were not taking psychadellic plant medicine during these. With the shift to online learning, however, sharing such cultural and transformative encounters could have felt even more dissonant for those listening without first-hand experience, however Santiago ensured that all participants' knowledge and experiences were valued in his classes.

'Yanantin' is a fundamental concept within the Andean worldview that cannot easily be defined according to a 'western' epistemological framework prioritising alphabetic literacy; it refers to complementary opposition in which opposites, such as male and female or right and left, harmoniously exist in balance. Valerio introduced the concept of *yanantin* as key in his Quechua classes, as a point of departure for understanding Andean philosophy, the Quechua language, and the way that knowledge is presented through textiles or embodied in dances, or in certain spaces within the natural world. This can be seen through reciprocal and repeated patterns of knowledge shown across Quechua grammar, textile pieces and features within the agricultural environment such as terraces discussed in Chapter 3, as non-alphabetic literacy practices shape and are shaped by the environment in which they occur.

By choosing to learn Quechua, Quechua learners were intentionally putting themselves in an environment where they were likely to come face to face with their own thinking and be challenged by other participants' different way of thinking, thereby exposing themselves to personal *pachakutik* or disorienting dilemmas. The teachers themselves welcomed this contrast in opinions and Yachak in particular wanted to encourage those with no obvious link to Ecuador to join in with his classes. This in itself was creating an environment in which participants could be challenged and challenge each other, through complementary difference:

> "according to this worldview, everything has a counterpart without which it cannot exist. Existence is seen as being dependent upon, not under threat by, the tension and balanced interchange between the polarities. Therefore it is believed that if one side of two opposing forces is destroyed or denied, the other will suffer to an equal degree, resulting in disharmony and illness." (Webb, 2012, p.23).

This fundamental concept in Andean philosophy seeks to bring opposites into harmony, whilst at the same time not destroying or changing either of the individual elements (Allen, 2002; Bolin,

2006). This balancing occurs through reciprocal practices or *ayni*; "the hallmark of Andean life"(Bolin, 2006, p.152). This is key to understanding life in the Andes, and is not limited to human beings, but rather also to interactions between humans, animals, the land and cosmos. Illness is considered to be as a result of broken reciprocity (Wilcox, 1999; Silverblatt, 2021). Andean notions of community and reciprocal relationships between people and their environment are key to understanding relationships with the world around them and with each other.

Ayllu is a complex Quechua term for the wider relationships within a community, incorporating social, geographical and political implications. Salomon (1991, p.22) emphasises key elements of an *ayllu*: "a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement". *Ayllu* is the Quechua term for an extended 'family' that interacts with each other in a particular geographical location, often in an Andean community. The kinship relationships formed and maintained in an *ayllu* are not necessarily blood relationships; Quechua speakers address each other as family, establishing a sense of social collectiveness through language, geography, and social interaction. More than a social unit, an *ayllu* represents an integrated relationship between people and place. For example, *ayllu* is used as a way of organising and establishing equality within rural communities, as it includes obligations that must be fulfilled by *ayllu* members, as well as maintaining harmony with the natural world. Allen (2002, p.84) draws out the social and territorial relationships coexisting within an *ayllu*, highlighting that:

> An *ayllu* exists through the personal and intimate relationship that bonds the people and the place into a single unit. Only when *Runakuna* [Quechua-speaking people] establish a relationship with a place by building houses out of its soil, by living there, and by giving it offerings of coca and alcohol is an ayllu established. The relationship is reciprocal, for the *Runakuna*'s indications of care and respect are returned by the place's guardianship.

Therefore, *ayllu* is established through connections and links between Quechua speakers and the world around them, based on the principle of reciprocity: *"Ayllu* is the name of a mode of relatedness, and not an entity with specific dimensions" (Salomon, 1991, p.22). This focus on connection and interaction rather than specific definition of what constitutes a community helps to trace channels of belonging according to Quechua ways of life. In this way, reciprocity with

each other and with the land is a fundamental way of maintaining balance and health in Quechua cosmovision.

At the heart of the *ayllu* is the principle of *ayni* as a fundamental guiding principle of community life and way of interaction in Quechua communities. *Ayni* refers to reciprocal exchange, the expectation that any offering, whether material, emotional or social, will be met with an equivalent response:

> *Ayni* connotes aid in which accounts are (at least implicitly) kept and should be repaid in kind. Similarly, injuries are also repaid in *ayni*. When angry word matches angry word, blow matches blow, rejection matches rejection – that is *ayni* of a negative kind. Life revolves around *ayni*. Nothing is done for free; in *ayni*, every action calls forth an equivalent response (Allen, 2002, p.72).

Ayni is a reciprocal way of relating within Andean communities, in which actions are responded to in an equivalent way, and this helps to maintain balance and unity. The processual and reciprocal nature of *ayni* within Quechua relations governs not just relationships between individuals and communities, but also with the natural world, in which maintaining balance is of paramount importance for the wellbeing of individuals and the community, a fundamental element of '*sumak kawsay'*, or 'living well'.

In pre-Colombian Andean life, this balance was essential to health, as:

> concepts of disease and health were intrinsically related to a normative structure in which the maintenance of "balance" (*ayni*) between social, natural, and supernatural forces was a predominant ideal. Sickness was perceived to be a product of the breakdown of cultural norms regulating the balance between social groups, between society and nature, and between society and supernatural forces. (Silverblatt, 2021, p.173).

The practice of *Ayni* details the responsibilities of an individual that are important to maintain harmony. In the case of Andean life, reciprocity is at the heart of interactions with others, as a way of maintaining balance and promoting health, in this case with teachers and other learners in the virtual classrooms, as well as with the knowledge present and created within these environments, and the online learning environment itself.

This understanding aligns with transformative learning theory, which recognises the role of environment and experience in triggering and shaping individual transformation; the relationships between people and place and between humans and the natural world are also fundamental to Andean notions of reciprocity. Wenger also highlights this within a communities of practice framework:

> In this interplay, our experience and our world shape each other through a reciprocal relation that goes to the very essence of who we are. The world as we shape it, and our experience as the world shapes it, are like the mountain and the river. They shape each other, but they have their own shape. They are reflections of each other, but they have their own existence, in their own realms. They fit around each other, but they remain distinct from each other. They cannot be transformed into each other, yet they transform each other. The river only carves and the mountain only guides, yet in their interaction, the carving becomes the guiding and the guiding becomes the carving (Wenger, 1998, p.71).

The Quechua classes online are a point of encounter between different worldviews, lifestyles, and (lack of) contact to Quechua outside those environments. Shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic, during which Santiago's class changed the name from *'encuentros con el Quechua'* [meetings with Quechua (Spanish)] to *'Runasimiwan hampikusun'* [We'll heal ourselves with Quechua (Quechua)]. This shift marked a renewed focus on wellness, both physical and environmental, through Indigenous knowledge. Here, the concept of *'pachakutik'* is useful. Often translated as a profound transformation or reversal, *pachakutik* is not simply a change in thought, it is a deeply experiential shift, tied to one's physical and spiritual relationship with place, people and knowledge. In this light, participants' experiences in the Quechua classroom were not just cognitive, they were also relational and environmental. Their transformations were shaped by the collective dynamics of the learning space, and the Indigenous epistemologies they engaged with.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

5.3 Changing relationship with the language

Changing relationship with the Quechua language		
Prior to learning Quechua online (experiences)	Peru	Mixed prior contact to Quechua within family; most participants' experiences were negative or non-existent. Often broken intergenerational transmission, or no transmission due to lack of family contact to the language. Some participants had contact to Quechua through household employees who spoke it. Participants outside of Peru had limited previous contact to Quechua. Participants were generally aware of Quechua prior to learning it online, whether through witnessing discriminatory encounters, coming across literature in university, or becoming aware of Quechua speakers around them.
	Ecuador	Participants came from Kichwa and non-Kichwa speaking parts of Ecuador, and all had little to no prior contact with Kichwa in their families. Most participants did not know anyone who spoke Kichwa. Some participants had relatives who spoke Kichwa, but no intergenerational transmission. Participants outside of Ecuador had limited previous contact to Kichwa. The participants in the Ecuadorian class were often not aware of Kichwa in their environments and did not pay the language or its speakers much attention.
Wanting to learn Quechua online (motivations)	Peru	Participants able to continue their Quechua language learning journey online, building on the links they already had established to the language in rural areas and through learning from maestros, and attending in-person Quechua classes. The online journey was mainly positive, however some learners found this challenging, preferring to learn offline. The participants increasingly realised that Quechua has always been around them and part of their lives and that they can make an active choice to engage with it, such as learning the language. Many participants were concerned about the language 'dying' or 'disappearing'.
	Ecuador	Participants became more aware of Kichwa, or the lack of Kichwa in their environments or heritage. Some participants had become concerned about the language being 'lost', or not being spoken in certain areas. The pandemic enabled participants in the Ecuadorian class to access online Kichwa language classes and gave them an opportunity to learn the language, having begun to change their views of the language.
Whilst learning Quechua online (learning)	Peru	Most learners have not changed their view of the language and did not believe they were going to learn it; taking the classes was, rather, a way of 'getting closer' to the culture, Quechua thinking and speakers, and maintaining a virtual community of interested people. Their online journey was mainly positive; however, some learners found the lack of direct contact to others in rural communities challenging. For many learners in the Peruvian class, learning Quechua online was a way of maintaining stable contact to the language and keeping themselves occupied at a globally unstable moment.
	Ecuador	Participants in the Ecuadorian class were consistently questioning, challenging and reframing their views of Kichwa and Kichwa speakers through their online language classes, and choosing their own ways of engaging with these. They began to consider Kichwa as interesting and valuable; for many, Kichwa became fundamental to who they are, and they were hungry to learn more about it. Their experiences learning Kichwa and changing relationship with Kichwa also led them to challenge and consider their wider views of Indigenous languages, beginning to consider these as something that can have global impact, with the responsibility to steward them not just on the speakers.

Table 5:1 Changing relationship with Quechua language through Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes

Prior to online language learning and teaching, the participants' experiences with Quechua were varied as shown in Chapters 2 and 4; Luis and Cecilia were actively prevented from speaking

Quechua as children, whilst Ramón and Killa were not spoken to in Quechua, Felipe was selectively mute as a child to avoid being bullied for Quechua interferences in his Spanish. Due to this loss of intergenerational language transmission, most participants grew up without contact to or knowledge of their ancestral language, and were surrounded by prevalent negative language ideologies. There is increasing research on language and wellbeing, which highlights the link between Indigenous language learning, maintenance and revitalisation and positive health effects for Indigenous people, as well as negative health outcomes of not being able to speak their Indigenous language (Whalen et al., 2022). In this case, some Indigenous participants had internalised a negative view of the language and distanced themselves from it, others were unaware of, or ignored the language prior to learning it, and some participants were critical of Indigenous people and their perceived lack of responsibility in looking after their language. However, their relationships with Quechua have changed through their online language learning experiences, which have enabled them to discuss and reframe their previous negative views of the language and its speakers, reinforce their positive experiences, and consider how they themselves want to connect with Quechua and the role they want it to have in their own lives.

The majority of the Peruvian learners witnessed discrimination and negativity surrounding Quechua first hand, with various individual responses, from silence to compassion or equating Quechua with sadness or the language bringing them joy, or not being allowed to learn the language at all. The learners themselves were confronted with these attitudes prior to learning Quechua, which in some cases encouraged them to learn the language. Many Indigenous language speakers feel shame because of their language (Hornberger, 1988; García, 2012; Howard, 2023), as some of the teachers and learners in this study experienced. However, through their increasing online contact with Quechua, some participants in this study began to question and reframe this internalised association of Quechua as something not useful, and started rather to consider their own shame of not knowing this Indigenous language. Growing up in Europe, Isabel had limited contact to Quechua prior to moving to Peru, and considers the lack of actively engaging with Quechua to be to the detriment of many Peruvians; although she has lived in Peru

for 40 years and not engaged with Quechua, she was sad that not all Peruvians value the language that is geographically close to them:

> **Isabel**[61]**:** *hay otras personas que no hablan Quechua, que no saben nada de Quechua y a veces digo 'ay pena, viviendo en este país, teniendo tantas oportunidades' casi como que lo siento pero no lo puedo decir. O sea, a veces me da un poco de pena pensando que no han ampliado su búsqueda, enriquecer un poco más sus conocimientos*.
>
> [There are other people who don't speak Quechua, who don't know anything about Quechua and I sometimes think 'what a shame, living in this country, having so many opportunities' almost as if I'm sorry, but I can't say that. So I'm sometimes sad that they haven't expanded their search, or begun to enrich their knowledge some more.']

In stepping away from prevalent negative language ideologies towards Quechua and intentionally choosing to go to Quechua classes, Isabel and Cecilia have found that they increasingly want to be more involved with Quechua language and culture and that being close to it enhances their lives: They have realised their own lack through only speaking majority languages, particularly considering the presence of Quechua in their everyday environment.

> **Cecilia**[62]**:** *Entonces sentí que podía con el Quechua integrarme más con la gente, porque de frente las personas a veces me hablaban en Quechua y yo entendía muy poco, entonces me sentía como muy pobre, muy pobre de saber tan poco el Quechua, o sea yo quería gozar más esa manera de poder transmitir lo que yo quería y también lo que ellos me decían. Entonces yo siento esa necesidad de poder comunicarme de una manera más fluida, entonces yo por ese lado todavía sé que me falta muchísimo.*
>
> [So, with Quechua, I felt that I could integrate myself more with the people, because they spoke to me in Quechua straight away and I understood very little. So I felt very poor, very poor that I knew so little Quechua. I wanted to enjoy being able to share what I wanted to and also being able to understand what they were saying to me. So I feel this need to be able to communicate in a more fluent way, and I know that there's a long way to go for me to be able to do this.]

Living with a Quechua family in a rural community during lockdown, Cecilia was considering her position in that environment and had decided to stay a short time, however she ended up developing good relationships with the family and staying for an extended time period. Although Cecilia herself has always associated Quechua with joy and as a way of empowering oneself, even

[61] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

[62] [Cecilia 18th June 2021: Skype participants in Peru and the UK]

before she was able to understand the language at all. During her stay in the rural community, she came to consider the ways she was lacking in her own life by not being able to engage fully with Quechua community. Through her encounters in the community she increasingly realised the cultural and linguistic richness of Quechua, and the limitations in her own life that only speaking and understanding Spanish confronted her with. Although Quechua is often linked to monetary poverty, and rural areas lacking services and resources, learners are increasingly realising that there is greater poverty than this in terms of what they know and do not know. Research has shown that language reclamation can help heal past traumas, boost self-esteem, strengthen cultural identity, and improve mental health (Andrason & Olko, 2023).

During lockdown, Killa was no longer able to work as a tour guide in the city in Ecuador and this forced her to return to her community. This enabled her to hear Kichwa daily and led to her becoming involved with community leadership. As a result of moving back to her hometown during the pandemic, Killa began to have much greater exposure to Kichwa. By moving back and spending time in her rural Kichwa community, Killa developed her knowledge of how a Kichwa community is governed and the associated morals and understanding of individual, family and community life. This is a situation she likely would not have found herself in, were it not for the pandemic. The inextricable link between language, culture, and territory (Chiblow & Meighan, 2022), which sparked her interest in learning Kichwa, is highlighted by Killa thus:

> **Killa**[63]**:** *Al inicio fue para mí como un hobby, dije ya voy a aprender algo novedoso e interesante. Sin embargo, al momento en que fui introduciéndome hacia el Kichwa me di cuenta que no era nada más eso no. Que realmente lo que provoca en mí el Kichwa es mucha conciencia acerca de la forma en como nosotros vivimos.*
>
> [At the start, it was a hobby for me. I said I'm going to learn something new and interesting. However, as soon as I began to approach Kichwa I realised that it wasn't [a hobby] anymore. Kichwa really highlights to me the ways in which we live.]

The online classes enabled Killa to approach Kichwa language and culture from a different perspective and to consider it in a 'new and interesting' light, enabling her to engage with the language in a positive and enriching way, providing her with a fresh way of interacting with it. In

[63] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

addition to learning Kichwa online and her contact with that language in her community, Killa began to change her views and reflect on the much deeper role of Kichwa in her life, as a fundamental element of how she lives and how she was brought up.

Participants in the classes began to collectively value the Quechua language and culture, and celebrate this in the online environment, in spite of the dominance of negative language ideologies associated with the language and its speakers. This has changed through interaction with speakers, and increasing awareness of and contact with the language and culture, and particularly through questioning their own relationship with these:

> **Ariana**[64]**:** *cada vez ha crecido mi interés, o sea yo ahorita llego al punto de que me da iras no haber nacido y si saber Kichwa siendo ecuatoriana. ¡Ahora estoy en la etapa de la decepción! O sea, pase de cero a lo quiero todo.*
>
> [Every time my interest has grown, I mean now I'm getting to the point where it makes me angry that I wasn't born knowing Kichwa as an Ecuadorian. Now I'm at the disappointment stage! In other words I went from nothing to I want everything.]

By reflecting on her relationship with the language, Ariana has come to realise her discomfort with how little Kichwa she knows, alongside a strong desire to continue learning it. Although she was not previously aware of the language, she has increasingly had contact with Kichwa speakers and been involved with language classes and she realises the lack in her own life through not being able to be part of this in such a way. She now feels the absence of Kichwa in her life, particularly in her inability to fully engage in these spaces. At the same time, participants are also realising the richness of Quechua, that they had not fully appreciated before learning it. Whilst they never saw it as a 'backwards' language, and already had some curiosity about it, they had not realised just how personally valuable and meaningful it could be:

> **Sara**[65]**:** *A mí me ha dado también un lente más objetivo, con el cual mirar cómo se ha tratado al Kichwa y a los Kichwa hablantes en mi propio país, por mi propia gente. Incluso de las formas más sutiles, que parecerían inconsecuentes, sin mala intención necesariamente pero que demuestran que hay un racismo que está muy muy enraizado.*

[64] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[65] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> [It has also given me a more objective lens with which to look at how Kichwa and Kichwa speakers have been treated in my own country, by my own people. Even in the most subtle ways, which would seem inconsequential, without necessarily bad intentions, but which demonstrate that there is racism that is very, very deep-rooted.]

Through their online language learning, participants increasingly challenged their own views of Indigenous people and languages, through realising the extent to which minoritised languages are disadvantaged and excluded by speakers and non-speakers; this can be intentional, as Indigenous people can distance themselves from their own language, as Killa did when she moved to the city, or unintentional:

> **Sara**[66]**:** *Yo por ejemplo no sabía nada de las luchas por la educación bilingüe a principios del siglo pasado y finales del siglo 19, nada. O sea eso jamás se enseña en las escuelas. Yo no tenía idea. Y hasta muchas veces pensaba 'ah la gente kichwa hablante, o sea* hello, *como* do something, you know'. *Estaban haciendo algo.* ***Estaban*** *haciendo algo. No han estado completamente silenciosos, ha habido líderes, pero* ***no se habla****. Es como no hablar de Martin Luther King! O sea me parece… como es que no se sabe de Dolores Cacuango? No se sabe!*
>
> [For example, I didn't know anything about the struggles for bilingual education at the start of the last century and end of the 19th century. This is *never* taught in schools. I didn't have any idea. And many times I though 'ah Kichwa speakers, hello, do something, you know. *They were doing* something. ***They were*** doing something. They haven't been completely silent, there have been leaders, but ***they're not talked about***. It's like not talking about Martin Luther King! So it seems to me… how do *people not know* about Dolores Cacuango? They don't know!]

These realisations have led participants such as Sara and Pilar to choose to be more active in the ways in which they use their languages, and begin to fight for the rights of Indigenous people and languages, and challenge others on how they are speaking about certain elements of language revitalisation, or terms that they use to describe a certain language. As well as broadening their own views on the potential for Indigenous languages in the wider global context:

> **Pilar**[67]**:** *yo me acuerdo que en aquella primera clase nuestro profesor nos dijo 'bueno las personas Kichwas queremos que el Kichwa puede ser lengua internacional' y yo me quede así como 'que?' 'en serio?' 'guau!'. Entonces esa mentalidad de decir 'si, porque no', 'porque no va a ser valido una lengua indígena como lengua internacional?'*

[66] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[67] [Pilar, 16th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> [I remember that in that first class our teacher told us 'well Kichwa people want Kichwa to be an international language' and I was like 'what?' 'seriously?' 'wow!' So that mentality of saying 'yes, why not', 'why isn't an Indigenous language going to be valid as an international language?']

Through their language learning, Pilar and Sara have encountered challenging aspects of Quechua language and culture that have changed the way they perceive it; learning Kichwa has challenged Pilar's ideologies of the place of an Indigenous language within the world and the role it can have in that environment, and Sara's perspective of the place and actions of Indigenous people within that. Participants have realised the value of Quechua in their own lives, that it has been close to them for many years or decades and they have underestimated it. As they learn it they are uncovering facets that they did not know existed and learning to value it in a whole new way and to realise the ways in which it enriches their lives and actively choose to engage with this further. Some participants are even increasingly able to deconstruct their newfound perception of Quechua and apply this same changed thought process to transforming the way they think about other contexts of minoritised language, or even the role of minoritised languages on a global scale.

As they learn Quechua, participants become increasingly aware of issues confronting minoritised languages and their survival and revitalisation, as well as the underlying social situation in their countries that allows for this, and can apply this to different minoritised language contexts across the world.

> **Pilar**[68]**:** *Me he vuelto quizás más y más critica con el tema de la lengua, de la protección de las lenguas. Por ejemplo, yo vengo de una comunidad, una región en España que como otras regiones tiene su propia lengua regional […] creo que es una de las pocas lenguas en España que no es oficial y al principio como que no le daba mucha importancia, de hecho, muchos años en los que era como 'bueno vale', no la hablan, no la protegen, que más sabes que no la hablan. Y te das cuenta que no. De que uno si tiene que mover y tiene que contribuir para que eso no ocurra. Y si que es complicado, y la verdad es que me llama la atención que me de cuenta con otra lengua, que ni siquiera es lo mía, de eso.*
>
> [I've become slightly more and more critical on the topic of language, and language protection. For example, I come from a community, a region in Spain, that has it's own

[68] [Pilar, 16th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> regional language as other regions do. I think it's one of the few languages in Spain that isn't official, and to begin with I didn't give it any importance. In fact for many years I thought 'well fine, they don't speak it, they don't protect it', what more do you know than they don't speak it. And you realise that's not true. That individuals need to move and contribute so that this doesn't happen. And it's complicated, and it truly gets my attention now that I'm realising all of this with another language, that isn't even my own.]

Taking formal classes enabled some participants to change their perceptions of Indigenous languages close to them, as they realised that they had not valued these languages or known much about them. Through the online Quechua language classes, participants began to value the Quechua language, but also acknowledge other minoritised languages and stand up for Indigenous people. In order to understand the reality of Indigenous people some participants want to take a more active role in understanding, and supporting them. Many participants are also becoming increasingly aware of their privileged linguistic position in having the ability to choose to learn Quechua out of personal interest, while recognising a growing sense of responsibility. As individuals drawn to Quechua and Indigenous languages more broadly, they feel compelled to play an active role in language revitalisation. This shift in perspective reflects a deeper transformation: their learning journey has reshaped not only how they relate to Indigenous languages but also how they perceive their own roles within these movements.

5.4 Changing view of culture

Changing view of culture		
Prior to learning Quechua online (experiences)	Peru	Participants were often interested in Quechua culture, having learnt about this through their interactions with Quechua speakers.
	Ecuador	Participants were largely unaware of and uninterested in Kichwa culture prior to taking their language classes.
Wanting to learn Quechua online (motivations)	Peru	Most of the participants in the Peruvian class were first interested in Quechua culture and lifestyle, and it was this that led them to engage with the language. They had already identified Quechua as a way of life that was valuable and interesting to them, and that they want to learn more about living a lifestyle that they had seen in Quechua communities. The participants often had a specific interest that led them to engage with certain aspects of Quechua culture, such as rituals, or Indigenous medicine.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

	Ecuador	Most participants were primarily interested in learning Kichwa for linguistic reasons, and their cultural interest came later. As they set out to learn the language, they realised that the cultural elements also interested them, and that there were many aspects they had been completely unaware of. One participant had begun to identify with Kichwa as a way of life before learning it, and wanted to learn the language as a way of solidifying this ethnolinguistic identity.
Whilst learning Quechua online (learning)	Peru	Participants in the Peruvian class have not changed their positive view of Quechua culture; they still love and engage with Quechua culture and learning online was a way of maintaining this contact. It enabled them to share and relive their experiences. As part of this participants were able to begin to reframe some of their previous negative experiences with the language.
	Ecuador	Participants in the Ecuadorian class are increasingly aware of the various elements that make up Kichwa culture through their online language classes. They realise where their previous perceptions of this had been flawed. They are fascinated by and really value Kichwa culture and want to work to preserve this. Through this, they have a deeper interest in Ecuador and Kichwa speakers, and many participants are engaging with aspects of own cultural heritage they were unaware of. They have begun to learn from Kichwa and apply it to their own lives, looking at their own history and cultural engagement in a different way.

Table 5:2 Changing view of culture through Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes

Participants' evolving relationship with language is closely tied to broader cultural understandings. For some participants, particularly those in Peru, there was already an established connection with Quechua culture, motivating them to deepen their understanding. Others, mainly in Ecuador, began with limited knowledge or interest in Quechua culture but found this growing as their engagement with the language progressed. Chandler and Lalonde's (1998) study of cultural continuity within Indigenous communities in Canada highlights the potential link between culture and wellbeing in Indigenous communities. They found that the communities where young people had greater cultural continuity and opportunities to engage with this within the community, had lower suicide rates; "the communities that have taken active steps to preserve and rehabilitate their own cultures are also those communities in which youth suicide rates are dramatically lower" (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, p.18). The principle of Chandler and Lalonde's study is that awareness of and connection to one's culture and preserving this is inextricably linked to wellness, with strengthening contact to heritage key in strengthening this link to community culture. Not everyone in this study considers themselves to be Indigenous, however, all have benefitted from learning about Quechua culture and often changed their perceptions of it, for some participants this has had implications for their wellbeing. Through

learning the language and being exposed to cultural elements, and disorienting dilemmas when comparing these to their own cultural backgrounds, or their perceived notions of Quechua culture, participants have come to reframe their own thinking surrounding Quechua cultural aspects, to different extents as seen in the previous chapter.

The participants came to the classes with different notions of Quechua culture, for some it was traditional music, or being in family or community gatherings. For example, Sara encountered different types of music in Yachak's Kichwa class, that she did not expect, making her question her views of Kichwa cultural practices:

> **Sara**[69]**:** *he descubierto además que hay facetas que nunca me hubiera imaginado, entonces me doy cuenta ahora que tenía una idea bastante tradicional yo, de la lengua. Por ejemplo en el sentido de la música que Yachak nos ha hecho escuchar, me ha explotado la cabeza en 1000 pedazos al descubrir que hay rap en Kichwa, y reggaetón en Kichwa, y techno en kichwa. Yo, lo único que conocí era… ay este grupo que nos presentó… ñanda manachi me parece, el super tradicional, de violines, que me encanta, pero yo pensaba que alli paraba la cosa, que no había más.*
>
> [I've also discovered that there are aspects that I would never have imagined, so I now realise that I had quite a traditional view of the language. For example, considering the music that Yachak has made us listen to, my head exploded into 1000 pieces when I discovered that there's rap in Kichwa, and reggaeton in Kichwa, and techno in Kichwa. The only one that I knew was … that group he showed us… I think it was *ñanda manachi,* the super traditional one with violins, that I love, but I thought that that was it, that there wasn't anything else.]

Sara critically evaluated her own perceptions of Kichwa music, concluding that it was 'traditional' and that she should broaden her perspectives to include a wider selection of music that is and can be related to Kichwa, she expands her 'frame of reference' to include different types of music alongside the traditional music she was familiar with. This occurred in a class setting, where participants would discuss their views on music videos after watching these together, and many were surprised by the modern genres embracing Kichwa. Yachak had carefully chosen the cultural elements to include as a way of showcasing the language and culture, and a key tool to engage participants from around the world, recognising the role of cultural interest in maintaining

[69] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

learners' motivation (Oroujlou & Vahedi, 2011). These cultural aspects of the classes were key in engaging participants and maintaining their interest in a place beyond the language use, however many cultural aspects in themselves can promote wellbeing in the context of Indigenous language learning. Engaging with music activities both actively and passively can improve health and wellbeing outcomes, for example (Weinberg & Joseph, 2017). Sara continues: "*Para mí ha sido como abrir un cofre de tesoro realmente, donde yo sospechaba que había algo muy bello adentro pero hasta que la abría, no iba a saber."* [For me it has been like opening a treasure chest, where I suspected that there was something beautiful inside, but until I opened it, I wasn't going to know.] This metaphor illustrates how overcoming her previous distance from and lack of knowledge about Kichwa cultural elements has sparked a deeper motivation to learn the language and connect with the culture. As she begins to recognise their value and form an emotional bond with both, her experience underscores the role of cultural continuity in supporting meaningful and transformative language learning in individual and communal language learning endeavours.

The cultural materials chosen by teachers to use in their classes, as explored in Chapter 3, showed the usage of stories and myths in language learning; however, the practice of storytelling is another central facet of Indigenous collective wellbeing within Indigenous communities (Archibald, 2008). Although the classes were distanced from this collective practice of telling and listening to stories, and relied more heavily on written accounts than oral practice, engaging with myths in these spaces and telling their own personal stories helped participants to engage with their cultural heritage, or participate in this for the first time. Ariana[70] expressed her appreciation for the depth and cultural significance of these narratives; *Me encanta esta cosa misteriosa que a veces dice Yachak, que dentro de los mitos hay un poco de información histórica.* [I love the mysterious thing that Yachak says sometimes, that the myths contain historic information]. Engaging with Quechua stories helped participants to discuss Quechua values and ways of transmitting information, and what type of knowledge they contain:

[70] [Ariana, 10th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> **Killa**[71]**:** *Nuestras culturas deben también tener sus propias historias con moraleja. Eso nos permitía nosotros tener mucho cuidado con ciertas cosas que pueden ser de daño para nosotros. Pues creo que eso es parte también de la identidad no, de la… de cómo la gente transfiere información a otras personas para que ellas se cuiden, para que no hagan alguna actividad que no debe ser hecha, y entonces de esta forma […] también el consejo ha sido efectivo en nuestras vidas.*
>
> [Our cultures should also have their own stories with a moral. This would permit us to be very careful with things that could be harmful to us. So I think that is also part of identity, how people transmit information to others so that they look after themselves, so they don't do any activity that shouldn't be done, and so in this way this advice has also been effective in our lives.]

Referring to the use of myths in Quechua culture, both Ariana and Killa are engaged by the use of storytelling to express a wider cultural reality or way of behaving in or interacting with the world; myths have the potential to express historical knowledge and to pass this on generationally in many Indigenous societies that have relied on the oral transmission of knowledge. Killa highlights the role of myths in warning and caring within a culture, yet underlying this is the notion that the cultural knowledge contained and the way in which this is expressed through the language has the potential to protect speakers from harm, linking Indigenous knowledge to healing. This shows a complete change in Killa's thinking from when she was in the city and actively distanced from Kichwa. In recognising the role of stories in moral guidance, she is engaging with Indigenous knowledge and language and valuing that for herself in a way that she is learning from it and applying it to her own life, rather than just discounting it as a story she does not need to engage with and is not relevant to her. Through the myths, Killa is learning certain things about how 'they live' that had not been transmitted but she had vague recollections of from her grandparents that she was then able to check with the academy, and is learning about herself and Kichwa way of life through these encounters. She came to see the link between culture, and her own sense of self and way of life, reinforcing Chandler and Lalonde's (1998) conclusion that cultural connection is important to the survival of Indigenous youth in that context. Drawing on myths encouraged discussion between those in the classes to share knowledge and experiences on certain topics. For example, in one class examining the myth of

[71] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

'Chipicha', Lorenzo began to tell a different version of the one being explained in the class, as his grandma had told him, showing regional differences. However, this enabled Yachak to validate and emphasise the importance of Indigenous stories and language, placing scholarship students' knowledge above others and enabling other participants to learn from their experiences.

Through being challenged on their own views of what constitutes 'culture', as well as querying their view of the world around them and their interaction with that, participants come to see cultural elements as an expression of their language learning and a way of participating and stepping into a Quechua way of viewing the world. Through experiencing Quechua thinking in the language classes, participants began to change their perceptions of their own knowledge and relationship with this, changing their perceptions of the language and history, but also changing their actions as a result of this; they began to consider knowledge that had been passed down intergenerationally that they had discounted. In Howard-Malverde's (1998) study of literacy practices in Bolivia, knowledge transmitted orally by an elderly community member was ignored, preferring the written accounts. Encountering knowledge in virtual Quechua classes gave it legitimacy and prestige that would not necessarily have engaged Killa in the same way if she had just returned to her community during the pandemic without engaging with online language learning. Through changing her perception of the Kichwa language, Killa began to participate in Kichwa cultural activities that had previously been of no interest to her:

> ***Killa***[72]***:*** *yo he sido de aquí, pero nunca me ha interesado. A partir del aprendizaje del Kichwa empecé a interesarme, y más que interesarme, a participar en los eventos del Inti Raymi, Kapak Raymi, y todos los Raymis que existen… En el ciclo de la luna y cómo eso afecta a la agricultura. Lo sabía de mis abuelos, sin embargo nunca los puse en práctica.*
>
> [I am from here but have never been interested. Through learning Kichwa I began to become interested, and more than interested, to participate in Inti Raymi, Kapak Raymi, and all of the Raymis… In the cycles of the moon and how this affects agriculture. I knew it from my grandparents, but I never put it into practice.

Killa was aware of Kichwa teachings but did not actively include these in her life. Learning Kichwa brought her to reflect on their own immediate relationship with language and culture, and to

[72] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

reflect on elements that she had taken for granted; Killa was aware of Kichwa festivals and actively chose not to participate in these.

Similarly, Pilar was aware of the history she had been taught, but through interacting with Kichwa culture and hearing the history of her country in a different environment and from a different perspective she began to change her own relationship with it. Pilar was aware of colonisation from a Spanish perspective and had not really ever considered it in much depth:

> ***Pilar***[73]***:*** *en la escuela me enseñaron que bueno si 1492 también fue y conquisto America, pero no te cuentan la masacre que fue en realidad. Entonces yo por ejemplo el primer contacto que tuve con eso fue cuando estudié en la carrera literatura americana precolonial. Claro. Ahí es cuando empiezas a ver lo que ocurre, como es la realidad y dices 'guau que hicimos', bueno 'que hicieron' que yo no formé parte de eso. Pero por eso te digo hay como una pequeña parte de mí que siente culpabilidad, y me dice 'cómo se puede remediar esto', como pues es imposible no, o sea quiero decir es muy difícil que una sola persona compense una historia de 500 años. […] Me crié en España, entonces aprender otras culturas te sitúa, te hace compararte, pero al final yo creo que eso te hace emprender y te hace crecer.*
>
> [In school they taught me that 1492 was the conquest of America, but they don't tell you the massacre that it really was. So, for example, the first contact I had with that was when I studied pre-colonial American literature in my degree. Of course. That's when you start to see what really happened, and you say 'wow, what did we do', well 'what did they do' as I wasn't part of that. But that's why I'm saying that there's a small part of me that feels guilty and questions 'how can this be remedied', as it's impossible, or very difficult for a single person to compensate a 500 year history. […] I grew up in Spain, so learning about other cultures situates you, it makes you compare yourself, but in the end I believe that this helps you to wrestle with it and makes you grow.]

Pilar's experiences indicate the transformative potential of education, when it centres previously marginalised perspectives. In learning about colonial violence, she felt guilty and responsible, and this provoked questioning. Becoming more aware of Kichwa language and culture meant that participants began to re-evaluate these cultural elements closest to themselves, whilst also situating themselves within it. Participants had similar 'disorienting dilemmas' within the classes and were able to process these together online, bringing together different backgrounds and perspectives. Acknowledging the differences within language learners and valuing these can

[73] [Pilar, 16th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

contribute to a sense of belonging within the classroom (Davison & McKay, 2002; Risager, 2007; Hossain, 2024). This has important implications for language revitalisation, as participants' disorienting dilemmas through their interactions with Quechua cosmovision and processing this together in the classes resulted in transformed habits, and some changed actions involving the use of Quechua in their daily lives.

Within this shared environment, participants, particularly those in the Peruvian class, relived old experiences and shared stories from their time in Quechua environments, causing them to reflect on their own experiences with the language; in Santiago's class they shared personal stories of discrimination and showed solidarity to one another, whilst also sharing positive experiences and reminiscing about times spent with Quechua speakers. These show how language learning can function as cultural healing. Silko (1981, pp.237–238) emphasises that in Indigenous cultures "a great deal of the story is believed to be inside the listener", in this reciprocal understanding "one does not recover by oneself". For example, Bianca shares a personal experience at length about her time in a Quechua community during university fieldwork, helping others in the class to understand her experiences, whilst also encouraging them to share their own encounters with Quechua as a way of bonding and healing:

> **Bianca**[74]**:** *Al pasar por un recodo, siento que me tocan el brazo y hablan bonito en Quechua, volteo y era una anciana bella con un gran vaso de vidrio entre las manos (de esos que había visto en Arequipa y en el Valle de Tambo con chicha de jora) que me invitaba, me hablaba y yo no le entendía sólo 'upiay, upiay' (¡Bebe! ¡Bebe!) le dije gracias pero no podemos, nos deja el ómnibus, ella insistía, apareció entonces un niño pequeño en edad de escuela primaria y me dijo, dice que tomes, le pedí que le explicara nuestro apuro y la señora contestó sonriente, el niño traduce: dice que está bien, que tomes, vas a alcanzar el bus, dice "o te vas riendo o te vas llorando", me dio gran ternura su insistencia, la veo extendiéndome el vaso, lo tomo y llamo a mis compañeros que apremiaban para bajar. Compartimos todos la chicha y la verdad sentí que me entraba una fuerza poderosa, y que nadie me podría parar, agradecimos, y seguimos corriendo cuesta abajo. Entonces escuchamos las frases/cantos agudos, (jaylli) de la señora, el eco repetía y contestaba otra voz de mujer similar y luego otra y otra…, hasta que divisamos el bus que se acercaba, el cual nos esperó gracias al jaylli que llegó a la carretera y alguien/algunos que lo pararon.*

[74] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

> [Going around a bend I felt as if they were touching my arm and speaking nicely to me in Quechua, I turn around and it was a beautiful elderly lady with a large glass in her hands (one of those I had seen in Arequipa and in the Tambo valley with *chicha de jora*) and she was offering it to me. She was speaking to me and I didn't understand her, only '*upiay, upiay*' (drink, drink!). I said thank you, but we can't, the bus will leave us. She insisted. Then a small child of primary school age appeared and said to me, she says you should drink. I asked him to explain why we were in a hurry and the lady replied smiling, which the boy translated: she says it's okay, drink, you're going to catch the bus, she says "you're either going to go laughing or crying", her insistence endeared her to me. I saw her offering me the glass, I took it and called my friends who were rushing to leave. We all shared the *chicha* and the truth is I felt as if a powerful force entered me and like no one could stop me. We said thank you and continued running down the hill. Then we heard the lady's (*jaylli*) phrases/high call, the echo continued as another lady answered and then another and another… until we saw the bus approaching, which waited for us thanks to the *jaylli* call that reached the road, and someone/some people who stopped the bus.]

Sharing her own story is a way of encouraging the listeners to engage with Quechua culture through her own experiences, at a time when in-person encounters with Quechua culture were not as possible for most. It was a way of reminiscing and strengthening connections through sharing their stories, the virtual Quechua classes were not merely about language learning, but about recovering and celebrating a supressed sense of self. Bianca's story shows that there are logics and relations that go against the formal aspects of waiting for a bus, with timetables. She was confronted with a more relaxed perception of time that values wellbeing, but also the trust in communication between the bus driver and the community because they share the same values, trusting that he will understand their calls. This clashing knowledge is seen not only in the participants own encounters with Quechua that can cause 'disorienting dilemmas' with their own lives, but also with the conversations sparked in the class environment itself.

This kind of clashing knowledge, between dominant cultural expectations and Indigenous worldviews surfaced not only in participants' own reflections on previous experiences but also in the conversations sparked during class, and their experiences of the classes themselves. For some, this led to moments of discomfort and introspection. Returning to Pilar's reflections on colonialism, she describes sometimes feeling out of place in Yachak's class: "*en algunos momentos, sobre todo cuando se hace referencia precisamente al colonialismo no y a las consecuencias del colonialismo, me siento foráneo, me siento forastero, y me siento un poquito*

mal." [At times, especially when referring precisely to colonialism and the consequences of colonialism, I feel like an outsider. I feel like an outsider and I feel a little bad.] In processing these 'disorienting dilemmas' she was confronted her with her country's colonial past and her own previous distance from it. Through her Kichwa classes and her resulting critical reflection, Pilar's engagement with Kichwa classes sparked a new awareness of her position within colonial histories, something she had not consciously considered before. This shift in perspective allowed her to relate to forms of inherited responsibility that had once seemed distant or abstract. She recalls:

> **Pilar**[75]**:** *Yo me acuerdo que tenía una amiga Alemana que me decía que a ella muchas veces le daba vergüenza decir que era Alemán, obviamente por todo el tema del Holocausto en la Segunda Guerra mundial. Y yo no entendía y yo le decía 'pero por qué si tú no hiciste nada' hasta que empecé mis clases de Kichwa y lo entendí.*
>
> [I remember that I had a German friend who told me that she was often embarrassed to say that she was German, obviously because of the whole issue of the Holocaust in world war two. And I didn't understand and said 'but why, if you didn't do anything?', until I started my Kichwa classes, and I understood.]

Pilar's reflection reveals a powerful moment of empathy and political awakening. The emotional distance she once felt from her friend's inherited national guilt dissolves as she begins to confront the legacies of colonialism in her own context. Through language learning, Pilar does not simply acquire vocabulary and grammar; she also encounters a deeper historical consciousness, one that reshapes her understanding of identity, responsibility, and her own complicity in systemic structures. This realisation moves beyond personal guilt toward a more nuanced engagement with history and its lingering effects in the present. Through their language classes participants are engaging with history in a different way, whether this be reframing and reminiscing over their own personal experiences and histories or beginning to reconsider their place in a wider context through coming face to face with different perceptions of their own culture. Walsh (2012) notes that non-Indigenous people learning Indigenous languages can cause "a reduction in racism", and this deeper understanding of certain cultural contexts afforded through online Quechua

[75] [Pilar, 16th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

language classes can lead to greater empathy for the struggles and resilience of Indigenous peoples.

5.5 Changing view of self and the world

Changing view of self and the world		
Prior to learning Quechua online (experiences)	Peru	Quechua was an important part of various participants' identities through having spent time in rural communities, festivals, and learning from maestros.
	Ecuador	Participants' lives did not include Kichwa, and they did not consider it to be part of who they were prior to learning the language.
Wanting to learn Quechua online (motivations)	Peru	Various participants had family links to Quechua and/or Peru and wanted to understand this part of their heritage more. Some participants had a conflicted sense of self from not understanding or engaging with Quechua when they previously encountered it, and wanting to fully immerse themselves in the language in order to understand some of their own personal history with the language and culture. Many participants had experienced a different way of being in the world through Quechua 'cosmovision' that challenged their own thinking, and they wanted to know more about this.
	Ecuador	Most participants in the Ecuadorian class wanted to learn Kichwa as a way to learn more about their country of origin and/or heritage. Having become more aware of the language and the stigma associated with this, they wanted to value the language and its speakers. Participants' growing interest to see how Kichwa could help them to interact with their environment, for example through nature; however, they often positioned themselves as observers rather than participants in this. One participant had begun to identify as a Kichwa person, and knew that he needed to learn the language to fully engage with this.
Whilst learning Quechua online (learning)	Peru	Participants in the Peruvian class have not hugely changed their view of themselves or the world through their online Quechua language classes; they continue to engage with Quechua culture and language and most choose to identify with Quechua as part of their identity. They remain interested in Quechua 'cosmovision' and try to live in a way that reflects their value and understanding of this. Some participants have been able to process their previous conflicting experiences of the language and through this consolidate their identification with the Quechua language and way of life.
	Ecuador	Through their Kichwa classes, participants are reframing their views of Kichwa, and of themselves as a speaker of the language, or reclaiming an Indigenous identity. In rethinking the language ideologies, they have been surrounded by and the view of Indigenous people presented to them, they have a greater sense of empowerment; one participant has changed his name to a Kichwa name. The participants are choosing to actively engage with learning Kichwa and investigating Kichwa culture, and all the participants in this class have begun to take on an activist role towards promoting Kichwa language use.

Table 5:3 Changing view of self and the world through Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Participants' changing perceptions of Quechua language and culture have enabled them to change their interaction with the world around them through their newfound sense of self and, for some, reclamation of an Indigenous identity. Various participants in Ecuador have connected with Kichwa in a deep and personal way through their online language classes, with the language changing their view of themselves, the world around them and how they fit into that world. For many participants this has resulted in an increasing desire to promote and protect Kichwa and to include this more in their lives.

Through his journey with Kichwa, Lorenzo has reinforced his ethnolinguistic identity as a Kichwa person through his online classes. It is in this learning context that he sought out a Kichwa name, as he began to feel that Lorenzo was not who he was, preferring to be named in a Kichwa way. He officially changed his name from a Spanish name, Lorenzo, to a Kichwa name, Inti, during his Kichwa course, emphasising: "*Mi nombre es lo que soy. Soy Inti porque lo siento, voy viviendo, voy sintiendo en mí. Y estoy bien porque con ese mismo nombre me identifico*" [My name is who I am. I am Inti because I feel it, because I am living it, because I feel it within myself. And I'm fine because I identify myself with this name"]. Naming has been a powerful tool throughout Latin America, with names used as a colonisation strategy to mark the first Spanish settlements. However, many individuals with obviously Indigenous last names converted these to Spanish to disguise their origins. This concept is now being reclaimed with self-identifying Indigenous people renaming themselves to show an emancipated and decolonised sense of self. Although Inti is not necessarily of Indigenous origin, he now has a Kichwa name. Similarly, although he is still learning Kichwa, he is increasingly using and identifying with the Kichwa language and way of life despite having been brought up in an environment where it was not used. The language permits him to connect with 'who he is', enabling a sense of wellness. Again, this appropriation of Kichwa and the ensuing identity reconfiguration of identification mirrors similar processes of language revitalisation among so-called 'new speakers' of European minoritised language (Ramallo et al., 2019). Incorporating Indigenous languages into the linguistic repertoire of non-traditional speakers and teaching Indigenous languages as L2 will become an increasingly central strategy in Indigenous language policy and planning.

Following Killa's realisation of the fundamental role of Kichwa in her life through starting to learn Kichwa and returning to and getting involved in her community, her relationship with Kichwa deepened to the point of also reconsidering how she sees herself and who she is:

> **Killa**[76]**:** *[Aprender Kichwa] también me permitió conocerme a mí misma y empoderarme como mujer Kichwa. Eso realmente me ayudó porque el Kichwa no solamente es una lengua más que podemos aprender. Lleva en sí mucho conocimiento, mucha filosofía, consejos que se puede aplicar en la vida. De esa manera yo pude darme cuenta de que mi identidad como mujer Kichwa era muy importante para mi vida y para mis futuras generaciones; quisiera que mis hijos en un futuro puedan también disfrutar de esta identidad que sí yo tengo.*
>
> [[Learning Kichwa] has enabled me to get to know myself and to empower myself as a Kichwa woman. This really helped me, because Kichwa isn't just another language we can learn. It contains so much knowledge, philosophy, and advice on how to live. In this way I realised that my identity as a Kichwa woman was really important for my life and for my future generations; I would like for my future children to also enjoy this identity that I have.]

Killa identifies the role of language and Kichwa worldview in redefining her sense of self and identity, and in now considering herself to be a Kichwa woman, making a close connection between the emancipating aspects of learning an Indigenous language, beyond its communicative aspects, and gender construction (Hornberger, 2017). Fundamental to this identification is being confronted with Kichwa ways of living and re-evaluating the culture she has grown up in through her online Kichwa classes. Killa settles on the personal and undeniable value of Kichwa to her and her identity pointing out the connection between language, culture and identity and the role of language not only in cultural transmission but also in internalising this culture (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Killa's internalisation of Kichwa guiding principles and cultural knowledge has caused her to reimagine what it means to be in the world, and her own sense of self within a wider Indigenous way of thinking and cosmovision, that she used to discount so freely when living in the city. For Killa, moving back to her rural community presented her with a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow, 1981) through which she reconsidered and came to redefine her own relationship with Kichwa. Confronting her own relationship with Kichwa on a

[76] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

daily basis in her community during the pandemic led to her choosing to take Kichwa classes, and her engagement with Kichwa classes and changed relationship with Kichwa language and culture has altered her cultural and linguistic self-identification, see Hornberger (2017) for similar processes.

Moreover, engaging with an Indigenous language has changed the way the participants view the world around them and themselves. This contact with Kichwa has enabled them to experience and engage with an alternative linguistic, cultural, and physical reality. For example, this is how Killa reports a changed relationship with the environment as a result of the Andean understanding that non-human entities have life:

> **Killa**[77]**:** *antes era muy consumista de alguna manera… para mí las cosas eran objetos que se puede amozar, claro que se pueden usar y también están objetos, sin embargo, por ejemplo, no tenía el pensamiento de que el agua es importante, o de que la naturaleza es importante y que nosotros debemos ser personas quienes cuidemos y protejamos estos espacios porque ellos también tienen vida y también son como hermanos para nosotros, porque si ellos viven, nosotros también estamos viviendo.*
>
> [before I was very consumerist… for me, things were objects that can be accumulated. Of course, these objects can be useful, but I didn't have the mindset that water is important, or that nature is important, and that we should be people who look after and protect these spaces. Because they are also alive and are like brothers to us; if they live, we are able to live.]

For Killa, learning Kichwa has been an eye-opener to better understand the interconnectedness of language, Indigenous knowledges, and the environment, which is a growing field of research against the background of a deepening climate crisis. Killa's comments show how the learning of an Indigenous language goes beyond a purely communicative approach raising awareness about Indigenous epistemologies and contesting Western-centric approaches that view the natural world as a 'commodity', 'property' or a 'resource' (McGregor et al., 2020, p.35). This evolving connection to the natural world was a widespread outcome of Quechua language study.

[77] [Killa, 13th March 2021: Zoom participants in Ecuador and the UK]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

5.6 Changing channels of belonging

Changing channels of belonging		
Prior to learning Quechua online (experiences)	Peru	Many participants had experience travelling to rural communities and engaging with Quechua and Quechua speakers. Through these encounters, participants began to emotionally connect with the language in one of two ways; either adopting it as part of their identities and engaging with the Quechua speaking community, or becoming interested in understanding what they had experienced, even though they had not understood or felt very distant from it.
	Ecuador	Little to no prior interaction with Kichwa speakers in community, or knowledge of those who speak. The one participant with contact to a Kichwa speaking community had actively distanced herself from this due to her own negative language ideologies, she was choosing to live in the city and preferring the novelty of Spanish, and hiding her origins.
Wanting to learn Quechua online (motivations)	Peru	Interested in learning Quechua as a way of building and maintaining relationships with the Quechua speakers they already engaged with, and building further relationships, as a way of valuing the language and its speakers. Many saw Quechua as a unifying language, and as a language that enables a communal sense of being. Some participants also felt a lack of belonging and wanted to investigate and understand more of the Quechua language and culture to understand some of their own past experiences of being distanced from the language. Others had been made to feel that there was something 'wrong' with them, or that they did not fit in because of their interests in learning or experiences with Quechua.
	Ecuador	Participants were gradually becoming more aware of Kichwa in their environments and the plight of Kichwa speakers, and saw learning Kichwa as a way to be united with Kichwa speakers through language use. As they became aware of the language ideologies perpetuated in their wider communities, they increasingly wanted to challenge these within themselves. Their increasing interest in Kichwa helped them to understand their Andean Spanish and the influence of Kichwa on their own speech, even without realising this, and made them interested in learning the language. One participant moved back to Kichwa community and began to take more interest in the language and culture during the pandemic, coupled with beginning to learn Kichwa online.
Whilst learning Quechua online (learning)	Peru	Although many participants in the Peruvian class had already been learning offline, learning Quechua online enabled interested people with different experiences and language learning motivations to come together, and it helped to connect them to each other and to a place. They feel united with these other people who are interested, not alone or 'strange' in their desire to learn Quechua. This helped them to stay connected to this way of life and thinking, and to deepen connection to their roots through processing and redefining their own prior experiences with the language, and reframing Quechua as a way of belonging and being in their own lives, rather than just for those in communities.
	Ecuador	Participants were questioning and processing their changing perceptions and experiences together with others who were on similar journeys. Their different backgrounds sparked disorienting dilemmas in each other, whilst simultaneously enabling one another to support each other through these. The participants connected with the other class members, and many did not previously know (m)any Kichwa speakers. Yet, through their classes they found themselves part of a group in which they could try out a new sense of self and share and encourage each other on this journey. They felt less alone in their interest through connecting to a country and to others through their classes.

Table 5:4 Changing channel of belonging through the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes

The participants had actively chosen to engage with Quechua through their own journey to learning the language, with teachers also having undergone transformation before teaching it. For all of them, Quechua is a unifying element that brings them together in a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), which enables them to go deeper than purely linguistic understanding to a more complete understanding of themselves. For many, this has come through breaking their separation to the language and choosing to participate in the classes, and embrace a more active role of Quechua in their lives, seeing it as a gateway to a different way of thinking and living, and something that they themselves can be a part of:

> **Lola**[78]**:** *Runa simi es la puerta, la llave para entender la civilización andina. Uno puede observar y admirarse de los monumentos de las grandes complejos, pero tienes que hacer acercarte a la lengua. […] En nuestra tradición, en la cosmovisión andina, tienes que entender las palabras, tienes que conocerlas, porque te van a abrir las llaves a muchas cosas detrás.*
>
> [Quechua is the door, the key to understanding Andean civilisation. One can observe and admire the monuments of the large complexes, but you have to make yourself get closer to the language. […] In our tradition, in the Andean worldview, you have to understand the words, you have to know them, because they are keys for you to open many things behind them.]

Being part of a Quechua language learning community connects participants to a territory, a language, a culture and a way of life, as well as Quechua-speaking individuals and interested participants. In the Quechua classes, many of the participants have not had the opportunity to be in the same physical location at the same time, and some have not visited the countries where the language is spoken. Yet they are united in a desire to learn more about the language and culture, and despite their varied backgrounds and individual motivations they regularly come together to learn Quechua and discuss Andean life, forming a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). The underlying premise of Santiago's Quechua classes[79] was: "*Somos un ayllu, un grupo, somos juntos en momentos difíciles, nos apoyamos*" [we are an *ayllu*, a group, we are together in difficult moments, we support each other], continually emphasizing the importance of each

[78] [Lola, 29th June 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

[79] [06.11.21 Class 50, Santiago, Zoom]

participant within that, and frequently being in touch with one another to support through challenges of lockdown, and everyday life.

Sara began her journey with Kichwa out of a slight personal interest but quickly found that this was developing into something more as she learnt it online from the United States. Although she was physically distant from the Kichwa language, she immediately felt an emotional connection to the language and to the other learners, which in turn helped her to understand herself and her background in a new way. Sara remarked that:

> **Sara**[80]**:** *fuera del grupo de estudiantes de Kichwa, yo no tengo a nadie que hable Kichwa en mi círculo. At all. Nadie. Cero. Entonces no te puedo decir que lo estoy aprendiendo para poder hablar con mis abuelos. Yo lo hago primero por la curiosidad que tenía por la lengua, pero sinceramente por conocerme mejor.*
>
> [outside of our group of Kichwa learners, I don't know anyone who speaks Kichwa. At all. No one. Zero. So, I can't tell you that I'm learning it to be able to speak with my grandparents. I'm doing it firstly because I had a curiosity for the language, but truly I'm doing it to know myself better".]

Learning Kichwa provides Sara with a connection to her birth country and her heritage that she would not have been able to establish any other way, and through her interactions with other Kichwa learners, she can learn about herself. Sara's comments highlight the importance of both individual and communal learning, as expressed by Wenger (1998) through his concept of communities of practice. Individuals coming together online to learn Kichwa form a community of practice in which there are no prerequisites for participation. Learners can attend one module or multiple modules. They may or may not be based in Ecuador, but this does not impact their ability to participate and be united in their Kichwa goals and enriches collective and collaborative learning. Over time, participants in the Kichwa class become bonded through their regular contact and shared experiences or learning Kichwa online during a global pandemic, irrespective of their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

[80] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Prior to starting their Quechua language learning journeys, some participants had felt ostracised for their interest in Quechua, so becoming part of an online language learning community of like-minded people helped them to feel less alone in their interest:

> **Sara**[81]**:** *no se ve el valor de aprender Kichwa. Cuando comparto con gente, y un poco o sea como para* let's see what they say*, y les digo 'ah adivinen que estoy tomando Kichwa!' Si hubiera dicho 'estoy tomando Francés', me habían dicho 'guau que bien', con Kichwa la gente no sabe qué decir. O sea es como que 'mmm, ¿para qué? Si es la lengua de los indios, ¿qué vas a hacer con esa lengua?', nadie piensa que me enriquece, nadie se da cuenta que es posible que descubramos cosas sobre nosotros mismos.* […] *Y claro como yo siempre soy la loca de la familia, la oveja negra, porque me fui a hacer un doctorado y vivo lejos. Todos dicen bueno, es Sara,* it makes sense.
>
> [they don't see the value of learning Kichwa. When I share with people, a little bit to see what they say, and I say 'oh guess what, I'm taking Kichwa!' If I had said 'I'm taking French', they would have said 'wow that's great', with Kichwa, people don't know what to say. It's like 'mmm, why? If it's the language of the Indigenous people, what are you going to do with that language?' No-one thinks that it enriches me. No-one realises that it is possible for us to discover things about ourselves […] And of course, I'm always the crazy one of the family, the black sheep, because I went to do a PhD and I live far away. They all say well, it's Sara, it makes sense.]
>
> **Lola:** Yo soy en realidad la única rara en la familia que lo habla, que lo estudia, que le interesa.
>
> [I'm actually the only strange one in the family who speaks it, who studies it, who is interested in it.]

Although neither Sara nor Lola identify as Indigenous people, this shows their marginalisation from their immediate community purely due to their interest in learning Quechua. Yet it is this interest that brings them together as part of an emerging community of practice focussed on Quechua language and culture; within this space they are able to process share and reinforce their ethnic identities. Participants commonly highlight the negative reactions to learning Quechua they have experienced, yet choosing to learn this online has helped them to realise they are not alone in their interest, and provided them with a supportive group of language learners who share this.

[81] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

Community is important in maintaining motivation in language learning, with a lack of community amongst students significantly hindering their engagement (Alvares, 2007); however, in this case being part of a Quechua language learning community has helped them to process 'disorienting dilemmas', share prior experiences, and try out a new way of being (Wenger, 1998). Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasise the communal aspect of learning, rather than focussing on individual development to argue that learning is the process through which belonging to a community of practice is established. Through this learning, participants are changing their views of Quechua speakers, and cultivating their own relationships with Quechua language and culture. The processual and experiential nature of this encounter with others and with themselves is shown as they come into new relationships with themselves and their environments as Killa and Inti have done. Zuckermann (2020) emphasises the importance of this process in language revitalisation, stating "the revival process is as important as the revival goals", with the journey an important factor in promoting the cultural identity and wellbeing of Indigenous people. This continuous process of observing, of learning, of shaping their identities together and reinforcing these through the online sphere has been key to individual learners' transformation in their Quechua language classes, within this communal supportive environment.

Expressing their relationship and experiences with Kichwa in a communal setting enables individual participants to re-evaluate their perceived notions of Kichwa language and culture and to discuss this in an open and encouraging 'breathing space' (Fishman, 1991, p.58). Sara can be in frequent contact with Kichwa speakers and learners and develop a deeper understanding of aspects of her own country that she was previously unaware of, all through attending online classes from the United States. However, in addition to the cultural and linguistic knowledge exchanged, the social aspect of classes is invaluable to participants' negotiations of their sense of self. This regular interaction, mutual encouragement and shared interest led to discussions, friendships and experiences that would not have occurred without these virtual Kichwa classes. Sara is grateful for this learning community through which she has discovered the importance of Kichwa in her own life:

> **Sara**[82]**:** [Kichwa] es la piecita que faltaba. Y que lamentablemente si no es por este curso de Kichwa, nadie me puede dar esa información. Nadie de mi familia, nadie habla Kichwa, se perdió ese contacto con la tierra, con la gente que les ayudaba a mi familia a trabajar la tierra. Entonces siento que es parte de quién soy, y no es algo que yo quiero negar […] es más fácil sacar a relucir esa parte de la identidad con conocimientos más sólidos.
>
> [[Kichwa] is the missing piece. And if it wasn't for this Kichwa course unfortunately no one would be able to give me this information. No one in my family, none of them speak Kichwa; this contact with the land was lost, and with the people who helped my family to work the land. So, I feel it is part of who I am, and it is not something that I want to deny […] it is easier to highlight this part of my identity with a more solid understanding.]

We can see in Sara's words a recurring topic, which is how Kichwa is connected to the land, how 'language is land', borrowing from Chiblow and Meighan (2022), and with agricultural labour, making a connection with the physical environment. Sara considers Kichwa to be fundamental in her understanding of herself and her cultural and linguistic heritage. She has been able not only to explore her roots in a virtual environment but has also used that knowledge to contest internalised ideologies of denial which are common adaptation strategies among minoritised peoples. Despite always being interested in the language, the possibility of learning Kichwa online during the pandemic presented her with a previously unheard-of opportunity to learn Kichwa that she grabbed and this had an empowering effect.

This journey of self-discovery and empowerment was echoed across many participants' experiences. The virtual Quechua language classes have enabled participants to explore and consolidate the role of Quechua in their lives and try this out in a supportive environment, through a 'provisional trying of new roles' (Mezirow 2000). Various Peruvian participants had already experienced personal awakenings through their contact to Quechua with Quechua speakers:

> **Cecilia**[83]**:** *me dediqué muchísimo a mi profesión y estuve completamente alejada del Quechua. Y recién el 2010 que fui a Cusco con mis hijos porque ellos ya querían hacer la película de Cusco, entonces ahí nuevamente entre a conectarme con los grupos donde mis hijos iban a trabajar no. Entonces ahí encontré nuevamente, como un renacer para mí.*

[82] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

[83] [Cecilia 18th June 2021: Skype participants in Peru and the UK]

> [I dedicated myself completely to my job and was really far from Quechua. And it was only in 2012 that I went to Cusco with my children because they wanted to make a film about it, so I began to connect again with groups where my children were going to work. And I found myself again there, like a rebirth for me.]

Through actively choosing to learn Quechua and 'get closer' to a Quechua way of life, participants have connected with a different part of themselves, as a personal reawakening (Hobson, 2010); as individuals change within this environment, the impact can extend to those around them. Although most participants in the Peruvian class do not think they ever will learn the language, they have found that being 'close' to it brings them the benefits of improved wellbeing and identity.

This closeness to Quechua that participants have experienced during the pandemic has enabled individual transformative experiences within a communal environment. This communal setting was not just a backdrop, but a crucial element in shaping each person's own connection to the language, highlighting the Andean ephasis on the interdependence between the individual and the collective. As Bianca expresses:

> **Bianca** [84] **:** *tú para ser tú tienes que respetar al otro e interactuar, compartir en reciprocidad. Entonces yo vivo en complementariedad, yo trato de abordar esto con mis hijos que son los más cercanos, y de una manera que me nace hacerlo, trato de hacerles ver también en las conversaciones con respecto a los demás. Y el construir colectivos.*
>
> [In order to be yourself, you need to respect the other and interact and share with them in reciprocity. So, I live in complementarity; I try to do this with my children, who are the closest to me, and in a way it flows out of me. I try to also make them see in conversations with others, and in building collectives.]

As Bianca highlighted, becoming oneself is not an isolated process in the Andes, it requires connection; the communal aspect of learning, rooted in Andean values of reciprocity and complementarity supported participants in seeing themselves more clearly through others. This idea resonates with Webb's (2012, p.69) observation that "In order to become self-aware, one needs a mirror. One needs someone or something separate from the self to reflect one's identity

[84] [Bianca, 19th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

as an individual". Virtual Quechua classes provided such a mirror, an opportunity to form reciprocal and supportive relationships with others, through which participants could understand themselves and their place in the world:

> **Isabel**[85]**:** *<u>fíjate</u> mientras estoy hablando contigo creo que empiezo a entenderme mejor por qué estoy tan atraída ahora por la biodiversidad, y por la tierra, y por la chacra, y por la cosmovisión. Hay tantas cosas por aprender que me cautiva, y gracias la pandemia estoy pero así casi feliz o sea estoy asustada, estoy así preocupada, pero a la vez digo 'oye estoy con un lujo de tiempo encerrada en mi casa en una comisión que me lo permita' y bueno puedo pensar y conversar, leer, no hacer nada o hacer mucho, en fin hacer lo que me da la ganas!*
>
> [Look, whilst I'm talking to you, I think I'm beginning to understand better why I'm so attracted by biodiversity, and the land, and 'cosmovision'. There are so many things to learn that captivate me, and thanks to the pandemic I am here and almost happy, I am scared and worried but at the same time I say 'hey I have the luxury of time shut in my house with a pension that permits that' and well I can think and talk, read, do nothing or do a lot, basically do whatever I want!]

For Isabel and others, this time of isolation paradoxically became a period of reconnection, an opportunity to re-engage with ancestral knowledge, with the earth, and with themselves. The learning was never solely linguistic; it was emotional, ecological, and spiritual. In order for participants to reclaim or establish a meaningful connection to Quechua, they became essential for each others' journeys. Their growth was interdependent. Meighan (2022) highlights the potential of cultural and linguistic resurgence in finding oneself through contact with Indigenous language, land, and culture, and the potential for this online too. This study highlights transformative experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people with Quechua through their online language learning, of whom few set out to learn the language as anything more than a hobby. However, reclaiming this cultural continuity has helped each of them to some extent recover stability in their sense of selves and counteract the 'losing [of] one's soul' (Wexler, 2006) that is associated with linguistic and cultural loss for Indigenous people.

[85] [Isabel, 26th March 2021: Zoom participants in Peru and the UK]

5.7 Healing in a global health crisis

Having started with an initial interest in learning the language and for most a limited personal identification with Quechua, each of the participants has developed an awareness of Quechua values and understandings as they are learning the language. This in turn has changed the way they interact with and think about the world, as they reformulate their own place and way of being within the world based on this new knowledge and redefine their sense of self. How they choose to identify with the Quechua language and culture has shown each of them a different part of who they are. Chickasaw scholar Chew (2015, p.155) writes: "The far-reaching impact of colonisation and the enduring pressures of assimilation had prevented me from knowing my language and, thus, fully knowing myself". Increasingly valuing Quechua language and culture and recognising the importance of this in their lives has enabled them to value themselves as Quechua speakers or language learners as they reclaim this part of their identity or heritage. For Mbembe (2017, p.151) this initial recognition of self is key in beginning a process of healing from power imbalances and subjugation; "The act of identification is also an affirmation of existence. "I am" signifies, from that moment forward, "I exist."" Through learning Quechua and (re)connecting with Quechua speakers and the land where it is spoken, participants became more confident in identifying with the language itself. In changing their views of themselves and their heritage through their contact with Quechua language and culture during online language classes, participants are able to begin to undo the "collective crisis from a loss of identity, loss of purpose, loss of pride, and loss of self-esteem [that] can lead to collective despair and collective suicide (Hunter & Harvey, 2002). Through both their personal and collective connection to the language, participants began to transform this inherited loss into a renewed sense of individual and communal pride in Quechua and the ways of life it represents. The online classroom became a supportive environment in which participants could safely explore and experiment with Indigenous identities, values, and ways of knowing. This enabled participants to share experiences, struggles; "relating one's discontent to similar experiences of others – recognizing that one's problem is shared", and also explore options for new ways of acting both on and offline (Wenger, 1998).

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Through their online language learning many participants came to realise that Quechua was a fundamental part of their identities, that enables a specific way of being in the world, with this reclamation of language and identity. Diné scholar McKenzie (2022, p.74) emphasises:

> "an understanding long shared by our elders and ceremonial practitioners: language *is* medicine. In this sense our languages can *literally* heal us.
> The profound effects of (re)learning one's Indigenous language may be difficult to demonstrate empirically. Yet, for Indigenous peoples who experience such effects, it is clear that language, mental, psychosocial, spiritual, and physical wellbeing are inextricably linked."

As someone who had no contact to Kichwa prior to learning it, Yachak now credits Kichwa with his existence, struggling to imagine life without it, and has shared this journey and way of being with his students:

> **Yachak**[86]**:** [Kichwa] *me permite ligarme a una historia no. La historia, a otra historia que es la historia no Castellana, sino la historia Kichwa ancestral indígena de América ya. Entonces me ayuda siempre, o sea me ayuda a mí a estar con los pies en la tierra digamos. Cuando uno solo habla castellano, o inglés, o portugués en América, uno está solo con un pie aquí ya, y por eso los políticos hacen lo que les da la gana, porque no saben en el lugar en el que están. En cambio cuando tú ya hablas Kichwa, o sea… estas aquí. O sea realmente estás aquí, o sea ves lo que pasa, ya ves qué es lo que está pasando con los otros Kichwas, ves la realidad de los otros Kichwas, entonces a mí me permite estar aquí. O sea, si es que no hablara Kichwa, no estuviera aquí nada más, se estuviera solo mi cuerpo aquí, pero con la mente allá.*
>
> [Kichwa allows me to link myself to history. To another history that isn't Castilian, but rather the ancestral Indigenous Kichwa history of America. So it always helps me to stay grounded, with both feet. When someone only speaks Spanish or English or Portuguese in America they only have one foot on the ground, so that's why politicians do whatever they want because they don't know the place they're in. On the other hand, when you can speak Kichwa… you are here. So, you're really here, you see what is happening with other Kichwa people, you see their reality, and this allows me to be here. That is, if I didn't speak Kichwa, I simply wouldn't be here. Only my body would be here, but my mind would be elsewhere.]

Kichwa is fundamental to Yachak's existence as an individual, within a community, and within the Andes. Language enabled him to connect with and be grounded in a place and with a group of people through his own language learning and teaching journey. Participants benefited from this too online, as Quechua classes during the COVID-19 pandemic provided participants with a sense

[86] [Yachak, 19th March 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

of wellbeing and stability at a time of global uncertainty. For learners in this study, learning Quechua has begun to help them connect with a place, and individuals from that place, with a different view of history and life, whilst having the possibility to challenge and explore their own relationship to Quechua through these classes. Engagement of individuals within a community can lead to a deeper awareness, connecting the individual's healing process with the community's healing process; this conceptualisation of how individual healing can heal the community is deeply embedded in Quechua ontology. As the teachers have embraced their identity in their own language learning journeys, they have been able to pass on those alternative ways of being to their learners. The teachers' own individual journeys are fundamental to this as they have experienced positive benefits of speaking Quechua and share the language and its values with their students, confirming the potential importance of language transmission within language revitalisation frameworks.

Through claiming a Quechua identity, and increasingly asserting this, individual Quechua language learners have realised that recognising this new identity and asserting that identity is a radical form of existence, and a form of resisting Spanish dominance. Participants grew in confidence and security in their language-based identity through their online language learning and sharing with one another in the classes. They recognised the value of Quechua language through the classes and in doing so, gained a new sense of their own value as both an agent of that language and inherently. This process of healing and reclaiming identity through community-based Indigenous language learning echoes a broader resistance to colonial structures and a transformative reconstitution of the self, as Mbembe (2017, p.162) describes:

> Each human subject, and each people, was to engage in a grand project of self-transformation, in a struggle to the death, without reserve. They had to take it on as their own. They could not delegate it to others. In this quasi-sacrificial aspect of his thought, the duty to revolt, to rise up, became an injunction. It went hand in hand with the duty to violence […] for Fanon, violence was as much a political as a clinical concept. It was as much the clinical manifestation of a "sickness" of a political nature as it was a practice of the transformation of symbols. What was at stake was the possibility of reciprocity, and therefore of relative equality in the face of the supreme judgment of death. By choosing violence over becoming its victim, the colonized returns to himself. […] In the process he reconstitutes himself and redefines himself. He learns anew to weigh and value his life and his own presence to his body, to his word, to the Other, and to the world.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Language has an important role in colonial power dynamics having been used as a way of oppressing and controlling Indigenous populations, with the possibility of erasing their languages and identities. In rising up against this through language learning and self-recognition as a Quechua speaker, participants are reclaiming their linguistic and cultural identities or heritage as individuals, within a supportive communal environment: "relational continuity and connectedness is important for relational healing; and that when we know who we are and where we come from, it helps us be in healthy relationships with ourselves and one another" (Ullrich, Demientieff and Elliott, 2022). Drawing on these relationships and being supported by like-minded people has encouraged participants to support each other in their language learning journeys and in language revitalisation efforts. However, it has also emphasised that hegemonic Spanish worldview has not allowed this expression of themselves and led to increasing resistance of this through demanding respect from others, as a result of their changed view of the value of Quechua language and culture and themselves. Inti did not tell anyone that he was learning Kichwa initially as he did not know how they would react, and was only able to share his language learning journey with his friends once he had found confidence in his new identity and changed his name, yet he now values Kichwa and believes others should too: "*igual así como yo respeto, igual me merezco respeto"* [Just as I respect, I deserve respect]. Through their classes and communal interactions, Inti has realised that the language and culture he now identifies with, and which enable him to be who he is, are worthy of respect, and therefore he is too.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants have recognised that within Andean society they have had to adapt to a Spanish way of being, and that this has prevented them from fully being or knowing themselves:

> **Santiago**[87]**:** *Vivimos mucho en base a las apariencias no, la cultura dominante, el* establishment*, creo que nos obliga a tener siempre una careta no, más de una careta no: Tenemos que portarnos de distintas maneras para no ser nosotros mismos, sino parecer lo que no somos.*

[87] [Santiago, Luis and Emilia - spontaneous group interview, 3rd April 2021: Zoom participants in Peru, Brazil and the UK]

> [We live a lot based on appearances, the dominant culture, the establishment, and I think this forces us to always have a mask, more than one mask: We have to behave in different ways to not be ourselves, but to look like what we are not.]

Indigenous language learning online has helped participants to find different aspects of their identities, and explore what this means for them to 'live well' within the environments in which they find themselves, yet not be subjugated by this. Having claimed their existence within the colonised society through reclaiming their identities, they realised also that identifying with Indigenous values and culture was prevented before:

> The nation-state does not allow *sumak kawsay* because it is a colonial state that subjects nationalities and indigenous peoples to laws that are alien to them; for this reason, this colonial state must be dismantled and removed as a barrier to the self-determination of these peoples (Hidalgo-Capitán et al., 2014, p.414).

This reveals a fundamental conflict between the Quechua concept of *sumak kawsay*, 'living well', and the lived reality of navigating life under a dominant, colonising culture. Revitalising Quechua language and culture as a community is not only an act of recovery but also one of resistance, a collective stand against the hegemonic structures that have long sought to suppress Indigenous ways of being.

Building on this collective awakening, participants increasingly began to see how they could continue to engage with Quechua in their future and extend their virtual learning into tangible commitments. Through recognising both their identification with Quechua and the challenges that come with asserting that identity in broader Andean society, and having had the chance to experiment with this way of being in their virtual community, some participants found themselves moved to share what they had learnt with others, and begin to engage in their own micro language revitalisation efforts.

> **Sara**[88]**:** *quisiera trabajar para ayudar a hacer más más visible la presencia del Kichwa, y ayudar a que hay una concientización de la importancia del Kichwa en Ecuador. Yo creo que como lingüista y como ecuatoriana yo debería poder hacerlo, pero necesito herramientas no, y la primera es conocer un poco mejor la lengua.*

[88] [Sara, 25th March 2021: Zoom participants in USA and the UK]

> [I'd like to work to make Kichwa more visible, and help to raise awareness of the importance of Kichwa in Ecuador. I think that as a linguist and as an Ecuadorian I should be able to do it, but I need tools, and the first one is to know the language a bit better.]
>
> **Inti**[89]**:** *tengo que hacerlo pues, lo voy a lograr y es como que escribir un tema en Kichwa pues, cantarlo y pues como que un tema gratificante que llame la atención pues sí. Y el que quiera escucharlo pues tendrá que aprender Kichwa y luego escuchar mi tema!*
>
> [I have to do it, and I'm going to achieve it, and I'll write a song in Kichwa, sing it and it'll be a rewarding song that draws attention. And whoever wants to understand it, well they'll have to learn Kichwa, and then they can listen to my topic!]

Participants in Ecuador have been inspired by their teacher who had a similar language journey to themselves, coming to Kichwa with little previous experience of the language. By coming together as a community in both Peru and Ecuador, they have been able to value themselves by coming to value the Quechua languages and cultures, and channel new forms of values into activism. Through learning online during the COVID-19 pandemic, most learners in this study have connected with Quechua in a way that has made them want to continue to invest in their relationship with the language and their personal identification to it, as well as wanting to share this with others in their social circles. Their experiences learning Quechua have enabled them to recognise themselves in a new way and open new reimagined futures for themselves and for the language. In Australia, Johnson et al. (2009) highlight the importance of cultural production in reclaiming an Aboriginal identity through art as a way of being proud of this. Quechua language learners in this study want to contribute to revitalisation efforts, increasing cultural production, and to ensuring continued transmission of the language, so that other people are able to engage with the language, and themselves, as they have been able to during the pandemic. The individual healing experienced by one individual has the potential to translate into wider healing for others as a result of their teaching, or cultural production and language revitalisation efforts. Learning Quechua online has provided participants with a safe space in which to re-envision their own individual and collective sense of self and to imagine what it means to be part of a Quechua community. Learning online has enabled participants to develop a deeper connection to Ecuador

[89] [Lorenzo/Inti, 9th April 2021: Skype participants in Ecuador and the UK]

or Peru and to the Quechua language and culture, permitting online global exploration despite travel restrictions at the time.

The pandemic provided a globally destabilising moment in which to re-evaluate values and lifestyle, and for these participants, the addition of Quechua classes became more than a fleeting interest, it has personally enriched them and changed not only their language attitudes but also their view of the world and themselves. Quechua was a joyful thing for the online language learners in this study during the pandemic. Although the pandemic had negative mental-health implications for many (Cullen et al., 2020), with isolation, uncertainty, and distance learning, online Quechua classes provided a place where participants were able to connect with other interested people, with the world around them and with themselves which proved to be positive for their wellbeing; "In mental health counselling, the principle of relationship is often a primary focus for obtaining wellbeing. This translates to the relationship with others, the environment, and within oneself. The quality of relationship dictates quality of life" (Hall & Stewart-Spencer, 2021, p.xv). This resonates with Quechua articulations of health and community, where '*sumak kawsay*' is not an individual pursuit, but a reciprocal encounter between the self, others and the natural world. Healing involves relational harmony and collective care, rather than only personal recovery. Participants enjoyed their connection to Quechua language and culture, and, more than that, credit it with a way of maintaining their peace and emotional stability throughout the pandemic through this contact to the Andes and to others interested in Quechua. During this specific moment in time, learning Quechua helped participants to maintained their emotional stability, whilst (re)connecting to self and to others in the group. They were able to reaffirm their choices, decisions, and experiences in these online spaces together, which may not have happened in the same way in a physical class. Language-learners approached the classes with a newly found enthusiasm to adopt a new hobby, a willingness to engage with new people socially, and an openness to questioning the world around them. Some intentionally wanted to reconnect to ancestry and identity, whilst others ended up engaging with a worldview that they previously paid little or no attention to, through their conscious decision to learn Quechua.

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the transformative experiences of participants engaging in virtual Quechua language classes during the COVID-19 pandemic. Far beyond the linguistic content of the lessons, the classes became spaces for cultural reconnection, identity exploration, and critical reflection on colonial legacies and power dynamics. This virtual language learning space has allowed participants to begin to heal from their own negative internalised language ideologies, or process their experiences of not being allowed to speak Quechua as children, and find balance in their own lives through experiencing the benefits of Indigenous language learning. For participants in the Peruvian class, the virtual classroom became a space of remembrance, validation, and cultural reaffirmation of their love of Quechua and previous engagement with the language. In realising that they were not alone in their interest or experiences, the virtual Quechua learning space during the pandemic provided participants in the Peruvian class with stability and a sense of wellness and community through discussing Quechua cosmovision and 'coming closer' to the language. Meanwhile, participants in the Ecuadorian class encountered Kichwa cosmovision online often for the first time; in processing disorienting dilemmas individually and together, they began to reframe their own relationship to Kichwa and reclaim and revalue ancestral knowledge and language. For many participants, the encounter with Quechua was also an encounter with themselves. Some reconnected with suppressed or denied parts of their heritage; others confronted uncomfortable aspects of their positionality as non-Indigenous learners within a colonial history.

In both the Peruvian and Ecuadorian classes, the learning process mirrored Quechua understandings of healing, not as an isolated, internal event, but as a shared and dialogical journey. Through reciprocal exchange, storytelling, and shared reflection, learners came to understand that language revitalisation is inseparable from cultural recovery and personal healing. As participants' perceptions of Quechua evolved, they began to value the language more deeply and engage with it in new, meaningful ways. For some, this included valuing themselves more as Quechua speakers and asserting that identity with pride and the expectation of respect from others. Participants' initial decisions to join online Quechua classes opened up a community

of like-minded learners, creating a space for personal transformation and collective growth. Participants not only (re)connected with Quechua but began to see themselves as agents within language revitalisation, whether through sharing their learning with family, advocating for cultural knowledge in other spaces, or simply embodying the values they had come to hold. In doing so, they enacted a subtle yet powerful form of resistance, insisting on the legitimacy and vitality of Quechua ways of living and knowing. This shift can influence others in the speech community to engage similarly, and may prompt non-Quechua speakers to reconsider their own relationship with the language. As this chapter has shown, Quechua language learning in virtual spaces has the potential to facilitate forms of healing that are both personal and collective, rooted in mutual care, reciprocity, and understanding what it means to live well, together.

Chapter 6 : Final conclusions

The COVID-19 pandemic fundamentally transformed the global education landscape, urgently pushing millions of learners and educators into digital environments (Jensen et al, 2022). What initially began as my personal curiosity about whether and how Quechua instruction would continue without in-person learning evolved into a deeper investigation of the prevalence of online opportunities, pedagogical innovations, and language learning communities that emerged in response. For Quechua, a language historically suppressed and often excluded from institutional platforms, this global crisis became an unexpected moment of opportunity: new learners engaged with the language online, as educators adapted to virtual modalities. This matters not only for understanding how Quechua was taught and learnt online during a global pandemic, but for envisioning more equitable and sustainable futures for Indigenous language education in the digital age.

This thesis aimed to uncover the impact of learning Quechua online during the COVID-19 pandemic on the lives of learners. To achieve this, it examined learners' attitudes and practices with Quechua before the pandemic in offline environments to analyse the extent to which these changed during the pandemic and the impact they have had on participants' language attitudes, practices, and identities. This occurred within the virtual classroom context curated by teachers, where learners were impacted by the teachers' own journeys to the language, and the cultural elements they chose to teach within their classes. This thesis has shown that Quechua language learning online during the COVID-19 pandemic provided more than linguistic instruction, offering participants a temporary yet powerful 'breathing space' (Fishman, 1991) within a virtual environment for reflection, connection and transformation. Learners found in these classes not only a sense of stability and belonging during a period of isolation, but also an opportunity to reimagine their identities and forge deeper connections with Indigenous knowledge, values and worldviews. Participants' diverse motivations, from reconnecting with ancestral roots to supporting language revitalisation, were shaped by personal histories, prior exposure to Quechua, and broader sociopolitical discourses. These motivations intersected in dynamic ways, fostering a supportive community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) that enabled

learners to share experiences, process complex emotions, and develop a collective interest and sense of purpose.

Learning Quechua online has provided participants with a space in which to re-envision their individual and collective sense of self and to imagine what it means to be part of a Quechua community. As Grenoble (2021, p.11) notes, 'one of the core motivations for language revitalisation is to claim, or reclaim, identity'. Learning online has enabled participants to connect deeper to Peru and Ecuador and the Quechua and Kichwa language and culture, permitting online global exploration despite travel restrictions. The pandemic provided a globally destabilising moment in which to re-evaluate values and lifestyle. For these participants, the addition of Quechua classes became more than a fleeting interest; it has personally enriched them and changed not only their language attitudes but also their view of the world and themselves. Online classes have enabled the participants in this study to engage with Quechua in new ways, whether this be reconnecting with a familiar language in a completely new environment or investigating a lifelong personal interest for the first time. Their motivation to learn Quechua has encouraged them to redefine and reclaim their identities and conceptualisations of what it means to learn or identify as Quechua or Kichwa. Connecting with Quechua online sparked a dramatic ideological change from entrenched negative language attitudes and stigma often associated with Quechua to providing a supportive and transformative environment for learning that language and associated cultural practices. As is known, changing internalised negative language attitudes to positive ones is a central driving force in any revitalisation process (Dołowy-Rybińska & Hornsby, 2021). The online classes also provided a non-institutional 'breathing space' where the emotional aspects of language learning were encouraged and valued so that they could be incorporated into their own micro language planning and policy decisions. Despite these ongoing identity and communal negotiations, for the duration of the pandemic, online Quechua classes offered a gateway to culture and an alternative way of viewing the world, which has caused transformative and ongoing change in the lives of these participants.

The research demonstrates that online Quechua classes can catalyse ethnolinguistic and personal transformation. Participants described shifts in worldview, strengthened ties to Andean culture,

and enhanced wellbeing, with some becoming advocates for language learning in their own families or communities. This underlines the broader potential of Indigenous language learning as a tool not only for individual healing and self-discovery but also for communal resilience and cultural continuity, as these individuals go on to invest in others. The online format proved particularly empowering, allowing geographically distant individuals to participate in cultural and linguistic reclamation, and in some cases, offering access to Quechua learning, people and places that would not have been possible offline. The transformative nature of this learning experience was not limited to students. Many of the teachers had undergone their own language journeys, which were pivotal in facilitating critical reflection and navigating learners' 'disorienting dilemmas' (Mezirow, 1981, 1991). Their teaching practices, grounded in personal experience and shaped by a cultural mission, brought Quechua 'cosmovision' into the virtual classroom, foregrounding Indigenous knowledge and practices. Through experiential and embodied pedagogy, including storytelling, myths, and music, they invited students into alternative ways of knowing and being, fostering deep intercultural and introspective learning.

6.1 Scope, limitations and future research

The scope of this study is necessarily bounded, shaped by the exceptional context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which also enabled this project to occur. While this period enabled a surge in digital engagement and offered a 'breathing space' for reflection, identity exploration, and community-building, it also limits the generalisability of findings. The research focused on a specific temporal moment and involved only those learners and teachers with reliable access to technology, thereby excluding broader populations who may have faced digital exclusion. Additionally, participants were already inclined toward Quechua language and culture, suggesting that they may have been more receptive to the transformative and healing dimensions of language learning than a more general population. Although many of the online classes observed eventually lost momentum, their temporary online presence highlighted both the possibilities and limitations of sustaining digital language revitalisation efforts beyond crisis conditions.

Future research is needed to examine whether the transformative effects observed during this period persist over time and how digital or hybrid models might contribute to more enduring

forms of linguistic and cultural resurgence. Although the particular situation of the Covid-19 pandemic itself cannot be replicated, future research could be conducted on healing and identity and community building functions of minority language learning during challenging situations. The 'breathing space' provided by the pandemic highlights the importance of having space for processing and reflection, particularly during a global moment of turbulence and change. This research emphasises the potential of creating inclusive spaces, both online and offline, where Indigenous languages like Quechua can be learnt and celebrated within a supportive community, with the possibility of benefiting not only the wellbeing of individual learners but also the vitality and revitalisation of Indigenous languages.

6.2 Contributions to literature

This thesis contributes to the literature on language revitalisation and wellbeing by outlining the effects of Indigenous language learning on participants in the online environment during the COVID-19 pandemic. It considers Quechua language learning as a source of wellbeing, stability, and community during a global health crisis and at a time of worldwide uncertainty and isolation, aligning with broader research on Indigenous culture-as-health (Yamane & Helm, 2022). It integrates 'Western' theories of transformative learning with Andean concepts of personal and collective transformation, highlighting the importance of experiential learning and embodied understanding in the context of Indigenous language acquisition, and the transformative potential this holds for the wellbeing of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people engaging with it. It highlights the role that community and 'cosmovision' can have in this transformation and the crucial role of online learning and community of learners in valuing self and language and reclaiming an Indigenous identity. Fostering a sense of community among learners can help to maintain engagement in language revitalisation efforts, whilst helping learners to value themselves and their language use, history, and heritage. It is also essential to consider the COVID-19 pandemic itself as a moment of reflection and self-examination that facilitated the digital presence of Quechua and the creation of virtual language learning communities. Through exploring Indigenous language learning in this virtual environment, this thesis contributes to the literature on digital ethnography and language learning by considering the value of online

Quechua language learning for mainstream approaches to language teaching, such as the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, and the role of digital ethnography in language teaching traditions.

6.2.1 Digital ethnography as methodology

The use of a digital ethnographic approach in studying Quechua language learning during the pandemic revealed how traditional teaching and cultural transmission adapt within virtual environments. Digital ethnography allowed for close observation of interactions, practices, and community formation in online spaces, offering insights into how educators and learners navigate and reinterpret cultural traditions. This approach can highlight how ancestral knowledge, oral practices, and communal pedagogies are not lost but transformed through digital platforms. It can also shed light on new motivations, practices and communities among language learners and teachers. Digital ethnography contributes a critical methodological lens for understanding the continuity and evolution of traditional teaching methods in contemporary contexts, particularly for marginalised languages like Quechua; during the COVID-19 pandemic, digital Quechua learning spaces became not only substitutes for physical classrooms but also new arenas for cultural resilience, where traditional modes of transmission, such as storytelling, textiles, and communal participation, were adapted for Skype and Zoom classes, WhatsApp groups, and asynchronous YouTube classes.

This thesis demonstrates how a digital ethnographic approach can show how learning and teaching practices evolve in destabilised, deterritorialised, and digital contexts. In the case of Quechua language learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, conventional pedagogical traditions were disrupted. There were no pre-established methods for teaching Quechua online, and teachers were forced to innovate and adapt, transforming their practice in real time. Digital ethnography enabled my own participation in these transformed environments as they unfolded, providing insight into how relational, place-based and culturally embedded knowledge was transmitted and reimagined in virtual environments. Participating as a researcher in live virtual classrooms, WhatsApp groups, and asynchronous learning environments such as YouTube

channels and shared digital repositories, provided insight into how deeply territorial cultural practices were adapted to the digital sphere. This access allowed the observation of not only how the language was taught, but also which cultural elements were included, how they were framed, and which materials, often developed informally and outside standard curricula, were chosen by teachers.

Unlike conventional classroom ethnography, the digital approach enabled multi-sited research accessing classes in both Peru and Ecuador. A digital ethnographic approach during the COVID-19 pandemic facilitated an understanding of how marginalised language communities enact digital agency, using online tools for activism and identity formation. While the legacy of this period includes a lasting digital footprint, in the form of recordings, resources, and repositories, these asynchronous materialsnnot be may lack the immediacy and solidarity of synchronous learning spaces, which fostered real-time relationality and a sense of community among learners. These digital interactions and learning environments not only revealed new spaces of language use and community building, but also raised important questions about how such culturally rooted practices might be recognised, or overlooked, within dominant language assessment frameworks.

6.2.2 Implications for language assessment frameworks

The findings speak to the potential for integrating Indigenous languages, such as Quechua, into frameworks like the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. While the CEFR has historically centred on European linguistic and communicative norms, this research suggests that it can be expanded or reimagined to accommodate plurilingual, intercultural, and decolonial orientations. Recent developments in Indigenous language learning acknowledge the need for more inclusive approaches that can accommodate Indigenous contexts (OECD, 2022). The culturally embedded skills observed in online Quechua learning, such as oral storytelling, and relational knowledge exchange, challenge and enrich dominant conceptions of language proficiency, offering new pathways for validating Indigenous language learning within global standards.

Learning Quechua can introduce learners to entirely different ways of understanding the world. For example, the conceptualisation of the past as something visible in front, and the spatial awareness tied to environmental and social relations, demand not only a different grammatical understanding but a shift in perception. These shifts resist translation and often defy alignment with CEFR-level descriptors, particularly at advanced levels. The production of culturally grounded language that reflects Indigenous thought may far exceed the current definitions of C1 or C2. This requires a rethinking of what constitutes "advanced" proficiency in diverse linguistic and cultural contexts. Learning an Indigenous language like Quechua can become more than acquiring communicative competence; it can be an act of epistemological transformation. It can involve decentring dominant linguistic ideologies and confronting one's own positionality, through confronting linguistic privilege or enabling a journey of reconnection and healing. In either case, it can challenge assumptions about what language is, what it does, and who it belongs to.

At the heart of this research lies the proposition that language learning is never a neutral or purely academic exercise. For learners of Quechua, engagement often stems from emotional, historical, or activist motivations. It is linked to identity, resistance, and a desire to reconfigure thinking. The CEFR, with its focus on individual linguistic competence and linear achievement, falls short in recognising such motivations. It does not yet adequately accommodate language learning as a process of identity negotiation or community engagement, elements that can be central to many minoritised language learning contexts. Within Quechua communities, language and literacy practices exist in relation to oneself and to others, these are not just something to be known but something to be shared, performed, and lived. This understanding contests the CEFR's emphasis on the individual learner and invites us to reimagine language education through the lens of reciprocity and relationality. If learners are to be understood not merely as isolated language users but as participants in living communities, then assessments, teaching practices, and learning goals must reflect this. It is not enough to add Indigenous languages to curricula or frameworks; their inclusion must also transform the frameworks themselves.

Frameworks like the CEFR must evolve, not by creating separate standards for minoritised languages, which would risk further segregation, but by integrating Indigenous language learning on equal terms. Doing so requires a recognition that different languages carry different knowledges and require different approaches. It demands that language learning be seen not only as a technical skill but as a social and political act. If taken seriously, these insights could open the door to more inclusive, transformative, and just models of language education; models that acknowledge all languages as valuable, and all learners as potential agents of change. Currently, the CEFR's assumptions are rooted in majority language ideologies. This results in the further marginalisation of languages such as Quechua, whose grammars, epistemologies, and modes of transmission diverge significantly from the 'western', literate norms upon which the CEFR is built. A more inclusive framework would acknowledge that language learning can be communal rather than individual, or oral rather than textual. It would consider motivations beyond employability or academic credentials, allowing for emotional, political, and ancestral connections to drive learning.

6.3 Final reflections

Indigenous language learning has the potential to either divide or heal. Contemporary Quechua language planning demonstrates evolving approaches that move beyond traditional maintenance models (Kvietok & Hornberger, 2023). However, when minoritised languages are meaningfully included in educational spaces, they can do more than broaden linguistic repertoires; they unsettle, reveal, and challenge the ideologies woven into all language teaching and learning. Reduced to an abstract academic exercise, including Indigenous languages in such frameworks risks perpetuating extractive and colonial patterns. Yet when approached with reciprocity and genuine curiosity, Indigenous language learning can become a site of solidarity and critical reflection; a space where healing, belonging, and transformation can be explored. This calls for ongoing reflection, humility, and a commitment to transformative change. The question, then, is not only how we can teach and learn Indigenous languages, but what are we willing to unlearn in the process?

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

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Appendices

Appendix A : Participants

Ariana is an Ecuadorian PhD student, who grew up in Quito. She had no family contact to the language and her first contact with Kichwa was at university, where she was required to study it. She began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic, marking the start of her intentional journey to learning Kichwa. [Interview 10th March 2021]

Killa is an Ecuadorian tour guide. She was working in Otavalo prior to the pandemic, when she returned to live in her rural community. Her parents speak Kichwa, and she grew up hearing the language spoken around her in the community, however she did not learn to speak it herself. She began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic. [Interview 13th March 2021]

Pilar is a PhD student in the USA. She describes herself as half-Spanish and half-Colombian and grew up in Spain. She had no contact to Ecuador prior to her Kichwa classes, when she began learning with Yachak online during the COVID-19 pandemic. [Interview 16th March 2021]

Bianca is a retired charity worker. She grew up in the south of Peru and did not have any direct contact to Quechua within her family or childhood, other than witnessing an act of discrimination towards a Quechua speaker and questioning this as a child. She moved to Lima when she was 15 for university, and first began to connect with Quechua during her studies. Whilst studying sociology, she travelled to rural communities to conduct fieldwork and live for extended periods of time. She had foundational experiences with the language during these times and developed a deep love for it, subsequently adopting Quechua as an important part of her identity, and increasingly trying to live according to Quechua values. [Interview 19th March 2021]

Yachak wants to expand the reach of Kichwa and Quechua to other parts of the world and also help Indigenous people to re-engage with Kichwa, and as such his classes attract a diverse pool of participants from other nations, as well as throughout Ecuador. [Interview 19th March 2021]

Sara is originally from Ecuador and is now a professor at a university in the USA. She travelled around a lot as a child, however did not have any contact to Kichwa. Her grandparents and some of her aunts spoke Kichwa, however, her father did not. She was interested in learning the language during her time at university and began taking online classes with Yachak during the COVID-19 pandemic. [Interview 25th March 2021]

Isabel is a retired diplomatic staff member. She grew up in the Netherlands and first encountered Spanish as her parents were learning the language. Through this she started to learn Spanish herself and went on to also study Latin American language and literature. This introduced her to Arguedas whilst she was still living in the Netherlands. Although she did not understand much of the Spanish, and even less of the Quechua, she was fascinated by both. During this time, she met a Peruvian and moved to Peru with him, where they got married. She has lived in Peru for over 40 years and through that time maintained a fascination with Quechua language and culture. [Interview 26th March 2021]

Santiago is an actor in Peru, he grew up with contact to Quechua speakers and learnt the language from his mother and grandmother. He now teaches Quechua to share this language and culture with other interested participants. [Spontaneous group interview 3rd April 2021, with Luis and Emilia]

Luis is a retired fireman. He grew up in Peru and his grandparents spoke Quechua, so he had a relationship with the countryside during his childhood, however this language was not passed on to him due to negative language ideologies towards Quechua within his family. Through his work as a fireman, he has worked across the country and found a need to communicate with those

around him in emergency situations. [Spontaneous group interview 3rd April 2021, with Santiago and Emilia]

Emilia is a Brazilian PhD student. Her Swiss grandfather went to work in the mines in Peru and he learnt to speak Quechua in advance of this. She has family contact to Peru, although Quechua has not been passed down to her. Emilia has spent time in Quechua festivals in rural areas and been greatly impacted by these. [Spontaneous group interview 3rd April 2021, with Santiago and Luis]

Lorenzo/Inti is an Ecuadorian farmer. He grew up in the south of Ecuador in a rural community where Kichwa is no longer spoken. He had no family contact to the language. He is a scholarship student with the academy and began learning online during the COVID-19 pandemic. Lorenzo started off the classes with a Spanish name, however officially changed his name to a Kichwa name during the Kichwa language course, he has a Spanish and a Kichwa pseudonym to reflect this change. [Interview 9th April 2021]

Sinchi is a Kichwa activist and teacher with a background in technology. During the COVID-19 pandemic he had 25 000 participants sign up to his online Kichwa classes. [Interview 21st April 2021]

Cecilia is a retired nutritionist. She grew up in the central highlands of Peru. Her grandparents spoke Quechua, however this was not passed on to her. Since 2010 she has spent increasing amounts of time in rural areas travelling with her sons who are working there. During lockdown, she spent time living with a Quechua family and would share her stories of this in the virtual Quechua classes. [Interview 18th June 2021]

Ramón is a retired doctor. He grew up in Peru and has memories of his grandparents speaking Quechua when he was a child, and his parents were also Quechua-speakers, however, he did not grow up speaking Quechua himself. He first became interested in Andean culture in the 90s

through his investigations of traditional Indigenous medicine. He has sought out various experiences with maestros and participated in Quechua rituals and ceremonies through this. [Interview 26th June 2021]

Lola is a retired diplomatic staff member. She grew up in an international mining community in rural Peru. During her childhood she heard Quechua spoken by employees in her childhood home, however she did not engage with them. Later on she began to try and understand what this language was that she experienced as a child, and she sought help from maestros. She then co-founded an NGO working in Quechua-speaking areas of Peru. [Interview 29th June 2021]

Felipe is a Quechua teacher in Ayacucho, Peru. Felipe grew up in a Quechua-speaking family, however the intergenerational transmission of the language was broken, and he ended up learning Quechua out of necessity later in his life. He is a teacher in Ayacucho, specialising in language, literature and communication. He teaches Quechua in a primary school but also teaches adult pupils in a private language school and tutors individually. [Interview 29th June 2021]

Emerita is a Swiss artist who lives in rural Peru with her husband, Valerio, a Quechua teacher from a rural community, together they teach textiles courses and aspects of Andean culture. She has spent much of her life investigating Andean art and culture. [Interview 29th July 2021]

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Appendix B : Classes attended during 'Difficult language training'

Week 1, 11.09.19-21.09.19 in Lima
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Santiago)

Week 2, 22.09.19-28.09.19 in Lima
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Santiago)

Week 3, 29.09.19-05.10.19 in Lima
- 1 hour private Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Santiago)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Santiago)

Week 4, 06.10.19-11.10.19 in Lima
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Santiago)

Week 5, 11.10.19-19.10.19 in Ayacucho
- Registered for Quechua classes at 2 different institutions
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)

Week 6, 20.10.19-26.10.19 in Ayacucho
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)

Week 7, 27.10.19-02.11.19 in Ayacucho
- Met with Quechua teacher (Felipe)
- Met with Quechua teacher (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)

Week 8, 03.11.19 – 09.11.19 in Ayacucho
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1 hour group Quechua class (Teacher 2 at Institute 3)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)

- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)

Week 9, 10.11.19 – 16.11.19 in Ayacucho
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)

Week 10, 17.11.19 – 23.11.19 in Ayacucho
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 45 mins private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)

Week 11, 24.11.19 – 30.11.19 in Ayacucho
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 3 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)

Week 12, 01.12.19 – 07.12.19 in Ayacucho
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 3 hour group class (Institute 1)

Week 13, 8.12.19 – 14.12.19
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Institute 2)
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Week 14, 15.12.19 – 21.12.19 in Ayacucho

- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)

Week 15, 22.12.19 – 28.12.19 in Ayacucho

- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 1.5 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 2 hour group Quechua class (Institute 2)
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)

Week 16, 29.12.19 – 04.01.20 in Ayacucho

- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Teacher 2)
- 1 hour Quechua conversation class
- 1 hour Quechua conversation class
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)
- 2 hour Quechua conversation class
- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)

Week 17, 05.01.20 in Ayacucho

- 3 hour group Quechua class (Institute 1)
- 2 hour private Quechua class (Felipe)

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

Appendix C : List of classes attended online with teachers in this study

No.	Date	Teacher	Level	Class	Approx. length	Via
2	**15 Jun 20**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 1**	Yachak 1	2h	Skype
3	**17.06.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 2	2h	Skype
5	**18.06.20**	Felipe		Felipe 1	40m	Zoom
6	**22.06.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 3	2h	Skype
7	**24.06.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 4	2h	Skype
10	**6 Jul 20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 5	2h	Skype
11	**08.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 6	2h	Skype
12	**11.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 7	2h	Skype
13	**13.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 8	2h	Skype
14	**15.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 9	2h	Skype
15	**18.07.20**	Santiago		Santiago 1	1h 30m	Meet
16	**20.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 10	2h	Skype
17	**23.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 11	2h	Skype
18	**25.07.20**	Santiago		Santiago 2	1h 30m	Meet
19	**27.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 12	2h	Skype
20	**30.07.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 13	2h	Skype
21	**1 Aug 20**	Santiago		Santiago 3	1h 30m	Meet
22	**03.08.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 14	2h	Skype
23	**06.08.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 15	2h	Skype
24	**08.08.20**	Santiago		Santiago 4	1h 30m	Meet
25	**10.08.20**	Yachak	**K1**	Yachak 16	2h	Skype
26	**12.08.20**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 1**	Yachak 17	2h	Skype
27	**22.08.20**	Santiago		Santiago 5	1h 30m	Meet
28	**27.08.20**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 2**	Yachak 18	2h	Skype
29	**29.08.20**	Santiago		Santiago 6	1h 30m	Zoom

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

30	**1 Sep 20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 19	2h	Skype
31	**03.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 20	2h	Skype
32	**29.08.20**	Santiago		Santiago 7	1h 30m	Zoom
33	**05.09.20**	Santiago		Santiago 8	1h 30m	Zoom
34	**07.09.20**	Valerio	**Textiles level 1**	Textiles 1	1h 30m	Zoom
35	**08.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 21	2h	Skype
36	**10.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 22	2h	Skype
37	**10.09.20**	Emerita	**T1**	Textiles 2	1h 30m	Zoom
38	**12.09.20**	Santiago		Santiago 9	1h 30m	Zoom
39	**14.09.20**	Valerio	**T1**	Textiles 3	1h 30m	Zoom
40	**15.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 23	2h	Skype
41	**17.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 24	2h	Skype
42	**17.09.20**	Emerita	**T1**	Textiles 4	2h	Zoom
43	**21.09.20**	Valerio	**T1**	Textiles 5	1h 30m	Zoom
44	**22.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 25	2h	Skype
45	**24.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 26	2h	Skype
46	**24.09.20**	Emerita	**T1**	Textiles 6	2h	Zoom
47	**28.09.20**	Valerio	**T1**	Textiles 7	1h 30m	Zoom
48	**29.09.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 27	2h	Skype
49	**1 Oct 20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 28	2h	Skype
50	**01.10.20**	Emerita	**T1**	Textiles 8	1h 30m	Zoom
51	**03.10.20**	Santiago		Santiago 10	1h 30m	Zoom
52	**05.10.20**	Valerio	**T1**	Textiles 9	1h 30m	Zoom
53	**07.10.20**	Felipe		Felipe 2	1h 45m	Zoom
54	**08.10.20**	Emerita	**Textiles level 1**	Textiles 10	1h 30m	Zoom
55	**10.10.20**	Santiago		Santiago 11	1h 30m	Zoom
56	**12.10.20**	Valerio	**Textiles level 2**	Textiles 11	1h 30m	Zoom

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

57	**13.10.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 29	2h	Skype
58	**14.10.20**	Felipe		Felipe 3	1h	Zoom
59	**15.10.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 30	2h	Skype
60	**15.10.20**	Emerita	**T2**	Textiles 12	1h 30m	Zoom
61	**19.10.20**	Valerio	**T2**	Textiles 13	1h 30m	Zoom
62	**20.10.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 31	2h	Skype
63	**21.10.20**	Felipe		Felipe 4	1h 45m	Zoom
64	**22.10.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 32	2h	Skype
65	**22.10.20**	Emerita	**T2**	Textiles 14	2h	Zoom
66	**24.10.20**	Santiago		Santiago 12	1h 30m	Zoom
67	**26.10.20**	Valerio	**T2**	Textiles 15	2h	Zoom
68	**27.10.20**	Yachak	**K2**	Yachak 33	2h	Skype
69	**28.10.20**	Felipe		Felipe 5	1h	Zoom
70	**29.10.20**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 2**	Yachak 34	2h	Skype
71	**29.10.20**	Emerita	**T2**	Textiles 16	1h 30m	Zoom
72	**31.10.20**	Santiago		Santiago 13	1h 30m	Zoom
73	**2 Nov 20**	Valerio	**T2**	Textiles 17	1h 30m	Zoom
74	**04.11.20**	Felipe		Felipe 6	1h	Zoom
75	**05.11.20**	Emerita	**T2**	Textiles 18	1h 30m	Zoom
76	**07.11.20**	Santiago		Santiago 14	1h 30m	Zoom
77	**09.11.20**	Valerio	**T2**	Textiles 19	1h 30m	Zoom
78	**11.11.20**	Felipe		Felipe 7	2h	Zoom
79	**12.11.20**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 3**	Yachak 35	2h	Skype
80	**12.11.20**	Emerita	**Textiles level 2**	Textiles 20	1h 30m	Zoom
81	**14.11.20**	Santiago		Santiago 15	1h 30m	Zoom
82	**16.11.20**	Valerio	**Textiles level 3**	Textiles 21	1h 30m	Zoom
83	**17.11.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 36	2h	Skype

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

84	**18.11.20**	Felipe		Felipe 8	2h	Zoom
85	**19.11.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 37	2h	Skype
86	**19.11.20**	Emerita	**T3**	Textiles 22	1h 30m	Zoom
87	**21.11.20**	Santiago		Santiago 16	1h 30m	Zoom
88	**23.11.20**	Valerio	**T3**	Textiles 23	1h 30m	Zoom
89	**24.11.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 38	2h	Skype
90	**25.11.20**	Felipe		Felipe 9	2h	Zoom
91	**26.11.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 39	2h	Skype
92	**26.11.20**	Emerita	**T3**	Textiles 24	3h	Zoom
93	**30.11.20**	Valerio	**T3**	Textiles 25	1h 30m	Zoom
94	**1 Dec 20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 40	2h	Skype
95	**02.12.20**	Felipe		Felipe 10	2h	Zoom
96	**03.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 41	2h	Skype
97	**03.12.20**	Emerita	**T3**	Textiles 26	1h 30m	Zoom
98	**05.12.20**	Santiago		Santiago 17	1h 30m	Zoom
99	**07.12.20**	Valerio	**T3**	Textiles 27	1h 30m	Zoom
100	**08.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 42	2h	Skype
101	**10.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 43	2h	Skype
102	**10.12.20**	Emerita	**T3**	Textiles 28	1h 30m	Zoom
103	**12.12.20**	Santiago		Santiago 18	1h 30m	Zoom
104	**14.12.20**	Valerio	**T3**	Textiles 29	1h 30m	Zoom
105	**15.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 44	2h	Skype
106	**17.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 45	2h	Skype
107	**17.12.20**	Emerita	**Textiles level 3**	Textiles 30	1h 30m	Zoom
108	**18.12.20**	Felipe		Felipe 11	1h	Zoom
109	**19.12.20**	Santiago		Santiago 19	1h 30m	Zoom
110	**22.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 46	2h	Skype

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

111	**24.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 47	2h	Skype
112	**29.12.20**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 48	2h	Skype
113	**5 Jan 21**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 49	2h	Skype
114	**07.01.21**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 50	2h	Skype
115	**09.01.21**	Santiago		Santiago 20	1h 30m	Zoom
116	**12.01.21**	Yachak	**K3**	Yachak 51	2h	Skype
117	**14.01.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 3**	Yachak 52	2h	Skype
118	**16.01.21**	Santiago		Santiago 21	1h 30m	Zoom
119	**19.01.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 4**	Yachak 53	2h	Skype
120	**21.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 54	2h	Skype
121	**23.01.21**	Santiago		Santiago 22	1h 30m	Zoom
122	**26.01.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 55	2h	Skype
123	**30.01.21**	Santiago		Santiago 23	1h 30m	Zoom
124	**2 Feb 21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 56	2h	Skype
125	**04.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 57	2h	Skype
126	**06.02.21**	Santiago		Santiago 24	1h 30m	Zoom
127	**08.02.21**	Emerita	**Textiles level 3**	Textiles 31	2h	Zoom
128	**09.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 58	2h	Skype
129	**11.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 59	2h	Skype
130	**13.02.21**	Santiago		Santiago 25	1h 30m	Zoom
132	**16.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 60	2h	
133	**18.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 61	2h	Skype
134	**20.02.21**	Santiago		Santiago 26	1h 30m	Zoom
136	**23.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 62	2h	Skype
137	**25.02.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 63	2h	Skype
138	**27.02.21**	Santiago		Santiago 27	1h 30m	Zoom
139	**2 Mar 21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 64	2h	Skype

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

141	**03.03.21**	Felipe		Felipe 12	2h	Zoom
142	**04.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 65	2h	Skype
143	**06.03.21**	Santiago		Santiago 28	1h 30m	Zoom
144	**06.03.21**	Felipe		Felipe 13	1h30	Zoom
146	**09.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 66	2h	Skype
147	**11.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 67	2h	Skype
148	**13.03.21**	Santiago		Santiago 29	1h 40m	Zoom
149	**13.03.21**	Felipe		Felipe 14	1h20	Zoom
150	**16.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 68	2h	Skype
151	**18.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 69	2h	Skype
152	**20.03.21**	Santiago		Santiago 30	1h 40m	Zoom
153	**20.03.21**	Felipe		Felipe 15	50m	Zoom
154	**23.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 70	2h	Skype
155	**25.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 71	2h	Skype
156	**27.03.21**	Santiago		Santiago 31	1h 40m	Zoom
157	**27.03.21**	Felipe		Felipe 16	50m	Zoom
158	**30.03.21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 72	2h	Skype
160	**1 Apr 21**	Yachak	**K4**	Yachak 73	2h	Skype
161	**01.04.21**	Emerita		Textiles 32	2h	Zoom
163	**03.04.21**	Santiago		Santiago 32	1h 40m	Zoom
164	**06.04.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 4**	Yachak 74	2h	Skype
166	**10.04.21**	Santiago		Santiago 33	1h 40m	Zoom
167	**10.04.21**	Felipe		Felipe 17	2h	Zoom
169	**17.04.21**	Santiago		Santiago 34	1h 45m	Zoom
170	**20.04.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 5**		2h	Skype
171	**22.04.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 75	1h 30m	Skype
172	**24.04.21**	Santiago		Santiago 35	1h 45m	Zoom

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

173	**24.04.21**	Felipe		Felipe 18	2h	Zoom
174	**27.04.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 76	2h	Skype
175	**29.04.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 78	2h	Skype
176	**1 May 21**	Santiago		Santiago 36	1h 45m	Zoom
177	**01.05.21**	Felipe		Felipe 19	2h	Zoom
178	**04.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 79	2h	Skype
179	**06.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 80	2h	Skype
180	**08.05.21**	Santiago		Santiago 37	1h 45m	Zoom
181	**08.05.21**	Felipe		Felipe 20	2h	Zoom
182	**11.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 81	2h	Skype
183	**13.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 82	2h	Skype
184	**15.05.21**	Santiago		Santiago 38	1h 45m	Zoom
185	**15.05.21**	Felipe		Felipe 21	2h	Zoom
186	**18.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 83	2h	Skype
187	**20.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 84	2h	Skype
188	**22.05.21**	Santiago		Santiago 39	1h 45m	Zoom
189	**22.05.21**	Felipe		Felipe 22	2h	Zoom
190	**25.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 85	2h	Skype
191	**27.05.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 86	2h	Skype
192	**29.05.21**	Santiago		Santiago 40	1h 45m	Zoom
193	**29.05.21**	Felipe		Felipe 23	2h	Zoom
194	**1 Jun 21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 87	2h	Skype
195	**03.06.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 88	2h	Skype
196	**05.06.21**	Santiago		Santiago 41	1h 45m	Zoom
197	**05.06.21**	Felipe		Felipe 24	2h	Zoom
198	**08.06.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 89	2h	Skype
199	**10.06.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 90	2h	Skype

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

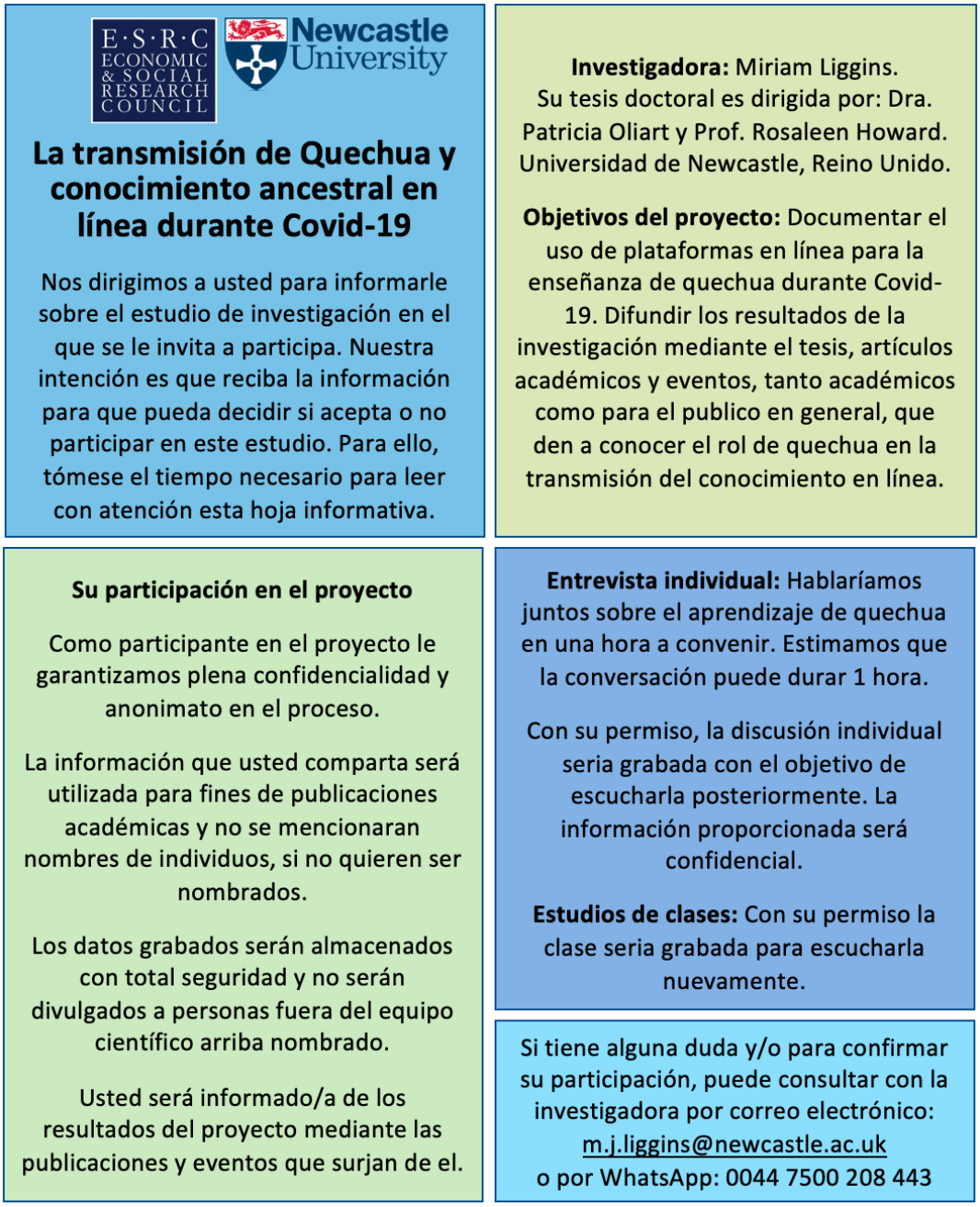
200	**12.06.21**	Santiago		Santiago 42	1h 45m	Zoom
201	**12.06.21**	Felipe		Felipe 25	2h	Zoom
202	**15.06.21**	Yachak	**K5**	Yachak 91	2h	Skype
203	**17.06.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 5**	Yachak 92	2h	Skype
204	**19.06.21**	Santiago		Santiago 43	1h 45m	Zoom
205	**19.06.21**	Felipe		Felipe 26	2h	Zoom
206	**26.06.21**	Santiago		Santiago 44	2h	Zoom
207	**10 Jul 21**	Santiago		Santiago 45	1h45	Zoom
208	**17.07.21**	Santiago		Santiago 46	1h30	Zoom
209	**31.07.21**	Santiago		Santiago 47	1h30	Zoom
210	**14 Aug 21**	Santiago		Santiago 48	1h45	Zoom
211	**28.08.21**	Santiago		Santiago 49	2h	Zoom
212	**1 Sep 21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 6**	Yachak 93	2h	Skype
213	**04.09.21**	Santiago		Santiago 50	1h45	Zoom
214	**06.09.21**	Yachak	**K6**	Yachak 94	2h	Skype
215	**08.09.21**	Yachak	**K6**	Yachak 95	2h	Skype
216	**15.09.21**	Yachak	**K6**	Yachak 96	2h	Skype
217	**18.09.21**	Santiago		Santiago 51	1h45	Zoom
218	**20.09.21**	Yachak	**K6**	Yachak 97	2h	Skype
219	**25 Oct 21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 6**	Yachak 98	2h	Skype
220	**06 Nov 21**	Santiago		Santiago 52	1h30	Zoom
221	**08.11.21**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 7**	Yachak 99	2h	Skype
222	**10.11.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 100	2h	Skype
223	**13.11.21**	Santiago		Santiago 53	2h	Zoom
224	**15.11.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 101	2h	Skype
225	**17.11.21**	Valerio		Quechua 1 – 'Language'	2h	Zoom
226	**19.11.21**	Valerio		Quechua 2 – 'Cosmovision'	1h30	Zoom

Key: Participant from Ecuadorian class, participant from Peruvian class

227	**24.11.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 102	2h	Skype
228	**24.11.21**	Valerio		Quechua 3 – 'Language'	1h30	Zoom
229	**26.11.21**	Valerio		Quechua 4 – 'Cosmovision'	2h	Zoom
230	**29.11.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 103	2h	Skype
231	**1 Dec 21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 104	2h	Skype
232	**01.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 5 – 'Language'	1h	Zoom
233	**03.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 6 – 'Cosmovision'	2h	Zoom
234	**08.12.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 105	2h	Skype
235	**08.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 7 – 'Language'	1h	Zoom
236	**10.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 8 – 'Cosmovision'	1h30	Zoom
237	**13.12.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 106	2h	Skype
238	**15.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 9 – 'Language'	1h	Zoom
239	**17.12.21**	Valerio		Quechua 10 – 'Cosmovision'	1h30	Zoom
240	**20.12.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 107	2h	Skype
241	**22.12.21**	Yachak	**K7**	Yachak 108	2h	Skype
242	**3 Jan 22**	Yachak	**Kichwa level 7**	Yachak 109	2h	Skype
243	**15.01.22**	Santiago		Santiago 54	1h45	Zoom

Appendix D: Information image for participants and interview guides

Information image shared with participants over WhatsApp:



Semi-structured interview guide for learners:

Primero puedes contarme un pocito de ti - donde vives y a que te dedicas?

¿Hace cuanto tiempo estudias Quechua/Kichwa? (como descubriste?)

¿Qué experiencia tenías del Quechua/Kichwa antes de estudiarlo? (alguien en tu familia habla?)

¿Por qué quieres aprender Quechua/Kichwa?

¿Ha cambiado tu interacción con la lengua y cultura quechua/kichwa durante la pandemia? / ¿Puedes contarme sobre tu interacción con la lengua y cultura quechua/kichwa ahora, y como era antes la pandemia?

¿Tienes interés en los aspectos culturales relacionados con la lengua quechua/kichwa?

Qué importancia tiene para ti personalmente el Quechua/Kichwa? Futuro?

Cuéntame de una de tus experiencias más gratificantes de aprender Quechua/Kichwa.

¿Hay algo más que quieres contarme? / ¿Hay algo que debería haberte preguntado?

Semi-structured interview guide for teachers:

¿Cómo aprendiste el Quechua/Kichwa? (Que experiencia tenias antes de aprenderlo?)

Cuanto tiempo enseñas el Quechua/Kichwa?

¿Por qué enseñas el Quechua/Kichwa?

¿Cuál es tu metodología de enseñanza?

¿Ha cambiado tu metodología durante la pandemia?

¿Cómo ves la situación de aprender Quechua/Kichwa durante la pandemia?

¿Qué aspectos culturales te parece importante integrar en la enseñanza del Quechua/Kichwa?

Cuéntame de una de tus experiencias más gratificantes de enseñar Quechua/Kichwa.

¿Hay algo más que quieres contarme? / ¿Hay algo que debería haberte preguntado?