1. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the relationship between language, culture, and cognition via metaphoric conceptualizations in Quechua. A conceptual metaphor is a set of correspondences between a source and target domain used to reason about abstract concepts. Cognitive linguists theorize that conceptual metaphors are not simply linguistic artifacts. Instead, conceptual metaphor is part of the human conceptual system. The potential universality of some conceptual metaphors is thought to be reflective of the shared human experience rather than linguistic similarity (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002). However, Fernandez (1991) argues that cognitive linguists overemphasize the basic conceptual nature of metaphors, noting that claims of universality are based on a few examples from a handful of primarily Indo-European languages. Moreover, cases disproving universally shared conceptualizations are often overlooked. Kövecses (2010a) questioned this disconnect, investigating the relationship between metaphor and culture by asking questions such as "Which metaphors are universal and why?" and "What are the main dimensions along which metaphors vary?"

Claims of universality are predicated on the assumption that all cultures, or communities that share a set of practices and customs, including language, rely on figurative language, with no real consideration of the degree to which such an assumption may be true. Figurative language is common in Indo-European languages, the most widely studied language family. For example, in English, roughly one out of every twenty words in written text is metaphoric, with frequency estimates rising to nearly one out of every five words in casual, spoken discourse (Pollio et al. 1990). Native English speakers are largely unaware of the prevalence of figurative language and do not question whether their reliance on figurative language is culturally-based, assuming all cultural groups use figurative language with a similar frequency. However, the value placed on abstract versus concrete language is culture specific. For example, Quechua places a much higher value on concreteness than abstraction. Nature, which is central to everyday life, plays an analogic and symbolic role. However, while analogies to nature are made and may even become lexicalized in the form of a proverb or idiom[1], conceptual metaphors are not as common in everyday Quechua speech. This paper will identify two major themes of metaphor in Southern Conchucos Quechua[2]: the conceptualization of time and space as a single, interconnected entity

and the role of nature as a source domain for events in everyday life. A brief mention will be made of expected "universal" metaphors that seem to be "missing", leading to a discussion of the greater role played by culture when mythopoetic concreteness is valued more than abstractness.

2. BACKGROUND

Few researchers have questioned claims that certain conceptual metaphors are found in all human languages (cf. Gevaert 2005, Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2005, 2010a, 2010b). While an investigation of universality claims would be inherently difficult as it would require a comparison between all languages of the world, the assumption of language-indifferent, shared conceptualizations seems logical since humans, regardless of language or culture, have a shared physiological experience. For example, when one becomes angry, physiological changes take place such as an increase in blood pressure, a feeling of increased internal temperature, possible visible physiological changes, such as the reddening of the face, and even an increase in pre- and post-perceptual executive functions such as a subconscious fight or flight response or an increased ability to consciously control attention (Gazzaniga et al. 2002, Kövecses 2000)

Kövecses (2000, 2005, 2010b), emphasizes the role that anthropological investigation should play in claims of conceptual universals realized through language. Recognizing both the logic of a shared human experience and the role of culture in language use, Kövecses urges caution in assumptions of universality, recognizing that the relationship between language and culture is something of a "chicken or the egg" question. Kövecses (2000, 2005, 2010b) identified and investigated some seemingly universal metaphors, such as HAPPINESS is UP, ANGER is a HEATED FLUID, DISEASES are PHYSICAL OBJECTS, and the BODY is a CONTAINER. While these metaphors are found in Germanic, Romance, Turkic, Japonic, and Sino-Tibetan languages, conceptualizations differ slightly between cultures. For example, while the ANGER is a HEATED FLUID and the BODY is a CONTAINER metaphors are found in Chinese and Japanese, the belly serves as the center of the anger and the focus is on pressure build up more than heat. This differs from the English usage where the head, which releases pent up heat, serves as the container. Conceptualization of the stomach as the center of anger in Japanese is attributed to chi (Kövecses 2005). By contrast, the focus on the temperature of anger found in

European languages is attributed to the Greek humors, a claim supported by diachronic use (Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995). The influence of chi and humoral doctrine demonstrate the cross-cultural influences. Gavaert (2001, 2005) took the role of culture one step further, questioning the universality of metaphoric conceptualization within a language. Gavaert (2001, 2005) noted that Latin and Greek writings from 850-950 primarily utilized the ANGER is HEAT metaphor but written records from 950-1400 primarily used the ANGER is PRESSURE metaphor. Use of the ANGER is HEAT metaphor began to increase in the 1300s and, in the 1400s, regained its status as the more dominant of the two. Surely, the human experience did not change between 850-1400, so the human experience itself is not sufficient to explain metaphor use. Thus, while shared human experiences and limitations impact language, culture plays an equally important role in which aspects of the shared human experience are highlighted.

3. QUECHUA METAPHOR SURVEY

To what extent does culture impact metaphor use in Quechua? Data for this project was elicited in two ways. The first was with the aid of a publicly available metaphor elicitation tool (Gil and Shen n.d.). The second method was through conversations on a number of topics not specifically related to figurative language that were later transcribed and searched for naturally occurring metaphors. Data collection began with the metaphor elicitation tool. Survey responses can be sent in for compilation in the creation of a world-wide study of figurative language use. The survey has two sections. In section one, consultants are asked to list as many terms as possible for a list of words. This list contains perceptual terms (ex. see, hear, listen, smell, taste, touch), sensory terms (ex. silent, noisy, light, dark, bitter, sweet, sour, hot, etc.), body part terms (ex. head, heart, eyes, brain, mouth, etc.), textural terms (ex. smooth, rough, bumpy, etc.), food terms (ex. eat, drink, digest, etc.) and travel terms (ex. crossroads, journey, dead-end, etc.). In the second section, consultants are asked to name as many metaphoric expressions as possible for three specific domains: emotion, mental states/activities, and time. Examples of emotion metaphors in English include proposed universals such as *explode with anger* (ANGER is a HEATED SUBSTANCE in a CONTAINER) or *things are looking up* (HAPPY is UP). Examples of mental states/activities include *have in mind* and *grasp the idea* (IDEAS are

PHYSICAL OBJECTS). Example of time metaphors include *the festival is only two weeks away* (TIME is MOTION) and *invest a lot of time* (TIME is a PHYSICAL COMMODITY).

The following subsections report the most significant findings from the metaphor elicitation tool (Gil and Shin n.d.), discussing linguistic evidence of differing cultural outlooks. Of note, only one survey of Quechua using the metaphor elicitation tool has been published (Owen 2020). However, this work focused on the Cuzco dialect[3]. In order to add to a limited body of work, when applicable, comparisons will be made between findings presented here and those of Owen (2020) as our findings differ in culturally and dialectally significant ways.

3.1. EMOTION

According to Kövecses (2005), the INTENSE EMOTIONS are HEAT category of metaphors, which includes ANGER is a HEATED SUBSTANCE in a CONTAINER and HAPPINESS is UP, is among those likely to be universal. However, he notes that the image schema employed differs between cultural groups. For example, the heart serves as the center of emotion for most Indo-European languages while the stomach generally serves as the center of emotion in Asian languages. In both Cuzco and Southern Conchucos Quechua, the heart is conceptualized as the center of emotion. (1)-(3) demonstrate emotion metaphors found in Cuzco Quechua, as reported by Owen (2020:6-8). In (1), a selfish person is conceptualized as having a hardened heart. Example (2) demonstrates the existence of the potentially universal ANGER is a HEATED SUBSTANCE metaphor. In (3), the HAPPINESS is UP metaphor is demonstrated.

(1) Kata   sonko[4]
    Boulder   heart
    "A selfish, hateful person"

(2) Sonko   rawrari-shan
    Heart   burn-PROG
    "An angry/upset person"

(3) T'chosak   sonko
    Empty   heart
    "A loveless person"

Southern Conchucos Quechua expands on the Cuzco usage by lexicalizing a difference between the physical heart and emotional heart, as seen in (4a)-(4b). Interestingly, even though a different word, *chaki*, exists for the emotional heart in Southern Conchucos Quechua, the literal heart, *shungo*, can be metaphorically extended. However, unlike the Cuzco dialect, which uses *sonko* in all literal and figurative contexts, *shungo* can be metaphorically extended only when it carries a positive connotation. This is demonstrated in (5a)-(5b). In (5a), *shungo* is used figuratively while (5b) evokes its expected literal meaning. This is not possible for negative value judgements. For example, in (6a) the emotional heart, *chaki*, can be conceptualized as the holder of hate. However, *shungo*, which can be used both literally and figuratively when serving as the container for positive emotions, cannot be extended as the container for negative emotions (7a)-(7b).

(4a) Chaki
    Heart
    "Center of emotion"

(4b) Shungo
    Heart
    "Human cardiac muscle"

(5a) Aliyen   shungo
    Good   heart
    "Be kind hearted"

(5b) Aliyen   shungo
    Good   heart
    "The physical heart is in good condition"

(6a) Chikikumi
    "A person who hates"

(7a) *Alitsu   shungonshi
    *Bad   heart
    *"A heart that is hateful"

(7b) Alitsu   shungonshi
    Bad   heart
    "The physical heart is unwell"

Sadness is the most common theme in Quechua songs, poetry, and proverbs. Areal contact and generational differences do not seem to have impacted the comparisons and conceptualizations used to understand and convey sadness between the Southern Conchucos and Cuzco dialects. In Cuzco Quechua, there is a slight tendency towards the use of sensation-related source domains, such as INTENSE EMOTIONS are HEAT (8). While this metaphor is used in Southern Conchucos Quechua, it is not common in everyday speech. Instead, emotions are more often compared to nature. For example, (8)-(9), from Lara (1969:226), show a common

comparison between tears and bodies of water. (8) shows the comparison between tears and rain where the tears fall at an intensity similar to rain. In (9), intense sorrow is compared to a river that floods as a result of copious crying. Example (10) is a proverbial idiom, first use in a song about sorrow (Owen 2020:8). Due to its idiomatic status, (10) conveys a meaning more intense than one may expect from the metaphoric mappings on their own, expressing severe sadness to the point of despondence. In addition to a comparison between a flood of tears and the level of water in a river, (10) indexes the DIVIDED SELF metaphor in which one's heart is carried away in sorrow while one's corporeal body remains.

    (8) Para   gina   waqanaypay[5]
       "To see me cry like the rain"

    (9) Mayu   gina   in   waqarqan
       "Like a river in flood I sob"

    (10) Wekaki   majun   apaj-uwa-ʃan
       "The river of tears is taking me away"

3.2. COGNITIVE EVENTS

While not specifically identified as a likely universal, the IDEAS are PHYSICAL OBJECTS metaphor is very common cross-linguistically and is often discussed as if its universality is a forgone conclusion. This metaphor is found in Cuzco Quechua, as reported by Owen (2020:10) in (11) below.

    (11) Erkeka   manam   hapin   yatashe-ta
       "The child did not grasp the idea"

Interestingly, while (11) can be translated into Southern Conchucos Quechua, the phrase would never be used as its meaning is culturally anathema. A phrase such as *grasp the idea* entails an implicit agreement to a shared cultural judgement regarding new or creative ideas. This type of phrase conveys a positive value judgement associated with the learning of that which is new or creative. However, new ideas are not culturally valued. Instead, they represent a

rejection of one's past, one's culture, and one's heritage. After all, if an idea is culturally preserved, why do you need to introduce something new? As our consultant noted, "Ideas are new and creative. That is not part of the cultural heritage passed down." (Loayza 2021). She explained that the Cuzco dialect is spoken by younger generations who are more open to outside ideas, thus accounting for its presence in Owen (2020).

3.3. TIME

Perhaps the most widely accepted metaphoric universal is that of TIME as SPACE (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993). It has long been claimed that all languages rely on similar conceptualizations of time and space, with the future situated in front and the past behind, even if the language primarily relies on a vertical image schema (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lai & Boroditsky 2013). For example, Chinese time/space metaphors offer surface evidence against claims of universality because the primary conceptualization of time arguably relies on spatial verticality. However, further study has shown that speakers shift between both a vertical and horizontal scale during initial stages of cognitive processing, demonstrating that both directional and vertical scales constitute primary conceptual categories (Lai & Boroditsky 2013).

More serious challenges to universality assumptions come from languages such as Aymara. While Aymara uses the expected horizontal scale when discussing time, the future is conceptualized as behind while the past is in front (Núñez 2003, Núñez & Sweetser 2001, 2006). Descriptions of TIME as SPACE metaphors in Quechua are contradictory. Scholars such as Almedia (2005), Almedia & Haider (2012), and Estermann (1998) have claimed that time conceptualization in Quechua follows a pattern similar to that found in Aymara. These claims are based on the use of Quechua words such as *nawpa* and *qhipa*. Literally translated, *nawpa* means "front" while *qhipa* means "behind". Variations of the following sentences, taken from Faller and Cuéllar (2003:4), have been translated in support of such claims, receiving glosses such as in (17)-(18).

(17) **Nawpa**-q-qa allin-si   kas-sqa
      Front-1-top   good-EV   be-PST

"The past was better"

(18) **Qhipa**-man-qa   allin-si   ka-n-qa
Rear-POSS-TOP   good-EV   be-3-FUT
"The future will be better"

However, such claims have been challenged by many, including Faller and Cuéllar (2003) and Owen (2020), who claim that no evidence of this reversed directionality is found in everyday speech. Interestingly, while Owen (2020) states that reverse directionality is not found in everyday speech, she notes the existence of a few idiomatic phrases that exhibit the conceptualization of the future as behind and the past as in front, and questions whether their existence might serve as evidence of a dual conceptualization of time. However, discussion with our consultant revealed that these idioms which seem to demonstrate reverse directionality are noncompositional. Noncompositional idioms are memorized, fixed expressions that people know as a whole, such as the English phrases *by and large* or *kick the bucket* in which meaning is not contributed by the individual words. Therefore, such phrases cannot be used as evidence for an existing dual time conceptualization, where the past may be either in front or behind one.

Faller and Cuéllar (2003) explained the TIME as SPACE metaphor in Quechua as varying along four dimensions: the horizontal dimension, the vertical dimension, the entity in motion (ego moving versus time moving), and the cyclical nature of time. While Faller and Cuéllar's (2003) discussion of a complex system of time conceptualization due to an inextricable link to three-dimensional space of the interconnectedness of conceptualizations of time and space is very thorough, our consultant provided a more straightforward answer. She explained that prior translations of sentences such as (17)-(18) are not entirely correct. In her translation, the initial temporal clause establishes a time point for comparison to the main clause. For example, in (19), *nawpa* can be translated as "in front/first/ahead of" and the tense marked on the main clause is past. However, the composite meaning is not one in which *nawpa* refers to "the past as in front". Instead, *nawpa* establishes that something that was said "first", or "prior to another thing" which will be reported in the main clause. If such an example showed evidence of the conceptualization of the future as "in front", one could claim that English shares this reverse directionality, as evidenced in a sentence such as (20)-(21), where the initial clause establishes

the existence of something that happened ahead of the event in the main clause. (22) includes the translation of the English sentence in (21), with *nawpa.* Finally, (23) shows our consultant's translation of the *qhipa* example sentence, showing a similar process. The conceptualization of time in Quechua deserves further investigation. While a more complex process may be at work, the more straightforward explanation provided by our consultant, which is reflective of native bilingual intuition, deserves equal consideration.

(19) **Nawpa**-q-qa   allin-si   kas-qa
     Front-1-TOP   good-EV   said-PST
   "What I said **first**, they say it was good."

(20) Those who lived first, lived well.

(21) People lived well in the past, in the coming times, they will not live well.

(22) **Nawpa**-q-qa runa-kuna   alli-n   kawakuyaran,
     First-1-TOP   person-pl   good-POSS   live-PST,
     "In the past, people lived well,

     hamo-wata   runakuna   manam   alli-n   kawayanga
     future-year   person-pl   not   good-POSS   live-FUT
     in the future they will not live well"

(23) **Qhipa**-man-qa   allin-si   ka-n-qa
     Last/next-POSS-TOP   good-EV   say-3-FUT
     "Whatever comes after, they said it is going to be good"

4. THE ROLE OF NATURE AND GEOGRAPHY

The following subsections address the question of metaphors in Quechua from a different direction. Initial metaphor elicitation was aided by a metaphor elicitation tool for the purposes of identifying present and absent potentially universal conceptual metaphors (Gil & Shen n.d.). However, during conversations with our consultant, the pivotal role played by nature in both abstract and concrete language quickly became clear. While these topics are not included in the metaphor elicitation tool, excluding them from this study would result in an incomplete cultural portrayal as demonstrated through language use. The following subsections discuss metaphors

that were freely produced over the course of multiple conversations not limited to metaphor elicitation. This methodology is important as it is a more natural reflection of native language use. While translations for elicited survey metaphors were possible for many proposed universals, such as INTENSE EMOTIONS are HEAT, such source domains are not commonly used. Instead, those most frequently used as well as those our consultant was most comfortable using shared the common theme of nature as a source domain.

4.1. LIFE IS A JOURNEY

In English, we discuss the JOURNEY of LIFE, often comparing life events to smooth or bumpy roads. Southern Conchucos Quechua possesses a similar LIFE is a JOURNEY metaphor. Since the majority of roads in this region are not smooth, an easy or happy period of life is compared to a flat road covered in soft grass. While roads and paths are expected to be rocky, bumpy, and generally difficult to traverse, roads are particularly treacherous during the rainy season, when muddy. This has led to the establishment of a source domain of a muddy/sticky road that one must slog through which maps to difficult periods in one's life. For example, a phrase such as (24), which translates roughly to "the muddy road I am stuck in", can be used either literally or figuratively. The literal use refers to a physical path that is hard to traverse, resulting in one getting physically stuck. In the metaphoric instantiation, the literal path serves as the source domain, likening treacherous terrain to a difficult period of life, such as when one's husband dies.

> (24) Mitu,   mitu   n'yan-ni-pi
>   Muddy,   muddy   road-in-POSS
>   "The muddy road I am [stuck][6] in"

4.2. LOVE IS A JOURNEY

Like life, love is also conceptualized as a JOURNEY. Unlike the JOURNEY of LIFE, metaphors elicited for LOVE seemed to focus on the journey's trajectory or path, rather than the state of the path itself[7]. When asked about love, our consultant immediately produced three

metaphoric phrases. In (26), a relationship is compared to a dead end. When one reaches the dead end, the relationship is over. This phrase must be used in context as it can also mean to literally die or to be figuratively dying (emotionally, but when not caused by the end of a relationship). In (27), relationship complications and confusion are compared to taking a road one should not have taken. Confusion is also used as an idiomatic euphemism when referring to adultery. In (28), "confused lovers" refers specifically to those who fall in love while at least one partner is already in a relationship.

> (26) Ushaka-kuumi
>   To end/finsh-REFL
>   "I am dying/ending"
>
> (27) Nanita   pash-qa
>   Road   be.confused-TOP
>   "I took the road I should not have taken"
>
> (28) Pantai   walmiki
>   Confused   lovers
>   "Confused lovers"

4.3. PLANT GROWTH

Given the dependence on and respect paid to nature, one of the most strikingly absent metaphors is the comparison of the human life cycle to plant growth. Many languages compare the observable, relatively short, cyclical, growth period of plants to intrapersonal and interpersonal development. For example, common English expressions include (29)-(31), each likening human development to the life cycle of plants. Such a comparison is not possible in Quechua. "A plant is a plant. A human is not a plant. A human does not grow like a flower." (Loayza 2021).

> (29) Our relationship blossomed.
> (30) He has shown a tremendous amount of growth this past school year.
> (31) However, do not leave old friendships unattended, for they will wither and die.

In Peru, flowers are highly regarded for their beauty. However, there is a strong distinction between the inherent respect that should be afforded gifts of nature and the use of nature as a symbol. While violent acts of nature, such as storms, serve as the source domain of many metaphors, gentle, delicate gifts of nature do not. For example, people, girls in particular, will pick flowers to put in their hair, hats, or clothes. The flower is "beautiful", a trait culturally associated with the category "flower". However, attributes of the flower are not bestowed upon the wearer – a girl wearing a flower is no more or less beautiful when adorned with this symbol of beauty. The restricted symbolic power of *waitata* ("flower") is crucial as it explains the status of a flower as well as its preclusion from use as a symbol of beauty. Flowers cannot be used in analogies or comparisons. While a boy may give a girl a pretty flower, she cannot be compared to the beauty of the gift. Other aspects of flower, such as purity or delicacy, are also precluded from symbolic use. For instance, a particular *yuraq waitata* ("white flower") is used to make a common medicine. The use of this flower is widely known so the flower is recognized for its healing properties. However, no aspect of the flower, from its color to the medicine it is used for, can be symbolically used to refer to cleansing or healing. Similarly, towns, such as Wari, are sometimes named after flowers specific to the area. Wari was named for the waitata *waganku*, or "crying flower". While the area is known for this flower, no comparison is made between sorrow, hardships, or other causes of sadness from *waganku* nor are any associations made between the town and *waitata.*

4.4. WEATHER AND GEOGRAPHY

Weather plays a critical role in daily life, dictating whether life-sustaining plants will grow or die, whether rivers will swell or dry, and whether roads will be passable or treacherous. The import afforded weather is seen in its frequent use as a source domain. The complex relationship with the weather can be seen in (33)-(34), where the weather is alternatively conceptualized as a calming presence and compared to sorrow. *Chillap-yar*á, in (33), refers specifically to the sunrise, which brings a calming feeling of happiness. In (34), clouds are used to discuss difficulties and aimlessness, while tears are compared to falling raindrops.

(33)   Chillap-yará

Happiness-bright

(34) Mamayri runnayawasqa   My mother in the middle of the clouds
     Para, p'uyu sunquyanpi   And the rain had conceived me
     P'uyu gina muyunaypay   To see me wander like the clouds
     Para gina waqanaypay   To see me cry like the rain
     (Lara 1969:226)

4.5. GEOGRAPHY

The sun, moon, and mountains also play a symbolic role. While those descended from the Inca are called "Sons of the Sun", the passage of time is marked by the moon. At night, the sun "dies" (35). However, it is not reborn in the morning, instead, it "rises" (36). These phrases are also used to refer to the cardinal directions of "east" and "west".

(35) Rupa wanu-n
     Sun   die-3.SG
     "West, where the sun dies (on a specific trajectory)"

(36) Rupa yuri-mu-n
     Sun   born-DIR-3.PL
     "East, where the sun rises (on a specific trajectory)"

Similar to English, mountains are recognized for their majesty as well as the time involved in their development. The word for "mountain" is *hilka*. When found in combination with a person, such as in (37), it compares the age of a person to that of the mountain. The age of the mountain can also be used to refer to those who came before you, such as in (38). *Unne runa* can be used without *hilsa* to refer to "people of the past" without necessarily meaning those in the distant past. *Unne runa* can be used both literally and metaphorically. When *une*, "old", is used in combination with *hilsa*, the meaning changes as seen in (39).

(37) Ruku runa, ruku   hilsa
     Old   person, old   mountain
     "Old like the mountain"

(38) Unne   hilsa   runa

Old   mountain   people
"People of the distant past"

(39) Une   hilka
     Old   mountain
     "Very old person" (literal)
     "Wisdom of the mountain" (figurative)

4.6. ANIMALS

Animals play a significant role in Quechua myths, serving as sources of symbolism in everyday language. The region in which Southern Conchucos Quechua is spoken has fewer animals than the regions in which other dialects are spoken, resulting in a comparatively narrow range of animals in tales. Foxes, owls, and donkeys traditionally carry the majority of symbolic weight, although condors, llamas, and guinea pigs can be found in some tales. In particular, while not native to this region, guinea pigs carry significant cultural value used by healers as they are thought to absorb bad energies and sickness. Additionally, now-common domesticated animals such as the cat and dog are referenced in figurative language. The following sections will discuss the cultural associations encoded in phrases including the fox, donkey, and dog.

THE FOX

The fox is known as a sly trickster. While his slyness entails intelligence, the fox carries a negative connotation. For example, (40) includes the first five lines of a poem in which a man compares himself to a fox because he is hated by those around him.

(40) Ah!   ato'k,   ato'k,
     INTJ! fox,   fox,
     "Oh! Fox, fox,"

     Haliga   ato,
     Highland   fox,
     "Fox from the highlands,"

Gam-ta   noga-ta   runa chiki-man-si
You-to   COMP-me   man hate-OBJ-as
"Like you, I am hated by man"

Gam-ka   chuki usha-n-ta   umpaptiki   suwap-ti
You-GEN   hate   sheep-POSS-ACC   when   steal-ACC
"They hate you when you steal their sheep"

No-gata   chiki wawanta   suwap-ti
COMP-me   hate   daughter   take-ACC
"And to me, they hate me when I steal man's daughter."

THE DONKEY

The donkey is known for his stubbornness and general lack of intelligence. Our consultant had no trouble immediately producing multiple idioms involving the donkey. The idiom in (43), which literally translates to "donkey's ear", is used to refer to one who is stubborn, unintelligent, or both. The phrase in (44) can be used either literally or figuratively. In literal context, it describes one who is klutzy. When used figuratively, it refers to one who makes poor life choices. In (45), a different aspect of the donkey is highlighted. While he is seen as stubborn and ignorant in general, he is also forced to work hard. When used within the domain of work, the negative connotation carried by the donkey is reversed. Therefore, one who "works like a donkey" is not a stubborn worker but a hard worker. Even though hard work is valued enough to override the negative attributes of a donkey, such as stubborn ignorance, comparison to a donkey is not particularly flattering and would refer to someone forced to do grunt work rather than someone in a position of power. Finally, the idiom in (46) is a phrase our consultant remembers hearing from parents when they were particularly unhappy with their children. (46) is a demeaning phrase and is not commonly used unless one loses their temper entirely. While it translates roughly to "I will hit you so hard that you lose all of your intelligence, so hard you will not know who you are", the intent is similar to the English phrase "slap you stupid" or "slap you into tomorrow".

(43) Ashnu   ringri
     Donkey   ear

"[He is] stubborn and/or ignorant"

(44) Ashnu   nupuli
     Donkey   walk
     "[He] walks like a donkey"

(45) Ashnu-ta-nu   asu-si-ya-shu-ki-nashunki
     Donkey nu-COMP   work-make-PL–SUB-ACC
     "[They are] made to work as if a donkey"

(46) Ashnu-man   apta-si-shu-ki
     Donkey-to   send-make-SUB-OBJ
     "[I will] send her to the donkey"

THE DOG

     While not symbolic animals in a historical or traditional sense, both cats and dogs play a role in everyday figurative language, finding their way into modern proverbs and tales. One can be compared to a cat if they are "standoffish". By contrast, a nosy person is compared to a dog. The phrase in (47) can be used literally, if a dog runs up to someone and sniffs them in inappropriate places, or figuratively, to refer to a nosy person who, like a dog, puts his nose where he should not, demonstrating the presence of the KNOWLEDGE is a PHYSICAL OBJECT and PERCEPTION is RECEPTION metaphors.

(47) Alliqu   muski-chi
     Dog   smell-NA
     "Dog sniffing where it should not"

     The "smelling dog" is a commonly used idiom. However, the figurative use of *muski* is not restricted to constructions including *alliqu.* Instead, it can be used figuratively with humans, such as in (48), where the person is not compared to a nosey dog but is still figuratively sniffing where he should not. The *-chi* ending adds a negative value judgement for the action performed, not the scent itself. For example, *muski-chi* indicates that the smelling action is inappropriate, not that the scent itself is foul. The positive connotation marker *-pa* can be added to *muski* if the nosiness is warranted, such as a detective who "sniffs out" the perpetrator (49). *-Chi* and *-pa* can

be used only with animate agents, such as people or dogs who are considered equally volitional with respect to agency over controlling, or acting upon, their desire to sniff.

(48) Runa   muski-chi
     He   smelled-NA
   "He sniffed it out"

(49) Muski-pa
     Smell-PA
     "Sniff out"

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a survey of collected metaphoric and symbolic themes in Quechua. It began with an investigation of claims of metaphoric universals, finding many expected universals while discussing the role of culture on metaphoric instantiation. The early discussion of expected metaphors progressed to an examination of the role of nature as well as the cultural implications of outside influences, further separating both the language and cultural outlook between Southern Conchucos and Cuzco Quechua. The symbolic role played by entities found in traditional myths, poetry, and songs, such as animals and nature make it difficult to define metaphoric language in Quechua. What looks metaphoric to an English speaker may be built upon the concrete belief in a mythical world. What constitutes "concrete" in a mythopoetic model blurs the line between what is thought of as "metaphoric" in western cultures as it requires a suspension of western scientific reasoning with respect to what is considered to be fictive, abstract, or figurative (Almeida & Haidar 2012). Unlike languages based in Cartesian thought, which are based in "real science" and rely on conceptual metaphors, Quechua values concreteness (Almeida & Haidar 2012). This is not to say that metaphor is not found. However, the idea of a traditional source domain may be misleading. In Quechua, many conceptual mappings are more symbolic analogies linking everyday events to traditional, mythical beliefs. For example, one could conclude *ashnu ringri* (donkey ear) demonstrates the PEOPLE are ANIMALS metaphor. However, animals, such as donkeys and foxes, are found in many myths and parables. In these tales, animals play a role interpreted by westerners as metaphoric. For example, the tale of the highland fox in (40) compares the feelings of a man to the mythical role

of a fox, who is thematically portrayed as "sneaky" and "hated" in tales. While the fox serves as a symbol for "sneakiness", this symbolism is based on a concrete and observable system of beliefs, rather than a complex, abstract mapping system linking relevant aspects of a source domain to a target domain based on underlying image schemas. Entailed associations, such as the slyness of *ato* and the stubborn ignorance of *ashnu,* rely on shared knowledge of cultural teachings as much, if not more, than present-day observable occurrences, challenging more traditional interpretations of conceptual metaphor theory, in which conceptual metaphors are language-independent, resulting from shared image schemas.

The Quechua language challenges general assumptions of universality in figurative language. Many metaphors commonly hypothesized to be universal are found in both Southern Conchucos and Cuzco Quechua, such as HAPPINESS is UP and INTENSE EMOTIONS are HEATED SUBSTANCES (if not necessarily the subcategory of ANGER is a HEATED SUBSTANCE). However, cultural value is placed on tradition, history, and mythical proverbs, blurring the line between what is conceptualized as a concrete link to a myth versus an abstract image schema relating the physical to that which is not tangible. Thus, simple verification of the presence of proposed universal metaphors tells only a part of a larger, societal story. Instead, we must also consider the role played by metaphor within cultural groups as the assumption that all cultures rely on figurative language does not seem to hold, at least for Quechua but likely for many other languages as well. This area deserves further study on two fronts. First, how can we distinguish between that which is conceptualized as real or concrete from that which is metaphoric, without coloring our analysis with Western scientific presumptions? Second, what can differences in metaphor usage between Southern Conchucos and Cuzco Quechua tell us about cultural shifts and ideologies?

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GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

1 – First person
3 – Third person
ACC – Accusative
COMP – Comparative
DIR – Direction
EV – Evidence
INTJ – Interjection
FUT – Future Tense
GEN – Genitive
NA – Negative action, animate entities only
NEG – Negative
OBJ - Object
PA – Positive action, animate entities only
PL – Plural
POSS – Possessive
PROG – Progressive
PST – Past Tense
SG – Singular
SUB - Subject
TOP – Topic

ENDNOTES

[1] An idiom is a phrase with a composite meaning that differs from what one would expect by combining the meaning that each word has outside of the phrase. Unlike proposed universal conceptual metaphors, idioms are conventionalized phrases shared by members of a cultural group.

[2] Southern Conchucos Quechua is the primary dialect of the Ancash region of Peru.

[3] Cuzco Quechua is the primary dialect of the Cuzco region of Peru

[4] Interlinear glosses provided by Owen (2020) are not consistently glossed. The majority of examples included a phrase or sentence in Quechua, a direct translation of each word, and a translation using English word order. When necessary, interlinear glosses with grammatical markings were included. Due to differences in Southern Conchucos and Cuzco Quechua, examples credited to Owen (2020) were included in their original published form.

[5] Lara (1969) includes poems in Quechua. Later translated into Spanish by Saroli (2005), no interlinear glosses have been agreed upon and therefore were not included.

[6] This phrase is idiomatic and implies "being stuck" without including the word "stuck" in the phrase.

[7] This may have been a coincidence due to elicitation of both LIFE and LOVE metaphors in the same session. Our consultant may not have wanted to repeat that which she had already stated.