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A short (and vague) answer may be that metaphor and culture are related in many ways. For example, one way in which metaphor and culture are connected in our mind arises from what we have learned about metaphor in school: Creative writers and poets commonly use metaphors, and because literature is a part of culture, metaphor

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and culture can be seen as intimately linked.

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202 Z. Kövecses. metaphorical

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processes people seem to employ (near-)universally; for example, spatial relations are commonly understood as parts of the human body (e.g., the head means up and the feet means down) (for more detail, see also Kövecses 2006).

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metaphor exemplified by *Metaphors We Live By* (Georg Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980; reprint, 2003. For a more detailed description of the contours of this theory, see Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

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Metaphor universals can be conceived of as any metaphor-related phenomenon, including universal metaphors. For

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example, one metaphor universal is the use of metaphors by poets. Probably, there is no poetry without the use of metaphors in some form. It is an interesting question why this should be the case.

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Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation; Published online: 05 June 2012; Chapter; Anger Metaphors across Languages: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective; Zoltán Kövecses, Veronika Szelid, Eszter Nucz, Olga Blanco-Carrión, Elif Arica Akkök, Réka Szab ...

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