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Declaration

I declare that this assignment is my own work and does not involve plagiarism or collusion. The sources of other people's work have been appropriately referenced, failing which I am willing to accept the necessary disciplinary action(s) to be taken against me.

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Chapter 1: Introductory Chapter

1.1 General Background:

The idea of conceptual metaphors started with George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's book, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The theory goes back a long way and builds on centuries of scholarship that takes a metaphor not simply as an ornamental device in language but as a conceptual tool for structuring, restructuring and even creating reality. Since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work, a large amount of research has been conducted that has confirmed, added to and also modified their original ideas. Often, the sources of these new ideas were Lakoff and Johnson themselves.

The definition of conceptual metaphors is the understanding of one domain experience, which is typically abstract, in terms of another, which is typically concrete. This definition captures conceptual metaphors both as a process and a product, where the process aspect is the understanding of a domain and the resulting conceptual pattern is the product aspect.

Such a definition could then be applied in both chess & xiangqi, where these linguistic expressions stem from conceptual mapping from the source domain, chess, to the target domain, life in general.

This paper examines chess-related metaphorical expressions in English and Chinese from the cognitive linguistic perspective, which may suggest a considerable level of universality, at least in cultures familiar with the game of chess.

1.2 Rationale:

The idea for this paper has been simmering for quite some time. One need not be a passionate chess player to notice chess expressions being used in everyday life, ranging from newspaper articles to everyday conversations. Here are some examples in Chinese and English from various sources to illustrate this:

- ‘无论怎么走，未来都是一盘残局’ (‘No matter how you go, the future is always an **endgame**¹⁾) - dwnews.com
- ‘... her opening **gambit**²⁾ to me was, ‘Hi, I have ...’. - Mike Gayle: Turning Thirty

This paper is then essential to further explore conceptual metaphors in chess, and serves as a bridge in the gap of research with regards to how a considerable level of universality is present in different languages of chess, Chinese and English. It will also briefly outline the main tenets of the contemporary theory of conceptual metaphor as presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

1.3 Research Questions:

1. What is it that makes chess, rather than some other sport, for instance, football, such a rich source domain for life?
2. Are these chess words and expressions only nice rhetorical ornaments, metaphors as ‘figures of speech’? Or are they a conceptual tool used to represent life in general?
3. Are these conceptual metaphors similarly present in different languages of chess, specifically English and Chinese?

1.4 Thesis Statement:

I believe that chess expressions are conceptual tools and metaphors, exceptionally accurate ones, used to represent life in general, largely due to its illustrious history, pervading cultures across time and space, in this case being the English and Chinese cultures.

¹ The third and last phase of the game, when there are few pieces left on the board. The endgame follows the middlegame.

² A sacrifice, usually of a pawn, used to gain an early advantage in space or time in the opening of a chess game.

1.5 Scope of Research / Delimitation(s):

This research would mainly cover chess and xiangqi as it is currently, in the 21st century, neglecting past versions of these games. However, some references to the history of chess and xiangqi would still be made to explain why chess is such a rich source domain of life.

1.6 Significance of Research / Usefulness:

This paper would mainly serve as a bridge in the research and knowledge gap, a further development to the Lakoff and Johnson's idea of conceptual metaphors, and how such conceptual metaphors actually link the different languages of chess, specifically international chess and xiangqi.

This research is also important in figuring out why conceptual metaphors of life are found in chess but not in for example, soccer. Moreover, if conceptual mapping is to use some familiar, concrete source domain to conceptualize some less familiar, more abstract target domain, how come that we use chess as the source domain for life? Certainly not everybody who lives plays chess, right?

1.7 Limitation(s):

Some limitations would include the many different ideas of conceptual metaphors and how limiting it to only Lakoff and Johnson's idea would basically narrow the entire scope of the research.

There is also a lack of research done regarding the conceptual metaphors used in xiangqi so far.

Lastly, the time constraint given to complete this research paper would mean that I have to narrow the entire scope of the research, to only focus on two different languages and inferring from it that such conceptual metaphors are universally present in all languages of chess.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

This section will explore the roots and developments of the conceptual metaphor theory, which is extremely crucial to this research paper as it is the theory I will be applying later on both the English and Chinese chess terminologies.

2.1.1 Metaphor Mapping and Reality (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

In their work entitled *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff (1980) argues that metaphors are not just linguistic tools people use in their everyday life. They are of our representations of our thoughts and the way we think. A commonly used metaphor, '*Argument is war*', was used by Lakoff to explain how '*metaphors*' actually mean '*metaphorical concepts*' (p. 6). Metaphor is simply the understanding of an abstract concept by means of a more familiar one, the idea of a target domain and source domain respectively. Other metaphors listed include '*love is a journey*' and '*social organizations are plants*', where such metaphorical mappings are highly structured and ontological similarities are found between objects of source domains and of target domains. Using the aforementioned examples and reasonings, Lakoff (1980) concluded that patterns can be found and metaphors can serve as a commonplace for different languages and cultures. Lakoff (1980) also argues that our '*conception*' of the '*physical reality*' is affected by our '*culture*'. What an individual views as reality is a product of both their '*social reality*' and how it '*shapes his or her experience*' of the '*physical world*' (p. 146). This highlights how metaphors are related to our culture, and how they play an important role in determining what we view as reality. Lakoff also makes similar claims in his later books, *Moral Politics* (1996) and *Don't Think of an Elephant* (2004), that there is an overlap of conceptual metaphors, culture, and society. He explains how the '*public political arena*' in America can be mapped to the source domain of '*the family*'. Accordingly, people understand political leaders in terms of '*strict father*' and '*nurturant mother*',

where the two basic views of political economy arise from this desire to see the nation-state act more father like or more mother like. Jane Jacobs, an American-Canadian author, also supported Lakoff's argument in her work entitled *Systems of Survival* (1992). She made a similar distinction in a less gender-driven fashion by differentiating between a '*Guardian Ethic*' and a '*Trader Ethic*', and explained how guarding and trading are two tangible activities that human beings must learn to apply metaphorically in their later life. Lakoff then postulates that children assign these '*guardian*' and '*trader*' roles to their mothers and fathers, respectively.

2.1.2 Developments to Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Pinker, 2007)

In his work entitled *The Stuff of Thought* (2007), Pinker argues that the study of conceptual metaphors can be classified into two perspectives, '*killjoy theory*' and the '*messianic theory*'. The killjoy theory states that metaphors are '*dead*'. It asserts that modern day speakers are unaware of the comparison made between source and target domains in the everyday metaphors they use. He supports this theory with an example that states how many people are incognisant that the phrase '*to come to a head*' refers to '*the accumulation of pus in a pimple*'. On the contrary, the messianic theory supports Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) idea of a conceptual metaphor. It argues that the users of metaphors are aware of how metaphors map onto the domains and use them to understand more complex thoughts by relating it with perceptual experiences. Pinker also argues that metaphors can be distinguished between '*literary*' or '*poetic*' metaphors, and '*conceptual*' or '*generative*' metaphors. Literary metaphors highlight parallels and incongruencies in an expressive manner, and the example given was Shakespeare's classic line '*Juliet is the sun*'. Such metaphors can appear convoluted without deeper context. On the other hand, conceptual metaphors result from two domains having similar attributes. These metaphors are claimed to be innate, therefore resulting in the ability to generate infinite new metaphors. The example used to explain his claim was how the conceptual metaphor '*argument is war*' can build many new metaphors such as '*I shot him down*' or '*he blew my argument to pieces*'. Lastly, Pinker concludes

that although metaphors are a useful way to ‘*combat the limited ability of language to express thought*’, he postulates that ‘*a higher level of abstract thought must still be present*’.

2.2 Chess and Metaphors

This section will explore how chess is such a rich source domain of life in general and whether there is a considerable level of universality in the game of chess, across the different languages and cultures.

2.2.1 English and Serbian Chess Terminology (Biljana Mišić Ilić, 2008)

In her work entitled *Chess-Related Metaphors - Gens Una Sumus* (2008), she examines and compares English and Serbian chess metaphors, highlighting the idea that there is a considerable level of universality in the game of chess, due to the metaphorical conceptualisation present. She also examined the elements of chess together with the elements of life, focusing on the terminology present. Below is a table with 3 examples of what she did:

(p. 4 to p. 9)

SOURCE	TARGET	SERBIAN
Chess	<p><i>Life</i></p> <p><i>‘...for life is a kind of chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and evil events, that are, in some degree, the effect of prudence, or the want of it’</i></p> <p><i>Benjamin Franklin</i></p>	šah

<p>Fianchetto (one of the opening move combinations that moves a particular pawn and a bishop in order to make space for bishop's further moves)</p> <p>Fianchettoed bishop</p>	<p>a complex manoeuvre</p> <p>'... and this smooth fianchetto enabled him to gain more maneuvering space to rearrange the company to meet the challenge'</p> <p>(book on management)</p>	<p>fianketo,</p> <p>fianketirani lovac</p>
<p>King (the most important piece, but with limited movements; the aim of the game is to force the opponent's king in such a position where it can't avoid being captured)</p>	<p>someone who is an important, but vulnerable and not very active participant</p>	<p>Kralj</p>

Lastly, she argued that the pure nature of chess is what resulted in it being such a rich source domain of life. Since chess is '*more complex and controlled*' and '*less physical and hazardous*', it renders it as a suitable source domain of life itself. However, she came to a conclusion that despite chess being such a rich source domain of life, life is still much more complicated than the game of chess, where '*unlike the rules of chess, the rules of life are not fixed; unlike chess games, complex life situations don't always start from the same position, with a balanced starting situation*' (p. 11). She also proclaimed that '*chess metaphorical expressions*' and how they represent life as a whole '*may be an attempt to make us seem more in charge of our own actions*'. It allows us to view life '*being dependent on our own logic*' rather than one's supposed '*fate*' and '*luck*'. Such '*conceptualisation of*

life as chess' can thus be elucidated, especially in the '*Western civilisation*', which honours and appraises '*logic*'.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Data would firstly be gathered through online research regarding both English and Chinese chess' illustrious history. This data would then be collated and analysed, and together with Biljana's (2008) personal views in her own research paper, I will provide my personal insights as to why chess, rather than some other sport, is such a rich source domain for life.

In order to investigate why chess terminology can be utilised as a conceptual tool to represent life in general, this paper would then be adopting Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. Through the analysis of online resources, I will explore how chess expressions are not merely nice rhetorical ornaments, but actually an extremely rich source domain of life. Through chess words and expressions, one would understand an abstract concept, life in general, by means of a more familiar one.

Lastly, to further substantiate this idea of chess being a rich source domain of life, I will be examining the elements of chess, the source domain, together with the elements of life, the target domain, focusing on two different languages, English and Chinese specifically. This will be achieved in the form of a table, similar to the research paper *Chess-Related Metaphors - Gens Una Sumus*, Biljana (2008), where different elements of chess and life will be placed in comparison with each other. Real life applications of such chess terminologies will also be obtained from the corpus, and included in the table to highlight the undeniable similarities between a complete life situation and a game of chess.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Why Chess is such a Rich Source Domain of Life

In this section of the paper, I will be answering my first research question - what is it that makes chess such a rich source domain of life? If the chief point of a metaphor is to understand an abstract concept through a familiar and concrete source domain, surely football would be a more suitable source domain due to the popularity of the sport? After all, everybody lives and has a life, but certainly not everybody plays chess, right?

Firstly, one of the factors contributing to chess being such a rich source domain is its illustrious history. The history of chess goes back almost 1500 years, with the game originating in Northern India in the 6th century AD. As mentioned above, chess is an intellectual game which models a battle between two kingdoms, with the clash between white and black pieces perceived as symbolism of good against bad. The reason why Chinese chess differs from English chess could then be due to its difference in history. A particular example is how 'cannons, 砲/炮' are present in Chinese chess but not in English chess. Long range weapons are clearly evoked in Chinese history, with bowmen and catapults are also used in Qiguo Xiangxi, a 7-sided variant over a Weiqi board, inspired by the Warring States period (453 BC- 222 BC). Therefore, it is exactly because chess originated as a model of historical life, which results in indubitable conceptual similarities present between chess terminology and life in general.

Secondly, the main characteristics of chess bear uncanny resemblance to a complex life situation. To most, a large part of the sophistication of chess lies in the mind-boggling complexity and interdependence of the moves, as well as in the remarkable difficulty of employing precise tactics and strategies in order to come out victorious. Pure luck also plays close to no role in chess, with chess being a model control over the unforeseeable possibilities of cause and effect. Each player will seek to manipulate the game towards his/her preferred sequence of moves,

eventually leading to one's victory. It is exactly due to the complexity of chess and how it differs from the more hazardous sports, such as football, that makes it such a rich source domain of life. We all live our lives, forced to interact with different individuals to achieve various goals, with some people being perceived as rivals. This can be directly mapped onto the game of chess, with chess players competing with each other using several chess pieces to achieve victory. However, it must be noted that no matter how complex the game of chess is, it can never be as complicated as life. Chess has a fixed set of rules, unlike life; both players start from the same position, with balanced starting conditions, unlike life; every move one makes has a fixed outcome in the game of chess, unlike life. We have to acknowledge that despite the indisputable conceptual similarities between a game of chess and a complex life situation, and how it can be regarded as an extremely rich source domain for life, life can never be fully and accurately simplified into a game of chess due to the unpredictable nature of life.

Conceptualising life in terms of chess, as Biljana (2008) also rightfully points out, may be an attempt to simplify aspects of complex life situations to give us more control over our life and make us seem more in charge of our actions and outcomes. The presence of chess metaphorical expressions in our everyday lives allows us to view life being dependent on our own logic rather than one's supposed fate and luck. Therefore, such conceptualisation of life as chess can be explained, especially in the Western civilisation, which honours and apprises logical thinking and rationalisation.

4.2 Chess Terminology as a Conceptual Tool

Let us now take a look at the previous examples of chess-related metaphorical expressions: 'No matter how you go, the future is always an **endgame**' and '... her opening **gambit** to me was, 'Hi, I have ...'. We could view these sentences simply as individual linguistic expressions that have no correlation at all. However, according to the cognitive semantics theory as explained in Wikipedia, where '*language is part of a more general human cognitive ability and can therefore only*

describe the world as people conceive of it, these expressions are in fact manifestations of the unified conceptual metaphor, *'life is a kind of chess'* - Benjamin Franklin.

Our knowledge of chess is therefore mapped onto knowledge about life. Such knowledge may vary between different people, possibly due to cultural differences, however the general consensus is that chess is an ancient and sophisticated mental game. The game clearly models a battle between two kingdoms, white against black in English chess and red against black in Chinese chess, where *'infinite combinatorial options are available to players'* (Biljana, 2008). Basically, the mapping of chess expressions on aspects of life is as follows:

- Life corresponds to chess
- Complex life situations where we interact with others to achieve respective goals correspond to a game of chess
- Main participants in these complex life situations correspond to chess players
- Different stages of life correspond to the different stages of a chess game (opening, middlegame, endgame)
- Setting of a complex life situation corresponds to the setting of a chess game
- Subsidiary participants in these complex life situations correspond to the different chess pieces
- Actions that can be taken by participants to manipulate these complex life situations in a favourable way correspond to elements of playing a chess game
- Goal to overcome the complex life situation in a favourable position corresponds to the goal of a chess player to win the chess game

Let us take a closer look at these chess expressions, both in English and Chinese, and attempt to relate them to different aspects of life to check if my belief of chess being a rich source domain

of life can be validated. This will be done in the form of a table, with the help of illustrative definitions and examples from the corpus³.

4.3 Analysis of English and Chinese Chess Terminology using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Table 1. Examination and comparison of English and Chinese chess terminology, in relation to life being the target domain

SOURCE	TARGET	CHINESE
Chess	Life <i>'For Life is a kind of Chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with'</i> - Benjamin Franklin	象棋
A game of chess	A complex life situation where we interact with others to achieve respective goals <i>'Life is like a game of chess. To win you have to make a move. Knowing which move to make comes with insight and...'</i> - Allan Rufus '人生就像一盘棋, 有时走错路, 最后却赢了...' - kuk8.com	一盘棋
<u>Main participants:</u>	Main participants in the complex life situations	

³ Assuming that most readers lack specific chess knowledge, I will provide explanations for less familiar chess terms in the 'SOURCE' column, obtained from the corpus. The examples of real-life applications of chess terminologies are also specifically obtained from the Longman corpus, if not otherwise stated.

<p>Players, grandmasters</p> <p><i>Grandmasters are chess players of a very high standard</i></p>	<p>Skillful participants</p> <p><i>'Perhaps the grand master of dysfunction was the late Francis Bacon, who made a considerable fortune out of it</i></p> <p>‘此外, 连夺五届棋圣头衔可获得名誉棋圣称号, 此前四连霸...’ - go.rss.sina.com.cn</p>	<p>棋圣</p>
<p><u>Stages of a chess game:</u></p> <p>Opening, middlegame, endgame</p>	<p>Stages of a complex life situation</p> <p>Beginning, middle and final stages of a complex life situation</p> <p><i>'No matter how you go, the future is always an endgame'</i> - dwnnews.com</p> <p>‘进入第二回合, 李腾开局依旧强势, 尤其是...’ - sports.sohu.com</p>	<p>开局, 中局, 殘局</p>
<p><u>Setting of a chess game:</u></p> <p>Chess board</p>	<p>Setting of a complex life situation</p> <p>A place where the conflict of the complex life situation takes place</p>	<p>棋盘</p>
<p>Square</p>	<p>A small element of the setting</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>White, black</p> <p><i>The designation for the player who moves first and second respectively</i></p>	<p>Representation of good and bad</p>	<p>红, 黑</p>

<p><u>Chess pieces:</u> (king, queen, knight and pawn are the ones used for metaphorical expressions; the other pieces include bishop and rook)</p>	<p>Subsidiary participants in a complex life situation</p> <p>‘美国却通过售武将台湾当做棋子，置于炮灰位置’ - news.sohu.com</p>	<p>棋子</p>
<p>King <i>Most important piece; limited movement; aim of the game is to place the opponent’s king in a position which he cannot avoid being captured</i></p>	<p>An important person that is also extremely vulnerable and not a very active participant</p> <p>‘The newly crowned King decided something had finally to be done about the drainage problems of Teske’</p>	<p>將 (black side) 帥 (red side)</p>
<p>Queen <i>Most powerful piece in the game of chess; has greatest moving options</i></p>	<p>An extremely strong participant and wife of the king</p> <p>‘Elizabeth II became Queen of England in 1952’</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Knight <i>A defender of the king; moves in an L-shaped manner; has the ability to jump over other pieces</i></p>	<p>A man with a high rank in the past who was trained to fight while riding a horse</p> <p>‘They dream of a great castle called Camelot and a round table that could seat 150 knights’</p> <p>‘深圳观澜警方法医初步判定，馬向前死因属猝死...’</p>	<p>馬 (black side) 傜 (red side)</p>

	- news.chinabyte.com	
<p>Pawn</p> <p><i>Least valued piece in the game; Can only move in one direction - forward</i></p>	<p>Someone who is used by a more powerful person or group and has no control of the situation</p> <p>'Smugglers in China may use you as a pawn, as...' - Chris Hayes (fox2now.com)</p> <p>'我们都是小小的兵卒, 不起眼的身份, 却要演绎着精彩的人生' - kuk8.com</p>	<p>卒 (<i>black side</i>)</p> <p>兵 (<i>red side</i>)</p>
<p>Developing the pieces</p> <p><i>Moving pieces in the opening from their original squares to squares where they can be more active and effective</i></p>	<p>Skillfully manipulating participants in a complex life situation into one's favour, such that they are more effective in achieving a certain goal</p>	<p>开发棋子</p>
<p><u>Elements of playing that can affect the outcomes of a chess game:</u></p> <p>Attack, defend, sacrifice</p>	<p>Elements of participation that can affect the outcomes of a complex life situation</p> <p>These chess terminologies stem from the conceptual metaphor '<i>chess is war</i>'</p>	<p>进攻, 防守, 牺牲</p>
<p>Move</p> <p><i>A full move is a turn by both players</i></p>	<p>Actions taken by participants aimed at achieving a certain goal</p>	<p>走</p>

	<p>'Neither side is willing to move on this issue'</p> <p>'女人转身往回走，一边用袖子去抹眼睛'</p> <p>- bbs.voc.com.cn</p>	
<p>Check</p> <p><i>A direct attack on the king by an opponent's piece; attacked king is said to be in check</i></p>	<p>To put the opponent in a situation where his/her vital areas are jeopardised</p> <p>'Thailand to Fully Open Schools Next Week With Virus Under Check' - Randy Thanthong-Knight (bloomberg.com)</p>	照将
<p>Checkmate</p> <p><i>A position where a king is under attack and has no escape routes; results in defeat</i></p>	<p>To place in an inextricable position, with the opposition being defeated or frustrated totally</p> <p>'Opposition aims to checkmate, not check Gov...'</p> <p>- Danson Cheong (straitstimes.com)</p> <p>'传统营销将死! 小渔夫全网智能...' - cifnews.com</p>	将死
<p>Stalemate</p> <p><i>A position in which the player whose turn it is to move has no legal move and their king is not in check; stalemate results in an immediate draw</i></p>	<p>A situation in which it seems impossible to settle an argument or disagreement, and neither side can get an advantage</p> <p>'Congress remains in a stalemate over the federal budget'</p> <p>'上半场安德鲁斯的乌龙球帮助巴西队打破僵局, 下半场...' - 2010.sohu.com</p>	僵局

<p>Castling</p> <p><i>A complex manoeuvre in which the king and a rook are moved at the same time</i></p>	<p>A manoeuvre in which two subsidiary participants exchange places</p> <p><i>'Despite 'friendship to all, malice to none' policy, Dhaka also made castling common...'</i></p> <p>- thefinancialexpress.com.bd</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Scoresheet</p> <p><i>A sheet of paper used to record the chess game in progress</i></p>	<p>A piece of paper on which someone records successive activities</p> <p><i>'Jon Scott was next on the scoresheet after a classy movement, and Witchard...'</i></p> <p><i>'在SAE的自主性评分表上, 这些都是目前...'</i></p> <p>- cnbeta.com</p>	<p>评分表</p>
<p><u>Outcomes of a chess game:</u></p> <p>Win, lose, draw</p>	<p>Outcomes of a complex life situation</p> <p>Favourable from one's point of view, unfavourable from one's point of view, and equal for both participants</p> <p><i>'这次回到主场, 河南一路领先大胜对手, 现以十七胜四负超过八一...'</i> - news.xinhuanet.com</p>	<p>胜负, 败北, 和棋/死局</p>

From the above table, which analyses both English and Chinese chess terminologies and how it corresponds to life in general, it is clear that chess cannot be denied as a source domain

for life. This even confirms important notions and generalisations from Lakoff's theory, particularly the metaphor '*life is a kind of chess*' as an instance of the Event Structure metaphor. This implies that various aspects of life, like states, changes, actions, purposes and means are distinguished cognitively via metaphors in terms of space, motion and force. For example, action is the equivalent to motion, where the ability to act is the ability to move.

The Event Structure metaphor is one of the most general metaphors, and tends to be almost universal. They are found standing at the top of the metaphorical system of most languages (Lakoff, 1993). On the other hand, metaphors for life and complex situations are found lower in the hierarchy, where they inherit fundamental elements from the Event Structure metaphor, and are claimed to be more constricted culturally. This results in cultural variation in metaphors, '*where the set of conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain is roughly the same between two languages, but one language shows a clear preference for some of the conceptual metaphors that are employed*' (Kövecses, 2006). This implies that these lower-level metaphors, specifically '*life is a kind of chess*', are thus congruent with the event structure metaphor, where they differ only in the varying cultural content brought to the metaphor.

In this paper, we also investigated if there are any cross-cultural relations in the conceptual metaphor '*life is chess*'. From table 1, it is evident that the conceptual metaphor '*life is chess*' is relevant in both English and Chinese languages, and is realised by the mutually translatable vocabulary and metaphorical expressions. Additionally, the everyday usage of chess terminologies, indicated in the table, in both languages further validates this conceptual metaphor being a universal one. Although more languages were not included in this study, it can be assumed that this observation holds true for all other cultures familiar to the game of chess. Chess can then be considered a universal language, with its terminology being an accurate representation of a complicated life situation, albeit some considerable differences still present between English and Chinese chess, possibly due to Kövecses aforementioned idea on cultural variation present in conceptual metaphors.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This paper, which analysed and compared international chess and xiangqi terminologies, highlights that most of the metaphorical linguistic expressions exist in both English and Chinese languages. Together with further research that will include other languages familiar with the game of chess, the similarities observed between both languages and how they served as a rich source domain of life confirms that a substantial level of universality is indeed present in this metaphor, '*life is a kind of chess*'. Even though not all of us are chess players, by conceptualising complex life situations as a game of chess, by understanding that chess is an extremely rich source domain of life, and by using such metaphorical expressions in our daily lives, we can indeed be considered as one tribe.

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