PhD thesis

'Face'-related Expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese – A Pragmatic-based Study

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My doctoral career lasted for four years, starting in September 2020 and ending in August 2024.

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The four years of my PhD have been a process of shattering and restructuring my past self. It was a battle between me and myself. From self-doubt and self-denial, to confidence-rebuilding and beliefs-reshaping, and finally to regaining my true self and reconstructing a new self, this process was painful yet rewarding. At the moment of rebirth, like a butterfly breaking out of a cocoon, all the past pain, bitterness, and loneliness have become stepping stones to present success. I am so grateful to myself for deciding to pursue a PhD, for never giving up no matter how tired, for always striving to do better, and for always believing that I could do it.

Dear self, the road ahead is long and full of obstacles, but there is a gleam of hope, and success is within reach. Please hold onto your burning passion, walk towards the sun, and move forward with confidence. Love can withstand the passage of time.

Table of Content

1. Introduction

In this study, I investigate the use of 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese. Minnan is a major Chinese dialect spoken mainly in Taiwan and the South of Fujian. It is also the native tongue of many Chinese migrants overseas. Minnan is often referred to as a 'conservative' dialect[1] due to its large inventory of archaic and local expressions, including a rich variety of 'face'-related expressions, such as 'making face' which describes the action of giving 'face' to someone. To date, little research has been dedicated to the 'face'-related inventory in Minnan. The current study aims to fulfil this gap.

In this chapter, I first present the research background of this study and my research questions for this project. I then provide explanations of terminologies used in this research. Lastly, I introduce the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Research Background and Research Questions

Interest in Chinese 'face' emerged as early as in the early 20th century with two literary pieces written by Lu Xun (1934) and Lin Yu-Tang (1936), both of whom defined 'face' as a cultural 'heritage' of China playing an important role in preserving Chinese nation (see Pan & Kádár, 2011; Kádár & Pan, 2012). This culture-specific and ethnocentric view of Chinese 'face' was further highlighted by Hu (1944), who argued that Chinese 'face' is manifested as *mian(-zi)* and *lian*; the former *mian(-zi)* refers to someone's less important ('front/light') 'face' which can be safely threatened and lost, while the later *lian* refers to someone's more important ('back/heavy') 'face' which can never be threatened or lost without a major breakdown of an interpersonal relationship. As Pan and Kádár (2011) pointed out, Hu's research represented Chinese 'face' as a culturally exotic and homogeneous notion, which distinguishes the Chinese nation from other nations. Later, Goffman's (1955) research moved away from attributing face to the Chinese linguaculture only. Based on Hu's (1944) and Goffman's (1955) discussion of

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[1] See more in Li and Yao (2008).

'face', the influential interpretation of negative/positive 'face' from Brown and Levison (1978, 1987) gave birth to a vast of cultural-specific discussions for its inclination to universality, especially in Chinese. Many scholars were devoted to distinguishing Chinese 'face' as a native metapragmatic notion from academic definitions of 'face' (see Gu, 1990, p. 237; Mao, 1994; Hinze, 2005, p. 171; Qi, 2011, p. 280). In such research on Chinese, it has generally been assumed that Chinese is a 'face-rich' linguaculture – unlike other linguacultures – and that Chinese 'face' is a homogeneous entity. This study challenges this view.

Through this challenge, I contribute to a body of studies which has criticised the assumption that 'face' expressions are only important in Chinese. For example, Matsumoto (1988) and Hiraga and Turner (1996) argued that Japanese also has a rich inventory of 'face'-related expressions, and Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) found the same about Turkish. The contrastive pragmatic research of Ruhi and Kádár (2011) revealed that Chinese and Turkish 'face'-related expressions are in fact comparable. Haugh and Hinze (2003, p.2) compared Chinese and English speakers' evaluations of 'face' phenomena, arguing that the face-related evaluations of their subjects are comparable. Yu (2003, p. 1704) pointed out that Chinese and English have various "general shared concepts" of 'face'. Along with such contrastive research, another group of scholars has challenged the concept that 'face' is homogeneous in Chinese, influencing the politeness behaviour of speakers of any dialect of Chinese. This is another body of research with which I align myself. For example, Chen (2001, p. 94) drew attention to the fact that there is significant variation as regards how speakers of Chinese interpret 'face'-related expressions. The studies of He (2012) and Zhang (2021) showed that different generations of Chinese speakers greatly varied in their perception of 'facework' and 'face'-related expressions. Long and Aziz's (2022) research finds a significant gender difference in the impact of "face" on the willingness to travel abroad.

Notwithstanding the importance of such inquiries into Chinese 'face', scholars have usually uncritically accepted the validity of Hu's (1944) early typology, which divides Chinese 'face' into *mian(-zi)* and *lian.* For example, Yu (2001) and Jin (2006) have attempted to reinterpret the concepts *mian(-zi)* and *lian* by assuming that these 'face'-related lexemes are used in a dual way in the Chinese sociocultural context in general. Also, a number of studies used *mian(-zi)* and *lian* as a *tertium comparationis* to describe and compare different types of Chinese

facework (see e.g. Mao, 1994; He & Zhang, 2011; Hinze, 2012; Zhou & Zhang, 2017; Kinnison, 2017; Li, 2020; Chen et al., 2021). The Mandarin-based *mian(-zi)* and *lian* dichotomy even appeared in pragmatic research on facework in major dialects such as Cantonese (King & Myers, 1977; Jin, 2006; Pan, 2011; Chan et al., 2018) and Minnan (Su, 2009; Chang & Haugh, 2011; Su & Lee, 2022). This lack of academic awareness of dialectal variation between 'face'-related expressions is surprising because metapragmatic inventories tend to vary across Chinese dialects (see Yin, 2009), and it shows how strongly the *mian–lian* dichotomy influenced the study of Chinese language use. The same applies to historical research on Chinese 'face', such as Yin (2009) and Zhu (2013) where scholars mostly zeroed in on the *mian–lian* dichotomy.

While *mian(-zi)* and *lian* in dichotomy are no doubt important, a key problem that has been ignored in previous research is that both *mian(-zi)* and *lian* are Mandarin expressions. Relying on a dichotomy created on the basis of such Mandarin 'face'-related expressions in the study of dialectal language use may be problematic if one considers that speakers of Chinese dialects often struggle to explain linguacultural phenomena such as 'face' and 'politeness' by using Mandarin (Zheng, 2019, p. 58). To the best of my knowledge, only King and Myers (1977) and Jin (2006) argued that *mian(-zi)* and *lian* might not be fully applicable to study 'face'-related expressions in Chinese dialects, pointing out that the monosyllabic *mian* (rather than the polysyllabic *mian-zi*) is more important in Chinese dialects than either *lian* or *mian(-zi)*. Yet, neither King and Myers (1977) nor Jin (2006) discussed Chinese dialectal 'face'-related expressions in much detail. This study aims to fulfil this gap by considering whether one of the generally assumed characteristics of Chinese 'face' – the dichotomy of *mian* and *lian*, also applies to the Minnan Dialect. Since in previous research, *lian* has been presented as a superordinate notion which, unlike *mian(-zi)*, must be preserved at any cost, in the current research I devote special attention to the question as to whether this higher-lower-order relationship between *lian* and *mian(-zi)* also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect.

A related issue in Chinese pragmatic research has been that many scholars assumed that the *only* 'face'-related expressions are *mian* and *lian* in Chinese (see e.g., Yu, 2001; Haugh & Hinze, 2003; Hinze, 2005; Zhou & Zhang, 2017). While in their historical pragmatic study, Kádár and Pan (2012, p. 3) pointed out that there are actually three lexemes for 'face' in Chinese, including *lian*, *mian* and *yan* 顏; they argued that *yan* always describes one's physical face, i.e.

not 'face' in an abstract sense. Zhai (1999, 2021a) even pointed out that Chinese "*qì* 气" (air), "*guāng* 光" (light), "*chǒu* 丑" (ugly), "*rén* 人" (human), "*chǐ* 耻" (shame) and their related collocations are often 'face'-related. However, such expressions are long ignored in 'face' research as their lack of linguistic components of face. With special attention to such expressions in this study, I take a bottom–up approach and look at my data with the cold eye of the linguist without assuming that Chinese 'face'-related expressions consist of the *mian–lian* dichotomy only, and even, idioms including 'face' only.

This study consists of three parts, which are presented in the thesis in three chapters (Chapter 4 – Chapter 6), aiming at three interrelated questions:

1. Whether the higher-lower-order relationship between *lian* and *mian(-zi)* also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect (Chapter 4)?
2. Whether such dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are readily interpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects (Chapter 5)?
3. Whether the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan[2] apply to Chinese historical data (Chapter 6)?

By pursuing these questions, I intend to critically investigate the long-held assumption that Chinese 'face' is somehow a 'homogeneous' notion, which can be used to explain any conversation in any dialect of Chinese in any period. If this assumption holds, it is valid to assume that 'Chinese face' *per se* exists. However, if it turns out to be difficult to uphold this assumption, we need to take a new stance on Chinese 'face', arguing that Minnan and maybe other Chinese dialects as well have their own local repertoires of 'face'-related expressions. Such repertoires may not be entirely different from Mandarin (and from each other). Yet, in approaching such repertoires, one should not set out from the *a priori* assumption that they can be captured and interpreted entirely on the basis of Mandarin.

In this study, I refrain from venturing into the relationship between 'face' and politeness, which are not the same as scholars such as Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) have insightfully

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[2] As the result of Chapter 4 will show, while there is a duality *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin, there is only a singularity *mian* in the Minnan Dialect.

demonstrated.[3] It would be speculative to argue that politeness *per se* in the Minnan Dialect is different from Mandarin simply because there are different repertoires of 'face'-related expressions in these two dialects of Chinese. However, I believe this study is relevant for politeness research for the following reason: different repertoires of 'face'-related expressions unavoidably imply that speakers of these dialects talk politeness and impoliteness into being in different ways. While investigating such a metapragmatic train of thought is beyond the scope of the present study, I believe that this research lays down the foundation for future metapragmatic inquiries.

The current study should not be seen as belonging to the realm of so-called 'variational pragmatics' *à la* Schneider and Barron (2008) where scholars examine mainly dialectal differences to study variation for its own sake. Rather, this research is to be understood as a fully-fledged cross-cultural pragmatic attempt (see an overview in House & Kádár, 2021) where strictly language-anchored methodologies are used, which is a typical characteristic of cross-cultural pragmatics, and where variation is studied with the aim of unearthing some more general pragmatic issues.

1.2. A Note on Terminology

In this section, I explain the conventions and definitions of terminology used in this thesis.

'Face' and Face

I use 'face' with inverted commas to refer to the abstract notion of face, i.e., one's honour. While face without inverted commas indicates face used in a physical sense, i.e., someone's physical face or something's surface.

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[3] This argument has been largely accepted in present-day politeness research. It is different from how the traditional Brown and Levinsonian (1987) politeness paradigm interprets 'face' as an inherent part of politeness. As Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) and others have argued, Brown and Levinson's interpretation of 'face' is based on a misinterpreted reading of Goffman (e.g., 1955).

Core 'face' Expressions and 'Face'-related Expressions

I distinguished what I defined as '*core (nominal) 'face' expressions*' from collocations in which these core expressions are used. This is because nominal 'face' expressions can co-occur with different verbs/adjectives/pronouns in Chinese. For example, *mian* or *lian* is the core 'face' expression. The collocations in the forms of "verb/adjective/pronouns + core 'face' expressions" or core 'face' expressions + verb/adjective/pronouns" are thus referred to as *'face'-related expressions*.

Mian/lian/yan-expressions and Compounds of Face

Among the core 'face'-expressions, some only include one Chinese character referring to 'face' like *mian* 面 (*mian*) or *miàn-mù* 面目 (*mian*-eye), while some consist of two Chinese characters both referring to 'face' like *liǎn-miàn* 臉面 (*lian-mian*). The former is categorised as '*mian*-expressions' while the latter is referred to as 'compound of face'.

With and Without Tonal Marks

I use generic titles drawn from Mandarin to describe 'face' expression types, while particular Mandarin versus Teochew expressions will be indicated by their dialectal Romanisation. Whenever I refer to the expressions studied in general (e.g. as *mian/lian*-related expressions) and when it comes to translations of expressions in brackets, I do not use tonal marks. When I refer to particular Mandarin expressions, I use the Mandarin accents; and to particular Minnan expressions, I use the Minnan accents. This is why *mian* may be displayed as both *miàn* and *bīn*, and *lian* as both *liǎn* and *lián* in the same sentence.

Corpus/Corpora

As the various data types are used in this study, I use the term 'corpus/corpora' in this thesis to refer to my different kinds of self-build databanks. For example, the data consisting of Peking

Opera scripts would be referred to as the Peking corpus.

Mandarin and Minnan

In the current study, I refer to both Mandarin and Minnan as dialects of Chinese. I thus accept the standard dialectological argument attributed by Weinrich that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy, implying that it is very difficult to somehow define Mandarin as a 'language' and Minnan as a 'dialect' of this language. As far as 'face'-related expressions are concerned, both Mandarin and Minnan are variants of Chinese of equal importance, notwithstanding the fact that Mandarin is the standard version of Chinese.

Chinese Writing System

There are two writing systems of Chinese, the traditional Chinese character system and the simplified Chinese character system. The traditional Chinese character system is mainly used in ancient Chinese texts and dialect-related texts (e.g., Minnan and Cantonese). The simplified Chinese character system is the official standardised writing system in China except for Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan, where the traditional Chinese character system is used officially. These two systems are exchangeable. In order to be consistent, I use the traditional Chinese character system in this thesis (apart from the citation and reference).

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In Chapter 1, I provide an introduction to the thesis. I present the research background of this study, stating the knowledge gap which I aim to fulfil. I then list the research questions of this research project. I also clarify the use of terminology in this research, followed by an outline of the structure of this thesis.

In Chapter 2, I start with a brief introduction to the history of the Minnan Dialect. Then I discuss the conceptualisation of 'face' and review the relevant literature on three widely

discussed issues in 'face' research: 1) the universality versus the culture-specificity of 'face'; 2) the first-order/emic and the second-order/etic perspectives of viewing 'face'; 3) study 'face' within Politeness versus study 'face' as its own. In the fourth section of this chapter, I discuss research on Chinese 'face' including 1) those studies that assume Chinese 'face' as a homogeneous concept and 2) those looking into the variation of 'face' in China. Lastly, I review relevant studies on 'face'-related expressions and then provide a working definition of 'face'-related expressions.

In Chapter 3, I only outline my methodology and data used in this study, explaining and justifying the methodological choices and design and how they match each research question. The detailed information will be presented in Chapters 4 – 6 respectively.

Chapter 4 is devoted to answer my first research question: whether the higher-lower-order relationship between *lian* and *mian(-zi)* also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect. The answer of such question requires an overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. I thus included seven types of data for collecting 'face'-related expressions, involving 1) naturally occurring Minnan conversations, 2) online videos, 3) Minnan dictionaries, 4) Minnan Folk literatures, 5) Teochew Opera scripts, 6) semi-structured interviews, and 7) TV series. During the interviews, some expressions which do not include 'face' nominal components were pointed out by the informants when they were asked to provide Minnan 'face'-related expressions. As a follow-up, I further conducted a study investigating the 'face'-relatedness of this kind of expression.

In Chapter 5, I target the second research question: whether the collected dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are readily interpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects. I set out from the hypothesis that Minnan 'face'-related expressions are interpretable for any Chinese speaker because Mandarin and Minnan use the same writing system with the exception of some 'local' characters in Minnan. Based on my results in Chapter 4, I administered another test to investigate whether the collected Minnan 'face'-related expressions were ready to interpret by Minnan native speakers and Mandarin speakers who did not speak the Minnan Dialect. The participants included two groups of speakers: 6 speakers of Mandarin who were not fluent in Minnan and 6 native Minnan speakers. They were provided with the list of 'face'-related expressions and were asked to interpret these expressions and

provide alternative expressions in Mandarin if available.

On the basis of the outcomes of Chapters 4 and 5, I engage in a contrastive historical investigation of 'face'-related expressions in Minnan and Mandarin in Chapter 6. This chapter aims to investigate whether the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan apply to Chinese historical data. I hypothesised that the duality *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan also hold for Chinese historical data. I studied 19 Peking Opera scripts (written in Mandarin, 404,719 characters in total) and 19 Teochew Opera scripts (written in the Minnan Dialect, 401,823 characters in total) compiled during Ming – Qing period. The themes of these two sets of data were all love and family.

Finally, Chapter 7 reviews and summarises the main finding of the previous chapters. Implications of this study and possible directions for future 'face' research are discussed.

2. Background and Review of Relevant Literature

In this chapter, I start with a brief introduction to the history of the Minnan Dialect in Section 2.1. In section 2.2, I discuss the conceptualisation of 'face'. In section 2.3, I review the relevant literature on three widely-discussed issues in 'face' research: 1) the universality versus the culture-specificity of 'face'; 2) the first-order/emic and the second-order/etic perspectives of viewing 'face'; 3) study 'face' within Politeness versus study 'face' as its own. In Section 2.4, I discuss research on Chinese 'face' including 1) those studies that assume Chinese 'face' as a homogeneous concept and 2) those looking into the variation of 'face' in China. Lastly in Section 2.5, I first review relevant studies on 'face'-related expressions and then provide a working definition of 'face'-related expressions.

2.1. History of the Minnan Dialect

The term 'Minnan' is a Chinese compound of 'min 閩' and 'nan 南'. 'Min 閩' is another name for Fujian Province in China and 'nan 南' means the south. Thus, Minnan refers to the southern area of Fujian Province where the Minnan Dialect is used, including Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou cities, Xinluo district and Zhangping prefecture-level City in Longyan. The Minnan Dialect is not only spoken in the Minnan area but also in the Taiwan area, the east of Guangdong Province, some areas of Hainan Province and Zhejiang Province in China. It is also the native tongue of many Chinese migrants overseas. The formation of the Minnan Dialect is closely relevant to the southward migration of population and political power caused by the war in ancient China. As there were various migrations happened in diverse dynasties, the Minnan Dialect includes features of ancient Chinese in different ancient periods.

During the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period (770 B.C. – 476 B.C.), the southern part of Fujian belonged to the Yue State (Chen, 1488 – 1505; Luo, 1573; Yang, 1573 – 1620). At that time, the Yue State had different customs and language from the Qi State where the Han people resided (Lü, 221 B.C. – 207 B.C.). The language mainly used by the Yue State at that time was the Baiyue language, which had already begun to be influenced by Old

Chinese – at least the upper ruling class and some craftsmen were able to use and write Chinese characters (Xu, 2006). The remnants of ancient Baiyue language still exist in the Minnan dialect today (Lin, 1999).

In the first year of Han Yuanfeng (110 B.C.), the King of Minyue Yu Shan rebelled, and Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty sent troops to suppress it. After Yu Shan died, Emperor Wu of the Han relocated the Minyue people to the Jianghuai (now Jiangsu and Anhui) area twice. After Qin destroyed the six kingdoms and unified the whole country, Minzhong County was established in Fujian, and the Han people moved into Fujian to fill the previous population vacancy. At the same time, the influence of Chinese language and Han culture in Fujian gradually expanded (Che, 1609; Chen, 1488 – 1505; Guo, 1619; Sima, 202 – 220 B.C.).

In the late Western Jin Dynasty (304 – 317), the turmoil of war caused social unrest, which led to the migration of Han people originally living in the north to the south. This event is known as the "*Yi Guan Nan Du*" ("*Migration of the Elites Southward*") in history (Liu, 618 – 907; Fang, 618 – 907). Most of these migrating Han people settled in the east of the Yangtze River, while the remaining part continued to migrate south to Fujian Province (Lin, 1596). Not only did these Han people bring the culture of the Central Plains at that time, but they also brought the ancient Chinese language spoken in the north of China to Fujian. The phonetic and lexical traces of ancient Chinese preserved in the Minnan dialect provide strong evidence for this historical fact (Zhou, 2010; Li & Yao, 2008; Lin, 1999).

In the second year of Emperor Tang Gaozong's reign (669 A.D.), due to the rebellion of bandits in the area where Fujian and Guangdong provinces meet, Chen Yuanguang followed his father into Fujian and opened up the Zhangzhou area (Luo, 1573; Li, 1566). They not only drove the economic and cultural development of Zhangzhou, but also brought Middle Chinese of the 7th century into Fujian. The Han people's entry into Fujian shows significant impact on the development of the Zhangzhou Minnan dialect (Zhou, 2010).

During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, the An-Shi Rebellion broke out in the Central Plains, causing the Tang Dynasty to decline. Many Han people from the Central Plains sought refuge in Fujian (Dong, 1795 – 1820). In the first year of the Guangqi period at the end of the Tang Dynasty (885 A.D.), Wang Xu recruited Wang Chao and Wang Shenzhi two brothers to lead 5,000 soldiers from the Central Plains into Fujian, conquering Tingzhou and Zhangzhou

(He, 1611 – 1644; Jin, 1675; Shao, 1507 – 1567). With the large number of soldiers from the Central Plains entered Fujian, the Middle Chinese language and culture from the 10th century were brought into the southern area of Fujian, greatly influencing the development of the Minnan Dialect (Zhou, 2010).

Later in the second year of Jingkang during the Northern Song Dynasty (1127 A.D.), due to the "Jingkang Rebellion", a large number of northern Han people migrated southward (Zhuang, 960 – 1279). These Han people who crossed into Fujian brought with them the Middle Chinese language and culture from the late 12th century in the Central Plains, which had a certain degree of influence on the Minnan dialect (Zhou, 2010).

It can be said that by the Tang and Song dynasties, the Minnan dialect had matured in a relatively stable situation (Wu, 2016; Li & Yao, 2008; Zhou, 2010). The different pronunciations for literary and colloquial Minnan Dialect nowadays has a great deal to do with the introduction of Chinese language into Fujian during the Tang and Song dynasties, which is a trace of Chinese phonetics of different eras left in the current Minnan dialect (Lin, 1999; Zhou, 2010; Li & Yao, 2008). After the Tang and Song dynasties, Fujian experienced relatively less warfare than other regions in China, which allowed the Minnan dialect to remain less affected. Even though Fujian people later brought back loanwords when they travelled overseas for business, the Minnan dialect has largely preserved the original features of Middle Chinese as it was used in the Tang and Song dynasties (Su, 2004). According to Lin (1999), at least 808 words in Minnan are etymologically connected to words in ancient Chinese that have since disappeared in Modern Mandarin. From the languages of Baiyue to the gradual integration of Old and Middle Chinese, and through the twists and turns of history, it now arrives at the present form of the Minnan dialect.

2.2. The Concept of 'Face'

The proposal of the academic concept of 'face' can be chased back to the Chinese scholar Hu's (1944) seminal research where Hu argued that Chinese 'face' is manifested as *mian(-zi)* 面子 and *lian* 臉. According to Hu, *mian(-zi)* (*mien-tzu* in the article) refers to the "prestige" one

obtains in society via social status, one's wealth or power which are acquired under individual endeavour. Its evaluation relies on external factors. While *lian* (*lien* in the article) is related to one's internal character and is concerned with the ethical judgement of a person from a certain social community, which is both "a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and an internalised sanction" (p. 45). In other words, in Hu's interpretation, *mian(-zi)* is related to social factors while *lian* is relevant to one's moral character. As the social confidence in one's moral traits, the loss of *lian* is fatal and will make someone unable to "function properly" in society (p. 45). Thus, if one's *lian* is lost, her/his *mian-zi* can barely retain (p. 62). Hu stated that *mian-zi* and *lian* are essentially formed on completely different evaluation criteria, and there is a higher-lower-order relationship between them, i.e., *lian* is perceived as more important than *mian-zi* because it is the essential need for any individual in any social community. The importance of *mian-zi*, on the other hand, is decided by its owner's social status, power, and interpersonal relationship with others (Hu, 1994, p. 62). In other words, as Kadar (2019, p. 212) summarises, "*mian-zi* 面子 for the 'front' or 'light' face, which can be lost without a major interactional crisis, and *lian* 臉 for 'back' and 'heavy' face, which cannot be lost without serious personal and interpersonal effect". However, Hu's research did not raise wide academic attention on 'face', until Goffman's (1955) groundbreaking work moved away from attributing 'face' to the Chinese linguaculture only.

In 1955, Goffman published his famous work *On Face-work*. With a clear emphasis on the effects of social interactions on 'face', 'face' is defined as an individual's successful appeal to "the positive social value" in a specific social interaction; it is the self-image depicted in terms of accepted social attributes (Goffman, 1955, p. 213). As Goffman interpreted, one's perception of 'face' is embedded in one's "feeling good" or "feeling bad" which are related to one's expectations, i.e., if the situation, which the perception of 'face' is anchored, is better than she/he expected, she/he would feel good; if her/his expectation is unsatisfied, she/he would feel bad. The context and social rules are highlighted as the keys to defining one's feeling on 'face'. In Goffman's view, maintaining 'face' is more a precondition of human communication rather than the purpose of interaction. 'Face-saving' could be understood as the 'traffic rules of social interaction' (p. 216). He further identified 'facework' as a set of actions an individual does which are related to his 'face'. The aim of 'facework' is to protect one's 'face' from being

threatened (p. 217). Goffman believed that there are two orientations of 'facework', a defensive one and a protective one. This dichotomy is embedded in individuals' perception of 'face' in interpersonal interactions: a defensive view indicates one's will to save her/his own 'face', while a protective view denotes one's intention to protect other interactants' 'face'. These two orientations are not mutually exclusive, they could be taken by the interactants simultaneously.

Throughout his whole interpretation of 'face' and 'facework', Goffman pinpointed the fact that 'face' universally exists wherever human interpersonal interaction occurs because it is co-constructed by the interactants in interpersonal communications. Just like he stated: "Throughout this paper it has been implied that underneath their differences in culture, people everywhere are the same" (1955, p. 231).

Inspired by Goffman, Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed their famous Politeness Theory, the core of which is their dualism of 'face', namely 'negative face' and 'positive face', which derived from Durkheim's (1915) typology of 'negative and positive rites' (see more in Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 285). In their work, 'face' is defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Unlike Goffman's emphasis on the social essence of 'face', Brown and Levinson highlighted the communicative ego of interactants and argued that 'face' is a fundamental desire which each social individual longs for in public (p. 62-5). 'Face' is regarded as the goal of interaction and politeness by means of which people interact. Further, they identified two critical constituents of 'face': 'negative face' and 'positive face', which are constructed on the basis of one's 'face'-wants and are under constant threat in communication. More specifically, 'negative face' refers to "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition"; while 'positive face' denotes "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (p. 61). As they claimed, these two aspects of 'face', like 'face' itself, are universal, i.e., they can be applied to any individual in any context.

Further, they defined certain kinds of acts as essential FTAs (Face-Threatening Acts), which intrinsically create threats to 'face' in interactions. They specified FTAs from two perspectives, those that threaten the addressee's 'face' and those that threaten the speaker's 'face'. As Brown and Levinson listed, their conceptualisation of FTAs aims at not only speech

acts but also non-verbal acts of humans. To minimise the threat of 'face' when conducting such FTAs, politeness thus becomes the strategies which are taken by the participants in interactions. Positive politeness reduces the threat to the addressee's 'positive face', while negative politeness orients towards the addressee's 'negative face'.

Basically, Brown and Levinson inherited Goffman's definition of 'face' as a self-image and further broadened the concept of 'face' to a dual notion 'negative face' and 'positive face'. A noteworthy point here is that Brown and Levinson's dichotomy of 'face' as a theoretical construct does not derive from any specific 'face'-related expressions like the conceptualisation of Chinese 'face' (see more in later section 2.2), but in the sociological theories inspiring from Durkheim's (1915) distinction between 'negative and positive rites'.

Although Goffman and Brown and Levinson both claim that 'face' is a universal notion, they conceptualise 'face' from different perspectives. Goffman regards 'face' as social values or norms from a sociological view, i.e., it is not inherent but bestowed by others in social interactions. Goffman was aware that the idiosyncratic repertoire exists in each different 'person, subculture and society' and individuals are prone to use their 'own repertoire of face-saving practices' (1955, p. 216-217). In other words, he agreed that 'facework' could vary in diverse social or even linguacultural contexts. 'Face' is universal to Goffman because the existence of interpersonal interactions is universal. On the other hand, Brown and Levinson identified 'face' as human desire from a more psychological view, and they believe that 'face' is the individual's essentially personal motivation during communication. To Brown and Levinson, 'face' (including 'negative face' and 'positive face') universally pertains to each individual. This indicates that the dual 'negative face' and 'positive face' can be applied to any person in any context across various linguacultural backgrounds. Undoubtedly, the concept of 'negative face' and 'positive face' laid an important foundation for subsequent research on 'face' and politeness. However, due to its embedded Western culture centrism and cultural universality tendency, Brown and Levinson's 'face' dualism provoked significant criticism. Subsequent studies began to move their focus from generalising the universal concept of 'face' to highlighting the culture-specific notion of 'face'.

2.3. Three Issues in 'Face' Research

In this section, I focus on three issues which are widely discussed in 'face' research.

2.3.1. Universality versus Culture-specificity of 'Face'

The first issue is about the universality and the culture-specificity of 'face'. As discussed above, due to its claim of the universality of the notion of 'face', Brown and Levinson's dichotomy of 'face' receives considerable criticism, in particular from the aspect of non-English languages.

For example, Matsumoto (1988) argues that Brown and Levinson's dualism 'face' is inapplicable in understanding Japanese 'face'. As she stated, Brown and Levinson's assumption of 'face' laid on the basis of an imagined "Model Person", who inherently possesses "rationality" and "face" (including "negative face' and "positive face') (p. 404). This Model Person, according to Brown and Levinson, is endowed with 'face', more specifically, the "negative face", which is the desire to appeal to her/his autonomy. Yet, this assumption is alien to a Japanese context. For a Japanese, one's encounter with 'face'-loss would attribute to her/his incomprehension and nonrecognition of social structure and hierarchy. It is one's "position in relation to the others in the group and his/her acceptance by those others" rather than "one's territory" that matters in Japanese's concern of 'face' (p. 405). The inadaptability of Brown and Levinson's theory not only lies in the conceptualisation of 'face', but also the 'face'-related strategies. As Matsumoto denotes, if one considers Japanese 'face' and 'facework' within Brown and Levinson's framework, it would be the case that those strategies, which typically target 'negative face', eventually serve to positive 'face' wants in Japanese situations (p. 408).

Ide (1989, p. 224) finds that Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory and the notion of 'face' are inadequate to examine Japanese data as they reflect a clear "ethnocentric bias towards Western languages and the Western perspective". She pointed out that what essentially makes a "non-Western" 'face' different from "Western" 'face' is its "weight" rather than its "content" (p. 241). Ide argued that in a individualism-oriented Western society, 'face' is the key to interpersonal communications, while in a more collectivism-oriented society emphasising the

in-group membership, it is one's social status and role in a specific situation rather than 'face' that becomes the foundation of interaction. Taking the use of honorifics as an example, she illustrates that honorifics are not used as strategies to minimise the threat to one's 'face'. Rather, its use is widely found in non-'face'-threatening contexts, where neither the speaker's nor the addressee's 'face' is concerned with the performance of honorifics (p. 242).

Gu (1990) also suggests that Brown and Levinson's model is unsuitable for interpreting Chinese 'face'-related data. He took "offering, inviting and promising" as examples and illustrated that the conduction of these speech acts would not be recognised as causing threat to the addressee's 'negative face' in Chinese context (p. 242). Mao (1994, p. 455) recognises Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of 'face' as an "individualistic and self-oriented image" which is deeply rooted in 'Western' communication and is inapplicable to 'non-Western' contexts. He identifies two main issues of Brown and Levinson's dualism 'face' which attribute to its unavailability in China. One is concerned with its definition as a "public self-image". Mao clarifies that the appeal of "self-image" does not prioritise Chinese interactants' consideration of 'face'. Rather, Chinese 'face' is a "public image" that individuals claim, which privileges individuals' interactions with others and participation in a given social community. In other words, 'face' in China is not a characteristic a person is endowed with. Another issue is that the content of Brown and Levinson's 'face' is not identical to Chinese 'face'. To illustrate this, Mao adopted Hu's (1944) dual notion of Chinese *mian-zi* and *lian* of 'face' and compared this typology to Brown and Levinson's dichotomy of 'negative face' and 'positive face'. As Mao argued, the content of Chinese *mian-zi* and *lian* greatly differs from that of Brown and Levinson's 'negative face' and 'positive face'.

Nwoye (1992) further pointed out that Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of 'face' as a "pancultural human resource" and their opinion on social communication is too pessimistic, i.e., they perceive interactions as something which constantly initiates 'face-threat' and need certain strategies to avoid the threatening of 'face' (p. 311). Nwoye argued that in Igbo, 'face' is represented as *iru*, which is a reference to a human's physical face and also "used metaphorically for shame, negative or positive dispositions towards others, honour, good and bad fortune, and so forth" (p. 314). By examining Igbo's 'face', Nwoye found that Brown and Levinson's concept of 'face' does not fit for understanding 'face' in Igbo, where members of

society value group interests over their individual interests. By proposing a classification of "individual face" and "group face", Nwoye highlights that Igbo society is more collectivism-oriented and group esteem is recognised as more important than an individual's self-honour. It is also noted that there is a high-low relationship between "group face" and "individual face", i.e., "group face" is more important than "individual face" in Igbo. As a conclusion of this paper, Nwoye summarised that the connotation of 'face' varied when it is examined in diverse cultural backgrounds, and it is unsafe to presume a pancultural notion of 'face' which is applicable to any cultural context.

With such challenges of the universality of 'face' and the appeal to the attention to the cultural-specific examination of 'face', subsequent studies began to shift their focus from searching the universality of 'face' to taking cultural factors into account.

From the lens of individual wants, O'Driscoll (1996) provided a then-new categorisation of 'face' namely "three face reflexes". He regarded his new classification as a supplement to Brown and Levinson's dichotomy of 'face' with some perspective adjustments rather than a redefinition of 'face'. According to him, 'face' can be reflected in three dimensions, including "culture-specific face", "positive face" and "negative face". "Culture-specific face" refers to one's wants for a "good face", which is varied and defined by each diverse culture; "positive face" indicates that everyone wants their needs to be connected and included can be recognised in communication; "negative face" denotes that everyone wants their needs for being independent and autonomous can be recognised in interaction (p. 4). O'Driscoll considered his "positive face" and "negative face" to be the combination of 'face' and "wants dualism", i.e., "positive wants" and "negative wants". Positive wants are "the need to come together, make contact and identify with others; to have ties; to belong; to merge", while negative wants are "the need to go off alone, avoid contact and be individuated; to be independent; to separate" (p. 4). In his definition of "positive face" and "negative face", what is particularly accentuated is one's needs of her/his desire to be recognised rather than one's desire itself.

O'Driscoll's three-fold typology of 'face' aims to cover cultural variation of 'face' into account, hence providing a better framework suitable for multicultural 'face' research. Yet, by retaining negative and positive 'face' in his "face three reflexes" and claiming the need for these two kinds of 'face' is universal, O'Driscoll still anchored his typology in universalist 'face'

theory.

By defining 'face' as "the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event", Scollon and Scollon (1995/2001) considered 'face' as a paradox notion dynamically constructed in interaction, which includes two aspects, "involvement" and "independence". The "involvement" of 'face' indicates that an individual has the right and need to be involved in certain social groups when engaging in social communication, while the "independence" of 'face' denotes that an individual needs, to some degree, to be independent from the other interactants and "to be free from impositions of others", (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, p. 46-7). With a special focus on cultural variation, they proposed the concept of 'self' in their interpretation of 'face', emphasising that 'face' is negotiated in interpersonal interactions. They underlined that 'self' in Western cultural background "is highly individualistic, self-motivated, and open to ongoing negotiation", while 'self' in Asian cultural background is more "collectivistic" and more connected to one's membership within certain social groups (p. 46).

Although Scollon and Scollon showed a careful consideration of the cultural idiosyncrasy of 'face' by expressing their awareness of two different 'self' in so-called Western and Asian cultural backgrounds, they failed to detach themselves from Brown and Levinson's effects. Even they avoided using the terms 'positive face' and 'negative face', their typology of involvement and independence, as they also implied in the book, is the twin of Brown and Levinson's dualism 'face'.

Later, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi's (1998) 'face-negotiation' theory shows another attempt to examine 'face' and its cultural variations from a social-interactional perspective. They identified 'face' as "an individual's claimed sense of favourable social self-image in a relational and network context" and 'facework' as "clusters of communicative behaviours that are used to enact self-face and to uphold, challenge/threaten, or support the other person's face" (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 190). Aiming to explain the cultural variation of 'face' and 'facework', they proposed the concepts of "I-identity" and "We-identity", and the corresponding notions of "individualism and collectivism". Individualism refers to the value orientation that an individual perceives her/his own rights and dignity (i.e., I-identity) over the rights and dignity of a certain social group (i.e., We-identity). Individualism-oriented cultures

were found more in northern and western European and North American societies. Collectivism denotes the value orientation that an individual recognises social rights and esteem over her/his own interests. Collectivism-oriented cultures are more often located in Asia, Africa, etc. Individualistic culture privileges I-identity while members of collectivistic cultures think highly of their We-identity (p. 192). Based on the discussion of I–We identity and individualism–collectivism culture differences, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi suggested a "four-dimensional approach" (high/low independent self versus high/low interdependent self) to analysing the relationship between self-construal and 'facework' (p. 196-7). In this approach, they included the consideration of "high-context communication" and "low-context communication"[4] and believes that this four-dimensional structure would contribute to a more dynamic framework in interpreting 'face' and 'facework' in various contexts.

Ting-Toomey and Kurogi's 'face-negotiation' theory expresses special attention to the cultural variation of 'face' and 'facework'. As indicated in their paper, individuals from different cultural backgrounds have diverse value orientations, even within a specific culture, members of various sub-cultural or ethical groups also possess distinguished value patterns, which affect their perception of 'face' and their choice of 'facework'-related acts (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 190).

As it is shown above, since the claim of a pan-cultural 'face' has been widely questioned and criticised, the culture idiosyncrasies of 'face' generate more and more interests. Together with such attempts to involving culture-specific 'face' into their conceptualisation of the notion 'face', another group of study need to mention here is the differentiation of first-order and second-order, or emic and etic pragmatic concepts of 'face'. Such distinction was firstly applied to the concept of politeness, and then transferred to the study on 'face'.

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4 "Cultures and communication in which context is of great importance to structuring actions is referred to as high context. High context defines cultures that are relational and collectivist, and which most highlight interpersonal relationships. ... High-context communication carries most of the information within these physical features or internalized pieces of information that are already known about the situation or individuals" (Thompson, 2014, p. 389). "Low-context cultures are distinguished by interactions and events that place a greater focus on tasks than on recognizing and building long-term relationships. ... In low context, communication members' communication must be more explicit, direct, and elaborate because individuals are not expected to have knowledge of each other's histories or background, and communication is not necessarily shaped by long-standing relationships between speakers" (Thompson, 2014, p. 493).

2.3.2. First-order/Emic and Second-order/Etic Distinction in 'Face'

The second issue is about the distinction of the first-order/emic and the second-order/etic perspectives of viewing 'face'.

In 1992, Watts, Ide and Ehlich appealed to the need to differentiate first-order politeness from second-order politeness. First-order politeness corresponds to "the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups"; while second-order politeness is "a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage" (Watts, Ide & Ehlich, 1992/2005, p. 3). When pursuing the universal features of politeness, scholars inevitably involve in the second-order investigation; while when exploring cultural-specific politeness phenomenon, they would unavoidably engage in the first-order inquiry. Eelen (2001, p. 30) further discussed these two concepts as follows: first-order politeness (Politeness1) takes from a "socio-psychological concept", which is defined from the speaker's perspective; while second-order politeness (Politeness2) is used as a "linguistic, scientific concept", which is defined from the researcher's angle. They are interrelated: on the one hand, politeness2 derives from politeness1, on the other hand, the concept proposed from a second-order view should be applicable to politeness1 (Eelen, 2001, p. 44, p. 76). He additionally referred to Pike's (1967) notion of "emic and etic" in explaining politeness1 and politeness2. As he interpreted, the emic perspective is driven from the view of the "cultural insider", i.e., the members of the target group or community, while the etic perspective is taken by the "outsider", i.e., how the person outside of the target group views the behaviour of the in-group members (Eelen, 2001, p. 77-8).

Hold the view that 'face' should be studied as an autonomy area (see more below), Haugh and Watanabe (2009) applied this first-order/second-order distinction to the research on 'face' and defines the dual notion of "first-order face (face1)" and "second-order face (face2)". Thus, first-order 'face' (face1) refers to the cultural insider's emic, participant view on 'face' and 'facework', while second-order 'face' (face2) is concerned with the researcher's etic, scientific view of 'face'-related phenomenon. Haugh (2012) believed that "face/facework/politeness" has richer connotations and can be divided into 'emic concepts' and 'etic practices' (p. 3). This

differentiation of first-order/emic and second-order/etic perspectives on 'face' highlighted the importance of examining in-group members' understanding of 'face'-related phenomenon and offered significant references to subsequent research in different linguacultures.

For example, Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) take an emic perspective and emphasise the vital role of the speakers' perception and assessment as well as how their opinions are represented in interactions in exploring the concept of 'face'. They examine two Turkish folk lexemes "*yüz*" ("face") and "*gönül*" ("heart/mind/desire") and their related idiomatic expressions collected from multiple data sources including corpora of textual materials, electronic newspapers, tokens searching on Google and field notes on daily Turkish interaction. Based on the analysis of data, Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007, p. 705) argue that "*yüz*" and "*gönül*" are two aspects of "self". "*Yüz*" stands for the "(perceived) social image" while "*gönül*" denotes "the self-in-interaction". More specifically, "*yüz*" represents one's appeal to her/his personal or social identity by means of either "self representation" or others' assessment; "*gönül*" indicates a higher-up concept of "the self" either as an individual or as an interactant (p. 705). They view "*yüz*" as a condition for achieving communicative purpose and "*gönül*" as a mediator in interpersonal interactions.

Another research from Ruhi's (2010) also started from an emic angle. She examined data extracted from Turkish interactions collected by recording. Highlighting the crucial effects of cultural knowledge on conceptualising 'face', she related 'face' to two notions, "indexical" and "membership categorisation". It is argued that 'face' is an intrinsic index to the classification of one's social self and this classification depends on the membership one takes in interaction (Ruhi, 2010, p. 2144). Ruhi suggests using MCA (Membership Categorisation Analysis) to analyse 'face' as 'face' not only interacts in social interaction but is also co-constructed by communicators dynamically. She pinpointed that MCA is not a pre-assumed classification of human identity, rather, it is an analytic tool used in systematising 'face'-related phenomenon on the basis of the interactant's membership (p. 2134).

Taking an emic metalinguistic approach, Haugh and Hinze (2003) investigated 'face' and 'politeness' in three different languages, Chinese, English and Japanese. They concentrated on 'face'-related idiomatic expressions in these languages, and how native speakers interpret these expressions in a metalinguistic way. Their research shows that metalanguage is an effective tool to analyse and explain how concepts like 'face' or "politeness" are operated in real-life

communications. As indicated in the article, the language users' perception of such concepts largely contributes to the researcher's conceptualisation of such notions in an academic sense.

Haugh (2007) provided an emic analysis of '(im)politeness' and 'face' in Japanese, offering a reference to learners who study Japanese as a second language to manage their identities in intercultural communications better. It is argued that the notion of 'place' has an intimate relationship with 'face' and 'politeness' in Japanese. According to Haugh, 'place' (*basho*) in Japanese refers to the "social role and position" one engages in within a specific context (p. 662). Among three representations of 'face' *kao*, *menboku* and *taimen* in Japanese, *kao* can both indicates the "social image" of an individual or a group; *menboku* and *taimen* on the other hand primarily represent one's individual "social image'. The close relationship of Japanese 'place' and 'face' lies in the assessment from the "imagined communities" on the appropriateness of the individual's actions. This study emphasises the relatedness of 'face' and the interactants' "discursive negotiation of identities" (Haugh, 2007, p. 662-4).

Another example of such emic studies targets at Chinese. Hinze (2012) examined Chinese 'face' in the business context based on the data consisting of real-life conversations which include the use of 'face'-related expressions (i.e., expressions including 'face') and the interactants' understanding of their use of such expressions in interactions. The analysis of the actual use of Chinese 'face'-related expressions shows that Chinese 'face' is hardly relevant to politeness. Hinze's examples illustrate that it is very often that one can use impolite utterance or be impolite meanwhile giving 'face' to others, and one can also be very polite and at the same time not give 'face' to someone. In other words, there is not necessarily a "positive correlation or an inextricable link" between Chinese 'facework" and being polite (Hinze, 2012, p. 19).

The above-discussed emic/first-order--oriented studies undoubtedly highlight the importance of considering the lay speakers' understanding and perception of social phenomena in investigating 'face'. The current study takes a combined emic-etic perspective. As it will show in the later chapters, the design of the tests in this thesis is started from an emic angle, taking the lay speakers' perception and understanding of 'face' and 'face'-related linguistic expressions into accounts rather than simply analysing the data from a researcher's etic point of view.

2.3.3. Study 'Face' within Politeness versus Study 'Face' as Its Own

The third issue widely discussed in 'face' research is whether 'face' should be studied within politeness or as its own.

Since Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory interweaved 'face' with politeness, many subsequent studies keep engaging 'face' investigation within politeness. Such research is very easy to find in either so-called 'Western' linguacultural backgrounds (see e.g., Trees & Manusov, 1998; Kohnen, 2008; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2011; Mari, 2019; Jucker, 2011; Hostetler, 2012) or Chinese context (see e.g., Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Chen, 2001; Yu, 2003). Notwithstanding the significant impacts on 'face' research from these inquiries, the current study strongly agrees with the arguments from scholars like Bargiela-Chiappini (2003), Haugh and Hinze (2003), Sifianou (2011, 2013), and O'Driscoll (2017), that 'face' should be studied as an autonomous area.

As Bargiela-Chiappini (2003, p. 11) pinpointed, 'face' is never a synonym for politeness. They cannot be "the same thing" because "one is a trait of interactants while the other is a trait of interaction"; and 'face' is not "the only explanation" for (im)politeness, and (im)politeness is not the single behaviour which 'face' can explain (O'Driscoll, 2011, p. 19). 'Face' and politeness are two different 'things' in essence. Although there is an undeniable relationship between 'face' and politeness, "it is one of mutual hyponymy, not a causal one" (O'Driscoll, 2011, p. 19). Scholars like Sifianou (2013) and O'Driscoll (2017, p. 97) even hold the view that 'face' has broader meanings than politeness, and politeness is "just one possible aspect of facework". This argument has been largely accepted in present-day politeness research. It is different from how the traditional Brown and Levinsonian (1987) politeness paradigm interprets 'face' as an inherent part of politeness. As Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) argued, Brown and Levinson's interpretation of 'face' is based on a misinterpreted reading of Goffman (1955). These arguments all emphasise that 'face' and politeness should be "disentangled from each other" and be studied as autonomous areas (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 51). Just like O'Driscoll (2017, p. 97) argued, "The advantage of this separation of concepts is that it becomes easier to

see that there are aspects of interactional behaviour which have little or nothing to do with politeness but which face can help us to understand.

Thus, in this study, I explicitly refrain from venturing into the relationship between 'face' and politeness, which are not the same as the scholars above have insightfully demonstrated. I believe that studying 'face'-related expressions on their own benefits the research on 'face' as an independent field, which is undoubtedly relevant to, but not undifferentiated with, politeness.

2.4. 'Face' Research in Chinese

2.4.1. 'Face' as a 'Pan-Chinese' Concept

The notion of 'face' in Chinese has a long history. As recorded in '*Souce of words*' (1983), there are three lexemes of face in Chinese including *mian*, *lian* and *yan*. The term "*mian*" 面 is the most ancient one as a reference to physical face and honour is found to be first recorded in *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian) in the 4th century BC. And '*lian*' 脸, whose first record can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (206 bc–ad 220) as a reference to 'cheek', obtains its meaning of 'face' in Tang-Song Period (618—1279) and connotation of 'honour' thenceforth (Hu, 1944, Kadar & Pan, 2012). The third one '*yan*' 颜 is also an ancient word already used in the 10th century BC, but this term was found usually refers to one's physical face only (Kádár & Pan, 2012; Ruhi & Kádár, 2011).

Interest in Chinese 'face' emerged in the early 20th century with two literary pieces published by the renowned Chinese writers Lu Xun (1934/1973) and Lin Yutang (1936/2000). According to Lu (1934), 'face' is the manifesto of the Chinese spirit, which has various genres corresponding to diverse social identities. Different aspects of 'face' are required in different contexts. There is a "borderline" for 'face', if one does something falling below this line, it is thus a loss of 'face'; if one does something above this line, she/he thus has 'face' (Lu, 1934, p. 127-128). Lin (1936, p. 190-6) discussed 'face' with 'fate' and 'favour' and claimed these three factors, which are rooted in Chinese social norms, are unchangeable principles in Chinese culture. Favour emerges in such a society where non-legal governance prevails among people and it is a crucial component of the concept of social status. Due to the absence of a fixed class

system and aristocratic politics in China, fate contributes to the acceptance of social inequality in China. An essential characteristic of fate is that no one is permanently trampled upon, and oppressors and the oppressed have the opportunity to switch positions. Once a talented person has the chance to succeed and gain a considerable status, jumping from a non-privileged class to a privileged one, she/he thus has a "big face". This "psychological face", which is more "powerful" than fate and favour, can be "granted", "lost", "fought for" and "presented as a gift". The connotation of Chinese 'face' can hardly be translated or defined in English. It has the characteristics of "honour", but it would never be identical with it. Meanwhile, 'face' has a strong connection with the feudal family system, the feudal hierarchy system and traditional ethical norms.

The treatises of Lu and Lin were written at a time when China was threatened by colonisation, and both authors defined 'face' as a cultural 'heritage' of China which can play a role in preserving the Chinese nation (see Pan & Kádár, 2011, and Kádár & Pan, 2012). They located 'face' in 'culture nationalism' and highlighted its 'national value', spotlighting the critical impact of culture and social norms on 'face' (Kadar & Pan, 2012). This culture-specific and ethnocentric view of the Chinese 'face' has also been present in academic research, starting with the above-mentioned Hu (1944), who proposed the duality *mian(-zi)* and *lian* of Chinese 'face'. While due to the influence of Goffman (1955) later research in pragmatics has moved away from attributing face to the Chinese linguaculture only, many scholars have distinguished Chinese 'face' as a native metapragmatic notion from academic definitions of 'face'.

For example, Gu (1990, p. 241-2) indicated that Chinese 'face' has its own repertoire and is distinguished from what Brown and Levison's account for 'face'. Mao (1994) echoed Hu's culture-specific and ethnocentric view of Chinese 'face' by adopting the typology of *mian-zi* and *lian* and compared them with Brown and Levinson's dualism 'face' concept. Hinze (2005, p. 171) stated that Chinese *mian* and *lian* are "salient sociological constructs of Chinese society". Qi (2011, p. 280) pointed out that the concept of 'face' plays a significant role in China for its fundamental function in human sociality and "its high salience in Chinese society in particular". In such research on Chinese, it is generally assumed that Chinese is a particular 'face-rich' linguaculture – unlike other linguacultures.

This culture-specific and ethnocentric view of Chinese 'face', which claims 'face'

expressions are only important in Chinese, was thereafter criticised. For example, Matsumoto (1988), and Hiraga and Turner (1996) argued that Japanese also has a rich inventory of 'face'-related expressions, and Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) found the same about Turkish. The contrastive pragmatic research of Ruhi and Kádár (2011) revealed that Chinese and Turkish 'face'-related expressions are in fact comparable. Haugh and Hinze (2003, p. 2) compared Chinese and English speakers' evaluations of 'face' phenomena, arguing that the 'face'-related evaluations of their subjects are comparable. Yu (2003, p. 1704) pointed out that Chinese and English have various "general shared concepts" of 'face'. Ho (1976, p. 882) indicated that 'face' is not an exclusive treasure of China, because "in saying that face behaviour is of minor significance in Western societies, the individualism-dominated social sciences fall victim to one of their blind spots".

Along with the challenges to the assumption that Chinese is an especially-'face'-rich linguaculture, another view under question is that Chinese 'face' is a homogeneous notion. The assumption that 'face' is a 'pan-Chinese' notion is deeply rooted in research on Chinese, emerging first also in the seminal study of Hu (1944), where he distinguished the notion of *mian(-zi)* from *lian*. As Pan and Kádár (2011) argued, Hu's research represented Chinese 'face' as a culturally exotic and homogeneous notion, which distinguishes the Chinese nation from other nations. Hu's typology of *mian(-zi)* from *lian* together with its assumption of Chinese 'face' as a homogeneous notion was widely adopted in the subsequent Chinese 'face' research (e.g., Ho, 1976; Mao, 1994; Zhu, 2006; Zhai, 2004, 2006, 2016, 2021a, 2021b). They echoed this pan-Chinese view of 'face' and believed that the typology of *mian(-zi)* and *lian* could be applied to any speaker of Chinese in any context.

For example, Ho (1976) adopted Hu's duality of *mian-zi* and *lian* although he interpreted these two aspects of 'face' from another point of view. Instead of differentiating *mian(-zi)* and *lian* in a clear-cut way like Hu, Ho argued that the connotation of *mian(-zi)* and *lian* can vary in diverse contexts instead of staying fixed. There is no absolute difference between *mian-zi* and *lian* as these two terms could freely exchange in certain situations. He illustrated that *mian-zi* can be understood from a quantitative perspective on the one hand, and from a qualitative angle on the other hand. *Mian-zi* can be explained quantitatively as how much *mian-zi* one could possess is changeable as its amount is context-dependent. Whether an event will lead to

constructive or destructive effects on one's *mian-zi* largely depends on the "audience", i.e., the participants in a specific situation where one communicates (Ho, 1976: 869). From the qualitative angle, *mian-zi* can be defined in a two-fold way, i.e., *mian-zi* which hinges on "personal qualities" and *mian-zi* which depends on "nonpersonal factors" (those one can acquire by individual's endeavours) (Ho, 1976, p. 870). Notwithstanding Ho's different interpretations of *mian-zi* and *lian*, he still accepted and continued to use the dual typology of *mian-zi* and *lian* identified by Hu.

Mao (1994) unconditionally adopted Hu's conceptualisation of the social-oriented 'front/light' *mian-zi* and moral-oriented 'back/heavy' *lian* and compared them to Brown and Levinson's 'negative face' and 'positive face'. In his interpretations, what *mian-zi* interacts with differs from that of 'negative face' as the former refers to one's wants of her/his social achievements can be recognised by others, while the latter denotes one's desire to be independent. The claim of freedom and independence does not privilege Chinese interactants' concerns during communication. Instead, it is the appeal of respect and honour that mediates within. On the other hand, *lian* was believed to have certain similarities to Brown and Levinson's 'positive face' as they are both concerned with one's needs to be connected and to be acknowledged by other social members. Yet, *lian* is more socially anchored and needs to be obtained interactionally (p. 461-2).

From the lens of the sociopsychological angle, Zhu (2006) agreed with Hu that the duality of *mian* and *lian* can correspond to social acknowledgements of one's personal capacity and moral character. As Zhu (2006, p. 83) argued, 'face' is a psychological phenomenon, which is a "self" recoginsed in a society and a reference to one's social prestige. It is generated from social interactions and affects interpersonal relationships. In order to pursue 'face', one needs to master diverse patterns of actions which accord with certain social norms. In social communications, the extrinsic coercive authority from society contributes to the power to govern individuals' behaviour, which is subsequently internalised into one's cultivation of ideological morality. The defining feature of *mian-zi* is its reliability on the other communicators' bestowing. *Mian-zi* can be used as a social resource with the ability to be exchanged within interactions, marked as *ren-qing* (favour) in Chinese (Zhu, 2006, p. 82).

In Zhai's (2004, 2006, 2016, 2021a, 2021b) relevant studies on 'face', he clearly agreed on

the reasonability of distinguishing *mian* and *lian*. It is claimed that the combination of *mian* and *lian* would lead to serious misconceptions in understanding Chinese 'face' (Zhai, 2006, p. 219). As Zhai (2006, p. 220; 2016, p. 13) explained, *mian-zi* and *lian* co-exist in Chinese context; *lian* is more relevant to one's own actions and characters and it presents self-image; while *mian-zi* has a closer relationship with social interactions and emphasises the relationship between interactive parties. Also from a sociopsychological perspective, he defined *lian* as "a representation of one's personality that conforms to a certain societal image in order to gain acceptance and this conformity is manifested in psychological and behavioural terms after careful impression management"; *mian-zi*, on the other hand, refers to "the hierarchical status of these psychological and behavioural tendencies that have already been established within the minds of others, i.e., their psychological status" (Zhai, 2006, p. 220). Zhai further discussed that the two notions *guan-xi* (relationship) and *ren-qing*[5] (favour) which Chinese society thinks highly of are closely attached to *mian-zi* rather than *lian* (Zhai, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2021a). It is the underlining effect of interpersonal relationships that contributes to the divergence of *mian-zi* and *lian* in Chinese and this differentiation is what distinguishes Chinese 'face' from the others' (Zhai, 2021b: 39-40).

In these contributions to the conceptualisation (or re-conceptualisation) of Chinese 'face', scholars agree on Hu's differentiation of *mian(-zi)* and *lian* and believe that *mian(-zi)* is more related to social factors and *lian* is more concerned with one's moral character. Together with these studies, another body of studies directly used *mian(-zi)* and *lian* as a *tertium comparationis* to describe and compare different types of Chinese facework. For example, Shi, Furukawa, Jin and Zhu (2010) investigated the influence of *mian-zi* and *lian* on Chinese

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[5] As an important notion in Chinese Sociology, the notion of *ren-qing* 人情 widely mediates in Chinese 'face'-related research (see e.g., Zhai, 2004; Huang & Hu, 2005; He & Huang, 2009; Du, 2015; Ju, 2020; Chen & Zhao, 2022). It can be understood by a threefold connotation: 1) it refers to "the emotional reactions that individuals may have when they encounter various life situations"; 2) it refers to "a kind of resource that can be used to give to others when individuals engage in certain social transactions"; 3) it refers to "the social norms of how people should get along with each other in Chinese society" (Huang & Hu, 2005, p. 163-4). Both 'face' and *ren-qing* interact in interpersonal relationships and should both be understood within certain social networks. They mutually affect each other, i.e., 'face' can give rise to *ren-qing* and can be reflected through *ren-qing*, and vice versa; one's loss of either of them will lead to the absence of the other (Zhai, 2021, p. 56). *Ren-qing* acts as an important pragmatic principle in managing interpersonal relationships and it benefits to interpret the characteristics of interpersonal interactions in Chinese cultural contexts from the emic perspective (Ran, 2018, p. 44). Although the discussion of the relationship between *ren-qing* and 'face' is beyond the scope of this research, it would be no doubt fruitful to include *ren-qing* in future studies on Chinese face'-related expressions.

consumer behaviour respectively; Mak, Ho, Wong, Law and Chan (2015) examined how *mian-zi* concern and *lian* concern affect individuals' self-stigma and mental health; Hinze (2012) applied the dichotomy of *mian(-zi)* and *lian* to his investigation of 'face' phenomena within Chinese business context; Zhou and Zhang (2017) started with this typology in their inquiry on how the concept of Chinese 'face' as a value construction system operates through two forms of 'face' *mian-zi* and *lian* in the Chinese linguaculture; Kinnison (2017, p. 33) adopted the notion of Hu's *mian(-zi)* (social-oriented) and *lian* (moral-oriented) and expended the concept of Chinese 'face' into three facets "power/favor/relation face – one's social power and connection, (2) moral/honor face – one's dignity and integrity, and (3) mask/image face – one's façade to impress others"; Li (2019) investigated the notion of *chi* (shame) in China by related it to *mian-zi* and *lian*; Li (2020) accepted Hu's dualism with special attention to *mian-zi*; Chen, Loverio and Shen (2021) studied how *mian-zi* affects Chinese tourists' choices and behaviour before, during and after their journey; Wang, Zhong, Wang and Guo (2023) adopted Hu's dual concept of *mian-zi* and *lian* when examining how 'face'-consciousness affects Chinese tourists' deviant tourist behaviour when they travel abroad.

This Mandarin-based *mian(-zi)* and *lian* dichotomy even appeared in pragmatic research on facework in major dialects such as Cantonese (King & Myers, 1977; Jin, 2006; Pan, 2011; Chan, Schnurr & Zayts, 2018) and Minnan (Su, 2009; Chang & Haugh, 2011; Su & Lee, 2022). The same applies to historical research on Chinese 'face', such as Yin (2009) and Zhu (2013) where scholars mostly zeroed in on the *mian–lian* dichotomy. While *mian(-zi)* and *lian* in duality are no doubt important, a key problem that has been ignored in previous research is that both *mian(-zi)* and *lian* are Mandarin expressions. Relying on a dichotomy created on the basis of such Mandarin 'face'-related expressions in the study of dialectal language use may be problematic if one considers that speakers of Chinese dialects often struggle to explain linguacultural phenomena such as 'face' and 'politeness' by using Mandarin (Zheng, 2019, p. 58).

To the best of my knowledge, only King and Myers (1977) and Jin (2006) argued that *mian(-zi)* and *lian* may not be fully applicable to study 'face'-related expressions in Chinese dialects, pointing out that the monosyllabic *mian* (rather than the polysyllabic *mian-zi*) is more important in Chinese dialects than either *lian* or *mian-zi*. Jin (2006) understood Hu's concept

of *mian* and *lian* as follows: *mian* refers to the social recognition of one's accessible achievements, like social status or power; *lian* indicates one's judgement of the appropriateness of one's own behaviours. The former emphasises one's social success while the latter highlights one's moral character. As King and Myers (1977) and Jin (2006) noted, although Hu's typology of *mian* and *lian* may be applied to Mandarin-speaking areas in northern China, it cannot explain other dialects-speaking domains in southern China like Cantonese-, Minnan- or Hakka-speaking regions, as in these areas *lian* does not used as a reference to 'face'.

Jin (2006) further stated that the only nominal expression of 'face' *mian* in Cantonese contains the connotation of both Mandarin *mian* and *lian*. Some examples were also provided to illustrate this viewpoint: *lian* in Mandarin expressions like 要不要臉 (lit. want or not want *lian*), 沒有臉見人 (lit. have no *lian* to see people), 厚臉皮 (lit. thick skin of *lian*) and 丟臉 (lit. lose *lian*) are replaced by *mian* in Cantonese corresponding 'face'-related expressions. Thus, in Jin's article, he used the singularity *mian* instead of the dualism *mian* and *lian* in his discussion of the notion of Chinese 'face' as *mian* is believed to include the "cultural and social meaning" of both *mian* and *lian* (Jin, 2006, p. 51-2). Instead of the dualism of *mian* and *lian*, he proposed the notions of "social *mian*" and "moral *mian*" corresponding to Hu's *mian* and *lian*. Yet, neither King and Myers (1977) nor Jin (2006) discussed Chinese dialectal 'face'-related expressions in much detail. The present research aims to fill this knowledge gap by examining whether the dualism *mian* and *lian* drawn from Mandarin and their lower-higher-relationship can be applied to the Minnan Dialect, or not.

To examine whether such a hierarchy relationship of *mian* and *lian* exists in Minnan, another issue that needs to be addressed here is how Hu (1944) decided on such a relationship between *mian(-zi)* and *lian*. As mentioned above, Hu concluded in her paper that *lian* is more important than *mian* because having no *lian* is "the worst insult" one receives for her/his loss of the social confidence of her/his moral character while having no *mian(-zi)* is "merely the failure of ego to achieve a reputation through success" (1944, p. 61). The following is Hu's explanation of two expressions "*tiu-lien*" (lose *lian*) and "*ku mien-tzǔ*" (consider *mian-zi*):

"*Tiu-lien* – "to lose *lien*" is a condemnation by the group for immoral or socially disagreeable behavior. A serious infraction of the moral code of society, once come to the

notice of the public, is a blemish on the character of the individual and excites a great deal of comment. A fraud detected, a crime exposed, meanness, poor judgment, lies told for one's own profit, unfaithfulness while in office, a broken promise, the cheating of a customer, a married man making love to a young girl, these are just some of the acts that incur the criticism of society, and are rated as "losing *lien*" for ego" (p. 46).

"*Ku mien-tzŭ*-- "to consider *mien-tzŭ.*" Ego has had to consider his *mien-tsŭ* in order to advance his prestige. Thus the head of a gentry family will give a big feast for his birthday, arranging theatricals to last for several days for all the members of the community. The favorable comment of society will increase his *mien-tzŭ*" (p. 55).

As such interpretations show, Hu seemed to generate her criteria to define the 'heavy' or 'light' loss of 'face' on whether the loss of one's 'face' is moral-character-related or social-factor-related, just like herself summarised in the conclusion section (see p. 61). Yet, a careful reading of her other interpretations could find that this is not always the case. As Hu also explained:

"The expression "I have no *lien* to see so-and-so" is often used when ego feels he has disappointed somebody through his own fault ... (so that she/he feels that) "they have no *lien*" to see their elders or superiors" (p. 51-2).

Such interpretation shows that the key to determining whether someone loses the 'heavy' or 'light' 'face' does not exactly lie in whether the event is related to morality or social factors, but rather in the perceived level of 'face'-loss reflected in the actual context (for example, when one receives a severe loss of 'face' and she/he states that she/he has no 'face' to see others, to stand in front of the public, or even to live). Just like Ho (1976) argued, although Hu said *mian-zi* is concerned with social factors while *lian* is related to moral factors, the notion of *mian-zi* (*mien-tzu*) never lies beyond the realm of moral orders. Thus in this study, I will not consider the so-called 'moral' or 'social' factors but focus on the context where 'face'-related expressions are used when identifying whether the use of a specific expression refers to the 'front/light' 'face' or the 'back/heavy' 'face'.

2.4.2. Research on Variation of 'Face' in China

As discussed above, under the influence of Hu's (1944) seminal work, Chinese 'face'-related studies often uncritically accept the dualism of *mian* and *lian*, assuming Chinese 'face' as a homogeneous notion and widely ignoring the variation of 'face' in China. This lack of academic awareness of dialectal diversity in 'face'-related expressions is actually surprising because metapragmatic inventories tend to vary across Chinese dialects (see Yin 2009), and it shows how strongly the *mian–lian* dichotomy influenced the study of Chinese language use. In this section, I review the studies which dedicate to the variation of 'face' in China both synchronically and diachronically.

On the one hand, synchronic variation of 'face' is reflected in research like Ho's study (1976), where he noted that it is never surprising to find that one would privilege *mian* on *lian* and perceive the loss of *mian* as heavier than *lian*. Such individual variation in perceiving 'face' is also presented in Chen's (2001) study where he pinpointed the fact that Chinese speakers interpret 'face'-related expressions from variational perspectives. By studying compliment responses in Chinese, He (2012) found that speakers from different generations diverge in perceiving and conceptualising 'face'. The 'face' concern of the older generation is more oriented to the group interests, while the younger generation cares more about their own interests. Another study from Zhang (2021) supports this viewpoint. Zhang's (2021) research finding challenges the previous claim that Brown and Levinson's negative 'face' does not work in China as she found the notion of negative 'face' could be used to explain the Chinese young generation's interactional behaviours and strategies, i.e., the young generation think highly of their own interests, freedom and individuality rather than the collective interests. In other words, He's and Zhang's studies both show synchronic diversity of 'face' among different generations of speakers of Chinese. Long and Aziz's (2022) research finds that there is a significant gender difference in the impact of 'face' on the willingness to travel abroad. Chinese women mainly travel abroad to win 'face', while men do it to avoid losing 'face'.

Besides, significant differences in 'face' among rural villages in diverse areas of China are marked by Chinese sociologists Fang and Zhang (2012), Gui and Ouyang (2012) and Dong and

Guo (2017). Their findings can be summarised as follows. In the rural areas of northern China, the key to deciding whether one has more or less 'face' is highly relevant to one's abilities and less dependent on social moral norms. While in the South of China, if a person who is capable and accomplished does something which does not conform to the norms of the community, she/he will still become the most dishonoured individual, i.e., here 'face' is closely related to the social norms of the village. For farmers in central China, they gain 'face' primarily by maintaining mutual assistance relationships, i.e., "reciprocity" is giving each other 'face'.

Moreover, in his historical investigation of *mian* and *lian*, Yin (2009) found that regional diversity exists in Chinese in terms of the use of 'face'-related expressions during Ming–Qing period by comparing literary works written in different dialects back then. His finding shows that in northern dialects of Chinese, the use of *lian* significantly exceeds the use of *mian*, indicating that the replacement of *mian* by *lian* has already been completed in Chinese northern dialects during this period. *Lian* has become the dominant expression for 'face' in these dialects. Meanwhile, in southern dialects such as the Wu dialect, the proportion of the use of *lian* has never exceeded that of *mian*. Until the mid-Qing dynasty, *mian* remained the primary term for 'face' in the Wu dialect.

On the other hand, the diachronic change of 'face'-related expressions has been shown in historical inquiries of the meaning of *mian* and *lian*. As also noted above, scholars found *lian* originally referred to 'cheek' and did not obtain its meaning of face and connotation of honour until the Tang – Yuan period (see Tang 2001; Wang 2005; Yin 2009; Zhu 2013). Yet, to the best of our knowledge, only Ruhi and Kádár (2011) noted a significant pragmatic difference between contemporary and historical 'face' in Chinese in terms of 'face'-related expressions. As they argued, they found significantly more 'face'-related expressions in their historical data and many of these expressions are no longer used in modern Mandarin, i.e., "the Chinese emic variants of 'face' were used in a more diverse way in historical times than in contemporary interactions" (Ruhi & Kádár, 2011, p. 37).

The current research thus aims to this contested area and challenges the long-held assumption that Chinese 'face' is a homogeneous notion that can be used to explain any conversation in any dialect of Chinese in any period. By studying 'face'-related expressions in Minnan, I first question whether the *mian–lian* dualism and its lower-higher relationship apply

to Minnan, and whether 'face'-related expressions are interpretable to Mandarin speakers. Then, by conducting a historical contrastive pragmatic study of the use of Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera scripts, I examine whether any dialectal variation exists in Mandarin and the Minnan Dialect back to Ming – Qing period. I also keep an eye on whether there is any difference between the contemporary Mandarin and Minnan and Mandarin and Minnan back to Ming–Qing period as far as their use of 'face'-related expressions is concerned.

2.5. 'Face'-related Expressions

In this section, I first review relevant studies on 'face'-related expressions and then provide a working definition of 'face'-related expressions.

The notion of 'face' is a "body-based metaphor" for "individual qualities and/or abstract entities such as honour, respect, esteem, the self, etc.", which exists in various idiomatic expressions including face like "to lose face" (Watts, Ide & Ehlich, eds., 1992; Watts, 2003, p. 17, 124; Bargiela & Haugh, 2009). In various 'face'-relevant studies, a noteworthy fact is that the conceptualisation of 'face' and enquiries on 'face' phenomenon can hardly be separated from the discussion of idiomatic 'face'-related expressions, especially those including 'face'.

For example, Goffman and Brown and Levinson developed their academic concept of 'face' from English idiomatic expressions containing 'face' like "lose face", "save one's face", "give face" (Goffman, 1955, p. 215; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Nwoye (1992) discussed the notion of 'face' in Igbo by studying folk *iru*-related (face in Igbo) collocations "*ifele adiro ya na iru* – there is no shame on his face", "*iru oma* – good face", "*kedg iru n'gu eji fu ndi be anyj* – 'which face will I see our people with?'" etc. (p. 314-5). Ukosakul (2003) examined 171 Thai idioms including *naâ* (face). By analysing the use of such expressions like "*sĭa naâ* (lose face)" (p. 292), "*naâ năa* (thick face)" (p. 297), Ukosakul showed how honour and shame are related to 'face' and how they interact with each other. Haugh (2007) conceptualised Japanese 'face' through the analysis of *kao*, *menboku* and *taimen* (three lexemes of face in Japanese) and collocations including them like "*kao o tsubusu*, 'to crush someone's face'", "*kao ga kiku*, lit.

'one's face is effective' meaning someone is influential", "*kao ga kumoru*, lit. 'one's face is cloudy' meaning to look worried" (p. 662).

The same also applies to Chinese research. For instance, Lu (1934) interpreted the importance of Chinese 'face' based on the discussion of collocations like 丢臉 (lose *lian*), 不要臉 (no want *lian*, i.e., shameless), 要面子 (want *mian-zi*), 有面子 (have *mian-zi*) etc.; Hu (1944) generated the dual notion of *mian(-zi)* and *lian* from five *lian*-related collocations and 15 *mian-zi*-related expressions in Chinese (or more specifically, Mandarin); Mao (1994) referred to expressions like "to give *mian-zi*", "to lose *lian*" when differentiating Chinese concept of 'face' from Brown and Levinson's (p. 457-8). Such discussions of *mian-* and *lian-* related expressions are widely found in studies on Chinese 'face' (see e.g., Ho, 1976; Zhai, 1999; Yu, 2001; Haugh & Hinze, 2003; Zhai, 2004; Qi, 2011; Hinze, 2012; Zhou & Zhang, 2017).

By studying the metaphorical use of 'face' idioms, these studies reveal how the notion of 'face' varies in diverse linguacultural backgrounds. Yet, such studies also reflect a long-held stereotype that scholars often assume that expressions conventionally relevant to 'face' only include those idiomatic expressions involving 'face'. To the best of my knowledge, only Sifianou (2013) and Zhai (1999; 2021) have mentioned that 'face'-related expressions not only include idioms that contain 'face' components. Sifianou (2013, p. 4) noted that excepting for two lexemes of face "πρόσωπο (*prósopo*)" and "μούτρα (*mútra*)", another lexical term "μέτωπο (*métopo*) and its informal variant κούτελο (*kútelo*) 'forehead'" is also used in idiomatic 'face'-related expressions in Greek. Zhai (1999, p. 148; 2021, p. 39) marked that the notion of 'face' in Chinese can also be expressed by "*qì* 气" (air), "*guāng* 光" (light), "*chǒu* 丑" (ugly), "*rén* 人" (human), "*chǐ* 耻" (shame) and their related collocations. For example, "*zhēng qì* 争气" and "*zhēng guāng* 争光" are synonyms of "*zhēng liǎn* 争脸" (fight for and earn 'face'), the use of "*diū chǒu* 丢丑" and "*diū rén* 丢人" are similar to "*diū liǎn* 丢脸" (lose 'face') (Zhai, 1999, p. 148; 2021, p. 39).

However, such expressions are long ignored in 'face' research as their lack of linguistic components of face. With special attention to such expressions in this study, I look at my data with the cold eye of the linguist without assuming that Chinese 'face'-related expressions consist of the *mian–lian* dichotomy only, and even, idioms including 'face' only. Exactly

because of the existence of such expressions, I define 'face'-related expressions as linguistic expressions which indicate the constructive or destructive effects on one's 'face', instead of merely restricting them within the scope of those idiomatic collocations which include face.

3. Outline of Methodology and Data

The current thesis includes three parts aiming at three research questions presented in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 respectively. In this chapter, I only briefly outline the methodology and data used in these 3 chapters and focus on explaining and justifying the methodological choices and design and how they match each research question, leaving more detailed descriptions in every chapter after.

In this research project, I follow the ethical criteria of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Momentum (Lendület) Interactional Research Group. All the data has been ethically stored and all participants have been anonymised.

Chapter 4. 'Face'-related Expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese

This chapter aims to answer whether the dualism *lian* and *mian(-zi)* and their higher-lower-order relationship also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect. To investigate this research question, an overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions was needed. I thus decided to compile a small corpus consisting of uses of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. Compiling a corpus for this study was necessary because to the best of my knowledge, no systematic overview of 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect has ever been made. I categorised Minnan 'face'-related expressions with the aid of multiple data sources. The methods of collecting 'face'-related expressions involved 1) audio-recorded naturally occurring Minnan conversations, 2) examining online videos, 3) searching in Minnan dictionaries, 4) exploring in Minnan Folk literatures, 5) investigating Teochew Opera scripts, 6) conducting semi-structured interviews, and 7) collecting from a TV series.

The primary type of data I chose to collect was naturally occurring conversations as they reflect, to the greatest extent, the real-life use of the Minnan Dialect by the Minnan speakers. However, when only two related conversations were found in naturally occurring conversations, I further explored online videos. Although those videos were performed according to the pre-written scripts, they also reflected the actual language use in real-life. Yet, as merely two further

cases were noticed in the videos, I had to also consider the textual materials. Thus, Minnan dictionaries, Minnan folk literatures and Teochew Opera scripts were included at this stage. It is worthy mentioned here that for these textual materials, I read through the text and marked those 'face'-related expressions instead of searching *mian* and *lian* in the searching bar to avoid the pre-assumption that 'face'-related expressions only include idioms that contains *mian* and *lian*. To obtain as many as possible 'face'-related expressions in Minnan, I also conducted interviews to native Minnan speakers, asking for their knowledge of the use of 'face'-related collocations. Although this type of data cannot present the expressions in a real-time-happened dialogue, it tells us how the speakers perceive and use certain 'face' expressions in Minnan. After the above collections, as the cases collected from the conversational data were still very limited, I started trying to search TV programmes which contains Minnan 'face'-related expressions. After watching several TV series, I finally found one involving a rich inventory of 'face'-related expressions.

The whole collection process took 2 years and 8 months (2019.10 – 2022. 5) and I found 209 occurrences including 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions. As the collected expressions were from different data types, various sources and also diverse periods (see more in Chapter 4, Table 4.1), it was necessary to check whether the Minnan speakers had knowledge of the 'face'-related expressions I collected. I thus further conducted another round of semi-structured interviews of 9 local Minnan speakers to explore whether they could understand the expressions.

As a follow-up to this study, I also study Minnan expressions which are conventionally related to 'face' although they do not have 'face' components. Notwithstanding the importance of such expressions, they were long ignored in the previous research (see more in Chapter 2). The aim of this study was to investigate whether such expressions are conventionally related to 'face' from the emic perspective. The first and foremost issue in this inquiry thus was how to justify the 'face'-relatedness to these expressions. Following the bottom-up empirical take on language use, I designed a bipartite test. In this test, the participants were first asked to translate 4 Minnan expressions into Mandarin without any contextual information, and then were asked to translate them again within contexts. The rationale behind this test is: if a Minnan expression was translated into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions both without and within context, it indicated that the expression is conventionally 'face'-related; if a Minnan expression was only

interpreted as Mandarin 'face'-related collocations within context, it is not a conventional 'face'-related expression. Importantly, as an emic-oriented study, I let the participants themselves decide whether the Mandarin translations they provided were 'face'-related or not.

Chapter 5. Minnan Dialectal Expressions with no Mandarin Counterparts

Chapter 5 intends to investigate whether the dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are readily interpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects. To answer this question, I conducted a test to two groups of participants. One of them consists of speakers of Mandarin who were not fluent in Minnan, and the other was compromised of native Minnan speakers. The reason for involving two groups of informants was to explore whether there was any difference in the understandability of the Minnan 'face'-related expressions to speakers of diverse dialects of Chinese.

During the test, the participants were asked to provide alternative Mandarin collocations if they could find any. In this way, whether they could interpret the expressions was recognised. Following a bottom-up empirical take, the criteria for identifying whether a specific Minnan expression has counterpart or not were 1) whether the Mandarin participants could understand the expression or not and 2) whether the participants could provide alternative Mandarin expressions or only described the situation where they thought the expression should be used.

Such a test might very much like a 'translation test' since the informants were asked to *translate* the Minnan expressions into Mandarin collocations. While the translation-related issues are undoubtedly important in examining dialects of Chinese, in the current study I refrain from engaging into such issues as translation here was more like a means by which I decided whether the participants could understand the provided Minnan expressions and whether a particular Minnan expression has Mandarin counterpart or not (see more in Chapter 5, section 5.2).

Chapter 6. Chinese 'Face'-related Expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera Scripts – A Historical Contrastive Pragmatic Inquiry

Based on the results of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, in Chapter 6, I attempt to investigate whether the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan apply to Chinese historical data. To answer this question, two comparable corpora of the use of historical Mandarin and Minnan were needed. Unlike Mandarin, the existing materials of the use of historical Minnan are very limited. All I could find were the scripts of Teochew Opera, which were composed during Ming – Qing period. Thus, to guarantee the comparability of the two corpora, I chose Peking Opera scripts as the data source of historical Mandarin. The historical Mandarin corpus consisted of 19 Peking Opera scripts while the historical Minnan corpus contained 19 Teochew Opera scripts. Their composing time, themes, total characters were all comparable (see more in Chapter 6, section 6.2). Again, without assuming that 'face'-related expressions in these two corpora only involved collocations that contained *mian* or *lian*, I found out the 'face'-related expressions by reading through the text. The collected 'face'-related expressions were then categorised and analysed.

4. 'Face'-related Expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I start with the aim of providing an overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions and investigate the first research question – whether the dualism *lian* and *mian(-zi)* and their higher-lower-order relationship also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect. As precious chapters have argued, the assumption that 'face' is a 'pan-Chinese' notion is deeply rooted in research on Chinese language, emerging first in the seminal study of Hu (1944), who discussed that 'face' is manifested as *mian(-zi)* 面子 and *lian* 臉; the former *mian(-zi)* refers to someone's less important ('front') 'face' which can be safely threatened and lost, while *lian* refers to someone's more important ('back') 'face' which can never be threatened or lost without a major breakdown of an interpersonal relationship. This typology of 'face' is widely accepted by scholars to describe and compare different types of Chinese facework (see e.g. Mao, 1994; He & Zhang, 2011; Hinze, 2012; Zhou & Zhang, 2017; Kinnison, 2017; Li, 2020; Chen et al., 2021), and even appears in pragmatic research on facework in major dialects of Chinese such as Cantonese (King & Myers, 1977; Jin, 2006; Pan, 2011; Chan et al., 2018) and Minnan (Su, 2009; Chang & Haugh, 2011; Su & Lee, 2022). While *mian(-zi)* and *lian* in dichotomy are no doubt important, a key problem that has been ignored in previous research is that both *mian(-zi)* and *lian* are Mandarin expressions. The first part of this chapter aims to fulfil this gap by considering whether the most typical generally assumed characteristics of Chinese 'face' – the *mian(-zi)* and *lian* dichotomy, also apply to the Minnan Dialect. Since in previous research *lian* has been presented as a superordinate notion which, unlike *mian(-zi)*, must be preserved at any cost, in the current research I devote special attention to the question as to whether this higher-lower-order relationship between *lian* and *mian(-zi)* also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect.

As a follow-up of this study, I also examine Minnan 'face'-related expressions which do not include nominal 'face' expressions. In previous 'face' studies, scholars often invest their passion in 'face'-related idioms which explicitly include linguistically nominal expressions of

'face', for example, *mian*- and *lian*-related expressions (e.g., Hu, 1944; Ho, 1976; Mao, 1994; Qi, 2011; Hinze, 2012, Zhou & Zhang, 2017). They discuss and conceptualise the notion of 'face' on the basis of such expressions. Only very few studies notice those expressions, which, although do not contain nominal 'face' components, their use is conventionally 'face'-related (Zhai, 1999; Zhai, 2021a). During my collection of Minnan 'face'-related expressions, I received several Minnan expressions without 'face' components from the participants when they were asked to provide Minnan 'face'-related expressions (see more below). I thus conducted a test to further investigate the 'face'-relatedness of such expressions. By studying such expressions, I aim to challenge the long-hold stereotype that 'face'-related expressions obligatorily include nominal components of 'face'.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In Section 4.2, I present the study of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. In Section 4.3 I study Minnan 'face'-related expressions without nominal 'face' expressions. Both sections include three parts: an introduction of methodology and data, an analysis of the results and a summary. Lastly, in Section 4.4, I conclude the whole chapter.

4.2. 'Face'-related Expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese

In this section, I provide an overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions and investigate whether the higher-lower-order relationship between *lian* and *mian* also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect.

4.2.1. Methodology and Data

To investigate what are the 'face'-related expressions used in the Minnan Dialect, I compiled a small corpus consisting of uses of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. The compilation of Minnan dialectal 'face'-related expressions took place in various steps and experienced two periods.

In the first period (from October 2019 to October 2021), I included six types of data resources involving 1) audio-recorded naturally occurring Minnan conversations, 2) online videos, 3) Minnan dictionaries, 4) Minnan Folk literature, 5) Teochew Opera scripts and 6) semi-structured interviews. During this period, 108 cases including 62 Minnan 'face'-related expressions were found. This result became the basis of the first-stage test for the study which will be presented in Chapter 5[6]. The second period of collection happened in May 2022. In this period, I included a Minnan TV series and reviewed the previous data I obtained in the first period. Altogether, 101 cases of 17 further Minnan 'face'-related expressions were involved. In the following, I will explain my methodology and data obtained through the above-mentioned two collection periods. These 7 data types will be explained chronologically according to the time they were accessed.

Naturally Occurring Conversations

Firstly, as a native speaker of Minnan, I audio-recorded Minnan conversations in the Minnan area of Fujian province in China, including three cities: Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Longyan. The recording started in October 2019 and ended in August 2020. As the conversations expected to be recorded are communications naturally occurring in daily life, ethical problems stood at the front of the recording. To deal with the ethical issues, I decided to mainly include participants who are my family members, friends and acquaintances. Their consent was obtained before the beginning of the recording in October 2019, so that I had the rights to audio-recorded their conversations in the following 11 months anytime anywhere. In several conversations, consent for recording was also obtained before the conversations from some participants whose consent had not been gained in October 2019. Altogether, there were 138 participants in the audio-recordings including 70 males and 68 females between 5 and 81 years. I joined the conversations as a participant-observer audio-recording the conversations by using my mobile phone. In this way, I obtained 56 hours, 46 minutes, and 45 seconds of recording in

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[6] The result of these 62 'face'-related expressions together with the result of the first-stage test will be explained in Chapter 5, which has been published in a paper (Chen et al., 2022).

total. I then found out the 'face'-related expressions used within the recordings. Yet, in spite of the relatively large size of this data, it only included two conversations relevant to the current study. Online Videos

As the audio-recordings only provide 2 cases of 'face'-related expressions, I decided to complement the conversational data by studying a set of 224 mini-videos posted by the Minnan blogger *'Xiaosiren'* on the *Xigua Video* website (https://www.ixigua.com/home/58781598451/video/?preActiveKey=hotsoon&wid_try=1). This blogger belongs to a cultural communication company in Zhangzhou City, Fujian Province, China. The dialect presented in these videos is the Zhangzhou Minnan Dialect. All the videos were open to watch on the website but not downloadable. Each of the videos has 4.5 minutes on average and altogether about 27 hours of mini-videos were included in the current study. These 224 videos were posted during 2020.2.10 – 2021.3.1 and I accessed and watched them in March 2021. The themes of these videos are basically daily-life-relevant. I watched all these videos and found out the 'face'-related expressions they used within. In this set of mini-videos, there are again two longer conversations revolving around the notion of 'face'.

Dictionaries

Since the audio-recorded and video data were still rather limited, I then decided to include textual materials. I first explored three dictionaries:

1. *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan* (https://twblg.dict.edu.tw/),
2. *The Minnan Dialect Dictionary* (Zhou, 2006), and
3. *Homologous Dictionary of the Minnan Dialect and Ancient Chinese* (Lin, 1999).

The first one *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan* is an online dictionary of the Minnan Dialect. By searching for *mian* 面 (rather than *mian-zi* 面子), *lian* 臉 and *yan* 顏 in the search bar of the website (https://twblg.dict.edu.tw/), 19 *mian* and *lian*-related

expressions were collected including 20 occurrences and 15 cases of use. The term *yan* 顏 was only found in two uses in this dictionary, one was in the expression *hông gân* 紅顏 within which *yan* indicates the physical face; another was used as a family name. In other words, *yan* is not used as a reference to the abstract 'face', or one's honour.

The second and third dictionaries were more time-consuming as they were all in printed versions. I looked up the relevant expressions of *mian* 面, *lian* 臉 and *yan* 顏 again and found 2 *mian* and *lian*-related expressions without provided cases in the second dictionary, and 3 *mian*-related collocations with 3 cases of use in the third dictionary.

Folk Literature

Subsequently, I examined literary sources on the website (http://minhakka.ling.sinica.edu.tw/bkg/index.php), including:

    1. *Collection of Folk Literature in Taoyuan County*
    2. *Collection of Folk Literature in Taizhong County*

These two collections of folk literature were compiled by Hu Wanchuan and his team in Taiwan. Taoyuan and Taizhong were two counties of Taiwan where the Minnan Dialect was widely used. *Collection of Folk Literature in Taizhong County* was published during 1992 – 2002, including 26 relevant books of stories, ballads, proverbs and riddles of the Minnan Dialect. *Collection of Folk Literature in Taoyuan County* was published during 1999 – 2007, including 39 relevant books of Minnan literacy works. These stories, ballads, proverbs and riddles were collected by the researchers by visiting and interviewing the local inhabitants. They recorded and transcribed the interview and compiled the folk literary works into books. As they mentioned in the books, the content remained unmodified. The compilers only annotated the materials with the pronunciation and meaning of some characters and idiomatic terms. Altogether I found 45 relevant cases belonging to 20 *mian*-related expressions. Expressions of *lian* and *yan* were neither noticed in this set of data.

Teochew Opera Scripts

On the same website (http://minhakka.ling.sinica.edu.tw/bkg/index.php) where I found the folk literature, I also obtained five Teochew Opera scripts[7] written in the Minnan Dialect. These opera scripts involved two versions of *Lē kèng kì* 荔鏡記 (Tale of the Lychee Mirror) from the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and three other scripts *Tông Tshong Khîm Su Kì* 同窗琴書記, *Kim Hue Lú* 金花女 and *Soo Lak Niû* 蘇六娘 from the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). After reading through the scripts, I found 20 *mian*-related examples in the opera scripts, involving 36 cases of their use. Again, the use of *lian* is absent here. *Yan* on the other hand was found only used to refer to one's physical face.

Semi-structured Interviews

In addition to these data sources, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 9 local speakers of the Minnan Dialect (4 males and 5 females) who were born and residing in the Minnan area. 3 of them are between 20 and 30 years old, 2 of them are between 30 and 40 and 4 of them are between 40 and 50. These interviews were conducted between October 2020 and October 2021, and they were carried out through videophone calls. The informants were asked to provide information about Minnan 'face'-related expressions by answering the following questions:

1. Do you know any 'face'-related expressions in Minnan?
2. Where and how would you use these expressions?
3. Can you recall situations in which these expressions were used by others?

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[7] Teochew Opera is an important genre of Chinese operas, which is performed in the Teochew Dialect. The Teochew Dialect is a subdialect of the Minnan Dialect.

Through these interviews, I collected 27 'face'-related expressions including 27 cases of use described by the participants. Only *mian*-related expressions were mentioned during the interview.

TV Series

The results I obtained by the end of 2021 through the above-mentioned 6 data sources include altogether 62 Minnan 'face'-related expressions involving 108 cases (details can be found in Chen et al., 2022). As the conversational data was relatively small, I subsequently found a Minnan TV series in May 2022, which is in the Taiwanese Minnan Dialect and contains a rich inventory of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. The TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* 天下父母心 (My Family My Love) was released in 2009 and describes the stories that happened between several families. It has 311 episodes with 135 minutes of each episode on average. Due to the time limitation, I only investigate 1–16 episodes including about 28.6 hours in total in this study. By watching through these 16 episodes, I obtained 72 cases belonging to 19 *mian*-related expressions. *Lian-* and *yan*-related expressions were again absent.

The following Table 4.1 summarises the result of the data collection in the current research.

Method	Data	Information	Source	Time	Occurrences	Cases
Audio-recording	Naturally occurring conversations	Participants: 70 males, 68 females (oldest 81, youngest 5)	Minnan area	Duration 2019.10 - 2020.8 Total time: nearly 56.8 hours	2	2
Searching in the online videos	Online videos	Posted by Minnan blogger *Xiaosiren*	Xigua Video https://www.ixigua.com/home/58781598451/video/?preActiveKey=hotsoon&wid_try=1	Duration: 2020.2.10 - 2021.3.1 Number of videos: 224 (4.5 mins per video on average)	2	2

				Total time: about 17 hours		
Investigating in the Textual materials	Dictionaries	*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*	https://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html	Accessed in October 2021 (Published in 2011)	25	18
		The Minnan Dialect Dictionary	Dictionaries[8]	Published in 2006		
		Homologous Dictionary of the Minnan Dialect and Ancient Chinese		Published in 1999		
	Folk literature	*Collection of Folk Literature in Taoyuan County (Min)* (1 volume of Minnan folk stories and 3 volumes of Minnan folk songs and ballads)	Min and Hakka Language Archives http://minhakka.ling.sinica.edu.tw/bkg/index.php	Published during 1990s-2000s	45	45
		Collection of Folk Literature in Taizhong County (Min) (15 volumes of Minnan folk stories and 9 volumes of Minnan folk songs and ballads)				
	Teochew Opera script	*Lē Kèng Kì* 荔鏡記 (also *Tân Sann Gōo Niû* 陳三五娘) (Tale of the Lychee Mirror)		Jiajing Period (1522-1566)	36	36
		Lē Kèng Kì 荔鏡記 (also *Tân Sann Gōo*		Wanli Period		

		Niû 陳三五娘) (Tale of the Lychee Mirror)		(1573-1620)		
		Tông Tshong Khîm Su Kì 同窗琴書記		Qing dynasty (1636-1912)		
		Kim Hue Lú 金花女				
		Soo Lak Niû 蘇六娘				
Interview	Semi-structured interview	Interviewees: 4 males, 5 females	Minnan Dialect speakers	Duration 2020.10 - 2021.10	27	27
Searching in the TV serious	Taiwanese Minnan TV serious	*Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* 天下父母心 *(My Family My Love)*	Youtube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GD4T-cXU3XQ&list=PLeQ6AuV1vaAi32YTlVYoTWZy9j_aBAlaP&index=2	Episode 1-16 Total time: about 28.6 hours	72	72
Total					209	202

Table 4.1: Summary of the data collection in the first part of the research

The first column of Table 4.1 explains the methods I used for different kinds of data. The second column displays the name of the types of data. The third column provides detailed information on each set of data. The fourth column offers where these data were obtained from. The fifth column indicates the time and duration details. As some of the expressions collected in the dictionaries including example sentences while some others just occurred as noun entries, I specifically indicated the occurrences and cases of use in the last two columns in the table respectively. Thus, the sixth column gives the total number of the occurrence of 'face'-related expressions, and the seventh column summarises the number of cases in use in different kinds of data. Altogether there were 209 occurrences and 202 cases of *mian/lian* in my various data types, consisting of 80 different 'face'-related expressions (i.e., many expressions occurred more than just one time). *Yan* was only found in these 7 types of data as a reference of the physical face. These 80 expressions consisted of both Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' and 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun polysyllabic structures.

Follow-up Semi-structured Interviews

As a follow-up to this result, I conducted two other semi-structured interviews in October 2021 and June 2022 with the same 9 informants, who were also the participants of the previous semi-structured interviews, i.e., the informants who were asked to provide 'face'-related expressions. The aim of this second round of interviews was to check whether the Minnan-speaking informants could understand these 80 'face'-related expressions which I identified in my various data types, including historical materials. All these expressions were interpretable for our informants, although some of them mentioned that five 'face'-related expressions from the opera scripts, one expression from the Taiwan folk literature corpus and one expression from the dictionaries are not parts of colloquial Minnan.

4.2.2. Results

The result of my collection of Minnan 'face'-related expressions is shown in Table 4.2 below. The first column of Table 4.2 presents core Minnan dialectal 'face' expressions, i.e., nominal 'face'-related expressions not collocating with a verb, an adjective or a pronoun[9]. The second column features collocations where these nominal expressions collocate with verbs, adjectives or pronouns occurring either before or after the nominal form; I refer to such collocations as 'Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + face' of the 'face'-related expressions studied. The third column lists the meanings of these various Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + expressions. The fourth column indicates the total number of occurrences of each specific 'face'-related expression and the fifth column summarises how many cases of use were found for each 'face'-related collocation. Finally, the sixth column displays the total number of various verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating expressions belonging to a particular core 'face' expression.

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[9] Some core 'face' expressions consist of *mian* and another meaningful character, like *thâu-bīn* 頭面 ('head-*mian*'), but such expressions as a whole refer to the abstract notion of 'face'.

Core 'face' expressions	Core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun/ Verb/Adjective/Pronoun. + Core expression	Meaning	Occurr ences	Cases of use	Number of expressions
bīn 面	*ū (hit ê) bīn* 有(彼個)面	have (that) *mian*	3	3	19
	bô bīn 無面	have no *mian*	2	2	
	(ū) mí bīn (有)乜面	(have) what *mian*	2	2	
	huán bīn 反面	turn one's *mian* against someone	10	10	
	sé bīn 洗面	wash *mian* (let someone lose face)	2	2	
	sióng bīn 賞面	give *mian*	1	1	
	thé...bīn 體...面	consider one's *mian* (for someone's sake)	1	1	
	khuànn (tsāi)...bīn (siōng) 看(在)...面(上)	look at one's *mian* (for someone's sake)	2	2	
	(khí) pìnn bīn/bīn tio̍h pìnn (起)變面/面著變	changing *mian* (arises) /*mian* changes	24	24	
	thiah phuà bīn 拆破面	take apart and break *mian*	1	1	
	liah phuà bīn 裂破面	crack and break *mian*	1	0	
	bīn poh theh toh khì 面卜提佗去	where one can take one's *mian* to	1	1	
	bīn poh kheh toh khì 面卜挈佗去	where one can take one's *mian* to	1	1	
	bīn (m̄ tsai) poh giah toh khì 面(毋知)卜攑佗去	(don't know) where one can take one's *mian* to	2	2	
	bīn bô tshú pang 面無處放	no place to put the *mian*	1	1	
	bīn bô tshú pái 面無處擺	no place to put the *mian*	1	1	
	bīn hōo...siak tshuì 面予...摔碎	*mian* is smashed by someone (because of someone)	1	1	
	(khí) phuì bīn (起)呸面	angry *mian* (arise)	2	2	
	suí-bīn 媠面	beautiful *mian* (having *mian*)	1	1	
bīn-tsú 面子	*ū bīn-tsú* 有面子	have *mian-zi*	10	10	16
	bô bīn-tsú 無面子	have no *mian-zi*	31	30	
	ài bīn-tsú 愛面子	love *mian-zi* (be sensitive to face)	6	5	
	kòo (...) bīn-tsú 顧(...)面子	consider (one's) *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	2	2	
	hāi...bīn-tsú 害...面子	damage/hurt one's *mian-zi*	1	1	
	siah...bīn-tsú 削...面子	pare one's *mian-zi*	1	1	
	tsò bīn-tsú 做面子	make *mian-zi* (give face)	1	1	

	hōo... (tsit ê/tiám) bīn-tsú 予...(一個/點)面子	give (a/some) *mian-zi*	4	4	
	sit (kàu)...bīn-tsú 失(到...)面子	lose (one's) *mian-zi*	7	6	
	lâu (tsit sut á) bīn-tsú 留(一屑仔)面子	save (some) *mian-zi*	1	1	
	sià bīn-tsú/ bīn-tsú hōo…sià liáu 卸面子/面子予...卸了	unload *mian-zi* / *mian-zi* is unloaded by someone (lose face/ face is lost because of someone)	3	2	
	khuànn (tsāi)...bīn-tsú (siōng) 看(在)...面子(上)	look at one's *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	9	9	
	tài liām...bīn-tsú 帶念...面子	bring and consider one's *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	3	3	
	bīn-tsú tsáu lòh tē 面子走落地	*mian-zi* run down to the ground	1	1	
	bīn-tsú poh theh toh khì 面子卜提佗去	where one can take one's *mian-zi* to	1	1	
	bīn-tsú poh khng leh toh khì/bīn-tsú poh theh leh toh khng 面子卜囥咧佗去/面子卜提咧佗囥	where one can hide one's *mian-zi* to/where one can take one's *mian-zi* to hide	2	2	
bīn-á 面兒	*tài...bīn-á* 帶…面兒	bring one's *mian-er* (for someone's sake)	1	1	2
	khuànn...bīn-á 看...面兒	look at one's *mian-er* (for someone's sake)	1	1	
bīn-phuê 面皮	*sià bīn-phuê* 卸面皮	unload the skin of *mian* (lose face)	1	1	21
	lì bīn-phuê 剺面皮	rip the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	hian bīn-phuê 掀面皮	lift the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	tsò bīn-phuê 做面皮	make the skin of *mian* (give face)	1	1	
	sioh bīn-phuê 惜面皮	cherish the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	kòo bīn-phuê 顧面皮	consider one's the skin of *mian* (for someone's sake)	2	2	
	thó bīn-phuê 討面皮	beg/ask for the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	tsûn...bīn-phuê 存 … 面皮	store one's skin of *mian*	2	2	
	tài...bīn-phuê 帶…面皮	bring one's the skin of *mian*	3	3	
	thé…bīn-phuê 體…面皮	consider one's the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	hōo tsit bīn-phuê 予一面皮	give a skin of *mian*	1	1	
	bô bīn bô phuê 無面無皮	have no skin of *mian*	1	1	

	phah phuà bīn-phuê 拍破面皮	hit and break the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	peh phuà bīn-phuê 擘破面皮	pull apart and break the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	loh tsīn bīn-phuê 落盡面皮	the skin of *mian* is completely dropped (lose face)	1	1	
	bīn-phuê bok pang pìnn 面皮莫放變	don't release and change the skin of *mian* (ignore face)	1	1	
	bīn-phuê bok pàng tiāu 面皮莫放掉	don't release the skin of *mian*	1	1	
	bīn-phuê bô tshú hā 面皮無處下	no place for the skin of *mian* to descend	1	1	
	bīn-phuê nā liap póo ē bô lâng siu 面皮若攝脯會無人收	nobody will be able to collect the skin of *mian* back if it is shrunk and dried	1	1	
	kāu bīn-phuê/bīn-phuê kāu 厚面皮/面皮厚	thick skin of *mian*	11	11	
	bīn-phuê poh 面皮薄	thin skin of *mian*	1	1	
bīn-té-phuê 面底皮	*sioh bīn-té-phuê* 惜面底皮	cherish the deep skin of *mian*	1	0	2
	bīn-té-phuê leh thôo kha tshè 面底皮咧塗跤擦	the deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground	1	1	
thé-bīn 體面	*ū thé-bīn* 有體面	have body-*mian*	2	2	5
	bô thé-bīn/ thé-bīn bô 無體面/體面無	have no body-*mian*	3	3	
	sit thé-bīn 失體面	lose body-*mian*	1	1	
	kòo thé-bīn 顧體面	consider one's body-*mian* (for one's sake)	1	1	
	tsò thé-bīn 做體面	make body-*mian* (give face)	1	1	
thâu-bīn 頭面	*ū thâu (ū) bīn* 有頭(有)面	have head-*mian*	3	3	4
	bô thâu bô bīn 無頭無面	have no head-*mian*	1	1	
	loh tsīn thâu-bīn 落盡頭面	head-*mian* is completely dropped	1	1	
	siu/jiok/bông thâu jiok bīn 羞/辱頭辱面	humiliate head-*mian*	2	2	
bīn-bok 面目	*ū bīn-bok* 有面目	have *mian*-eye	1	1	3
	(ū) mí bīn-bok (有)乜面目	(have) what *mian*-eye	1	1	
	pîn…bīn-bok 憑...面目	rely on one's *mian*-eye	1	1	
bīn-lián 面臉	*sé bīn-lián* 洗面臉	wash *mian*-cheek (let someone lose face)	2	2	2
	sit bīn-lián 失面臉	lose *mian*-cheek	1	1	

bīn-tsuí 面水	*khuànn...bīn-tsuí* 看...面水	look at one's *mian*-water (for one's sake)	1	1	1
tsîng-bīn 情面	*bô tsîng-bīn* 無情面	have no affection-*mian* (ignore and not give someone face)	1	1	4
	lâu (tsı̍t tiám á) tsîng-bīn 留(一點仔)情面	save (some) affection-*mian*	1	1	
	bô kòo tsîng-bīn 無顧情面	not consider affection-*mian*	1	1	
	khuànn...tsîng-bīn 看...情面	look at one's affection-*mian* (for someone's sake)	1	1	
lián 臉	*lak-lián* 落臉	drop *lian* (lose face)	2	1	1
Total			209	202	80

Table 4.2: Summary of results

As Table 4.2 shows, 80 'face'-related collocations belong to altogether 12 core 'face' expressions, including both Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' and 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun occurrences. A surprising outcome has been that *lián* 臉 (*lian*, i.e., 'face') is remarkedly underrepresented in the data, while *mian*-related expressions occur to be heavily dominant: altogether 11 *mian*-related core expressions of 'face' were identified, including *bīn* 面 (*mian*), *bīn-á* 面兒 (*mian-er*), *bīn-tsú* 面子 (*mian-zi*), *bīn-phuê* 面皮 (the skin of *mian*), *bīn-té-phuê* 面底皮 (the deep skin of *mian*), *thâu-bīn* 頭面 (head-*mian*), *thé-bīn* 體面 (body-*mian*), *bīn-bo̍k* 面目 (*mian*-eye), *tsîng-bīn* 情面 (affection-*mian*), *bīn-lián* 面臉 (*mian*-cheek) and *bīn-tsuí* 面水 (*mian*-water), involved 79 verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating forms.

Among the collected 80 'face'-related expressions, the most frequently-used collocation is *bô bīn-tsú* 無面子 (have no *mian-zi*) involving 31 occurrences, which is followed by *(khí) pìnn bīn/bīn tio̍h pìnn* (起)變面/面著變 (changing *mian* arises/*mian* changes) appearing 24 times. Three expressions also appeared more frequently than others as they all have more than 10 occurrences, including *huán bīn* 反面 (turn one's *mian* against someone), *ū bīn-tsú* 有面子 (have *mian-zi*) and *kāu bīn-phuê/bīn-phuê kāu* 厚面皮/面皮厚 (thick skin of *mian*). The other expressions all occurred less than 10 times. 51 of them only have one occurrence, which indicates that they are less used than other expressions in the collected data. In the following, I interpret the outcomes of this study.

4.2.2.1. Lian in the Minnan Dialect

As mentioned above, previous research has argued that in Mandarin both *lian* and *mian* are in a pragmatic symbiosis, i.e., *lian* describes someone's more important or 'back/heavy' 'face', while *mian(-zi)* describes someone's less important or 'front/light' 'face' which can be lost and sacrificed. The results displayed in Table 4.2 clearly do not confirm such previous research. In Minnan, *lian* only collocates with a single verb *lak* 落 (drop) in the expression *lak lián* 落臉 (drop *lian*). The following example illustrates the use of this expression:

(1)

今仔日真落臉。

What a *lian*-dropping (face-losing) today.

— *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*

The infrequency of such examples in my data clearly indicates that *lian* is not a pragmatically important expression in the Minnan Dialect, even though its meaning seemed to be clear to the Minnan-speaking subjects. The emphasis here is on 'seemed to be' because the Minnan speakers argued that they have never encountered *lak lián*, and they related this expression to two different Mandarin collocations. One is *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*), i.e. as a loss of 'important' face, and the other is *méi miàn-zi* 没面子 (have no *mian-zi*), i.e. as a loss of 'less-important' face.

As Table 4.2 shows, along with the Verb-*lian* form *lak lián*, the only other Minnan expression including *lian* is *bīn-lián* 面臉 (*mian*-cheek), i.e. a polysyllabic nominal 'face'-related expression which includes both *mian* and *lian*. According to the data, *bīn-lián* collocates with two verbs *sé* 洗 (wash) and *sit* 失 (lose). The following extract from our audio-recorded data illustrates the use of *sé bīn-lián* 洗面臉 (wash *mian*-cheek):

(2)

A: 伊这久拢莫来揣我咧。

B: 你都共伊<u>洗面臉</u>啦，还想欲伊来揣你。

A: He does not contact me recently.

B: You've <u>washed his *mian*-cheek (let him lose 'face')</u>, and you're still expecting him to come to you again.

— Naturally occurring conversations

This conversation took place between two female friends. 'He' in the dialogue is a young man who had confessed his love to A in public and A turned him down. The conversation above occurred a week after the incident when A complained to her friend B that the young man did not contact her ever after. In turn, B told A that she had made the young man 'lose his face' in public, implying that he would not want to see A again after this 'face' loss. Another expression of *bīn-lián* 面臉 is *sit bīn-lián* 失面臉 (lose *mian*-cheek). This expression was provided by a Minnan informant during the semi-structured interview aiming at collecting Minnan 'face'-related expressions. As she recalled, she had witnessed this expression being used in a situation where a child cheated in an exam, and his parents were invited to school because of that. When facing the teachers' blaming, the parents were so angry and ashamed that the mother accused the child of letting them *sit bīn-lián*, i.e., let them lose their 'face'. While such examples may suggest that *lian* maybe after all an important expression in Minnan, one needs to bear in mind that *lian* in these collocations concurs with *mian* instead of appearing alone. In my interviews with the Minnan speakers aiming to check whether they had knowledge of the collected Minnan 'face'-related expressions, all the Minnan speakers reflected that *lián* 臉 in *sé bīn-lián* and *sit bīn-lián* refers to 'cheek' rather than 'face', i.e., it might be the *bīn* (*mian*) component in this collocation which describes 'face'. This is exactly why I marked this nominal expression *bīn-lián* 面臉 of 'face' as *mian*-**cheek** rather than *mian-lian*, and categorised it as a *mian*-related one.

It is worthy to mention here that the informants' interpretation of *lián* as 'cheek' was in accord with its recorded archaic meaning in Chinese back to Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD). As discussed in previous Chapter 2, *mian(-zi)* is the first-appeared nominal expression of face in Chinese classic texts chasing back to the 3rd century BC referring to both physical face and

one's honour (*Ciyuan*, 1983, p. 1829 in Kádár & Pan, 2012). While *lian* gained its extra connotation of 'honour' until Tang-Song Period (618 – 1279) which leaded to a bifurcation of the notion of 'face' (Hu, 1944; Kádár & Pan, 2012; Zhou, 2015). In some explorations of the history of *mian* and *lian* (Yin, 2009; Zhu, 2013), the evidence even indicates that *lian* finally gain its position as a representation of face as late as in Late Qing Period (1840 – 1912), when it was found replacing *mian* in some face-related expressions, for example: '*miàn pí* 面皮' (the skin of *mian*) – '*liǎn pí* 脸皮' (the skin of *lian*), '*xǐ miàn* 洗面' (wash *mian*) – '*xǐ liǎn* 洗臉' (wash *lian*) in the literary works in this period. Subsequently, *lian* won the predominance in most of the northern dialects of Chinese while *mian* remained its leading position in southern Chinese dialects like the Wu Dialect (Yin, 2009; Zhu, 2013). In the previous introduction of the history of the Minnan Dialect in Chapter 2, the formation of this language achieved its maturity mainly in Song Period (960 – 1279). As the investigation of the history of the use of *mian* and *lian* as well as the development of the Minnan Dialect was beyond the scope of the current research, it is not entirely clear whether the formation of Minnan was before or after the rise of *lian* as a nominal expression of both physical face and honour. Yet, the conservational use of *lian* as 'cheek' and the lack of its meaning as 'face' or 'honour' in the Minnan Dialect might inevitably imply that the Minnan Dialect seems to long get rid of the influence of the development of *lian* and remain *lian*'s archaic meaning and use as 'cheek'. This is especially true in the Minnan area where the informants in the current study come from.

In sum, as far as the importance of *lian* is concerned, Minnan is very different from Mandarin. I do not claim here that *lian* as a 'face' expression does not exist at all in Minnan, considering that two Minnan dictionaries I examined in the current research include this expression. While studying diachronically and regionally variational use of *lian* is beyond the scope of this study, the appearance of the expression *lak lián* 落臉 ('drop *lian*') implies that *lian* has been gaining importance in some of the Minnan Dialect-speaking areas. I would argue at this stage of my research that *lian* is definitely *less* important than *mian* in Minnan: the fact that only 1 *lian*-related expression occurred among the 80 'face'-related expressions in my corpora, and also that all the Minnan-speaking respondents in my study did not encounter this expression shows that *lian* is not a frequently-used Minnan expression.

4.2.2.2. The Singularity Mian in Minnan

As discussed above, among 12 nominal 'face'-related expressions, 11 of them are *mian*-related and only one is *lian*-related. As the only *lian*-related expression *lak lián* 落臉 ('drop *lian*') was not found in other data types except dictionaries and was unrecognised by the participants in the current research, this expression was identified as underrepresented in the Minnan Dialect. Thus, based on the data collected in this study, I conclude here that the archetypal *lian–mian* distinction does not hold for Minnan because Minnan 'face'-related expressions are heavily centred on *bīn* (*miàn* in Mandarin). In other words, the Minnan Dialect has no *mian-lian* distinction but merely a singular *mian*. I summarise the result in the following Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: 'Face' in Minnan

In the following, I provide examples[10] to illustrate the use of *mian*-expressions in the Minnan Dialect.

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[10] As the TV series used in this thesis includes Mandarin subtitles, it is necessary to note here that all the TV examples presented in this thesis are my transcriptions of the actor's lines in the Minnan Dialect instead of their Mandarin subtitles displayed in the TV series.

(3)

蔡有慧：大嫂，你莫亂啦。渣某人冤家袂輸潑婦咧罵街，足歹看欸。而且你要是真正按尼做，我一定去予曉菁笑，這款代誌閣愛厝里人替我出面，足<u>無面子</u>的。

林如玉：一世人的幸福佮無值錢的面子是佗一個較重要？

Cai Youhui: Sister-in-law, don't mess around. Quarrelling between women is no better than vulgar bickering on the streets, and it is unbecoming. Moreover, if you really do this, I will definitely be laughed at by Xiaojing. I would really <u>have no *mian-zi*</u> ('face') if I needed my family members to solve such matters for me.

Lin Ruyu: Which is more important, a lifetime of happiness or a worthless *mian-zi* ('face')?

— *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 3

In example (3), Cai Youhui's boyfriend Wenlong's ex-girlfriend Xiaojing comes back to him. Cai Youhui is worrying about this and discussing it with her family members. Hearing this, Cai Youhui's sister-in-law Lin Ruyu is very angry and wants to find Xiaoqing and persuade her to leave Wenlong. Yet, Cai Youhui stops her because as an adult, if she still needs her family members to help her solve such matters, she will be *mian-zi*-losing.

(4)

蔡縣長的夫人：我咧想講喔，這蕾蕾無爸爸咧，歸氣我來佮招弟講，講叫伊予你做蕾蕾的主婚人，按尼蕾蕾嘛較<u>有面子</u>，你感覺按怎？

County Magistrate Cai's wife: I am thinking that Leilei does not have a father, so why don't I talk to Zhaodi that you can become Leilei's wedding master so that Leilei will <u>have more *mian-zi*</u> ('face')? What do you think?

— *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 16

In example (4), County Magistrate Cai's wife advises her husband to become Leilei's wedding master because Leilei does not have father at her wedding and indicates that having a County Magistrate as her wedding master, Leilei would have more 'face' in front of others.

In both the above cases, *mian*-expression *mian-zi* is used by the speakers referring to one's 'front/light' unimportant 'face', i.e., the loss of such 'face' will not lead to severe consequences to the owner, just like Lin Ruyu in example (3) says that '*mian-zi*' is a 'cheap' 'face'. This is similar to how *mian*-expressions are used in Mandarin. Yet, in my Minnan corpus, I also found *mian*-expressions were widely used in 'back/heavy face'-related situations, as the following examples show:

(5)

> 江朝全：... 其實伊（蔡茂松）是一個專門欺騙查某人感情的大騙子。上可怕的是，這二十幾年來，閣假作愛某愛家，演啊足好的。攏無顧著外口可憐女性，去予伊欺騙，去予伊放揀。恁講看，這款人敢有資格做縣長？... 蔡縣長，你敢欲閣按尼欺騙社會？你敢<u>有彼個面</u>，要繼續連任？

> Jiang Chaoquan: ... In fact, he (Cai Maosong) is a big liar who specializes in deceiving women's feelings. Most frightening of all, for the past twenty years or so, he has been pretending to love his wife and family, acting exceptionally well. He completely disregards the pitiful women outside who are deceived and abandoned by him. Tell me, how can such a person qualify as a county magistrate? County Magistrate Cai, do you want to continue to deceive society like this? Do you still <u>have that *mian* ('face')</u> to continue to be re-elected as the county magistrate?

> — *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 5

As example (5) describes, in a county magistrate election, Jiang Chaoquan stands out and accuses that the current county magistrate Cai Maosong had mistresses outside of the family and he even deceived and abandoned them. Jiang Chao states that such a person shall not have *mian* ('face') to be re-elected as a county magistrate.

(6)

> 縣長秘書：志輝親嘴說，伊這馬有一個真好的女朋友，是安怎對你嘴講出，就變作是過去的？

志輝媽媽：對啦，蕾蕾佮阮志輝啊，真正是從細作伙大漢的朋友爾 ... 我咒誓，阮志輝真正無交過女朋友啦。...

蔡茂松：你還在講白賊！你佮阮掩崁在先喔，硬要志輝佮有美去相親 ... 這明明是你這個做老母的看高無看低 ... 你按尼毋但傷害到蕾蕾，你嘛害有美付出感情。啊代誌攏白了，你還欲辯。

志輝媽媽：我……

志輝爸爸：美雲（志輝媽媽）啊，縣長按尼講嘛是有道理，咱毋著在先，你就莫遮爾堅持啦。這事情予咱志輝去處理就好啦。

志輝媽媽：好啦，啊感情的代誌以後閣講啦。是講茂松啊，假使講你吶認為喔，所有的代誌攏是我毋對，你嘛毋通喔對志輝無信任，啊後後屆縣長喔，你嘛是希望阮志輝啊……

志輝爸爸：好啦美雲啊！莫閣講了啊！加講加卸面子啦！

County Magistrate's secretary: Zhihui himself said that he has a very good girlfriend now. How come it becomes a thing of the past when you say it?

Zhihui's mother: Yes, Leilei and our Zhihui have been really friends since childhood... I swear, our Zhihui really never had a girlfriend. ...

Cai Maosong: You are still lying! You lied to us first and forced Zhihui to go on a blind date with Youmei. ... This is obviously because you, a mother, only care about whether one has higher or lower social status ... You not only hurt Leilei but also cause Youmei to invest emotions. Now that everything has been exposed, you are still quibbling.

Zhihui's mother: I...

Zhihui's father: Meiyun (Zhihui's mother), the county magistrate is right to say that. It was our fault before, so you should stop insisting. Let Zhihui handle these matters by himself.

Zhihui's mother: Okay, let's talk about feelings later. But Maosong, you just treat everything as my fault, don't distrust Zhihui. And for the next County Magistrate, you also hope that our Zhihui...

Zhihui's father: All right Meiyun! Stop talking! The more you say, the more *mian-zi* unloads ('face' lose)!

In example (6), Zhihui's mother lied to the county magistrate and his daughter Youmei that Zhihui did not have a girlfriend and also arranged a date for Zhihui and Youmei. After things were all exposed, Zhihui's mother runs to the county magistrate Cai Maosong's office and tries to twist the truth. But Cai Maosong sees through her lies. Finding that it is impossible to cover her previous lies, Zhihui's mother then turns to attribute all the faults to herself and even tried to get the county magistrate to help Zhihui run for the county magistrate in the future. Hearing this, Zhihui's father cannot help himself stopping her anymore and denotes that what they have done is already extremely ashamed and 'face'-losing. If she says more, they will lose more of their *mian-zi* and it might even be completely 'unloaded'.

In examples (5) and (6), the *mian*-related expressions *mian* and *mian-zi* refer to irreversible 'face'-losses, i.e., the loss of one's 'back/heavy' important 'face'. The loss of such 'face' is irretrievable. This finding denotes that *mian* in Minnan can not only refer to one's 'front/light' unimportant 'face' like *mian* in Mandarin can do, it can also refer to the 'back/heavy' important 'face' as *lian* in Mandarin does. It is worth noting that, similar to what one can observe in Mandarin, *mian* also describes physical face in Minnan texts, as the following examples show:

(7)

人呆看面就知。

One's intelligence can be realised by is revealed by looking at their *mian* (face).

— *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 6

4.2.3. Summary

To sum up, my Minnan corpus pointed to the following similarities and differences between 'face'-related expressions in these two dialects of Chinese in terms of their core 'face'-related expressions:

- The Mandarin *lian–mian* duality does not applicable in Minnan, as Minnan 'face'-related expressions highly centred in *mian*, while *lian* is underrepresented with merely a single case, i.e., there is only a singularity of *mian* in Minnan.

- While in Mandarin *mian* is believed to describe one's 'front/light' unimportant 'face', *mian* in Minnan refers to both the 'front/light' unimportant 'face' and the 'back/heavy' important 'face', i.e., the higher-lower-relationship between *lian* and *mian* in Mandarin does not exist in Minnan.

- Like Mandarin, *mian* in Minnan can refer to the physical face as well.

I summarise the outcomes in the following Figure 4.2:
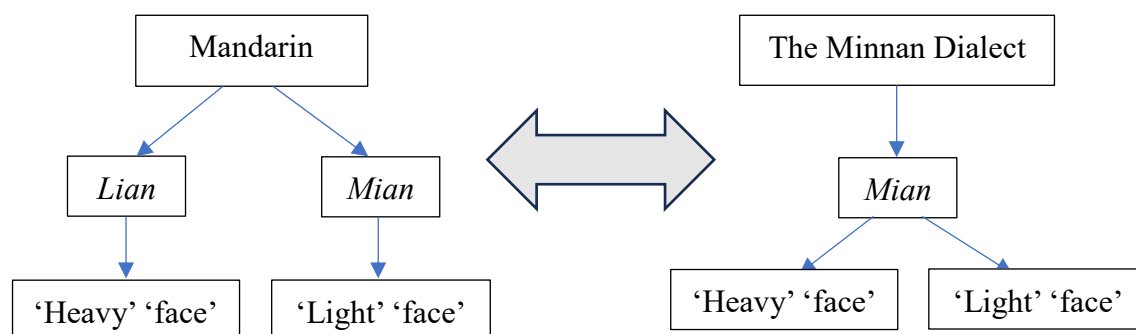
Figure 4.2: Main differences between core 'face' expressions in Mandarin and Minnan

In next section, I examine 4 Minnan 'face'-related expressions which do not contain face nominal component.

4.3. Minnan 'Face'-related Expressions Without 'Face' Nominal Component

As the previous section has shown, there are 80 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect. These expressions have a distinctive feature, i.e., they all include a nominal expression of 'face', i.e., they explicitly contain at least a Chinese character referring to face like *mian* or *lian*. However, expressions like *kiàn siàu* 見笑 and *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑 were also pointed out by the informants during the interviews when they were asked to provide Minnan 'face'-related

expressions. These expressions, however, do not include any nominal component of 'face' in their linguistic forms. To further investigate the 'face'-relatedness of this kind of expression, I conducted a study to examine such expressions. The aim of this study is to explore whether the relatedness of such expressions to 'face' is recognisable by Minnan speakers in their pragmatic use.

4.3.1. Methodology and Data

The data used in this study were collected as follows. Firstly, I identified 4 expressions in the Minnan TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim*. They were *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑, *kiàn siàu* 見笑, *làu khuì* 落氣, and *pháinn sè* 歹勢. These expressions were translated into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions by the translators of the Mandarin subtitled programme even though they do not include the expression of 'face'.

To investigate the 'face'-relatedness of these 4 Minnan expressions, I conducted a bipartite test. This bipartite design was to explore whether the relatedness of such expressions to 'face' can be recognised by the Minnan-Mandarin bilingual speakers when these expressions were provided without contexts on the one hand, and within the actual contexts on the other hand. The test was conducted through online video calls on 19th November 2022. There were 5 informants involved in the test, marked as P1, P2, P3, P4 and P5 in the following text. P1 (30 years old), P2 (56 years old), P4 (50 years old) and P5 (29 years old) are female, while P3 (53 years old) is male. The participants included in this research are all native speakers of Minnan, who live and work in a Minnan-speaking area. Their occupations are all teachers, thus they can be defined as proficient bilinguals of Minnan and Mandarin[11]. During the test, the participants were tested one by one and had no chance to know the content before the test. The duration of this bipartite test was about 30 minutes for each participant and the whole process was audio-recorded with their consent. The bipartite test was conducted as follows:

1. In the first part, the participants were provided with 4 Minnan expressions *bē kiàn siàu* 袂

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[11] In China, proficiency in Mandarin is a compulsory requirement to become a teacher.

見笑, *kiàn siàu* 見笑, *làu khuì* 落氣, and *pháinn sè* 歹勢, and were asked to translate[12] them into Mandarin directly.

2. In the second part, which was immediately after the first step, the participants were provided with the same 4 Minnan expressions with the same actual contexts of these expressions. They were asked to translate these expressions into Mandarin again. If their Mandarin translations were different from that in the TV subtitles, they were subsequently asked to assess whether the Mandarin translation presented in the TV subtitles of a specific expression was appropriate in that context or not. Also, they were asked to explain why they provided different translations in Step 1 and Step 2 if there were any.

In the first phase of this test, the speakers had no way of knowing the context of these expressions. By doing this, I aimed to examine whether the bilinguals were able to recognise the relationship between 'face' and these expressions when they appear alone out of context. In the second phase, my goal was to see whether the participants would provide different Mandarin translations if they were made aware of the context of these expressions. The contexts provided to the informants in the second step were dialogues extracted from the above-mentioned TV series, where the examined expressions were used and translated into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions. All the participants were provided with the same randomly selected dialogue for each expression. Descriptions of the background information were offered for every specific dialogue. Noted here that throughout the process of the test, none of the participants would be reminded of the relationship of 'face' with these expressions, i.e., they were simply asked to translate these expressions into Mandarin instead of being instructed to translate them into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions.

In following this procedure, I departed from the logic that if the participant translates a particular Minnan expression into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions including 'face', she/he can realise the 'face'-relatedness of that expression. If the participant recognises her/his answer

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[12] While using the term 'translate' in this study, I will not engage in the issue of whether the provided Mandarin translations of the Minnan expressions are equivalent in semantic or pragmatic or not (see more in House, 2018). The participants' translation will only be used to assess whether they are able to recognise the 'face'-relatedness of the studied Minnan expressions. While venturing into the theory of translation is beyond the scope of the present investigation, the current study further shows that it is definitely worth including dialectal translational issues in translation research (see an overview in House, 2018).

for a particular Minnan expression is 'face'-related, although her/his answer does not include 'face', she/he is also perceived as being able to recognise the 'face'-relatedness of that expression.

4.3.2. Results and Analysis

In this section, I will interpret the results of this study in two parts. I first explain the results from the first and the second phase of the test of each studied Minnan expression. Then I discuss the reason for the differences in results between the two phases of the test.

As shown below, Table 4.3 summarises the results of the first phase of the test and Table 4.4 presents the results of the second phase of the test. The first column of Table 4.3 is the number of 5 participants. The second to fourth columns present the participants' translations of 4 target expressions *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑, *kiàn siàu* 見笑, *làu khuì* 落氣, and *pháinn sè* 歹勢, respectively. In Table 4.4, the first column is the number of participants. The second column marks the titles of the rows belonging to columns 3 to 6. The third to sixth columns display the participants' Mandarin translations of 4 Minnan expressions when the actual contexts were provided and their assessments of the Mandarin translations in the TV subtitles.

P.	Minnan Expressions			
	bē kiàn siàu 袂見笑	*kiàn siàu* 見笑	*làu khuì* 落氣	*pháinn sè* 歹勢
1	*bù diū rén* 不丟人 (not lose *ren* [13], i.e., not lose 'face')	*diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*)	-	*bù hǎo yì sī* 不好意思 (sorry); *bào qiàn* 抱歉 (sorry)
2	*bù diū rén* 不丟人 (not lose *ren*, i.e., not lose 'face')	*diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face'); *méi miàn-zi* 沒面子 (have no *mian-zi*)	做事出漏洞不嚴謹 (do things not rigorous, make loopholes.)	*bù hǎo yì sī* 不好意思 (sorry); *bào qiàn* 抱歉 (sorry)
3	*bù jué dé diū liǎn* 不覺得丟臉 (not feel *lian*-losing)	*xiū xiū liǎn* 羞羞臉 (shame *lian*)	*diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face'); *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*)	*bù hǎo yì sī* 不好意思 (sorry)
4	*bù jué dé diū rén* 不覺得	*diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose	言行不當/不合場合	*bù hǎo yì sī* 不好意思

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[13] *Ren* is Mandarin pronunciation of '人' (human).

	丢人 (not feel *ren*-losing, i.e., not feel 'face'-losing)	*lian*); *méi miàn-zi* 沒面子 (have no *mian-zi*)	(situationally inappropriate words and deeds)	(sorry)
5	*bú yào li ǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless)	*diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face'); *diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	事情完成得不夠好 (do not accomplish something well enough)	*bù hǎo yì sī* 不好意思 (sorry)

The underlined parts in the table are metapragmatic descriptions instead of translations.

Table 4.3: Bilinguals' translations without contexts

P.		Minnan Expressions			
		bē kiàn siàu 袂見笑	*kiàn siàu* 見笑	*làu khuì* 落氣	*pháinn sè* 歹勢
	Mandarin Translation in subtitles	*bú yào li ǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless)	*diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)		
1	Translation	*bù jué dé xiū ch ǐ /cán kuì* 不覺得羞恥/慚愧 (not feel ashamed)	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*); *diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face')	*diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	*diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face'); *diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)
	Assessment	Appropriate	-	-	-
2	Translation	*bù zhī xiū ch ǐ* 不知羞恥 (not know ashamedness)	*diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face'); *diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	-	*méi miàn-zi* 没面子 (have no *mian-zi*)
	Assessment	Appropriate	-	Appropriate	Inappropriate
3	Translation	*bú yào li ǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless)	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	*méi miàn-zi* 沒面子 (have no *mian-zi*); *diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)
	Assessment	-	-	-	-
4	Translation	*bù zhī xiū ch ǐ* 不知羞恥 (not know ashamedness)	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	*bù hǎo yì sī de* 不好意思的 (embarrassed)	*diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*); 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face')
	Assessment	Appropriate	-	Inappropriate	-
5	Translation	*bú yào li ǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless)	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*); *diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face')	*diū li ǎ n* 丢臉 (lose *lian*)	*diū li ǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*); *diū rén* 丢人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face')
	Assessment	-	-	-	-

Table 4.4: Bilinguals' translations with contexts

In the following, I will interpret the results of the bipartite test of the target four Minnan expressions respectively. I first explain their result from the first phase of the test. Then I present the dialogues which were provided to the participants in the second phase of the test followed by the analysis of the results.

Bē kiàn siàu 袂見笑

In the first phase of the test, the expression *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑 was translated into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions by two participants (P3 and P5), who used *bù jué dé diū liǎn* 不覺得丟臉 (not feel *lian*-losing) and *bú yào liǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless) respectively. While the other three participants used Mandarin expressions not including 'face' as their translations. Two of them (P1 and P2) used Mandarin *bù diū rén* 不丟人 (not lose *ren*, i.e., not lose 'face') and P4 chose the expression *bù jué dé diū rén* 不覺得丟人 (not feel *ren*-losing, i.e., not feel 'face'-losing). Noted here that the translations from P1 and P2 indicated distinctive meanings from that of the other three participants. P3's and P4's translations *bù jué dé diū liǎn* (not feel *lian*-losing) and *bù jué dé diū rén* (not feel *ren*-losing, i.e., not feel 'face'-losing) both indicate 'shameless' as P5's translation *bú yào liǎn* does. However, P1's and P2's translation *bù diū rén* 不丟人 (not lose *ren*, i.e., not lose 'face') means, according to the participants, that doing something is not disgraced, and one should not feel ashamed of that. This is exactly the opposite of the meaning of 'being shameless'. This discrepancy is mainly attributed to the fact that *bē kiàn siàu* in Minnan stands for two expressions:

1) the negative expression referring to 'not disgraced', which P1's and P2's translations were based on, and
2) the abbreviation of *bē kám kak kiàn siàu* 袂感覺見笑 (not feel ashamed, i.e., shameless), which P3's, P4's and P5's translations were based on.

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This was why the participants responded significantly differently in the test. Yet, *bē kiàn siàu* in the TV series only refers to the abbreviation of *bē kám kak kiàn siàu* (not feel ashamed, i.e., shameless).

In the second phase of the test, the following dialogue (8) was provided to the participants. This conversation was extracted from Episode 1 of the TV series and the expression *bē kiàn siàu* occurred at 10:13.

(8)

> Tommy：咱已经交往一年啦，妳嘛干焦予我牵手爾，我是一个正常的查埔人哎，我無揣其他的查某阮是欲按怎？
>
> 蔡有慧：你袂見笑！
>
> Tommy: We've been dating for a year, and you just let me hold your hands. I'm a normal man, what should I do if I don't look for other women?
>
> Cai Youhui: You are *bē kiàn siàu* (shameless)!
>
> — *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 1

This dialogue was between a girl Cai Youhui and her boyfriend Tommy. Cai Youhui found that her boyfriend Tommy had an affair with another girl. When she asked Tommy how he could do so such kind of thing to her, he quibbled that Cai Youhui only let him hold her hands even though they had been together for a year. The girl was so angry and accused the boy of being "*bē kiàn siàu*" (shameless).

With this context, the informants P3 and P5, who had realised the 'face'-relatedness of *bē kiàn siàu* in the first phase of the test, continued to translate this expression into Mandarin 'face'-related expression, i.e., they both translated it as *bú yào liǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless). While the other three participants, who did not relate this expression to Mandarin expressions including 'face', still did not connect it to 'face' even within the context. These three informants all related *bē kiàn siàu* to Mandarin *xiū chǐ* 羞恥 (shame), and translated it as *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* 不知/不覺得羞恥 (not know ashamedness/not feel ashamed). When they were further asked to assess whether the Mandarin translation *bú yào liǎn* was appropriate in this dialogue, they all responded with undoubtedly agreement.

As a follow-up, P1, P2 and P4 were asked how did they think of the relationship between 'face' and three Mandarin translations they provided during the test, including *bù diū rén* 不丢人 (not lose *ren*, i.e., not lose 'face'), *bù jué dé diū rén* 不覺得丟人 (not feel *ren*-losing, i.e., not feel 'face'-losing) and *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* 不知/不覺得羞恥 (not know ashamedness/not feel ashamed). Their answers were surprisingly consistent. They considered *diū rén* to express the same meaning as *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*) in practical use, while *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* was regarded to be used in the same way as *bú yào liǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless)[14]. This result showed that Mandarin *diū rén* and *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* were perceived by the participants as intimately related to 'face'. In other words, the participants were able to recognise the 'face'-relatedness of *bē kiàn siàu* when they chose *diū rén* and *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* as their translations of it. This means that all the participants related *bē kiàn siàu* to 'face' in both the first and second phases of the test, i.e., their perception of the 'face'-relatedness of *bē kiàn siàu* was context-free.

Kiàn siàu 見笑

The second expression *kiàn siàu* 見笑 was translated into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions by all the informants in the first phase of the test even without the contextual information. As Table 4.3 above shows, the participants provided *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*), *méi miàn-zi* 没面子 (have no *mian-zi*), *xiū xiū liǎn* 羞羞臉 (shame *lian*) and *diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face') as their translations.

In the second phase of the test, the dialogue including *kiàn siàu* provided to the participants was a conversation from Episode 4 in the TV series and the expression appears at 31:33 (see example 9 below).

(9)

　　陈志辉母亲：阮志輝這馬是一个县议员，啊妳咧？妳閣是一個騎 auto bike 咧替人送

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[14] This statement only represented the three participants' opinions in the test. It is very possible that *diū rén* and *diū liǎn*, as well as *bù zhī/bù jué dé xiū chǐ* and *bú yào liǎn* could vary in their pragmatic use in terms of the situations where they were used. Future investigations into it would be undoubtedly worthy.

雞肉飯的。一個是乞丐，一個是皇帝，是欲按怎過？

黃蕾蕾母亲：阮的查某仔無偷無搶，靠家己的能力，在替我這個媽媽賣雞肉飯，我並無感覺有啥乜好<u>見笑</u>的啊。

Chen Zhihui's mother: Our Zhihui is now a county councillor, how about you? You are just a girl who delivers chicken rice on an auto bike. One is a beggar and the other is an emperor, how can they be together?

Huang Leilei's mother: My daughter does not steal or rob. She relies on her own ability and help her mother to sell chicken rice. I don't think there is anything to be *kiàn siàu* (ashamed of).

— *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 4

In this interaction, Chen Zhihui's mother did not agree the girl Huang Leilei as her son's girlfriend because the girl was only a salesgirl in a street stall while her son worked in government. When Chen Zhihui's mother was humiliating Huang Leilei as a "begger", Huang Leilei's mother stood out and argued that her daughter lived on her own ability, and she did not feel this should be '*kiàn siàu*' (ashamed of).

As soon as the conversation were presented to the participants, all of them immediately translated *kiàn siàu* into Mandarin *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*). Three of them also provided *diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face') as an additional answer. As they all translated this expression as it was presented in the TV subtitles *diū liǎn*, no one was further asked to do the assessment task. This result shows that the relatedness of 'face' to Minnan expression *kiàn siàu* can be easily recognised by all informants no matter without or within contexts. In other words, the participants' realisation of the 'face'-relatedness of *kiàn siàu*, like *bē kiàn siàu* discussed above, was context-free.

Làu khuì 落氣

For the expression *làu khuì* 落氣, only P3 translated this expression as Mandarin *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*) and *diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face') in the first phase of the test. The

other four informants all failed to find appropriate Mandarin translations for this expression. Instead, P2, P4 and P5 offered metapragmatic explanations of *làu khuì*. Their descriptions indicate that *làu khuì* is used to evaluate someone who does not accomplish something well because of a lack of ability or someone who speaks or acts inappropriately in a certain situation. The Participant 1 was the only one who was unfamiliar with this expression thus she did not provide any interpretation. However, when contextual information was provided in the second phase, the majority of the informants immediately related *làu khuì* to 'face', including P1. The conversation offered to the participants is from Episode 3 and the expression appears at 44:41 (see below).

(10)

Minnan:

　　明珠：招弟啊，是按呢啦，縣長真愛吃妳做的雞肉飯啦，啊每回買轉去喔一份攏食
　　　　　不夠，啊食完閣再思念哎，所以講我想要做佮妳全款好食的雞肉飯啦，啊希
　　　　　望妳會當教我。

　　......

　　招弟：啊夫人妳若無嫌這油臊喔，會當看我按怎做，我真歡迎。

　　......

　　福伯：……嫂啊，啊暗時我是欲來厝食雞肉飯喔，我是欲當場驗收。啊若真正煮了
　　　　　無好食，妳是毋通揀予我佮縣長食，會<u>落氣</u>喔。

Mingzhu: Zhaodi, it's like this. The county magistrate likes to eat the chicken rice you make very much. It's not enough for him every time to eat only one set of the chicken rice. And he misses it very much after eating. So I want to make the chicken rice as delicious as you make. I hope you can teach me.

......

Zhaodi: Ma'am, if you are not afraid of the greasy environment, you can watch me do it. I welcome it.

......

Fu Bo: ......Sister-in-law (Mingzhu), I'm going to eat chicken rice at your home tonight. I want to check your learning outcomes on the spot. If it's not delicious, you shall

not serve it to me and the county magistrate. It will be *làu khuì* (embarrassing).

<div align="right">

— *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 3

</div>

As example (10) shows, this was a multi-person interaction which happened among Mingzhu (the county magistrate's wife), Zhaodi (the stallholder who sells chicken rice) and Fu Bo (the head of a district within the county, also a close friend to the county magistrate). The county magistrate's wife Mingzhu wanted to learn the receipt of 'chicken rice', so she asked the head of the district Fu Bo as an agent to lead her to Zhaodi's home and help to persuade Zhaodi to teach Mingzhu to make that chicken rice. After Zhaodi agreed to share the receipt, Fu Bo said jokingly to Mingzhu that he was going to Mingzhu's home to eat chicken rice and examine her learning outcomes later that day, and if Mingzhu did not make it delicious, she could not serve it on the table because it will *làu khuì* (lose her 'face').

With this context, three participants (P1, P3 and P5) quickly related it to 'face' by translating it into *diū liǎn* 丢臉 (lose *lian*) and *méi miàn-zi* 沒面子 (have no *mian-zi*). Participant 2 failed to find any Mandarin expression suitable for *làu khuì*. After she had been struggling for quite a few minutes, I asked her to assess whether it was appropriate to use *diū liǎn* (lose *lian*) as the translation here. Her agreement then indicated her recognition of the relatedness to 'face' of this expression. However, a discrepancy occurred in the results. Participant 4 translated *làu khuì* into *bù hǎo yì sī de* 不好意思的 (embarrassed) with the context. When she was asked whether she agreed with the Mandarin translation *diū liǎn* in this context, she responded with a clear disagreement. As she explained, the situation in this dialogue was not severe enough to use *diū liǎn*. She believed that there might be some embarrassment when this situation happened, but it was not enough to cause a 'face'-loss.

As a follow-up, the participants were asked to explain the changes in their answers in the two phases of the test. Surprisingly, all the participants who only provided descriptions in the first phase argued that their described situations were 'face'-related because these situations will cause the loss of 'face'. They failed to relate *làu khuì* to Mandarin collocations including 'face' because this expression does not include any nominal component of face, and the context provided in the second phase helped them to find Mandarin 'face'-related collocations to translate *làu khuì*. Even Participant 4 argued that her description in the first phase was 'face'-

related. She disagreed with translating *làu khuì* into *diū liǎn* just because she did not perceive that situation was severe enough to cause the loss of *lian*.

The result of *làu khuì* shows that because of the lack of face component in *làu khuì*, the participants found it extremely hard to relate it to any Mandarin 'face'-related expressions when no context was provided. Even so, their metapragmatic descriptions of the use of *làu khuì* show that they were able to recognise the 'face'-relatedness of *làu khuì* even out of context. This outcome shows that the 'face'-relatedness of *làu khuì* can be freely realised by the participants no matter within or without contextual information.

Pháinn sè 歹勢

For the expression *pháinn sè* 歹勢, none of the participants translates it into Mandarin 'face'-related expressions. Rather, in the first phase of the test, they used Mandarin *bù hǎo yì si* 不好意思 (sorry) and *bào qiàn* 抱歉 (sorry) to translate this expression. However, when the following dialogue (11) was provided to the participants, they all unreluctantly changed their translation of this expression.

(11)

Minnan:

> 嫂子：妳閣敢講咧，啊爸佮媽結婚三十週年妳當咧穿啥？襯衫、牛仔褲，啊襯衫頂懸猶閣沐著蛋黃啊。彼日人客遐爾濟，阮是感覺足<u>歹勢</u>的啦。

> Sister-in-law: How dare you say that? What did you wear on the 30th wedding anniversary of Dad and Mom? Shirts, jeans, and the shirts even had egg yolk on them. There were so many guests there that day, we all felt *pháinn sè* (ashamed).

> — *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 12

This dialogue is from Episode 12 and *pháinn sè* occurs at 15:11. The conversation happened between a girl Cai Youhui and her sister-in-law. When Youhui said that she thought herself was great and popular with boys, her sister-in-law responded that Youhui's popularity was mainly

attributed to her father's position as a country magistrate. She even dug up Youhui's improper behaviour on their parent's anniversary. Facing so many guests on the anniversary, Youhui was wearing an informal shirt and jeans, and the shirt was even covered with egg yolk. This made the whole family feel very *pháinn sè* ('face'-losing).

Having this context, instead of perceiving this expression as a speech act of apology, all the informants related *pháinn sè* to 'face'. As Table 4.4 shows, four participants (P1, P3, P4 and P5) directly translated this expression into Mandarin *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*). Three of them further provided *diū rén* 丟人 (lose *ren*, i.e., lose 'face') as their translations. Although recognised the 'face'-relatedness of *pháinn sè*, Participant 2 however, used *mian*-collocation *méi miàn-zi* 沒面子 (have no *mian-zi*) as her translation. When she was asked whether Mandarin collocation *diū liǎn* was appropriate in that context, she expressed a clear disagreement. According to her, *diū liǎn* is used when someone has an 'inferior' social status like having an 'indecent' job, while the provided conversation of *pháinn sè* describes a more serious situation where someone has inappropriate deeds on an important occasion. She believed that in such circumstances, one would lose her/his *mian* rather than *lian*. In other words, she perceived *mian* as the more important 'back face' rather than *lian*.

In the follow-up discussion, the informants responded that they translated *pháinn sè* into Mandarin expressions of 'sorry' in the first phase of the test because this expression in Minnan is often used as a speech act of apology. In addition, three of the participants thought that as an apology, *pháinn sè* does not refer to the loss of 'face'. The other two participants reflected that *pháinn sè* as an apology can both be related to or not be relevant to 'face', i.e., its 'face'-relevance needs to be decided within context. This result shows that the participants' recognition of the 'face'-relatedness to *pháinn sè* is context-based. This expression is only related to 'face' in specific contexts.

4.3.3. Further Outcomes

4.3.3.1. Reasons for the Differences in Results between the Two Phases of the Test

Depending on the participants' explanation, I summarise three reasons that caused the

differences between the two phases of the test. They are:

1) the target Minnan expressions do not include the linguistic expression 'face';

2) multiple meanings and various pragmatic uses of the target Minnan expression;

3) the perceived severity of the threat to 'face' in a specific context.

Although the first reason can be regarded as the general cause for the difficulty in perceiving the 'face'-relatedness of the understudied Minnan expressions which do not include nominal 'face' components, it is the primary reason causing the result differences of the expression *làu khuì* 落氣 between the two phases of the test. As discussed above, in the first phase of the test, the participants widely used mere metapragmatic descriptions of *làu khuì*instead of providing Mandarin translations. Their descriptions, however, as they perceived, are intrinsically 'face'-loss-relevant. They failed to find Mandarin 'face'-related expressions in the first phase mainly because this expression does not include 'face' component.

The second reason explains P1's and P2's translation of *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑, and all the participants' answer of *pháinn sè* 歹勢 in the first phase of the test. As discussed above, *bē kiàn siàu* stands for two expressions in Minnan, and *pháinn sè* is often used as a speech act of apology. Their multiple meanings and various pragmatic uses thus contribute to the differences in their results between the two phases of the test.

Lastly, the third reason illustrates the changes in P3's and P4's translations of *bē kiàn siàu* 袂見笑 and P3's answer for *kiàn siàu* 見笑. In these cases, the participants used Mandarin 'face'-related expressions as their translation in both phases of the test. However, they chose different collocations in two stages. For the expression *bē kiàn siàu*, P3 used *bù jué dé diū li ǎn* 不覺得丟臉 (not feel *lian*-losing) to translate at first and changed it into *bú yào liǎn* 不要臉 (not want *lian*, i.e., shameless) later; P4 used *bù jué dé diū rén* 不覺得丟人(not feel *ren*-losing, i.e., not feel 'face'-losing) at first and *bù zhī xiū chǐ* 不知羞恥 (not know ashamedness) later. For the expression *kiàn siàu*, P3 provided *xiū xiū liǎn* 羞羞臉 (shame *lian*) first and *diū liǎn* 丟臉 (lose *lian*) later. According to their explanation, they changed the translation because the perceived severity of the threat to 'face' in the conversations provided in the second phase of the test is higher. This implies that the participants might have their own

'rank' of 'face'-related expressions in accordance with various degrees of 'face'-threat. Yet, the investigation into this is beyond the scope of the current thesis/ It would be undoubtedly fruitful for future enquiry on the relationship between speakers' perception of the degree of 'face'-threat and their use of 'face'-related expressions.

4.3.3.2. Individual Variations on the Perception of 'Face'

As further outcomes of the current study, the variations of 'face' perception among different individuals were highlighted. One variation was whether the participants would perceive an event as 'face'-loss-related or not; the other was whether the participants would consider a 'face'-loss-related event as a *lian*-losing one or a *mian-zi*-losing one.

'Face'-loss or Not?

As it had been mentioned above, in her response to *làu khuì* in the second phase of test, P4 disagreed with Mandarin *diū liǎn* being used as a translation in that context. Notwithstanding the fact that all the participants were provided with exactly the same dialogue in their second phases of the test, P4 clearly expressed that she did not recognise the described situation was serious enough to cause a loss of 'face'. Variational perceptions of a specific event in terms of 'face'-losing or not is not an ad hoc phenomenon. In fact, this variation was also indicated in one of the dialogues presented to the participants in the test. In the conversation where *kiàn siàu* (translated as *diū liǎn*) was used in the TV series (see example 9), the girl's mother responded that she did not recognise being a salesgirl as 'face'-losing when the girl's boyfriend's mother indicated that she did. Apparently, having an 'indecent' job could be perceived as 'face'-losing by one, but nothing to do with 'face' by the other.

Lian-losing or Mian-zi-losing?

Another individual variation noticed in the result was whether a 'face'-loss-related situation would be considered as *lian*-losing or *mian-zi*-losing. This discussion undoubtedly needs to be based on the use of Mandarin, where 'face' has a duality of *lian* and *mian-zi*. When the participants were translating the Minnan expressions into Mandarin during the test, one of the participants P2 showed a distinctive recognition of the use of *lian* and *mian-zi*. She took *mian-zi*-losing as a heavier loss of one's 'face' than *lian*-losing. She also insisted that in the circumstance described in the dialogue including *pháinn sè*, the event should be understood as the loss of *mian-zi* while the other participants all agreed that it caused a loss of *lian*. This phenomenon is not the preserve of Minnan speakers alone. This discrepancy irresistibly occurred in a previous conversation between two of my friends and me. My two friends are both bilinguals of Mandarin and another Northern variant of Mandarin in China and I am a bilingual of Minnan and Mandarin. We three were all doctoral students and used Mandarin as a lingua franca. In the conversation, we were discussing a situation where if a boy was humiliated in public because he failed to accomplish his task, should his girlfriend feel *lian*-losing or *mian-zi*-losing? Interestingly, one of my friends and I considered it as a *mian-zi*-losing event while the other perceived it as a *lian*-losing one.

These two cases imply that individual differences widely exist among Chinese speakers and even speakers in China sharing the same dialect. This again, emphasises my argument that there is no such a thing as a homogeneous concept of Chinese 'face' that can be applied to any Chinese speaker in whatever situation. The variational perceptions of 'face' and facework require no doubt more attention in the inquiry of 'face'. While venturing into the investigation of how social or psychological factors affect one's understanding of 'face' is beyond the scope of the present research, the current study further shows that it is definitely worth including these issues in future studies.

4.3.4. Summary

To sum up, in this section, I present a study examining 4 Minnan expressions which do not involve nominal 'face' components. The result shows that three Minnan expressions *bē kiàn*

siàu 袂見笑, *kiàn siàu* 見笑 and *làu khuì* 落氣 can be freely related to 'face' by the participants no matter with or without context. In other words, such expressions are conventionally used as 'face'-related expressions. The 'face'-relatedness of the last expression *pháinn sè* 歹勢 however, is context-based and needs to be identified within certain contexts. This means that *pháinn sè* is a kind of 'ad hoc' 'face'-related expression. This finding shows that 'face'-related expressions do not necessarily include 'face' components.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I first provided an overview of 80 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect. The result shows that among 80 collected 'face'-related expressions, the nominal 'face' expression *lián* (*lian*, i.e., 'face') is remarkedly underrepresented in the data as only 1 case of it was found among 209 occurrences of 'face'-related expressions. While *mian*-related expressions turn out to be heavily dominant: altogether 11 *mian*-related core expressions of 'face' were identified involving 79 verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating forms. This finding shows that *lian* is not a frequently used Minnan 'face' expression. Thus, the archetypal *lian–mian* distinction does not hold for Minnan because Minnan 'face'-related expressions are heavily centred on *bīn* (*mian* in Minnan). The higher-lower relationship between *lian* and *mian* is hence inapplicable in Minnan. These outcomes suggest that there may not be such a thing as a single homogeneous concept of 'Chinese face'. Rather, one should distinguish dialectal repertoires of 'face'.

Moreover, by examining the long-ignored 'face'-related expressions without 'face' in Minnan, I pinpointed the fact that 'face'-related expressions do not necessarily include nominal components of face. Since the previous studies have mostly focused merely on expressions including face when engaging in 'face' research (e.g., Hu, 1944; Mao, 1994; Ukosakul, 2003; Haugh & Hinze, 2003; Hinze, 2012), the current study highlights the importance of exploring 'face'-related expressions which do not include the nominal components of face. Such expressions, although without 'face', their use is intimately concerned with 'face'. It will undoubtedly be fruitful for future inquiries on such expressions to explore a more holistic view

of how 'face' works in interpersonal communications. Yet, due to the limited data scope of this kind of expression in my current corpora, I will leave the investigation of such 'face'-related expressions for my future study and focus only on 'face'-related expressions including 'face' components in the following two chapters. In the next chapter, I investigate whether the collected 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions have counterparts in Mandarin.

5. Minnan Dialectal Expressions with No Mandarin Counterparts

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reveals the general core 'face' expression differences between Minnan and Mandarin, i.e., while in Mandarin *mian* and *lian* are used in duality, there is only a singular *mian* in Minnan; while there is a higher-lower-relationship between *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin, such hierarchy relation does not exist in Minnan because *bīn* (*mian* in Minnan) can both refer to one's 'front/light' 'face' and 'back/heavy' 'face'. In this chapter, I focus on Minnan 'face'-related expressions, i.e., collocations consisting of Verb/Adjective/Pronoun and core 'face' expressions, examining whether such dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are readily interpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects.

In this study, I administered a test to two groups of speakers: speakers of Mandarin who were not fluent in Minnan and native Minnan speakers. The aim of this test was to assess whether those respondents who were not fluent in Minnan can interpret Minnan 'face'-related expressions in a written form, considering that various dialects of Chinese use roughly the same writing system.[15] I set out from the hypothesis that Minnan 'face'-related expressions are readily interpretable for any Chinese speaker because Mandarin and Minnan use the same writing system with the exception of some 'local' characters in Minnan. Through this exploration, I continue to challenge the long-held assumption that Chinese 'face' is somehow a 'homogeneous' notion, which influences the politeness behaviour of any speaker of any dialect of Chinese in a similar fashion.

5.2 Methodology and Data

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15 I use 'roughly' here because there are of course differences between character sets used in various dialects, including for example special dialectal characters used on the internet (see Liu, 2011). However, the majority of the dialectal characters do not in my experience trigger major interpretational issues for native speakers of Chinese.

Based on my previous result presented in Chapter 4, I administered another test to investigate whether the collected 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions were ready to interpret by Minnan native speakers and Mandarin speakers who did not speak the Minnan Dialect. The target participants included two groups of speakers: 6 speakers of Mandarin who were not fluent in Minnan and 6 native Minnan speakers.

As the test included a very long list of 'face'-related expressions and many of such expressions are presented in traditional Chinese character in their original texts, the organisation and sequencing of the expressions were of great significance. Thus, before the formal conduction of the test, two steps were taken. Firstly, self-checking and peer-checking were conducted. Secondly, the list of expressions was sent to two groups of people to conduct a pre-test. In-depth interviews were taken after their tests.

Self-checking and Peer-checking

At the beginning, I simply arranged the expressions in a word document (one expression per line) according to the order that they were found in their data sources. The list was firstly checked by myself by reading through the document and doing the test (interpret and find out their Mandarin equivalent if available). During this process, the spelling mistakes, repeated items or characters, the font size were examined. After self-checking, I sent the modified document to two of my colleagues who were both PhD students majoring in Pragmatics for peer-checking.

During peer-checking, the explanation and instruction of the test were highlighted together with the reexamination of any mistake or inappropriateness. After their checking, two issues were pointed out. One was the length of the list which might cause considerable difficulties for the participants to finish the test. The other was the use of traditional Chinese character for the expressions since my colleagues were unable to recognise some of the characters. Based on their feedback, the following modifications were made:

1) I detailed the explanation and instruction of the test, which would be informed to the participants before their tests;

2) I decided to mainly choose my acquaintances (my family members, friends, or friends of my family members) as the participants in the test to reduce the possibility of giving up during the test;

3) I changed the traditional Chinese character system into the simplified Chinese character system to avoid possible incomprehension and confusion caused by the character itself.

Consequently, in this checking step, the spelling mistakes were revised, the repeated items were deleted, the font size was modified; the explanation and instruction of the test were detailed; the participants were targeted; and the character system was changed.

Pre-test

After the checking process, I sent the revised document to one Mandarin speaker who did not speak Minnan, and one Minnan native speaker to conduct a pre-test. In-depth interviews were made after they finished the test to receive feedbacks.

During the pre-test for the Mandarin speaker, one issue was noticed. According to his reflections during the test, I noticed the list started with a series of Minnan dialectal 'face'-related expressions, which were uninterpretable for the Mandarin speaker and caused noticeable difficulties for him at the very beginning. This made the respondent feel a bit frustrated and not in high spirits from the beginning of the test. I thus adjusted the sequence of the presence of 'face'-related expressions in the list by moving the expressions which were interpretable to the Mandarin participant to the beginning of the list to avoid the informants' giving up at the beginning of the test.

In the pre-test conducted to the Minnan native speaker, another issue was mentioned. As the collected 'face'-related expressions were mainly *mian*-related, and some nominal 'face' expressions collocate with the same verbs, for example, *sià bīn-tsú* 卸面子 (unload *mian-zi)* and *sià bīn-phuê* 卸面皮 (unload the skin of *mian*), some items in the list were quite similar and being perceived as repeated ones by the informant. Yet, this issue was not 'fixed' afterwards because the result of the pre-test showed that even though some items looked very similar to each other, different participants would choose different Mandarin nominal 'face' expressions in their answers. That is, for a Minnan *mian*-related expression, the participants varied in

choosing Mandarin *mian-* or *lian*-related expressions in their answers. Thus, all the 'face'-related expressions were preserved for the formal test.

In sum, during the pre-test, the sequence of 'face'-related expressions in the list was adjusted, while the perceived-similar items were retained without any deduction.

Test

After the pre-test, the revised list of 'face'-related expressions was provided to the participants for the formal test. As mentioned in previous Chapter 4, the collection of Minnan 'face'-related expressions experienced two stages. Thus, the current research also executed the test twice in the same way (including the checking and the pre-test) to the same participants after each of the two stages of 'face'-related expressions collection. The first round of the test was conducted during October and November in 2021 based on 62 Minnan 'face'-related expressions collected from the previous mentioned 6 data sources involving audio-recording, online videos, dictionaries, folk literature, opera scripts and interview (see more in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1). The participants of the test consisted of 6 Minnan native speakers and 6 Mandarin speakers. The test was organised through online videophone calls. The duration of the test for each participant was 45 minutes on average. The participants were provided with the list of 62 Minnan 'face'-related expressions. I proceeded as follow:

1. If the Mandarin participants were able to interpret the expressions provided, I asked them also to provide alternative expressions in Mandarin if available, i.e., I asked them to 'translate' the expression to Mandarin. I also asked the Minnan speakers to 'translate' the expressions into Mandarin.
2. If the Mandarin participants were puzzled by a certain expression, I first presented them the examples of that expression and explained the meaning of the given examples, and then asked the participant to provide alternative expressions in Mandarin if available.

In following this procedure, I departed from the logic that if a particular Minnan expression can only be circumscribed by the respondents, the given expression does not have a Mandarin

equivalent. If a particular expression was unrecognised by all the Mandarin respondents, I defined the particular expression as one with no Mandarin equivalent.

The second round of the test was conducted in July 2022. The participants were the same as those in the first round. This time, they were provided with 17 Minnan 'face'-related expressions which I obtained later in May 2022 by investigating the Minnan TV series and reviewing all my previously acquired data.

5.3 Results

The result of this study is shown in Table 5.1 below.

Core 'face' expressions	Core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun; Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + Core expression	Meaning	Mandarin equivalent (+); No Mandarin equivalent (−)	Number of 'face'-related expressions	Number of expressions with no Mandarin equivalent
bīn 面	*ū (hit ê) bīn* 有(彼個)面	have (that) *mian*	+	19	12
	bô bīn 無面	have no *mian*	+		
	mí bīn 乜面	what *mian*	−		
	huán bīn 反面	turn one's *mian* against someone	−		
	sé bīn 洗面	wash *mian* (let someone lose face)	−		
	sióng bīn 賞面	give *mian*	+		
	thé…bīn 體…面	consider one's *mian* (for one's sake)	−		
	khuànn (tsāi)…bīn (siōng) 看(在)...面(上)	look at one's *mian* (for one's sake)	+		
	(khí) pìnn bīn/bīn tiȯh pìnn (起)變面/面著變	changing *mian* arises /*mian* changes	+		
	thiah phuà bīn 拆破面	take apart and break *mian*	−		
	liah phuà bīn 裂破面	crack and break *mian*	−		
	bīn poh theh toh khì 面卜提佗去	where one can take one's *mian* to	−		
	bīn poh kheh toh khì 面卜挈佗去	where one takes one's *mian* to	−		

	bīn (m̄ tsai) poh giah toh khì 面(毋知)卜攑佗去	(don't know) where one can take one's *mian* to	–		
	bīn bô tshú pang 面無處放	no place to put the *mian*	+		
	bīn bô tshú pái 面無處擺	no place to put the *mian*	+		
	bīn hōo…siak tshuì 面予...摔碎	*mian* is smashed by someone (because of someone)	–		
	(khí) phuì bīn (起)呸面	angry *mian* (arise)	–		
	suí-bīn 媠面	beautiful *mian* (having *mian*)	–		
bīn-tsú 面子	*ū bīn-tsú* 有面子	have *mian-zi*	+	16	8
	bô bīn-tsú 無面子	have no *mian-zi*	+		
	ài bīn-tsú 愛面子	love *mian-zi* (be sensitive to face)	+		
	kòo (...) bīn-tsú 顧(...)面子	consider (one's) *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	+		
	hāi…bīn-tsú 害…面子	damage/hurt one's *mian-zi*	+		
	siah...bīn-tsú 削...面子	pare one's *mian-zi*	–		
	tsò bīn-tsú 做面子	make *mian-zi* (give face)	–		
	hōo... (tsit ê/tiám) bīn-tsú 予...(一個/點)面子	give (a/some) *mian-zi*	–		
	sit (kàu)...bīn-tsú 失(到...)面子	lose *mian-zi*	+		
	lâu (tsit sut á) bīn-tsú 留(一屑仔)面子	save (some) *mian-zi*	+		
	sià bīn-tsú/ bīn-tsú hōo…sià liáu 卸面子/面子予...卸了	unload *mian-zi* / *mian-zi* is unloaded by someone (lose face/ face is lost because of someone)	–		
	khuànn (tsāi)…bīn-tsú (siōng) 看 (在)... 面 子 (上)	look at one's *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	+		
	tài liām…bīn-tsú 帶念...面子	bring and consider one's *mian-zi* (for one's sake)	–		
	bīn-tsú tsáu lȯh tē 面子走落地	*mian-zi* run down to the ground	–		

	bīn-tsú poh theh toh khì 面子卜提佗去	where one can take one's *mian-zi* to	−		
	bīn-tsú poh khng leh toh khì/bīn-tsú poh theh leh toh khng 面子卜园咧佗去/面子卜提咧佗园	where one can hide one's *mian-zi* to/where one can take one's *mian-zi* to hide	−		
bīn-á 面兒	*tài…bīn-á* 帶…面兒	bring one's *mian-er* (for one's sake)	−	2	1
	khuànn…bīn-á 看...面兒	look at one's *mian-er* (for one's sake)	+		
bīn-phuê 面皮	*sià bīn-phuê* 卸面皮	unload the skin of *mian* (lose face)	−	21	15
	lì bīn-phuê 剺面皮	rip the skin of *mian*	−		
	hian bīn-phuê 掀面皮	lift the skin of *mian*	−		
	tsò bīn-phuê 做面皮	make the skin of *mian* (give face)	−		
	sioh bīn-phuê 惜面皮	cherish the skin of *mian*	+		
	kòo bīn-phuê 顧面皮	consider one's the skin of *mian* (for one's sake)	+		
	thó bīn-phuê 討面皮	beg/ask for the skin of *mian*	+		
	tsûn…bīn-phuê 存 … 面皮	store one's skin of *mian*	−		
	tài…bīn-phuê 帶…面皮	bring one's the skin of *mian*	−		
	thé…bīn-phuê 體…面皮	consider one's the skin of *mian*	−		
	hōo tsit bīn-phuê 予一面皮	give a skin of *mian*	−		
	bô bīn bô phuê 無面無皮	have no skin of *mian*	+		
	phah phuà bīn-phuê 拍破面皮	hit and break the skin of *mian*	−		
	peh phuà bīn-phuê 擘破面皮	pull apart and break the skin of *mian*	−		
	lóh tsīn bīn-phuê 落盡面皮	the skin of *mian* is completely dropped (lose face)	−		
	bīn-phuê bók pang pìnn 面皮莫放變	don't release and change the skin of *mian* (ignore face)	−		

	bīn-phuê bȯk pàng tiāu 面皮莫放掉	don't release the skin of *mian*	–		
	bīn-phuê bô tshú hā 面皮無處下	no place for the skin of *mian* to descend	–		
	bīn-phuê nā liap póo ē bô lâng siu 面皮若攝脯會無人收	nobody will be able to collect the skin of *mian* back if it is shrunk and dried	–		
	kāu bīn-phuê/bīn-phuê kāu 厚面皮/面皮厚	thick skin of *mian*	+		
	bīn-phuê pȯh 面皮薄	thin skin of *mian*	+		
bīn-té-phuê 面底皮	*sioh bīn-té-phuê* 惜面底皮	cherish the deep skin of *mian*	+	2	1
	bīn-té-phuê leh thôo kha tshè 面底皮咧塗跤搽	the deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground	–		
thé-bīn 體面	*ū thé-bīn* 有體面	have body-*mian*	+	5	1
	bô thé-bīn/ thé-bīn bô 無體面/體面無	have no body-*mian*	+		
	sit thé-bīn 失體面	lose body-*mian*	+		
	kòo thé-bīn 顧體面	consider one's body-*mian* (for one's sake)	+		
	tsò thé-bīn 做體面	make body-*mian* (give face)	–		
thâu-bīn 頭面	*ū thâu (ū) bīn* 有頭(有)面	have head-*mian*	+	4	2
	bô thâu bô bīn 無頭無面	have no head-*mian*	+		
	lȯh tsīn thâu-bīn 落盡頭面	head-*mian* is completely dropped	–		
	siu/jiȯk/bông thâu jiȯk bīn 羞/辱頭辱頭面	humiliate head-*mian*	–		
bīn-bȯk 面目	*ū bīn-bȯk* 有面目	have *mian*-eye	+	3	1
	mí bīn-bȯk 乜面目	what *mian*-eye	–		
	pîn…bīn-bȯk 憑...面目	rely on one's *mian*-eye	+		
bīn-lián 面臉	*sé bīn-lián* 洗面臉	wash *mian*-cheek (let someone lose face)	–	2	1
	sit bīn-lián 失面臉	lose *mian*-cheek	+		
bīn-tsuí 面水	*khuànn…bīn-tsuí* 看...面水	look at one's *mian*-water (for one's sake)	–	1	1
tsîng-bīn 情面	*bô tsîng-bīn* 無情面	have no affection-*mian* (ignore and not give someone face)	+	4	0
	lâu (tsit tiám á) tsîng-bīn 留(一點仔)情面	save (some) affection-*mian*	+		

	bô kòo tsîng-bīn 無顧情面	not consider affection-*mian*	+		
	khuànn...tsîng-bīn 看 ...情面	look at one's affection-*mian* (for one's sake)	+		
lián 臉	*lak-lián* 落臉	drop *lian* (lose face)	–	1	1
Total				80	44

Table 5.1: Summary of results

The first column of Table 5.1 presents core Minnan dialectal 'face' expressions, i.e., nominal 'face'-related expressions not collocating with a verb, an adjective or a pronoun. The second column features collocations where these nominal expressions collocate with verbs/adjectives/pronouns occurring either before or after the nominal form of 'face'. The third column lists the meanings of these various collocations. The fourth column indicates whether a particular verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating Minnan 'face' expression has an equivalent in Mandarin, or not. The fifth column displays the total number of verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating expressions belonging to a particular core expression. Finally, the sixth column summarises how many Minnan 'face'-related expressions having no Mandarin equivalent involved in the current research.

This test administered to the Minnan- and Mandarin-speaking groups showed that 44 out of 80 Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' or 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun 'face'-related expressions do not have counterparts in Mandarin. In this section, I focus on these 44 Minnan 'face'-related expressions by categorising them according to the verb/adjective/pronoun-types collocating with the core 'face'-related nominal expressions. Unlike in English, where there are few verbs collocating with 'face'-related expressions, Minnan has a rich inventory of verbs accompanying 'face'-related nominal expressions. Altogether, in the collected 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions, there are 49 verbs/adjectives/pronouns collocating with 12 core 'face' expressions, including 44 verbs, 4 adjectives and 1 pronoun (see Table 5.1 above). These 44 'face' expressions with no Mandarin equivalent examined in the current section collocate with 30 verbs, 2 adjectives and 1 pronoun (see Table 5.2 below).

While the Minnan-speaking participants had no difficulty with interpreting all 'face'-related expressions, the Mandarin speakers often struggled with properly interpreting and, more

importantly, translating them to Mandarin. Consequently, my hypothesis that Chinese writing resolves interpretational difficulties for any speaker of Chinese when it comes to Minnan 'face'-related expressions was disconfirmed.

Note that some of the Mandarin-speaking respondents were able to provide explanations – but no translation – of the meaning of the Minnan expressions studied here by either simply describing their pragmatic situations or using some Mandarin 'face'-related expressions in their interpretations. Also, occasionally Minnan speakers also struggled with translating such expressions to Mandarin. The following Table 5.2 summarises the outcomes of this part of the current research, including Mandarin interpretations provided by some of the participants:

Number	Minnan expressions with no Mandarin Counterpart		Mandarin interpretations	
	Verb/Adjective/Pronoun	Core 'face' expressions	Verb/ Adjective/ Pronoun	Expressions of 'face'
1	*theh* 提 (take)	*bīn* 面; *bīn-tsú* 面子	*gē* 擱 (put)	*liǎn wǎng nǎ gē* 臉往哪擱 (where to put one's *lian*)
2	*kheh* 挈 (take)	*bīn* 面		
3	*giah* 攑 (take)	*bīn* 面		
4	*khng* 囥 (hide)	*bīn-tsú* 面子		
5	*hā* 下 (descend)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		*liǎn méi dì gē* 臉沒地擱 (no place to put the *lian*)
6	*siu* 收 (collect)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		
7	*siak tshuì* 摔碎 (smash)	*bīn* 面	*diū* 丟 (lose)	*diū liǎn /diū miàn-zi/ diū liǎn-miàn* /丟面子/丟臉面(lose *lian /mian-zi /lian-mian*)
8	*sé* 洗 (wash)	*bīn* 面; *bīn-lián* 面臉		
9	*sià* 卸 (unload)	*bīn-tsú* 面子; *bīn-phuê* 面皮		
10	*lòh* 落 (drop)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮; *thâu-bīn* 頭面; *lián* 臉		
11	*tsáu lòh tē* 走落地 (run down to the ground)	*bīn-tsú* 面子		
12	*siah* 削 (pare)	*bīn-tsú* 面子		
13	*thé* 體 (consider)	*bīn* 面; *bīn-phuê* 面皮	*kàn* 看 (look)	*kàn...miàn-zi* 看 … 面子 (look at one's *mian-zi*)
14	*tài* 帶 (bring)	*bīn-á* 面兒; *bīn-phuê* 面皮		
15	*tài liām* 帶念 (bring and consider)	*bīn-tsú* 面子		
16	*tsûn* 存 (store)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		
17	*hian* 掀 (lift)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮	*sī* 撕 (rip)	*sī liǎn-pî* 撕臉皮 (rip the skin of *lian*)
18	*lì* 剺 (rip)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		

19	*phah phuà* 拍破 (hit and break)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		*sī pò liǎn* 撕破臉 (rip open *lian*)
20	*thiah phuà* 拆破 (take apart and break)	*bīn* 面		
21	*peh phuà* 擘破 (pull apart and break)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮		
22	*liah phuà* 裂破 (crack and break)	*bīn* 面		
23	*hōo* 予 (give)	*bīn-tsú* 面子；*bīn-phuê* 面皮	*gěi* 給 (give)	*gěi miàn-zi* 給面子 (give *mian-zi*)
24	*tsò* 做 (make)	*bīn-tsú* 面子；*bīn-phuê* 面皮；*thé-bīn* 體面		
25	*huán* 反 (turn)	*bīn* 面	*fān* 翻 (turn)	*fān liǎn* 翻臉 (turn one's *lian* against someone)
26	*mí* 乜 (what)	*bīn* 面; *bīn-bȯk* 乜面目	*shá/shén me* 啥/什麼 (what)	*shá/shén me miàn-zǐ* 啥/什麼面子 (what *mian-zi*)
27	*suí* 媠 (beautiful) (Adj.)	*bīn* 面	*hǎo kàn* 好看 (beautful/good-looking)	*miàn-zi shàng hǎo kàn* 面子上好看 (it is beautiful/good-looking on *mian-zi*)
28	*pàng pìnn* 放變 (release and change)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮	-	-
29	*pàng tiāu* 放掉 (release)	*bīn-phuê* 面皮	-	-
30	*siu/jiȯk* 羞/辱 (humiliate)	*thâu-bīn* 頭面	-	-
31	*tshè* 擦 (rub)	*bīn-(té)-phuê* 面(底)皮	-	-
32	*phuì* 呸 (angry) (Adj.)	*bīn* 面	-	-
33	*khuànn* 看 (look)	*bīn-tsuí* 面水	*kàn* 看 (look)	*kàn...miàn-zi* 看…面子 (look at one's *mian-zi*)
Total	44 Minnan Dialectal 'face'-related expressions			

Table 5.2: Test results of Minnan 'face'-related expressions with no Mandarin

counterparts

The first column of Table 5.2 shows the number of the verbs/adjectives/pronouns which collocate with 44 Minnan dialectal 'face'-related expressions. The second column presents these 33 verbs/adjectives/pronouns. The third column lists the core 'face' expressions which collocate with the 33 verbs/adjectives/pronouns respectively. The fourth column indicates the

participants' Mandarin interpretations of certain verb/adjective/pronoun. Lastly, the fifth column displays the Mandarin expressions the informants provided for interpreting specific Minnan expressions during the test.

In the following, I examine these 33 verbs, adjectives and pronouns and their collocations by dividing them into the following five groups:

1. No. 1 – 24 including Minnan verb-collocating 'face' expressions which were interpreted by some of the participants by using five Mandarin verbs.
2. No. 25 which triggered significant confusion for Mandarin speakers even if they were able to properly interpret the verb itself used in the Minnan collocation.
3. No. 26 – 27 are expressions that the Mandarin-speaking participants misunderstood.
4. No. 28 – 32 are verb/adjective-collocating expressions that the Mandarin speakers could not interpret by providing corresponding Mandarin expressions.
5. No. 33 is a verb which has a direct Mandarin counterpart, but it collocates with different nouns in Minnan and Mandarin.

1. No. 1 – 24 including Minnan verb-collocating 'face' expressions which were interpreted by some of the participants by using five Mandarin verbs.

As shown above, Minnan has a rich verbal lexicon concurring with 'face'-related nouns. The Minnan and Mandarin-speaking participants mentioned altogether 5 Mandarin expressions when they attempted to interpret the 24 Minnan collocations in this group. More specifically, they provided the Mandarin verbs *gē* 擱 (put), *diū* 丟 (lose), *kàn* 看 (look), *sī* 撕 (rip) and *gěi* 給 (give). Importantly, the rich variety of Minnan verbs implied that although the Mandarin subjects were in many cases able to interpret what a particular Minnan expression means, they were not able to capture more intricate differences between certain Minnan 'face'-related expressions. In the following, I will explain the differences in the pragmatic use of these Minnan expressions with examples.

a) Gē 擱 (put)

As Table 5.2 shows, there were 6 Minnan verbal expressions being interpreted with the verb *gē* 擱 (put) by the participants. The first four verbs-collocating expressions *bīn/bīn-tsú poh theh toh khì* 面/面子卜提佗去 (where one can take one's *mian/mian-zi* to), *bīn poh kheh toh khì* 面卜挈佗去 (where one takes one's *mian* to), *bīn poh giah toh khì* 面卜攑佗去 (where one can take one's *mian* to), and *bīn-tsú poh khng leh toh khì/ theh leh toh khng* 面子卜囥咧佗去/提咧佗囥 (where one can hide one's *mian-zi* to/where one can take one's *mian-zi* to hide) were all interpreted as Mandarin *liǎn wǎng nǎ gē* 臉往哪擱 (where to put one's *lian*). The latter two expressions *bīn-phuê bô tshú hā* 面皮無處下 (no place for the skin of *mian* to descend) and *bīn-phuê nā liap póo ē bô lâng siu* 面皮若攝脯會無人收 (nobody will be able to collect the skin of *mian* back if it is shrunk and dried) were interpreted as *liǎn méi dì gē* 臉沒地擱 (no place to put one's *lian*). However, the Mandarin verb *gē* cannot capture various intricacies of the Minnan expressions involved. The following six examples illustrate the use of these six Minnan 'face'-related expressions.

(1)

師兄弟：......啊(這个員外)擱去指名著阿彌仔(誦一部經予玉皇大帝聽)，這去卜漏氣。咱佛堂咧，麼共號做<u>面子卜提對佗去</u>啊？

Other monks: ...... The landlord chose Amia to read a scripture to the Jade Emperor. He will definitely screw it up. Here is a Buddha's Hall. If this happened, <u>where our Hall's *mian-zi* ('face') can be taken to</u>?

[Context: There was a monk called Amia in a Buddha's Hall. He was regarded as the dumbest monk there. But one day a landlord picked him as the monk who was going to read a scripture to the Jade Emperor. Other monks thus said the above utterance.]

— *Collection of Folk Literature in Taizhong County (Min)*

(2)

母亲：你怎好做這款代誌，叫我<u>面卜挈佗去</u>。

Mother: How could you do this kind of thing? <u>Where shall I take my *mian* ('face') to</u>?

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(3)

父亲：早就佮你讲，卜佮人来往著爱坦白，啊你毋，啊這陣连我这个<u>面都毋知卜攑佗去</u>。

Father: I told you earlier, if you want to be in a relationship with someone, you have to be honest. But you do not accept. Now even I <u>don't know where to take my *mian* ('face') to</u>.

[Context: A girl had hided something from her boyfriend and one day those things were exposed, and her boyfriend learnt them. The girl felt so 'face'-losing and dared not to meet her boyfriend. Her father thus said to her as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 9

On the one hand, *theh* 提, *kheh* 挈 and *giah* 攑 are Minnan verbs referring to the action 'take'. When they are used together with 'face' in *bīn/bīn-tsú poh theh/kheh/giah toh khì* 面/面子卜提/挈/攑佗去 (where one can take one's *mian* to), they are used in the situation where the speaker receives a 'face'-loss because of something the recipient does. The speaker thus finds no place to 'take' her/his 'face' to, i.e., they cannot put their 'face' somewhere to avoid the threat, as examples (1), (2) and (3) show.

(4)

母亲：一個無父母去參加的婚禮，彼著叫是相㤤走咧，我看到時陣你的<u>面子卜提咧佗园</u>。

Mother: A wedding without parents can be named as elopement. I will see then <u>where you will take your *mian-zi* ('face') to hide</u>.

[Context: A man was in love with a girl and decide to marry her. But the man's mother refused to accept the girl as well as attend the wedding. So she said to her son as above, trying to persuade him not to marry that girl.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 11

While *bīn-tsú poh khng toh khì* 面子卜囥佗去 (where one can hide one's *mian-zi* to) describes a situation where the speaker plans to do something and she/he knows that it will lead to the loss of the recipient's 'face'. The speaker thus uses this expression as a half threat and half persuasion to the recipient to ask her/him to do or not to do something, as example (4) shows. Thus, although these four expressions were interpreted by the participants by *liǎn wǎng nǎ gē* 臉往哪擱 (where to put one's *lian*), they are employed in different situations.

(5)

宜春：是赧厝當工陳三舍。因家中使簡子來尋伊。見著夭跪，叫伊做三舍。說：老太婆甲伊緊匕轉去，二日人知，<u>面皮無處下</u>。

Yichun: It is the worker Chen San in our house. His family sent a boy here to find him. The boy knelt on the ground when seeing him and called him San She, and said, his grandmother asked him to get back home quickly. If people knew that he worked as a mirror grinding master in the Huang family, there would be <u>no place for his skin of *mian* ('face') to descend</u>.

[Context: Chen San, as a son of an official family, entered the Huang family as a slave and became a mirror-grinding master in pursuit of Wuniang. When his grandmother learnt that, she sent a boy to get him back home. Wuniang's maidservant heard the boy's conversation with Chen San and reported it to Wuniang as above.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

(6)

查某若嫁予人做牽手
毋通外頭去飄流
少年仔有人通承受
<u>面皮若攝脯會無人收</u>

Once a woman is married,

she cannot go outside and be dissolute.

If a man has someone outside, his wife will have to suffer it and cannot speak out.

<u>No one would be able to collect her skin of *mian* ('face') back if it is shrunk and dried</u>.

[Context: This ballad reflects that at the end of the 20th century, women in Taoyuan County were still required to obey *Fùdé*, which is one of the ancient feminine virtues in Three Obediences and Four Virtues. Even her husband had a mistress outside, the wife was expected to remain silent and keep it herself. It was more perceived as the loss of the wife's 'face' instead of the husband's if someone else learnt it. 'Face' in this case is compared to vegetables that can be shrunk and dried. Yet, the vegetables can be collected back even if it is shrunk and dried, but 'face' cannot.]

— *Collection of folk literature in Taoyuan County (Min)*

On the other hand, *bīn-phuê bô tshú hā* 面皮無処下 (no place for the skin of *mian* to descend [to avoid it being threatened]) and *bīn-phuê nā liap póo ē bô lâng siu* 面皮若攝脯會無人收 (nobody will be able to collect the skin of *mian* back if it is shrunk and dried), were difficult to interpret for Mandarin speakers because the 'face'-related actions they describe do not have corresponding expressions in Mandarin. *Bīn-phuê bô tshú hā* describes a situation when someone is being threatened that, unless she changes her course of action, her 'face' will suffer a major loss (see example 5). *Bīn-phuê nā liap póo ē bô lâng siu* describes a situation where someone receives such a heavy loss of 'face' that nobody will be able to help this person regain her 'face' (see example 6).

Thus, although these two Minnan expressions were related to the Mandarin idiomatic expression *liǎn méi dì gē* 臉沒地擱 (no place to put one's *lian*), they refer to different situations. While using *gē* 擱 as the literal translation of these six Minnan verbs may be appropriate, it does not capture the fine pragmatic differences among the Minnan expressions involved.

b) *Diū* 丢 (lose)

The second Mandarin verb *diū* 丢 (lose) was used by the participants to interpret verb no. 7 – 12, including *siak tshuì* 摔碎 (smash), *sé* 洗 (wash), *sià* 卸 (unload), *lȯh (tsīn)* 落(盡) (completely drop), *tsáu (lȯh tē)* 走(落地) (run down to the ground) and *siah* 削 (pare). In the following, I will analyse how they varied in the situations they were used.

(7)

妻子：我面予你摔得碎碎的。

The wife: My *mian* ('face') was smashed by (because of) you.

[Context: The wife was scolding her husband for lending fake money to others. Although her husband did not know the money was fake, the fact that he had lent fake money to someone was still perceived as an extremely humiliating behaviour by the wife. So, the wife blamed as above.]

— Online videos

(8)

家人：您二人今仔日啊是兄見笑的，在這個官廳，一个敢無穿衫，啊一个敢無穿褲，卸世卸眾哦，歸家伙仔的面子予您二个卸了了。

Family members: You two are especially shameful today. In the government office, one dared not wear clothes, one dared not wear pants. It is really a disgrace. The whole family's *mian-zi* ('face') has been unloaded by you two.

[Context: the speaker's two family members did not wear clothes and pants in front of the public and in the government office. This behaviour led to the speaker's perception of the whole family's 'face' loss. The speaker thus said as above.]

— *Collection of folk literature in Taizhong County (Min)*

As example (7) shows, the expression *bīn hōo…siak tshuì* 面予…摔碎 (*mian* is smashed by someone) was used in a situation where the speaker argues that her/his 'face' is completely lost because of something the recipient has done. The *sià*-collocating 'face' expression *bīn-tsú hōo…sià liáu* 面子予…卸了 (*mian-zi* is unloaded by someone) describes a very similar situation, i.e., one's 'face' is lost because of something which was done by someone who has interpersonal relationship with her/him (see example 8).

(9)

陈三：伯卿今旦落盡頭面，望卜見五娘，誰知到只其段，不得入頭。

Chen San: I dropped my head-*mian* ('face') completely today, just wanted to see Wuniang. Who would know I still cannot see her even if I had been here?

[Context: Chen San, as a son of an official family, entered the Huang family as a slave and became a mirror-grinding master in pursuit of Wuniang. One day he was asked to take some water to Wuniang for her washing face. While he walked towards Wuniang's room, Wuniang's maidservant happened to go out of the room to pour some dirty water. Coincidentally, Chen San was mistakenly splashed with water by her. Thus, Chen San felt so ashamed and said as above.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

While the use of *lȯh* 落 (drop) and its collocating expressions *lȯh tsīn bīn-phuê* 落盡面皮 (the skin of *mian* is completely dropped), *lȯh tsīn thâu-bīn* 落盡頭面 (head-*mian* is completely dropped) and *lak-lián* 落臉 (drop *lian*) also indicate that doing something will lead to the complete 'face'-loss, such expressions are used in the situation where the speaker states that her/himself encounters a heavy 'face'-loss because of something her/himself has done (as example 9 shows). In such cases, the reason for causing the loss of the speaker's 'face' is from the speaker her/himself instead of others.

(10)

A: 伊这久拢莫来揣我咧。

B: 你都共伊洗面臉啦，还想欲伊来揣你。

A: He does not contact me recently.

B: You've washed his *mian*-cheek ('face'), and you're still expecting him to come to you again.

[This conversation took place between two female friends. 'He' in the dialogue is a young man who had confessed his love to A in public and A turned him down. The conversation above occurred a week after the incident when A complained to her friend B that the young man did not contact her ever after. In turn, B told A that she had made the young man 'lose his face' in public, implying that he would not want to see A again after this 'face' loss.]

— Naturally occurring conversations

(11)

A：你使著安尼講，安尼講都<u>削 B 的面子</u>啦。

A: Why should you have to say that? What you said was indeed <u>paring B's *mian-zi* ('face')</u>.

[Context: There was a gathering between friends. B had a master's degree but still had not found any work and had no salary. C's highest degree was just senior high school, but he had set up a company of his own. During the gathering, C said in front of B that "What is the benefit of receiving so much education, one still has no work". After the gathering, when A and C were alone without B, A said to C as above.]

— Interview

(12)

丈夫：我等咧就予你<u>洗面</u>。

Husband: I will let <u>your *mian* ('face') be washed</u> soon later.

[Context: A couple was fighting in front of their friends. The man was at a clear disadvantage. In order to win and gain some 'face' back in public, he 'threatened' his wife as above.]

— Online videos

As examples (10) and (11) show, the use of *sé bīn-lián* 洗面臉 (wash *mian-lian*) and *siah...bīn-tsú* 削...面子 (pare...*mian-zi*) are similar, i.e., they are both used by the speakers as a judgement of what the recipients have done before, indicating that what they did let someone else lose 'face'. Yet, another *sé*-collocating expression *sé bīn* 洗面 (wash *mian*) can be used in a different situation. As example (12) shows, it is used by the speaker as a 'threat' to the recipient to stop her/him from doing something. This means that although the collocations of both verbs *sé* and *siah* can be used as a judgement of what others do, *sé bīn* can also be used as a pre-announcement of what the actor is going to do so that to achieve a 'threat' effect.

(13)

福伯：哎唷招弟，人我焘来啦咧，人多多面子問題，你呐無愛俗人教，<u>我面子就走落地</u>咧。

Fu Bo: Ah Zhaodi, I had taken her here. It is 'face' that matters in front of so many people. If you would not teach her, <u>my *mian-zi* will run down to the ground</u>.

[Context: Fu Bo took the county head's wife to ask Zhaodi to teach her how to make Chicken Rice. Zhaodi pushed off at first, so Fu Bo said as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 3

Finally, the expression *bīn-tsú tsáu lȯh tē* 面子走落地 (*mian-zi* run down to the ground) is used by the speaker as a request to ask the recipient to do something. In such circumstance, the speaker's 'face' will 'run down to the ground' (i.e., will be lost) unless the recipient accepts her/his request to do something that can prevent the speaker's 'face' from dropping to the ground (see example 13).

To sum up, although these 6 Minnan verbs were all interpreted as Mandarin *diū* 丟 (lose), they can significantly vary in the situations they are used, i.e., some are used by the speaker to announce her/his own 'face'-loss (*siak tshuì* 摔碎, *sià* 卸, *lȯh tsīn* 落盡, although they also vary in the person who causes the 'face'-loss); some are used to judge what others do is 'face'-losing (*sé* 洗, *siah* 削); some are used as a request to ask someone to do something (*tsáu lȯh tē* 走落地).

c) *Kàn* 看- look

The third Mandarin verb-collocating expression *kàn...miàn-zi* 看…面子(look at one's *mian-zi*) was used to interpret 4 Minnan verbs and their collocations, including *thé* 體 (consider), *tài* 帶 (bring), *tài liām* 帶念 (bring and consider) and *tsûn* 存 (store). The following examples (14) – (17) illustrate how these verbs varied in their pragmatic use when collocating with 'face'.

(14)

五娘：益春，......銀持去送乞伊，放赧去尋。

益春：牌頭哥，銀送乞恁。

牌頭：若多？

益春：一兩 [1]。

牌頭：亦罷，<u>體著只好小娘子面皮</u>，一兩准二兩；共你收罷。快入去尋。

Wuniang: Yichuan, ... Take these silver pieces and send them to the beadle. Don't be shy.

Yichun: Brother Paitou (the beadle), here are some silver pieces for you.

The guard: How much?

Yichun: One Liang[1].

The guard: All right, <u>considering the lady's skin of *mian* ('face')</u>, I will regard one Liang as two Liang and take it. Go inside and find him quickly.

[Context: Chen San was wrongly imprisoned. Wuniang went to the jail asking for a visit to Chen San. But she and her maidservant Yichun were stopped at the jail gate. Wuniang thus asked Yichun to send some silver pieces to the jail guard so that he could let them enter the jail. The guard felt that one Liang of silver was too little at first, but he had to consider Wuniang's skin of *mian* and so he regarded it as another one Liang of silver. Thus he finally let them enter the jail.]

[1] Liang: A Chinese ancient unit of measuring silver

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

Example 14 shows the use of *thé…bīn/bīn-phuê* 體…面/面皮 (consider one's *mian*/skin of *mian*), which describes a situation where one considers the other's 'face' as something that can be measured and equalled to a certain amount of money, and then be used as money in actual interactions.

(15)

官老爺：把陳三，討長枷來，上了長枷。

官吏：稟：犯人當堂上了長枷呵。

陳三：老爹，<u>帶著家兄運使 [3] 面皮</u>。

官老爺：不受，收監去。

The judge: Bring the long shackles and put them on Chen San.

The beadle: The prisoners have been shackled.

Chen San: Officer, I <u>bring my elder brother's skin of *mian* ('face') as a Yunshi</u>[3].

The judge: I don't accept. Take him to jail.

[Context: Chen San was sentenced to guilt because of an undeserved accusation. His elder brother was an officer whose status was higher than the judge. Chen San brought his elder brother's 'face' and offered it to the judge, hoping the judge would accept it and be more lenient when sentencing his guilt. However, the judge had already received money from others, so he did not accept the offered 'face' and rejected it.]

[3] Yunshi: A Chinese ancient official title

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

While the use of the verb *tài* 帶 describes another situation where one can 'bring' the 'face' of someone she/he has a relationship with along with her/him, then offer that 'face' to others for specific purposes. At the same time, the one who was offered this 'face' can choose to accept or reject it (as example 15 shows).

(16)

父親：好啦，我再敲一個電話叫伊過來講予伊理解，看講<u>帶念我這個縣長的面子</u>莫佮你計較。

Father: Alright, I will call him and ask him to come. I will explain those things to him and wish he would understand you. Hope he will <u>bring and consider my *mian-zi* ('face')</u> as a head of county, and let it go.

[Context: A girl had hided something from her boyfriend and one day those things were exposed, and her boyfriend learnt them. The girl felt so 'face'-losing and dared not to meet her boyfriend. She dared not to explain all those things to the boy herself, so she begged her father to help her. Her father was the head of a county, so his 'face' might be something that the boy should take into account. Her father thus agreed and said to her as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 9

On the other hand, as example (16) shows, the use of *tài liām* in *tài liām…bīn-tsú* 帶念...面子 (consider one's *mian-zi*) refers to the situation when one wishes the other person could consider one's 'face' so that to do/not do something.

(17)

五娘父親：你生得好仔，今旦林厝來下定，你仔使小七力媒姨打一頓，也不<u>存着大人面皮</u>，是乜道理？後去做俪共人說話？

Father of Wuniang: Look at your good daughter. Today Lin's family come to send the betrothal gifts. Your daughter asked the servant to beat up the matchmaker without <u>storing any of her parents' skin of *mian*</u> ('face'). What kind of logic of this? How shall we interact with Lin's family and the matchmaker afterwards?

[Context: The matchmaker went to Wuniang's home to send Lin's betrothal gifts expressing their wish to marry Wuniang. Wuniang refused to accept and asked her to send the gifts back to Lin. The matchmaker did not want to. They two thus had a dispute. Wuniang ordered the servant to beat the matchmaker. Wuniang's father was extremely angry about it and said the above utterance to Wuniang's mother.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

The last one *tsûn…bīn-phuê* 存…面皮 (store one's skin of *mian*) means that one should consider 'face' while she/he is doing something so that she/he won't overdo or go too far. Thus some 'face' can at least be stored for future use (see example 17).

As discussed above, these four verbs collocating 'face' expressions, although they were all interpreted as the Mandarin verb *kàn* 看 (look), they describe various situations. It can simply indicates one's consideration of the other's 'face' when doing something (*tài liām* 帶念), or highlights the measurability of 'face' in actual context (*thé* 體), or pinpoints the preservability of 'face' for future use (*tsûn* 存), or even shows one's use of another person's 'face' in her/his interaction with others (*tài* 帶).

d) Sī 撕 (rip)

Verbs 17 – 22 in Table 5.2 were interpreted by the Mandarin verb *sī* 撕 (rip). Its collocation *sī liǎn-pí* 撕臉皮 (rip the skin of *lian*) was used as an interpretation of Minnan expressions *hian bīn-phuê* 掀面皮 (lift the skin of *mian*) and *lì bīn-phuê* 剺面皮 (rip the skin of *mian*); while another *sī*-expression *sī pò liǎn* 撕破臉 (rip open *lian*) was related to *phah phuà bīn-phuê* 拍破面皮 (hit and break the skin of *mian*), *thiah phuà bīn* 拆破面 (take apart and break *mian*), *peh phuà bīn-phuê* 擘破面皮 (pull apart and break the skin of *mian*) and *liah phuà bīn* 裂破面 (crack and break *mian*).

In the following, I first illustrate the use of *hian bīn-phuê* and *lì bīn-phuê*, which are related to Mandarin *sī liǎn-pí*. Then I discuss the rest four expressions which are interpreted as Mandarin *sī pò liǎn*.

(18)

村长：大家攏熟似裏似，咱就<u>掀了面皮</u>放開來講。

The head of the village: Since all of us have known each other for such a long time, let us <u>lift all our skin of *mian*</u> ('face') and speak openly.

[Context: Several men in a village gathered together to discuss some matters concerning building roads in the village. This roadbuilding was closely connected with the interests of some families. Thus, at the beginning, most of the men from these families were introverted and did not express their thoughts. So the head of the village said as above.]

— Interview

(19)

邻居 C：好啦好啦，拢后退一步，莫安尼啊，安尼下去大家嘛拢著款落<u>剺面皮</u>。

Neighbour C: Please, please, you two both take a step back. Don't fight like this. If this is going on, all of you have to <u>rip your skin of *mian*</u> ('face') off.

[There were two neighbours. Neighbour A was trimming the pavement in front of the door. B found that A made the surface of the pavement too high, and if it rains, the water will flow to B's front of the house. They thus began to dispute with each other, and the conversation very soon became a fight. At that time, another neighbour C stood out and persuaded them as above.]

Although both were interpreted as Mandarin *sī liǎn-pí*, the Minnan expressions *hian bīn-phuê* and *lì bīn-phuê* describe distinctive situations. As example (18) shows, *hian bīn-phuê* 掀面皮 (lift the skin of *mian*) describes a circumstance where if one is too sensitive to one's 'face', it will be helpless to solve problems. Thus, one shall 'lift' her/his/others' 'face' (i.e., leave her/his/others' 'face' aside) and not care about it so that everyone can express her/his opinions openly and frankly. Here the purpose of 'lifting the skin of face' is to promote something with its intention being positive.

However, as example (19) shows, *lì bīn-phuê* 剺面皮 (rip the skin of *mian*) describes a completely different situation. This conversation describes that in a conflict, the interactants' wrath increases. And if the tensions spiral out of control, both sides of people would end up ripping off each other's 'face' unless they both take a step back. Here 'ripping the skin of face off' would undoubtedly lead to a more severe situation and a severe loss of each other's 'face'. Thus, these two examples shows that although it might be semantically right to interpret these two Minnan expressions as Mandarin *sī liǎn-pí* 撕脸皮 (rip the skin of *lian*), the Mandarin participants failed to catch the intrinsic pragmatic differences between them.

While among 4 Minnan expressions which were understood as Mandarin *sī pò liǎn* 撕破脸 (rip open *lian*), the use of verb *phah phuà* 拍破 (hit and break) varied from the use of verbs *thiah phuà* 拆破 (take apart and break), *peh phuà* 擘破 (pull apart and break) and *liah phuà* 裂破 (crack and break). Note here that the expression *liah phuà bīn* was found in a dictionary with no case presented, and *peh phuà bīn-phuê* was provided by one of the Minnan interviewees, who failed to come up with a specific context of how this expression was used. Even though, these two expressions were recognised by all of the Minnan participants in the current study to be used in the same situation where *thiah phuà bīn* 拆破面 was used. Thus, here I will only discuss the pragmatic differences between *phah phuà bīn-phuê* 拍破面皮 and *thiah phuà bīn* 拆破面 based on their actual examples in use.

(20)

衫褲穿到無半領

伨君仔相好歹名聲

檢彩庄中的人若知影

<u>拍破面皮</u>歹名聲

Not a single piece of clothing was worn.

Being together with this guy will damage my reputation.

If this was learnt by the others in the county,

my <u>skin of *mian* ('face') will be hit and broken</u> and it will tarnish my reputation.

[Context: This is a ballad. It describes a situation that there was a girl, who was in a relationship with a boy. They were together before the marriage. So the girl was thinking in mind that if others learnt what she had done, it will damage her 'face' and tarnish her reputation.]

— *Collection of folk literature in Taoyuan County (Min)*

(21)

蕾蕾：志辉，你妈伨我已经<u>拆破面</u>啦，你閣来这，你毋惊噢。

Leilei: Zhihui, your mother and I had <u>taken apart and broken our *mian* ('face')</u>, why you still come here? Aren't you afraid?

[Context: Zhihui's mother didn't agree on Leilei as Zhihui's girlfriend because Leilei was only a salesgirl in a street stall while Zhihui worked in government. When the boy's mother humiliated the girl in public and wanted to break them up, Leilei said that she will not leave as long as Zhihui still loves her. Zhihui's mother then forced Zhihui to say he did not love Leilei anymore. Zhihui stood out and said that he would never break up with Leilei. Hearing this, Zhihui's mother left angrily. Another day after this, Zhihui went to Leilei's working place. Leilei thus said as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 8

As example 20 shows, *phah phuà bīn-phuê* 拍破面皮 (hit and break the skin of *mian*) describes a situation when one has done something indecent or immoral, her/his 'face' would receive a severe loss (i.e., it will be 'hit and broken') if what she/he has done is known by others. While *thiah phuà bīn* 拆破面 (take apart and break *mian*) describes the situation when one

had a serious conflict with another, where they 'took apart and broke' (i.e., ripped open) each other's 'face', their relationship was destroyed and not even the superficial peace exists (see example 21). In this case, though *phah phuà bīn-phuê* and *thiah phuà bīn* are literally similar to Mandarin *sī pò liǎn* (rip open *lian*), they clearly varied in the situations they were used.

To sum up, although all the above six Minnan expressions were interpreted by the participants by using Mandarin verb *sī* 撕 (rip), the six verbs and their 'face' collocating expressions varied in a significant way in their intentions or consequences of use (like *hian bīn-phuê* 掀面皮 and *lì bīn-phuê* 剺面皮) and in the circumstances where they are used (like *phah phuà bīn-phuê* 拍破面皮 and *thiah phuà bīn* 拆破面).

e) Gěi 给 (give)

The final Mandarin verb in this group is *gěi* 给 (give), which was used to interpret Minnan expressions *hōo bīn-tsú/bīn-phuê* 予面子/面皮 (give *mian-zi*/the skin of *mian*) and *tsò bīn-tsú/bīn-phuê/thé-bīn* 做面子/面皮/體面 (make *mian-zi*/the skin of *mian*/body-*mian*). The following examples illustrate how these two expressions are used in various contexts.

(22)

縣長：拜託，<u>予我一個面子</u>，大家稍讓一下。

The head of county: Please, <u>give me a *mian-zi* ('face')</u>, all of you take a step back.

[Context: There were two group of people fighting with each other because of some old grudges. They asked the head of county to judge which side was right. The county-head thus said as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 7

(23)

志輝爸爸：咱仔娶某喔，啊我穿這身你感覺按怎？

志輝媽媽：清彩啦，也不是啥乜門當戶對的，清彩穿穿都<u>予她們足面子</u>啦。

Zhihui's father: What do you think of me wearing this outfit when our son is getting married?

Zhihui's mother: Whatever you want, it's not a good match anyway. It will give them enough *mian-zi* ('face') if you wear it casually.

[Context: Zhihui was going to marry Leilei, a girl his mother does not like. Before their wedding, Zhihui's father was trying on some outfits and asking for Zhihui's mother's opinion. Zhihui's mother thus said as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 15

As example (22) shows, the use of *hōo bīn-tsú/bīn-phuê* 予面子/面皮 (give *mian-zi*/the skin of *mian*) describes the situation where one offered her/his 'face' to the target interactants and wish them would 'give her/him a face' so that to do or not to do something. It can also be used by one to explain what she/he did, or is doing, or will do as example (23) shows. This expression was recognised to be very close to Mandarin *gěi miàn-zi* 给面子 (give *mian-zi*) in use by the Minnan-speaking participants. It turned out to be the verb *hōo* 予 which caused the incomprehension of the Mandarin-speaking participants during the test. As they responded, this verb *hōo* rarely used alone with 'face' to the best of their knowledge. That was why they failed to recognise this expression.

On the other hand, the verb *tsò* 做 (make) in *tsò bīn-tsú/bīn-phuê/thé-bīn* 做面子/面皮/體面 (make *mian-zi*/the skin of *mian*/body-*mian*) indicates quite different circumstances.

(24)

做一两躯新衫来做面皮。

Make one or two new outfits so we can make them as our skin of *mian* ('face').

— *Homologous Dictionary of the Minnan Dialect and Ancient Chinese*

(25)

女朋友：你要予伊做體面就做夠去。

Girlfriend: If you want to make body-*mian* for him, make it enough.

[Context: A man was invited by his friend to help him arrange a dinner. As the arrangement process was full of complicated details, the man complained to his girlfriend that he did

not want to devote too much energy and wanted to miss the details. His girlfriend then said as above and persuade him to do it well as he had begun to do it.]

<div align="right">— Interview</div>

This verb and its collocating 'face' expressions could be used to describe two situations. First, when one makes some physical items for someone, which have positive effects on someone's outer image, she/he is also making someone's 'face'. That is, one's gaining of certain physical items is equal to one's gaining of 'face' (see example 24). Second, when A does something for B, and the competition of it would lead to a positive effect on B's 'face', A is also making 'face' for B (see example 25). Compared with the use of *hōo* 予 (give), the emphasis of *tsò* 做 (make) is the explicit indication of doing/making something and its equivalence of something to 'face'. The Mandarin interpretation *gěi miàn-zi* 给面子 (give *mian-zi*) inevitably omits this intrinsic feature of *tsò bīn-tsú/bīn-phuê/thé-bīn* 做面子/面皮/體面 (making 'face').

To summarise here, in this group 1, five Mandarin verbs and their 'face' collocations were used by the informants to interpret 24 Minnan verbs and their 'face' collocations. However, even some of the Mandarin interpretations might be literally right, the Mandarin-speaking participants still failed to grasp the pragmatic differences among those Minnan expressions.

2. No. 25 which triggered significant confusion for Mandarin speakers even if they were able to properly interpret the verb itself used in the Minnan collocation.

In the second group, I discuss a Minnan 'face'-related expression which triggered significant confusion for the Mandarin-speaking participants.

The collocation *huán bīn* 反面 (turn one's *mian* against someone, i.e., taking a revenge on someone by attacking his 'face' in a tit-for-tat way, see example 26 below) caused significant difficulties for the Mandarin-speaking subjects.

(26)

    苏六娘：今旦<u>反面</u>不识我，一刀二断去未听。

Su Liuniang: Today you <u>turn your *mian* ('face')</u> against me and don't understand me. We are done. Never contact each other anymore.

[Context: Su Liuniang fell in love with Guo Jichun, but her parents asked her to marry Yang. Thus, Su Liuniang and Guo Jichun were trying to find a way to be together. However, they started a dispute about how they could be together. Guo Jichun said they could elope, while Su Liuniang wanted him to rob her during the wedding. They did not accept the method that another proposed. While arguing, Su claimed that Guo did not love her anymore, while Guo blamed that Su abandoned their promise to each other and she love the new and loathe the old. Su Liuniang was so angry and said the above utterance. They two then broke up.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Soo Lak Niû*

The reasons for causing such difficulties can be summarised as follows: in Minnan, there are two seemingly very similar expressions, including the above *huán bīn* 反面 and *huān bīn* 翻面 (turn something over). While both these expressions include *bīn*, in the former expression *bīn* refers to 'face', while in the latter it refers to the physical face of an object. In Mandarin, there is a duality of *fǎn miàn* 反面 (the other side of an object) and *fān liǎn* 翻脸 (turn one's *lian* against someone). All the Mandarin-speaking respondents related Minnan *huán bīn* (the abstract 'face') to Mandarin *fǎn miàn* (the physical face) in the test. After they read the examples of *huán bīn* and realised that *huán bīn* in a written form refers to 'face' in an abstract sense, they felt confused by the fact that 1) in Minnan, *bīn* (*mian*) in *huán bīn* 反面 refers to one's abstract 'face' rather than the physical side of an object in Mandarin; and 2) in Minnan *bīn* (for *mian*) is used for a case when someone's important 'face' is getting threatened in a tit-for-tat fashion, considering that *mian* in Mandarin describes less important 'face' than *lian*.

3. No. 26 – 27 are expressions that the Mandarin-speaking participants misunderstood.

The third group includes one pronoun and one adjective and their collocating Minnan expressions, which were misunderstood by the Mandarin-speaking participants.

The first *mí bīn/bīn-bȯk* 乜面/面目 (what *mian/mian*-eye) is a rhetorical question, which indicates that someone has no 'face' to do something. It is used in a situation when one has experienced or done something which is perceived to have negative effects on 'face', one would feel and self-state that her/himself has no more 'face' to do another thing (as example 27 below shows), or another person would judge her/him shall not have 'face' to do another thing (as example 28 below shows).

(27)

媒婆：婆仔乞人打了，<u>乜面</u>通入去食飯。

Matchmaker: I was beaten by a servant, I have <u>what *mian* ('face')</u> to enter your house and have a meal.

[Context: The matchmaker went to Wuniang's home to send Lin's betrothal gifts expressing their wish to marry Wuniang. Wuniang refused to accept and asked her to send the gifts back to Lin. The matchmaker did not want to. They two thus had a dispute. Wuniang ordered the servant to beat the matchmaker. Afterwards, Wuniang's father invited the matchmaker to have a meal at their house. The matchmaker thus said as above.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

(28)

嫂子：夭是只樣好亲情，有<u>乜面</u>前來相体。

Sister-in-law: If you really think so highly of our relationship, <u>what *mian*-eye ('face')</u> do you have to come and see us?

[Context: Kimhuelú married Liu Yong, a poor scholar, despite her sister-in-law's objection. After their marriage, Kimhuelú went to her brother's home to borrow some money in order to support Liu Yong in attending an examination. When her sister-in-law heard of this, she was so mean and angry, and said as above, indicating Kimhuelú shall not have 'face' to come and ask for money.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Kim Hue Lú*

The pronoun *mí* 乜 (what) turned out to be the source of the misidentification. This character was recognised as the reference to the action 'squinting' instead of the pronoun 'what'. As recorded on Baidu Baike (https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B9%9C/84303) and online Chinese Dictionary (http://xh.5156edu.com/), this character in Mandarin can both refer to squinting and a Chinese family name, while its use as a pronoun 'what' seems to be only in some southern dialects of Chinese like the Minnan Dialect, Cantonese, and Hakka. In other Chinese dialects like the Sichuan Dialect, it refers to 'small'; in the Gan Dialect, it means 'very'; in the Jin Dialect, it refers to 'the other person'; etc. As a consequence, the variational pragmatic meanings of *mí* 乜 in different dialects of Chinese created difficulty for the Mandarin participants in recognising the Minnan expression *mí bīn/bīn-bȯk* 乜面/面目 during the test. When the participants learnt that *mí* 乜 refers to the pronoun 'what' in Minnan, they then provided Mandarin expressions *shá/shén me miàn-zǐ* 啥/什麼面子 (what/what *mian-zi*) as its interpretations, where they used two Mandarin pronouns *shá* 啥 and *shén me* 什麼, which refer to 'what' in Mandarin.

While the second expression *suí bīn* 媠面 (beautiful *mian*, i.e., having 'face') describes a situation when one has obtained or experienced something which benefits her/his 'face', her/his 'face' thus will be 'beautiful' (i.e., she/he will have 'face', see example 29 and its explanation below).

(29)

紅龜 [4] 抹油——媠面

Basting oil on Angku -- beautiful *mian* ('face')

[4] Angku: A red dessert made of sticky rice filled with peanuts or sesame and sugar

[Explanation: This example is a metaphor, where 'face' is compared to Angku, and basting oil on Angku indicates the positive effects on 'face'. This thus makes one's 'face beautiful', i.e., having 'face'.]

— *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*

It was the character *suí* 媠 which created the comprehension difficulty during the test. There were 5 Mandarin participants who said that they had never learnt about this character, and

another participant recognised it as *duò* 惰, which means lazy in Mandarin. As recorded on Baidu Baike (https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B9%9C/84303) and online Chinese Dictionary (http://xh.5156edu.com/), 媠 is an archaic Chinese character, which can refer to beautifulness and can also be equal to 惰 (lazy) in ancient Chinese. While in contemporary Chinese, this character occurs more in other dialects of Chinese rather than in Mandarin. In the Minnan Dialect, it refers to beautifulness; in some Chinese dialects in Hunan, it is used to address the elder sister of one's parents; in the Wu Dialect, this character occurs in the word *duò mào* 媠娟, which refers to the prostitute. After the participants of this study knew that the meaning of *suí* 媠 in Minnan is beautifulness, they provided the Mandarin adjective *hǎo kàn* 好看 (beautiful/good-looking) to interpret it.

In summary, the pronoun and the adjective 'face' collocating Minnan expressions discussed in the current group were unrecognised by the participants. This unidentifiaction was caused by various pragmatic meanings of the pronoun *mí* 乜 and the adjective *suí* 媠 among different dialects of Chinese. While the investigation of the dialectal use of specific Chinese characters is beyond the scope of the current study, it is definitely worth for future research to explore the pragmatic variation of certain characters of Chinese in different dialects.

4. No. 28 – 32 are verb/adjective-collocating expressions that the Mandarin speakers could not interpret by providing corresponding Mandarin expressions.

In the collected 80'face'-related expressions in Minnan, there are 5 expressions which turned out to be impossible to interpret for Mandarin speakers even in a written form. They include the expressions *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng pìnn* 面皮莫放變 (don't release and change the skin of *mian*), *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng tiāu* 面皮莫放掉 (don't release the skin of *mian*), *siu thâu jiȯk bīn/ jiȯk thâu jiȯk bīn* 羞頭辱面/辱頭辱面 (humiliate head-*mian*), *bīn-té-phuê leh thôo kha tshè* 面底皮咧塗跤擦 (the deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground) and *khí phuì bīn* 起呸面 angry *mian* arise).

The first two expressions *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng pìnn* and *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng tiāu*, are all literary expressions, which speakers of Minnan understood in a spoken form as well. However,

the Mandarin-speaking participants found these two expressions unintelligible. *Bīn-phuê bȯk pàng pìnn* 面皮莫放變 (don't release and change the skin of *mian*) describes a request directed at the other to avoid not considering someone's 'face' (as example 30 below shows), and *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng tiāu* 面皮莫放掉[16] (don't release the skin of *mian*) describes roughly the same requestive meaning.

(30)

五娘：都牢聽說起，恁也曾做過後生，誰無私情事志？人情通做些兒，<u>面皮莫放變</u>。

Wuniang: Dear officer, please listen to me. You had also been a young man before. You know that everyone has some favour that he needs to consider. Please do me a favour, <u>do not release and change the skin of *mian*</u> ('face').

[Context: Chen San was sentenced as guilty and was going to be dispatched to the frontier. Before his departure, Wuniang went to see him, and she wanted to talk to him. But she was stopped by the officer who will escort Chen San. Wuniang thus said as above and begged the officer to let them have a short talk.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

The following two examples display the use of *siu thâu jiȯk bīn/ jiȯk thâu jiȯk bīn* 羞頭辱面/辱頭辱面 (humiliate head-*mian*) and *bīn-té-phuê leh thôo kha tshè* 面底皮咧塗跤擦 (the deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground).

(31)

陈三：<u>羞頭辱面</u>來到只，未知兄嫂也般意。

Chen San: Coming here with my <u>humiliated head-*mian*</u> ('face'), just do not know what my brother and sister-in-law will think of me.

[Context: Chen San, as a son of an official family, entered the Huang family as a slave and became a mirror-grinding master in pursuit of Wuniang. During this, he was wrongly

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[16] This expression was provided by a Minnan-speaking participant when he saw the expression *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng pìnn* 面皮莫放變 and reflected that there was also a similar expression *bīn-phuê bȯk pàng tiāu* 面皮莫放掉 in Minnan. This happened in the interview which was conducted to check whether the collected Minnan 'face'-related expressions could be understood by the Minnan speakers (see more details in previous Chapter 4).

sentenced as guilty because he was framed by another man who was also chasing after Wuniang. Chen San was then wrongly imprisoned and dispatched to the frontier. During the journey of dispatching, Chen San had a chance to meet his elder brother. But he felt so shameful that he said to himself as above.]

— Teochew Opera Scripts *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

(32)

福伯：恁這對翁仔某真正莫意思，恁仔明明都有女朋友啦，恁是安怎講一直佮我攄，攄講安排伊相親，恁這嘛害我<u>面底皮去咧塗跤擦</u>。

Fu Bo: You couple are really nonsense. Your son had already got a girlfriend, why did you keep begging me to arrange blind dates between him and other girls? Now what you had done make <u>my deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground</u>.

[Context: A couple asked Fu Bo to help to find a girlfriend to their son although they had known that their son having one because the mother did not accept her son's girlfriend. They lied to Fu Bo by saying their son having no girlfriend. But Fu Bo found the fact by himself and he was so angry that he rushed to the parents' house and questioned them as above.]

— TV series *Thian Hā Hū Bió Sim* Episode 7

As example (31) shows, *siu thâu jiȯk bīn/ jiȯk thâu jiȯk bīn* (humiliate head-*mian*) describes the situation that one loses her/his 'face' in an excessive way because of something one has done. While *bīn-té-phuê leh thôo kha tshè* (the deep skin of *mian* rubbing on the ground) describes the circumstance where one receives a severe loss of 'face' because of something done by others (as example 32 shows). These two expressions were different, in those all the Mandarin-speaking respondents understood what it means. However, they argued that they were unable to provide alternative Mandarin expressions.

(33)

伊耍甲一半煞起<u>呸面</u>。

He suddenly had his <u>angry *mian* arise</u> halfway through the game.

The last expression *khí phuì bīn* 起呸面 (angry *mian* arise) was special as it led to a misunderstanding among the Mandarin-speaking participants. This misunderstanding was caused by the Chinese character 呸. All the Mandarin participants in the test understood this word as an interjection which also implies an action of spitting on someone. They thus explained *khí phuì bīn* 起呸面 as 'one spit on the other's face', that is, one humiliates the other's 'face' bluntly. However, this word refers to 'angry' in Minnan expression *khí phuì bīn* (angry *mian* arise), which describes the situation in that one becomes angry and turns her/his 'face' against someone (see example 33). This variational use of 呸 in Chinese built the interpretation obstacle for Mandarin participants.

5. No. 33 is a verb-collocating 'face' expression which has a direct Mandarin counterpart, but it collocates with different nouns in Minnan and Mandarin.

The last verb under investigation is *khuànn* 看 (look), which has a Mandarin equivalent *kàn* 看 collocating with 'face' in the form *kàn...miàn-zĭ* 看…面子 (look at someone's *mian-zi*). What triggered interpretation difficulty for the Mandarin-speaking subjects was not the fact that *khuànn* in Minnan collocates with a 'face'-noun, but rather they found the Minnan expression *khuànn...bīn-tsuí* 看…面水 (*mian*-water) confusing because of its noun component. A dictionary example of the use of *khuànn bīn-tsuí* is the following:

(34)

看我的面水，原諒伊啦！

Looking at my *mian*-water (for the sake of my 'face'), forgive him.

Bīn-tsuí literally means 'face-water', but in the Minnan Dialect it is simply a synonym for *bīn-tsú* 面子 (face), and Mandarin speakers could not interpret this expression most probably

because of its confusing literary meaning. This relatively rare expression is, however, readily intelligible for Minnan speakers. The responses from the Minnan participants showed that this is because *bīn-tsuí* is phonologically very close to *bīn-tsú* (*mian-zi* in Minnan). Since Minnan is not usually standardised, many Minnan speakers involved in the current research turned out to be used to some variation of expressions provided and there were sufficient contextualisation cues provided to interpret these expressions.

5.4 Summary of the Results

Except for the result discussed above, there are two further points worthy of being mentioned here regarding the research outcomes.

Firstly, in the list of 80 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect, many verbs describe physical actions. For example, 'face' in Minnan can be destructed by 'washing' (*sé* 洗), 'taking apart and breaking' (*thiah phuà bīn* 拆破), 'cracking and breaking' (*liah phuà* 裂破), 'smashing' (*siak tshuì* 摔碎), 'paring' (*siah* 削), 'unloading' (*sià* 卸), 'ripping' (*lì* 剺), 'lifting' (*hian* 掀), 'hitting and breaking' (*phah phuà* 拍破), 'pulling apart and breaking' (*peh phuà* 擘破), 'dropping' (*lȯh* 落), 'releasing' (*pàng pìnn* 放變 and *pàng tiāu* 放掉) and 'rubbing' (*tshè* 擦). Further, 'face' can be constructed by 'making' (*tsò* 做) and 'collecting' (*siu* 收). It can be 'put' (*pang* 放 and *pái* 擺), 'brought' (*tài* 帶), 'taken' (*theh* 提, *kheh* 挈 and *giah* 攑) and 'hid' (*khng* 囥) to somewhere, and also 'stored' (*tsûn* 存) by others for future use. 'Face' can even find its 'stairs' to 'descend' (*hā* 下) in order to avoid being threatened, or it can 'run down to the ground' (*tsáu lȯh tē* 走落地) because of a serious threat. Among all these verbs, only the action 'putting' (*pang* 放 and *pái* 擺) was reported by our respondents to have Mandarin 'face' counterparts. The flourishing use of such verbs of physical actions leads to the fact that 'face' as an abstract notion in Minnan is non-separable from face as a physical entity.

As it has been noted in previous studies, the notion of 'face' is the metaphorical or figurative use of the physical face (see Watts et al., 1992; Watts, 2003; Bargiela-Chiappini & Haugh, 2009; O'Driscoll, 2017). Although the variational use of metaphorical expressions in different languages and its significant effects on the differences in diverse language speakers'

perception has been widely pointed out in terms of the metaphorical use of for example happiness and anger (Yu, 1995), heart (Cheng, 2021), colour (He, 2011), and even snake (Lixia & Eng, 2012), there is still a gap in the metaphorical contrastive research on 'face'-related expressions among different dialects of Chinese or among different languages. However, such an inquiry would require a project on its own. The current study further shows that it is definitely worth including the issue of variational metaphorical use in contrastive research.

Furthermore, the outcome of the current research further emphasises my previous finding that there is practically no *lian/mian* distinction in Minnan. As the previous Chapter 4 argued, the term *bīn* (*mian* in Minnan) is far more important than *lian* in Minnan. In this chapter, the test conducted with the Minnan-speaking respondents revealed that speakers of Minnan used both the Mandarin *liǎn* (*lian*) and *miàn* (*mian*) to interpret and describe 68 Minnan *bīn* (*mian*) related expressions, while in the case of the other 11 *bīn*-related expressions they used '*liǎn-miàn*' compounds. This indicates that speakers of Minnan were aware of the broad meaning of *bīn* and adjusted their Mandarin translations accordingly. That is, Mandarin *liǎn* was widely used by both the Mandarin-speaking and Minnan-speaking participants in their interpretations in spite of the fact that the provided Minnan 'face'-related expressions were almost all *mian*-related. What's more, in many of the cases, the Mandarin-speaking respondents were often struggling with whether to choose Mandarin *liǎn* or *miàn* in their interpretations and descriptions of the Minnan *mian*-related expressions.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted the complexity of the use and interpretation of 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese. I administered a test with speakers of both Mandarin and Minnan to investigate whether Minnan expressions can be readily interpreted in a written form by members of both these groups, assuming that writing may resolve interpretational difficulties for speakers of Mandarin. My research thus disconfirmed this hypothesis. The result shows that among 80 collected Minnan 'face'-related expressions, 44 expressions were identified as having no Mandarin counterpart. These 44 collocations belong

to 33 verbs, adjectives and pronouns, among which, 28 of them could be interpreted by providing certain Mandarin 'face'-related collocations, but their intrinsic pragmatic differences were hardly captured; 5 of them turned out to be impossibly interpreted by using any Mandarin collocations. Some of these expressions even created significant confusion for the Mandarin-speaking informants. This finding indicates that although sharing roughly the same writing system with Mandarin, the Minnan Dialect has its own repertoire of 'face'-related expressions, which includes a considerable number of dialectal collocations which are hardly interpreted by Mandarin speakers.

As part of the study, I also considered whether Minnan 'face'-related expressions could be readily translated into Mandarin by both groups. It turned out that along with complexities arising from the diversity of nominal forms, the richness of verbs/adjectives/pronouns collocating with 'face'-related nouns in Minnan also triggered significant interpretational and translational difficulties for the Mandarin speakers. Also, while Minnan speakers were of course able to interpret Minnan expressions, they found it difficult to *translate* them into Mandarin. While venturing into the theory of translation is beyond the scope of the present investigation, the current study further shows that it is definitely worth including dialectal translational issues in translation research (see an overview in House, 2018).

6. Chinese 'Face'-related Expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera Scripts – A Historical Contrastive Pragmatic Inquiry

6.1. Introduction

In previous Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I provide an overview of 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions and found that the Minnan Dialect has its own repertoire of 'face'-related expressions. More than half of these expressions have no counterparts in Mandarin. More importantly, unlike Mandarin *mian* and *lian* are used in duality, most of Minnan 'face'-related expressions are *mian*-related, while *lian* which is very important in Mandarin is very rarely used in Minnan, i.e., the *mian–lian* dichotomy does not exist in the Minnan dialect, there is only a singularity *mian* of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect. Thus in the current chapter, I examine the third research question – whether the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan apply to Chinese historical data.

In this chapter, I present a historical contrastive pragmatic study of the use of Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera scripts. Peking Opera is the most well-known type of Chinese opera, performed in variants of Mandarin. Teochew Opera, which is one of the best-known Chinese dialectal operas, is performed in Teochew, a variant of the Minnan Dialect. The historical pragmatic investigation presented in this study is based on a corpus of 19 Peking Opera scripts and a comparable corpus of 19 Teochew Opera scripts, written during the Ming and Qing period (1368–1912). The rationale behind conducting this investigation is that contemporary Mandarin and the Minnan Dialect[17] operate with very different inventories of 'face'-related expressions, and it is worth considering whether this difference also applies to their historical variants and, if so, how.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. I introduce the methodology and data in Section 6.2. In Section 6.3, I present the results, which are followed by a conclusion in Section 6.4.

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[17] Although the data used in Chapter 4 also included five historical Teochew Opera scripts, due to their limited data scope, the involvement of these scripts does not affect the result drawn from the other modern Minnan data as far as the singularity *mian* in Minnan is concerned. Thus, here I refer to the results drawn from the previous Chapter 4 are the outcomes of the contemporary Minnan Dialect.

6.2. Methodology and Data

My objectives in this study are the following: Firstly, I aim to identify and categorise 'face'-related expressions in historical Chinese Peking and Teochew Opera scripts. Secondly, I aim to investigate whether the dual use of *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the dominance of *mian* in Minnan, which we could observe in modern data, also holds for historical Chinese language use.

This research is typically pragmaphilological[18] (Jacobs & Jucker, 1995) in scope, i.e., I attempted to reconstruct the inventory and use of 'face'-related expressions in my corpus from both quantitative and qualitative points of view. While I compared the outcome of the research with what I found in present-day Mandarin and Minnan, and I considered the implications of such differences for the development of 'face'-related inventories in these dialects, I did not conduct a detailed developmental study because that would have required different corpora from what I used, such as philological texts written during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912).

The methodology of this study is anchored in the work of House and Kádár (2021), where they argued that historical contrastive pragmatic research is a particularly fruitful area because it can help us to critically revisit results reached through the study of a single historical language or dialect. While in this study I examine dialects of Chinese, the research represents fully-fledged contrastive pragmatic analysis, rather than a so-called 'variationist' approach (Schneider & Barron, 2008), which is a type of contrastive research (see House & Kádár, 2021).

In this research, I first only compared core 'face' expressions in the two Chinese variants to understand general similarities and differences between two corpora, and then I examined how 'face'-related collocations in the two variants relate to one another. As part of the methodology, I manually coded uses of 'face'-related expressions in the corpora, interpreting whether particular uses of these expressions represent 'light', 'heavy' or physical 'face'.

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[18] "Traditionally, historical linguists have spent most of their efforts on sound changes and on the phonology and morphology of historical texts. Syntax and semantics have always been less popular among the language historians. Pragmaphilology goes one step further and describes the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text" (Jacobs & Jucker, 1995, p. 11).

This study is based on the comparable corpora of 19 Minnan Teochew and 19 Peking Opera scripts, which were written during the Ming and Qing period (1368–1912). I collected the corpus of 19 Peking Opera scripts from the Chinese Peking Opera Xikao website[19]. The themes of these scripts were love and family, and the length of this corpus is 404,719 characters in total. The exact time when these 19 Peking scripts were written was not provided on the website, but the following can be safely argued: various scripts in the corpus were already performed in Hui Opera – the 'ancestor' of Peking Opera – during the Jiajing period of the Ming Dynasty (1522–1566). Therefore, along with their size and theme, the age of my corpora is also comparable.

I then collected a comparable corpus of Teochew Opera scripts in two steps. First, I included five scripts from the Min and Hakka Language Archives[20] (1–5 in Table 1) in my corpus. I then contacted the Dongshan County Teochew Opera Troupe in Fujian Province, who provided me with 14 Teochew Opera scripts (6–19 in Table 1). The Troupe Administrator (劇本管理員) introduced that these operas were compiled during the Ming–Qing period. The themes of the 19 operas are mainly love and family, and their total length is 401,823 Chinese characters.

One particular difficulty when it comes to the study of Chinese opera scripts is that they were often tampered with. For example, after the end of the Qing Dynasty and the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, to promote women's rights certain parts of Peking Opera scripts were simply removed by the publishers who printed these texts. Yet, I hold the view that such editorial interventions do not have any detrimental effect on how 'face'-related expressions *per se* are used in these corpora.

The following Table 6.1 presents the operas in my corpora, as well as the length of each text and the number of occurrences of core 'face' expressions and 'face'-related expressions in them:

Peking Opera scripts				
Number	Name of opera	Number of characters	Number of core 'face' expressions	Number of occurrences of 'face' -related expressions
1	*Cuì Píng Shān* 翠屏山	12,977	1	2

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[19] https://scripts.xikao.com/
[20] http://minhakka.ling.sinica.edu.tw/bkg/index.php

2	*Bái Shé Zhuàn* 白蛇传	18,779	3	3
3	*Hóng Luán Xǐ* 鸿鸾禧	21,961	3	5
4	*Hóng Méi Gé* 红梅阁	11,320	2	2
5	*Bì Yù Zān* 碧玉簪	18,467	3	5
6	*Chāi Tóu Fèng* 钗头凤	24,640	2	2
7	*Fèng Huán Cháo* 凤还巢	20,795	3	5
8	*Hóng Lóu Èr Yóu* 红楼二尤	22,281	3	3
9	*Hóng Niáng* 红娘	17,781	1	1
10	*Huā Tián Cuò* 花田错	25,385	2	2
11	*Jīn Yù Nú* 金玉奴	16,716	2	3
12	*Jīng Chāi Jì* 荆钗记	13,896	1	1
13	*Kān Yù Chuàn* 勘玉钏	23,925	3	4
14	*Liǔ Yīn Jì* 柳荫记	17,484	1	1
15	*Zhào Wǔ Niáng* 赵五娘	40,929	3	3
16	*Táo Huā Shàn* 桃花扇	27,816	3	3
17	*Xiù Rú Jì* 绣襦记	21,615	1	1
18	*Zhuó Wén Jūn* 卓文君	21,329	3	3
19	*Dé Yì Yuán* 得意缘	26,623	1	1
Total		404,719	11 (some of them occurred more than once)	50

| | | | | *Teochew Opera scripts* | | |

Number	Name of opera	Number of characters	Number of core 'face' expressions	Number of occurrences of 'face' -related expressions
1	*Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version) 荔镜記(嘉靖)	74,662	4	14
2	*Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version) 荔镜記(万历)	52,300	4	14
3	*Tòng Tshong Khîm Su Kì* 同窗琴書記	35,278	1	2
4	*Kim Hue Lú* 金花女	19,505	3	6
5	*Soo Lak Niû* 蘇六娘	21,774	1	2
6	*Tshâ Pang Huē* 柴房會	3837	1	1
7	*Tân Thài Iâ Suán Sài* 陳太爺選婿	24,820	2	2
8	*Hún Tsong Lâu* 粉妝樓	18,593	4	11
9	*Ko Kiat Giȯk Puē* 高潔玉佩	19,556	2	2
10	*Lí Onn Tıt* 李唔直	10,295	5	10
11	*Meh Sià Thuân Kî* 蜢舍傳奇	8610	4	13
12	*Liông Tsínn Tōo Thâu* 龍井渡頭	5313	2	3
13	*Siòng Lú Kî Uan* 相女奇冤	19,371	2	4

14	*Hàu Pū Sat Ka Koo* 孝婦殺家姑	10,691	1	1
15	*Hûn Liông Hā San* 雲龍下山	19,882	3	7
16	*Tsin Ké Se Kiong* 真假西宮	16,864	2	2
17	*Tiong Gī Liông Iân* 忠義良緣	6455	4	10
18	*Lâm Kè Tsú* 藍繼子	14,040	2	2
19	*Ňg Tsâu Ting Ki* 黃巢登基	19,977	4	6
Total		401,823	12 (some of them occurred more than once)	112

Table 6.1: Peking and Teochew corpora

6.3. Results and Analysis

The results of this study are shown in Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 below.

Number	Core 'face' expressions	Core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun; Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + Core expression	Meaning	Number of occurrences		Number of 'face'-related expressions
1	*miàn* 面	*kàn…miàn* 看…面	look at one's *mian*	8	8	1
2	*miàn-mù* 面目	*yǒu hé miàn-mù* 有何面目	have what *mian*-eye	3	5	2
		wú miàn-mù 無面目	have no *mian*-eye	2		
3	*tǐ-miàn* 體面	*shì…tǐ miàn* 是...體面	it is one's body-*mian*	2	4	3
		…tǐ miàn bù xiǎo ...體面不小	one's body-*mian* is not small	1		
		yǒu xiē tǐ-miàn 有些體面	have some body-*mian*	1		
4	*qíng-miàn* 情面	*yǒu qíng-miàn* 有情面	have affection-*mian*	1	2	2
		bù jiǎng qíng-miàn 不講情面	not speaking of (considering) affection-*mian*	1		
5	*miàn-zi* 面子	*bó (huí) miàn-zi* 駁(回)面子	turn one's *mian-zi* (back)	2	4	3
		qiáo…miàn-zi 瞧…面子	look at one's *mian-zi*	1		
		miàn-zi yào jǐn 面子要緊	*mian-zi* is important	1		
6	*yán-miàn* 顏面	*yǒu hé yán-miàn* 有何顏面	have what *yan-mian*	2	2	1
7	*liǎn-miàn* 臉面	*liǎn-miàn quán diū* 臉面全丟	*lian-mian* is lost completely	1	12	8

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Number	Core 'face' expressions	Core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun; Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + Core expression	Meaning	Number of occurrences		Number of 'face'-related expressions
		liǎn-miàn nán qiáo 臉面難瞧	*lian-mian* is bad-looking	1		
		yǔ...liǎn-miàn yǒu guān 與...臉面有關	it is relevant to one's *lian-mian*	1		
		liǎn-miàn hé cún 臉面何存	where to reserve *lian-mian*	2		
		gù liǎn-miàn 顧臉面	consider one's *lian-mian*	1		
		(yǒu) shāng...liǎn-miàn (有)傷...臉面	it is harmful to one's *lian-mian*	2		
		yǒu hé liǎn-miàn 有何臉面	have what *lian-mian*	3		
		wú liǎn-miàn 無臉面	have no *lian-mian*	1		
8	*...pí...liǎn* ...皮...臉	*méi pí méi liǎn* 沒皮沒臉	have no skin and *lian*	1	1	1
9	*liǎn* 臉	*biàn le liǎn* 變了臉	change *lian*	1	10	7
		fǎn liǎn 反臉	turn one's *lian* against someone	1		
		bù yào liǎn 不要臉	not want *lian*	3		
		lǎo zhe liǎn 老著臉	not care about *lian*, not be afraid of embarrassed	1		
		shàng liǎn 上臉	climb all over one's *lian*	1		
		méi yǒu liǎn 沒有臉	have no *lian*	1		
		gù bù dé liǎn 顧不得臉	have no leisure for considering *lian*	2		
10	*liǎn-ér* 臉兒	*shǎng liǎn-ér* 賞臉兒	give *lian-er*	1	1	1
11	*yán* 顏	*hòu yán* 厚顏	thick *yan*	1	1	1
Total				50		30

Table 6.2: Summary of results of the Peking Opera corpus

Number	Core 'face' expressions	Core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun; Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + Core expression	Meaning	Number of occurrences		Number of 'face'-related expressions
1	*bīn* 面	*huán bīn* 反面	turn one's *mian* against someone	10	30	8
		(khí) pìnn bīn (起)變面	changing *mian* arise	5		
		thé...bīn 體...面	consider one's *mian*	1		
		bô bīn 無面	have no *mian*	3		
		ū mí bīn (有)乜面	(have) what *mian*	2		

#	Term	Phrase	English	Count		
		khuànn (tsāi)...bīn (siōng) 看(在)...面(上)	look at one's *mian*	7		
		ū bīn 有面	have *mian*	1		
		bīn hô tsûn 面何存	where to store one's *mian*	1		
2	*bīn-bȯk* 面目	*ū bīn-bȯk* 有面目	have *mian*-eye	5	16	4
		ū hô bīn-bȯk 有何面目	have what *mian*-eye	9		
		(ū) mí bīn-bȯk (有)乜面目	have what *mian*-eye	1		
		bô bīn-bȯk 無面目	have no *mian*-eye	1		
3	*thé-bīn* 體面	*tsûn thé-bīn* 存體面	reserve body-*mian*	1	11	7
		thé-bīn hô tsûn 體面何存	where to reserve body-*mian*	4		
		ū thé-bīn 有體面	have body-*mian*	2		
		ū siánn thé-bīn 有啥體面	have what body-*mian*	1		
		ū sit...thé-bīn 有失... 體面	it is the loss of body-*mian*	1		
		tiu thé-bīn 丟體面	lose body-*mian*	1		
		kòo thé-bīn 顧體面	consider one's body-*mian*	1		
4	*tsîng-bīn* 情面	*lâu ê tsîng-bīn* 留個情面	leave an affection-*mian*	1	3	3
		bô tsîng-bīn 無情面	have no affection-*mian*	1		
		khuànn...tsîng-bīn 看...情面	look at one's affection-*mian*	1		
5	*bīn-á* 面儿	*tài...bīn-á* 帶...面兒	bring one's *mian-er*	1	1	1
6	*thâu-bīn* 頭面	*lȯh tsīn thâu-bīn* 落盡頭面	head-*mian* is completely dropped	1	7	3
		siu/jiȯk/bông thâu jiȯk bīn 羞/辱/蒙頭辱面	humiliate head-*mian*	5		
		thé tsīn lâng thâu-bīn 體盡人頭面	experience all the other's head-*mian*	1		
7	*bīn-lián* 面臉	*bô bīn-lián* 無面臉	have no *mian-lian*	1	1	1
8	*bīn-phuê* 面皮	*tsûn...bīn-phuê* 存...面皮	reserve one's skin of *mian*	2	19	13
		lȯh tsīn bīn-phuê 落盡面皮	skin of *mian* is completely dropped	1		
		hōo tsȯt bīn-phuê 予一面皮	give skin of *mian*	1		

		bīn-phuê bȯk pang pìnn 面皮莫放變	don't release and change skin of *mian*	1		
		bīn-phuê bô tshú hā 面皮無處下	skin of *mian* has no place to descend	1		
		tài...bīn-phuê 帶...面皮	bring one's skin of *mian*	3		
		thé...bīn-phuê 體...面皮	consider one's skin of *mian*	1		
		thó bīn-phuê 討面皮	beg/ask for skin of *mian*	1		
		pak phuà bīn-phuê 剝破面皮	strip and break skin of *mian*	1		
		bē bīn-phuê 賣面皮	sell the skin of *mian*	1		
		bīn-phuê bô 面皮無	have no skin of *mian*	1		
		bô bīn-phuê 勿面皮	have no skin of *mian*	2		
		kāu bīn-phuê/ bīn-phuê kāu kāu 厚面皮/面皮厚厚	thick skin of *mian*	3		
9	bīn-tsing 面精	tsò ê bīn-tsing 做個面精	make a *mian-zi*	1	1	1
10	bīn-hun 面分	khuànn tsāi...bīn-hun 看在...面分	look at one's *mian-sake*	1	1	1
11	gân 颜	thiam nauh gân 添赧顏	add blushing *yan*	1	21	11
		(ū) hô gân (有)何顏	have what *yan*	10		
		kāu gân 厚顏	thick *yan*	1		
		kiông gân 強顏	strong *yan*	1		
		thián gân 腆顏	rich *yan*	1		
		pó gân 保顏	protect *yan*	1		
		bô gân 無顏	have no *yan*	2		
		tsū nauh kak gân 自赧覺顏	self-consciously blushing *yan*	1		
		tiōng...gân 仗...顏	rely on one's *yan*	1		
		khuì gân sing 愧顏生	shame *yan* emerges	1		
		tshiok huān liáu...gân 觸犯了...顏	offend one's *yan*	1		
12	iông-gân 容顏	ū hô iông-gân 有何容顏	have what appearance-*yan*	1	1	1
Total					112	54

Table 6.3: Summary of results of the Teochew Opera corpus

The first column of Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 presents the number of core 'face' expressions in two corpora respectively, i.e., the nominal expressions of 'face' not collocating with verbs,

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adjectives or pronouns. The second column lists these core expressions of 'face'. The third column features collocations where these nominal expressions collocate with verbs, adjectives or pronouns occurring either before or after the core 'face' expressions. The fourth column provides the literal meaning of these various 'face'-related collocations. The fifth column displays the occurrences of a specific collocation in the form of 'core expression + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun' or 'Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + core expression' on the left part and the total number of occurrences of these collocations on the right. Finally, the sixth column summarises the number of 'face'-related collocations in both corpora.

In the following, I divide my analysis into two sections. In Section 6.3.1, I examine core 'face' expressions in my two corpora, while in Section 6.3.2 I focus on certain groups of collocations which appeared to be similar in the two dialects. I will consider whether this similarity is pragmatic or merely lexical.

6.3.1. Core 'Face' Expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera Corpora

6.3.1.1. The Peking Opera Corpus

Table 6.4 presents the core 'face' expressions in the Peking Opera corpus:

Number	Core 'face' expressions	Number of 'face'-related expressions	Number of occurrences
1	*miàn* 面 (*mian*)	1	8
2	*miàn-mù* 面目 (*mian*-eye)	2	5
3	*tǐ-miàn* 體面 (body-*mian*)	3	4
4	*qíng-miàn* 情面 (affection-*mian*)	2	2
5	*miàn-zi* 面子 (*mian-zi*)	3	4
6	*yán-miàn* 顏面 (*yan-mian*)	1	2
7	*liǎn-miàn* 臉面 (*lian-mian*)	8	12
8	*...pí...liǎn* …皮…臉 (skin of *lian*)	1	1
9	*liǎn* 臉 (*lian*)	7	10
10	*liǎn-ér* 臉兒 (*lian-er suffix*)	1	1
11	*yán* 顏 (*yan*)	1	1
Total		30	50

Table 6.4: Core 'face' expressions in the Peking Opera corpus

As Table 6.4 shows, in the Peking Opera corpus, I found 11 core expressions in the form of 30 different 'face'-related expressions, occurring 50 times altogether. These 11 core 'face' expressions include *miàn* 面 (*mian*), *miàn-mù* 面目 (*mian*-eye), *tǐ-miàn* 体面 (body-*mian*), *qíng-miàn* 情面 (affection-*mian*), *miàn-zi* 面子 (*mian-zi*), *yán-miàn* 颜面 (*yan-mian*), *liǎn-miàn* 脸面 (*lian-mian*), *...pí...liǎn* ...皮…脸 (skin of *lian*), *liǎn* 脸 (*lian*) and *liǎn-ér* 脸儿 (*lian-er*) and *yán* 颜 (*yan*). Although *mian-*, *lian-* and *yan*-related expressions were all found in the Peking Opera corpus, *yán* 颜 (*yan*) merely occurred in a single case.

Figure 6.1 below presents my categorisation of core 'face' expressions in the Peking Opera corpus:
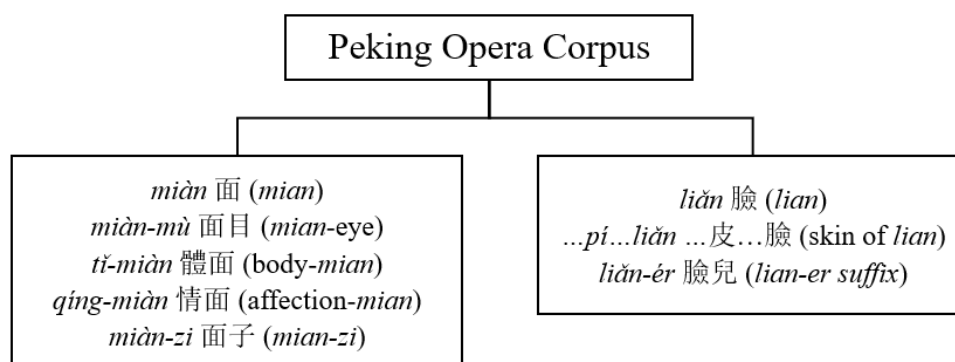
Compounds of 'face': *yán-miàn* 顏面 (*yan-mian*), *liǎn-miàn* 臉面 (*lian-mian*)
yán 顏 (*yan*) – *underrepresented*

Figure 6.1: Core 'face' expressions in the Peking Opera corpus

As Figure 6.1 shows, there were altogether 5 *mian*-related and 3 *lian*-related nominal expressions of 'face' in the Peking data, together with two compounds of 'face' and an underrepresented *yan*-related expression. This result of Peking denotes that core 'face' expressions in the Peking Opera corpus show similarity with what has generally been argued about present-day Mandarin, i.e., the *mian–lian* duality also existed in historical language use. In the following, I provide examples to illustrate the uses of *mian* and *lian* in historical texts:

(1)

韓玉姐：當著這麼多的人，我這麼大的姑娘，跟你拜了天地，你要是不要我，我也是<u>沒有臉</u>活著呀，我也得一死，得了，我還不嫁你啦，我說死就死，我回家上吊去！

Han Yujie: In front of so many people, as an adult woman, I have paid my respects to you as my future husband. If you reject me, I would <u>have no *lian*</u> ('face') to live on and would rather die. If I have to die, I will die, so if we do not get married, I will go home and hang myself!

— Peking Opera script *Kān Yù Chuàn*

As example (1) shows, in historical Mandarin *lian* referred to someone's 'back/heavy face', similar to modern Mandarin: here the bride Han Yujie referred to a severe 'face'-loss of being rejected by the groom, which would in turn prompted her to commit suicide.

(2)

李四：喝酒我可沒錢。

張三：小事一端，咱們先賒。

李四：賒得出來嗎？

張三：不至於<u>駁面子</u>，明天有了錢還不會還酒帳嗎？

Li Si: I don't have money to drink.

Zhang San: It's a small matter, let's have it on the house.

Li Si: Will the manager give us credit?

Zhang San: (He) won't <u>refute (our) *mian-zi*</u> ('face'). When we have money tomorrow, we can settle the bill.

— Peking Opera script *Hóng Méi Gé*

In example (2), the second interactant Zhang San reassured his friend Li Si that the owner of the inn where they had their drink would give them credit because he would not ignore their 'face'. He used the *mian*-expression *mian-zi* here because the 'face' on hand was their 'front/light face', i.e., even if they got rejected, they would not suffer a severe 'face'-loss. Once again, this is similar to how *mian*-expressions are used in present-day Mandarin.

It is worth noting that, similar to what one can observe in modern Mandarin, both *mian* and *lian* may describe physical face also in historical texts, as the following examples show:

(3)

张夫人：啊！我儿为何<u>面</u>带泪容？

Mrs. Zhang: Ah! Why does my daughter have tears on her <u>*mian* (face)</u>?

— Peking Opera script *Bì Yù Zān*

(4)

张夫人：我女儿她因何<u>脸</u>带泪痕？

Mrs. Zhang: Why do tears stain my daughter's <u>*lian* (face)</u>?

— Peking Opera script *Bì Yù Zān*

While *mian* occurs more frequently in our Peking Opera corpus than *lian*, as Table 6.3 shows, the *lian–mian* duality characterising modern Mandarin is also present in the historical data. Yet, in my historical Peking corpus, I found a few cases when *mian* gains a 'back/heavy face' meaning, as the following examples show:

(5)

許仙：娘子救命，娘子救命哪！

白素貞：怎麼你、你、你、你今日也要為妻救命麼？你、你、你——你忍心將我傷，端陽佳節勸雄黃。你忍心將我誆，才對雙星盟誓願，你又隨法海入禪堂。你忍心叫我斷腸，平日恩情且不講，不念我腹中還有小兒郎？你忍心見我敗亡，可憐我與神將刀對槍，只殺得雲愁霧慘、波翻浪滾、戰鼓連天響，你袖手旁觀在山崗。手摸胸膛你想一想，<u>你有何面目</u>來見妻房？

Xu Xian: Help me my wife, help!

Bai Suzhen: Why do you, you, you, you want me to save your life today? You, you, you –
you had the heart to hurt me and persuaded me to drink realgar wine during the

Duanyang Festival[21]. You had the heart to lie to me – just after you and I swore to be together to the star, you turned your head and followed Fahai into the meditation hall. You have the heart to break my heart, let alone our usual love and affection, don't you think that I still have your child in my womb? You have the heart to see me defeated, pitiful me for fighting God with swords and guns. The situation was so miserably, with waves rolling and drums ringing in the sky. But you were just standing on the hill and watching. Put your hands on your chest and think about it, what *mian*-eye do you have to see me – your wife?

— Peking Opera script *Bái Shé Zhuàn*

In example (5), Xu Xian and Bai Suzhen were a couple. But one day when Xu Xian learnt that his wife was a white snack, he was persuaded by Fa Hai to abandon Bai Suzhen. Bai Suzhen's sister Xiaoqing wanted to avenge her sister by killing Xu Xian. When Xu Xian asked Bai Suzhen to save his life, Bai Suzhen listed what Xu Xian had done which hurt her. She then accused him of what 'face' he had to meet her and ask for her help.

(6)

尤二姐：後悔當初一念差，不該失足做牆花。今朝一死歸泉下，死無面目見張華。

You Erjie: Regretting my impulsive decision in the past, I shouldn't have become a mistress. When I die today and go to the underworld, I will have no *mian*-eye ('face') to see Zhang Hua (her previous fiancée)

— Peking Opera script *Hóng Lóu Èr Yóu*

In example (6), Zhang Hua was You Erjie's previous fiancé. However, You Erjie broke off the engagement and married Jia Lian who already had a wife because Jia Lian is richer than Zhang Hua. However, Jia Lian's wife Wang Xifeng became super jealous and would force You Erjie to die. When You Erjie knew that she would die, she was so regretful and said as above.

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[21] This Duanyang Festival referred to Chinese Dragon Boat Festival which is on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. According to Chinese folklore, on this day, people will drink realgar wine to prevent snakes. In this example, Bai Suzhen was originally a white snake who turned into a human.

In these two examples, *mian*-expressions both refer to one's important 'back/heavy face', the loss of which will lead to severe consequences that one would have no 'face' to stand in front of others. Such uses show that while the *lian–mian* duality existed in historical Mandarin, it was not as clear-cut as what has been argued about present-day Mandarin.

Similar to what we were able to witness in modern Mandarin, in the Peking Opera corpus *yán* 顏 (*yan*) is rare, occurring only once in the form of the Adjective + 'face' expression *hòu yán* 厚顏 (thick *yan*, i.e., thick-skinned). As the following example (5) shows, this expression is negatively valanced, describing someone who is shameless and cocky:

(7)

李香君：無恥<u>厚顏</u>居人上，明槍暗箭把人傷。

Li Xiangjun: (You are) a shameless and <u>thick *yan*-ed (thick-skinned)</u> high-ranking official, wounding people overtly and covertly.

— Peking Opera script *Táo Huā Shàn*

Also, like *mian* and *lian*, *yan* in historical Mandarin can refers to the physical face as it can in modern Mandarin as the following example (8) shows.

(8)

崔莺莺：崔氏女在深闺一声长叹，理容妆开玉镜瘦损朱颜。

Cui Yingying: I let out a long sigh in the boudoir, opening the jade mirror to adjust my makeup, and see my emaciation affected my beautiful <u>*face*</u>.

— Peking Opera script *Hóng Niáng*

To sum up, the infrequency of *yan* in the Peking corpus indicates that *yan* in Mandarin was rarely used as a nominal expression of 'face' but rather referred to the physical face. This result is consistent with the previous argument for modern Mandarin that *yan* is seldom used to refer to prestige although it can (see Kadar and Pan, 2012). I conclude here that *yan* was underrepresented and less important than either *mian* or *lian* in Mandarin during Ming–Qing period.

6.3.1.2. The Teochew Opera Corpus

In this section, I discuss the results of core 'face' expressions in my Teochew Opera corpus. Table 6.5 presents the core 'face' expressions in the Teochew Opera corpus:

Number	Core 'face' expressions	Number of 'face'-related expressions	Number of occurrences
1	*bīn* 面 (*mian*)	8	30
2	*bīn-bȯk* 面目 (*mian*-eye)	4	16
3	*thé-bīn* 體面 (body-*mian*)	7	11
4	*tsîng-bīn* 情面 (affection-*mian*)	3	3
5	*bīn-á* 面兒 (*mian-er suffix*)	1	1
6	*thâu-bīn* 頭面 (head-*mian*)	3	7
7	*bīn-lián* 面臉 (*mian-lian*)	1	1
8	*bīn-phuê* 面皮 (skin of *mian*)	13	19
9	*bīn-tsing* 面精 (*mian-zi*)	1	1
10	*bīn-hun* 面分 (*mian*-sake)	1	1
11	*gân* 顏 (*yan*)	11	21
12	*iông-gân* 容顏 (appearance-*yan*)	1	1
Total		54	112

Table 6.5: Core 'face' expressions in the Teochew Opera corpus

As Table 6.5 shows, I found 12 core 'face' expressions in the form of 54 collocations, occurring 112 times in total. These 12 nominal 'face' expressions are *bīn* 面 (*mian*), *bīn-bȯk* 面目 (*mian*-eye), *thé-bīn* 体面 (body-*mian*), *tsîng-bīn* 情面 (affection-*mian*), *bīn-á* 面儿 (*mian-er*), *thâu-bīn* 头面 (head-*mian*), *bīn-lián* 面脸 (*mian-lian*), *bīn-phuê* 面皮 (skin of *mian*), *bīn-tsing* 面精 (*mian-zi*), *bīn-hun* 面分 (*mian*-sake), *gân* 颜 (*yan*) and *iông-gân* 容颜 (appearance-*yan*). This outcome shows that historical Minnan was richer in 'face'-related expressions than Mandarin as far as the two opera corpora were concerned.

Figure 6.2 presents my categorisation of core 'face' expressions in the Teochew Opera corpus:
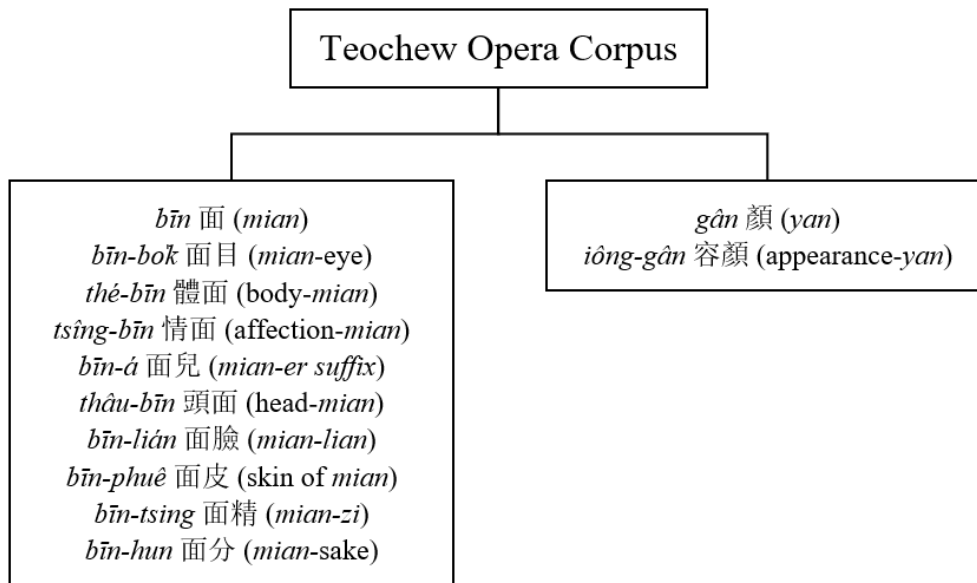
Figure 6.2: Core 'face' expressions in the Teochew Opera Corpus

As Figure 6.2 shows, there are 10 *mian*-related[22] and 2 *yan*-related nominal expressions of 'face' in the Teochew corpus. *Lian*-expressions were not found in the historical Teochew corpus, which accords with the observation of modern Minnan data where *lian* is largely absent. However, a surprising finding is that the core 'face' expressions *gân* 顏 (*yan*) and *iông-gân* 容顏 (appearance-*yan*) – which are both *yan*-variants – are frequent in the Teochew corpus, occurring 22 times.

The following examples illustrate the use of *yan*-expressions in the Teochew corpora:

(9)

皇帝：如今江山落賊手，教朕何顏見先靈。

Emperor: Now that the country has fallen into the hands of the enemy, what *yan* ('face')

do I have to face our ancestors?

— Teochew Opera script *Hûn Liông Hā San*

In example (9), the Emperor received such a serious loss of 'face' because his country had been

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[22] The term *bīn-lián* 面脸 (*mian-lian*) in Minnan is regarded as a *mian*-related expression than a compound of two expressions of 'face' 面 (*mian*) and 脸 (*lian*) (see Chapter 4).

controlled by others that he felt himself having no more 'face' to face his ancestors.

(10)

亞舍之父：痛罵該死小奴才，家破人亡禍是你，你還<u>有何顏</u>立人前？

Yashe's father: You, this darned little thing, it was you who ruined the whole family, <u>what *yan* ('face') do you have</u> to stand in front of others?

— Teochew Opera script *Meh Sià Thuân Kî*

(11)

亞舍之父：呀呸，罵聲不肖小奴，才傾家蕩，產罪難赦開。今日羞頭辱面，天有報應理應該，老夫腸肝如鐵石，怎容畜生立人前。<u>有何容顏</u>來相見，畜生妳還不快走開！

Yashe's father: Ah, you unfilial thing. You have just ruined the family and committed unforgivable crimes. Today, you are ashamed and humiliated because Heaven repays you as you should. My heart and liver are as solid as iron, and I cannot tolerate a bastard like you in my presence. <u>What appearance-*yan* ('face') do you have</u> to meet me. You bastard, go away quickly!

— Teochew Opera script *Meh Sià Thuân Kî*

(12)

亞舍：父不認子無奈何，逼得我山窮水盡生路絕，我亞孟前生和孽債才致今生這苦楚，家才破盡無生止，淪落為乞湖海奔波求宿尼埃忌，慈母老爹妳何忍把我驅誅，難道是<u>亞孟真個無顏</u>立人，蒙後偷生也無望，天欲絕我無可奈，不如一死喪南柯。

Yashe: My father refuses to recognize his own son, what can I do? This situation has left me with no resources and no hope for the future. My past life and past debts have brought me to this suffering in my present life. My family's fortune was depleted and nowhere to turn. I am forced to wander and beg everywhere, seeking shelter at the nunneries and temples. How could my dear mother and father be so heartless as to cast me out? Does this mean that I, Yashe, am a man who <u>has no *yan* ('face')</u>

to stand in front of people and cannot hope to survive in the future? It seems that I even have no hope of stealing a chance to live. If heaven wants to end my life, then perhaps death at Nanke[23] is better than this suffering.

— Teochew Opera script *Meh Sià Thuân Kî*

Example (10 – 12) are from the opera script *Meh Sià Thuân Kî*. Yashe ruined his family because of gambling. Yashe's father was extremely angry with him and kicked him out of the family. When they met again, Yashe's father scolded and accused Yashe should not have 'face' to stand in front of others and see him again (examples 10 and 11). Being expelled by his father as such, Yashe was so hopeless and self-stated that he had no more 'face' to stand in front of people and rather die (see example 12).

In all these cases, *yan*-related expressions are used to refer to a devastating 'face'-loss, i.e., both *gân* 顏 (*yan*) and *iông-gân* 容顏 (appearance-*yan*) mean 'heavy face'. The following examples show that the same is often the case with *mian*-expressions:

(13)

張雲龍：爹爹生恩未能報，子反擒夫入幽囹。我有罪千萬重，難見師尊與先靈，<u>怎有面目</u>見爹面。

Zhang Yunlong: I still owe my father immense gratitude for my birth, but instead I captured my father and put him in a secluded prison. I have committed countless crimes. It is even difficult for me to see my master and ancestors. <u>How can I have *mian*-eye ('face')</u> to see my father?

— Teochew Opera script *Hûn Liông Hā San*

In example (13), Zhang Yunlong was separated from his parents at a young age and did not know their identities. When he grew up, he was deceived by a villain into having his own father arrested and thrown into prison. After he learned the truth, he perceived himself to have "committed countless crimes" so that he had no 'face' left to face his master, ancestor and

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[23] Nanke refers to a place only exists in one's dream.

especially his father.

(14)

亞舍：我身自知無面目見人。

Yashe: I am aware that I <u>have no *mian*-eye ('face')</u> to face people.

— Teochew Opera script *Meh Sià Thuân Kî*

(15)

陳三：伊人言語總無信 ... 到只處乞伊騙，我<u>無面</u>轉歸去。

Chen San: Her words were always insincere ... I have been deceived by her to come here,
and now I <u>have no *mian* ('face')</u> to turn back home.

— Teochew Opera script *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

Example (14) describes the same situation as the above example (12) shows. In example (15), Chen San fell in love with Wu Niang, who gave him a litchi twig as a token of their love. In pursuit of Wuniang, Chen San, as a son of an official family, entered the Huang family as a servant and a mirror-grinding master. However, Wuniang denied that she gave him the twig out of love for him. Feeling deceived and a strong feeling of severe 'face'-loss, Chen San felt too ashamed to go back home.

In examples (13), (14) and (15), the *mian*-related expressions refer to irreversible 'face'-losses, i.e., the loss of one's 'back/heavy face'. Unlike *yan*, however, *mian* in Teochew can also refer to someone's 'front/light face', as the following examples show:

(16)

媒婆：阿娘，林厝聘禮輕重，<u>體著姐子薄面</u>，向惱乜事？

Matchmaker: My lady, (you need not worry) whether the Lin Family's betrothal gift is a
small or large amount. (They will) <u>consider my *mian* ('face')</u>. What troubles
you?

— Teochew Opera script *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

(17)

牌頭：亦罷，<u>體著只好小娘子面皮</u>，一兩准二兩；共你收罷。快入去尋。

The guard: All right, <u>considering the lady's skin of *mian* ('face')</u>, I will regard one Liang as two Liang and take it. Go inside and find him quickly.

— Teochew Opera script *Lē Kèng Kì* (Wanli version)

In these two cases, *mian*-expressions are used as one's unimportant 'face' which can be regarded as a form of credit that exchanges money in interpersonal interactions. The loss of such 'face' will not lead to serious consequences for the owners of 'face'.

In summary, in the Teochew Opera corpus I found an entirely different duality of 'face'-related expressions than in the Peking Opera corpus, i.e., in the former I found a duality of *yan–mian*. Similar to Mandarin, 'face'-related expressions in the Teochew Corpus showed some 'inconsistency', in that I was unable to clearly categorise the *yan–mian* duality into 'heavy' and 'light' 'face'. What makes the situation even more complicated is that both *yan-* and *mian*-expressions can refer to physical face as well in Teochew, as the following examples show:

(18)

五娘 ... 真個<u>滿面花月</u>。

Wuniang ... truly adorns her own *mian* (physical face) akin to that of the blooming flowers and luminous moon.

— Teochew Opera script *Lē Kèng Kì* (Jiajing version)

(19)

你家姿娘<u>顏如玉</u>。

Your Ziniang's *yan* (physical face) is as beautiful as jade.

— Teochew Opera script *Tsin Ké Se Kiong*

Both examples (18) and (19) praise women's beautiful facial appearance.

Taken together, my Peking and Teochew Opera corpora pointed to various noteworthy similarities and differences between 'face'-related expressions in these two historical dialects:

- In Peking Mandarin, *lian–mian* are used in a duality, and in Minnan Teochew texts a similar *yan–mian* duality can be observed. That is, unlike in modern Mandarin and Minnan where one can observe a duality of *lian–mian* versus a singularity of *mian*, here we have two parallel dualities.

- However, while in modern Mandarin *mian* refer to 'front/light face', in historical Peking Mandarin *mian* can refer to both 'back/heavy' and 'front/light face'. On the other hand, *yan* in Teochew means 'back/heavy face', while *mian* can refer to either 'back/heavy' or 'front/light face'.

- Both expressions in the *lian–mian* duality in Mandarin and the *yan–mian* duality in Minnan can refer to physical face as well.

- While I do not engage in a fully-fledged diachronic developmental investigation of these expressions, it can be argued that Mandarin 'face'-related expressions have been relatively 'constant' or 'conservative' in the sense that the duality of *mian* and *lian* has existed since Ming–Qing period to the present day. In Minnan, however, *yan* disappeared from colloquial language use over time.

6.3.2. Uses of 'Similar' 'Face'-related Expressions in two Corpora

In my Peking and Teochew corpora, I found two collocation groups of 'face'-related expressions which seem to be similar in the two dialects. In the following, I examine the uses of these expressions.

6.3.2.1. Group 1: 'Have what (有乜/何/啥) + 'face'' collocations

One of the 'face'-related collocation groups which are similar in my two corpora includes 'have what (有乜/何/啥) + core 'face' expressions. As Table 4 shows, 3 Mandarin and 6 Minnan 'face'-related expressions belong to this group.

Pattern: *have what + 'face'* (interpreted as "have what 'face'")	
Peking	Teochew
yǒu hé miàn-mù 有何面目 *yǒu hé yán-miàn* 有何顏面 *yǒu hé liǎn-miàn* 有何臉面	*(ū) mí bīn* (有)乜面 *ū hô bīn-bȯk* 有何面目 *(ū) mí bīn-bȯk* (有)乜面目 *ū siánn thé-bīn* 有啥體面 *(ū) hô gân* (有)何顏 *ū hô iông-gân* 有何容顏

Table 6.6: Group 1 – 'Have what (有乜/何/啥) + 'face'' collocations

In Teochew, the verb component in front of these expressions can be freely omitted, while in Mandarin it is obligatory. In both dialects, the above collocations consist of an interrogative pronoun, followed by a nominal 'face' expression. Further, all these expressions literally mean 'have what face?', and they were primarily used in situations where one had done or experienced something which was perceived as having a negative effect on the 'face'. This collocation could both refer to the speaker, or the recipient/a third person: in the former case these expressions were used in a rhetorical way, while in the latter case they were used as a judgement. In the following, I provide examples from the Peking and Teochew corpora to illustrate such uses.

Rhetorical self-related questions:

(20) (Peking)

陸子逸：嬸孃，怎的又與表妹生氣？

唐氏：哎呀，侄兒呀，我將蕙仙接到家中，原是好意，不想自她到我家中，每日哭哭啼啼，愁眉苦臉，持家操作，卻又連生事端，我只道她年幼無知，舉止不慎，卻原來與我命犯剋星，二相不合，我是不能留她在家的了。陸游，命你快快寫封修書，將她休棄了吧。

唐蕙仙：哎呀，姑母，侄女父母雙亡，無家可歸，縱有不是之處，還望姑母教訓，千萬不可叫他、他、他寫休書啊。

……

陸子逸：嬸孃若無故將她休棄，傳揚出去豈不被旁人說長道短？

唐氏：也罷，今當大比之年，就命你二人上京科考，你弟陸游若能取得功名，官運
　　　衝破煞氣，再與他二人議定婚事；若不得中，我就與他另婚別姓了。

陸子逸：哎呀，嬸孃，休不得！

唐氏：休不得也要休，哼哼哼，我是不能容留你這個敗家星啊！

唐蕙仙：事到如今，我還<u>有何面目</u>出你家得大門，待我碰死了吧！

Lu Ziyi: Auntie, why are you angry with (my) cousin again?

Mrs Tang: Oh, my dear nephew. I took Huixian into my home with good intentions. I never knew that since she came to my house, she is crying and frowning every day, causing trouble even when doing the housework. I thought it was because she is young, ignorant and careless. But it turns out our astrological signs clash and we cannot coexist. I can't keep her at home anymore. Lu You, I order you to quickly write a letter of divorce and send her away.

Tang Huixian: Oh, my aunt, both of my parents have passed away, and I have nowhere else to go. Even if I did something wrong, I hope you can teach me. Don't ask him, him, him to write a divorce letter.

...

Lu Ziyi: If auntie (asked Lu You to) divorce her for no reason, wouldn't it be rumoured by others if it spreads out?

Mrs Tang: Very well, since this is the year of the great imperial examination, I command both of you to go to the capital and take the examination. If your younger brother Lu You can obtain a successful title, his official career will break through any negative energy, and then I will reconsider their marriage. But if he fails, I will ask him to marry another woman.

Lu Ziyi: Oh auntie, please don't!

Mrs Tang: Whether I should or not, I will. Heh heh heh, I cannot tolerate you as an unlucky star in this house!

Tang Huixian: In such a situation, what *mian-eye* ('face') do I have to go out of the door of your house? Just let me ram my head through a wall and die.

— Peking Opera script *Chāi Tóu Fèng*

In Peking example (20), Mrs Tang believed what the nun said that Tang Huixian would be harmful to her lifespan if Tang Huixian kept staying at her home. Thus, Mrs Tang asked Lu You, Huixian's husband, to divorce Huixian. Lu You's cousin Lu Ziyi tried to persuade her but failed. When Huixian realised that she might be doomed to be divorced and kicked out of this family, she knew that she would have no more 'face' in the world if it did happen. In such a circumstance, she would rather die.

(21) (Teochew)

翠屏：我只有，聲聲痛罵賊兄長，你狼心狗行絕人倫，為佔人妻奪人愛，惡意沾污妹靈魂。你無恥已極，你傷天敗倫，害得我，白璧蒙塵空遺恨，<u>有何面目</u>苟求生存，願將碧血滌污玉，留此丹心見天閽。

Cuiping: I can only, with each word, bitterly denounce my treacherous elder brother. Your actions, with the hearts of wolves and dogs, are beyond all human morality. To order to seize someone's wife and stole someone's love, you tarnish your sister's soul with malice. You have reached a level of shamelessness that surpasses all limits. Your acts violate the natural order and moral order. You let me lose my innocence like the white jade was covered with dust. I have nothing to do. <u>What *mian-eye* ('face') do I have</u> to live on in shame? I would rather let my blood clean the dirty jade and leave my loyal heart to see the God's Gatekeeper. I hereby vow to use my precious blood to cleanse this tarnished jade, preserving my pure heart to face heaven's judgement.

— Teochew Opera script *Hún Tsong Lâu*

In example (21) from Teochew, Cuiping's elder brother wanted to steal Luo Kun's fiancée so he led Luo Kun into his younger sister Cuiping's room to destroy Luo Kun's reputation. He assumed that if Luo Kun's reputation got destroyed, his fiancée would not marry Luo Kun. Cuiping's brother then would have a chance to marry her. However, by doing this, he put Cuiping's chastity under serious threat. Experiencing this, Cuiping was so sad and hopeless, because it was her own brother letting her lose her innocence. As an unmarried girl without her chastity, she had no more 'face' to live. She thus committed suicide and died.

In these two examples, the expressions *yǒu hé miàn-mù* and *ū hô bīn-bȯk* 有何面目 (have what *mian*-eye) were used by both the speakers as a rhetorical question, indicating what they had experienced created such severe 'face'-losses that they had no more 'face' to live on. In such circumstances, the expression *ū hô bīn-bȯk* (have what *mian*-eye) is an indication of the speakers' assessment on what they have experienced. It is also an explanation of why they cannot do something and why they decided to do something – in examples (20) and (21), it explains why the speakers cannot go out of the door of the house (example 20) or live on (example 21) and decided to commit suicide.

Judgement of others:

(22) (Peking)

張廣才：... 那忘恩負義的——蔡伯喈！小哥哥你在這荒郊外，聽老漢把蔡家的事兒誰是誰非一一從頭說開懷。蔡伯喈求功名去京有三載，在家中撇下了二老萱臺。他父母為他把雙眼哭壞，五娘子終朝每日淚灑在胸懷。似這樣賢德的媳婦令人真可愛，那時節老漢我日裡送米夜間又送柴。遭不幸陳留郡乾旱有三載，可嘆他二老雙雙而死一命赴陽臺。五娘子剪下了青絲到長街去賣，賣來了銀錢把公婆來葬埋。身揹著琵琶往那京都地界，但願他夫妻相會配和諧。有勞你小哥哥與我把信來帶，你叫那忘恩負義的蔡伯喈早早的回家來。倘若是蔡伯喈他佯瞅不睬，你問他身從哪裡來？他把那父母的恩情拋至在那九霄雲外，他把那養育的恩德一旦都丟開。倘若是蔡伯喈他把良心來壞，小哥哥你就說：在陳留郡荒郊外遇見個老漢叫張廣才。

...

李旺：打道蔡家墳墓！

蔡伯喈：都只為求功名把父母拋掉，兒的罪惡犯千條。從今後功名兒不要，兒的爹孃啊……

（張廣才上。）

張廣才：老漢親自來觀瞧。

李旺：老大公來啦！

蔡伯喈：哦，張大公來了，哎呀大公啊！

（蔡伯喈拜，趙五娘、牛桂英同隨拜。）

張廣才：蔡伯喈，我把你這小奴才，看你今日<u>有何顏面</u>見我？我要替你那死在九泉之下的父母，教訓你這不孝的奴才！

Zhang Guangcai: ... That ungrateful and unethical – Cai Bojie! Here in the wilderness, young man, listen to me talk about the right and wrong of the Cai family from the beginning. Cai Bojie has been seeking fame and fortune in the capital for three years, leaving behind his elderly parents at home. His parents cried their eyes out for him. His wife shed tears every day. Such a virtuous daughter-in-law is truly admirable. At that time, I delivered rice during the day and firewood at night. Unfortunately, there was a drought in Chenliu County for three years, and his parents died one by one. The widow cut off her hair and went to the street to sell it, earning enough money to bury her in-laws. She carried her lute to the capital to find Cai Bojie. I really hope that they two would be reunited and harmonious. You, young man, have the kindness to deliver this message for me. Tell that ungrateful and unethical Cai Bojie to come home early. If he pretends not to see or hear, ask him where he came from. He has thrown away the gratitude and kindness of his parents into the distant clouds and abandoned all the nurturing kindness. If Cai Bojie has a guilty conscience, young man, tell him: I met an old man named Zhang Guangcai in the wilderness of Chenliu County.

...

Li Wang: Let's go to the Cai Family tomb!

Cai Bojie: I abandoned my parents for the sake of fame and reputation. I have committed numerous sins. From now on, I no longer seek fame. Oh, my parents...

(Zhang Guangcai enters)

Zhang Guangcai: This old man (Zhang Guangcai) has come to see for himself.

Li Wang: The old master has arrived!

Cai Bojie: Oh, it's Mater Zhang. Oh, Master!

(Cai Bojie bows, Zhao Wuniang and Niu Guiying bow alongside him.)

Zhang Guangcai: Cai Bojie, you little thing. What <u>*yan-mian* ('face') do you have</u> today that allows you to confront me? I must admonish you, you unfilial servant, for the sake of your deceased parents who lie buried in the underworld!

Example (22) in Peking Opera script *Zhào Wǔ Niáng* describes a story that Cai Bojie, after leaving home to take the imperial exams, became the top scorer. Due to his prolonged absence from home and the drought in his hometown, both of his parents passed away. When Cai Bojie went to pay his respects to his deceased parents, he was accused by Zhang Guangcai as such an unfilial son who shall not have 'face' to see him.

(23) (Teochew)

> 裴文玉：爹爹！林將軍，我爹因何而死？
>
> 林言：他……
>
> 裴文玉：快講呀，林言你快講呀！
>
> 林言：唉，一言難盡。該怨我誤會，害了令尊。
>
> 裴文玉：是你殺害我爹！
>
> 林言：不是，不是，不是。
>
> 裴文玉：是誰將他殺害？
>
> 林言：是、是、是他自己。
>
> 裴文玉：胡說！這裡只有我爹與你，分明是你殺害他。
>
> 林言：裴小姐，且慢動怒，且看你爹遺書。
>
> 裴文玉：哎夷，爹爹！哎爹爹，我的老爹爹嚀。可憐你忠梗之臣遭奸害，拋下女兒赴泉臺。你今以死明志，有誰為你痛心懷。你今冤魂在何處，奈何橋頭且等待。
>
> 林言：裴小姐，你千萬別輕生啊！
>
> 裴文玉：林言，分明是你迫死我爹，你<u>有何面目</u>見我。

Pei Wenyu: Daddy! General Lin, why did my father die?

Lin Yan: He......

Pei Wenyu: Tell me, tell me quickly Lin Yan!

Lin Yan: Ah, it's hard to explain. I should be blamed for misunderstanding, which led to your father's death.

Pei Wenyu: It was you who killed my father!

Lin Yan: No, no, no.

Pei Wenyu: Then who killed him?

Lin Yan: It was, was, was himself.

Pei Wenyu: Nonsense! There are only my father and you here, it is clear that you killed him.

Lin Yan: Miss Pei, don't get angry. Please read your father's letter.

Pei Wenyu: Oh Daddy! Oh daddy, my old daddy. You were such a loyal minister but were forced to die. You left your daughter here and went to Quantai[24]. You now declare your determination in death, who will mourn for you? Where do your unjust soul and spirit? Please wait for me by the Bridge of Naihe[25].

Lin Yan: Miss Pei, please do not commit suicide!

Pei Wenyu: Lin Yan, it was you who forced my father to death. What *mian*-eye ('face') do you have to see me?

— Teochew Opera script *Ǹg Tsâu Ting Ki*

In example (23) from Teochew, Pei Wenyu found that her fiancé Lin Yan was a part of the reason for her father's death although her father was not killed by Lin Yan. When Pei Wenyu was so grieved and wanted to die with her father, Lin Yan tried to persuade her not to commit suicide. Pei Wenyu was so angry with him that she accused Lin Yan was the person who forced her father to death, and he shall not have 'face' to meet her and persuade her.

In example (22), *yǒu hé yán-miàn* 有何顏面 (have what *yan-mian*) was used by the speaker as a third person to judge something he had witnessed, while in example (23), *ū hô bīn-bȯk* 有何面目 (have what *mian*-eye) was used by the speaker to accuse the recipient. In such situations, the *have what + 'face'* collocations indicate the speakers' estimation of what the others have done and explain why they think the others cannot do something – in examples (22) and (23), it explains why the speakers believed that the recipients shall not come to see him/her.As the above examples show, as far as these collocations are concerned, 'face'-related expressions in the Peking and Teochew corpora are similar. However, a difference emerges if

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[24] Quantai referred to Huangquan, which is a place Chinese believe their souls will go after they died.
[25] Naihe is a bridge in Huangquan.

we look at their frequency: 24 cases of 'have what (有乜/何/啥) + 'face' ' collocations in total were found in the Teochew corpus, while in the Peking corpus there were only 7 such cases.

6.3.2.2. Group 2: 'For the sake of someone's 'face'' collocations

The second group includes *Verb + someone's 'face'* collocations with the meaning of 'for the sake of someone's face'. Table 5 shows expressions in this group:

Pattern: *verb + someone's 'face'* (interpreted as "for the sake of someone's 'face'")	
Peking	Teochew
kàn (zài)...miàn (shàng) 看(在)...面(上) *qiáo zhe...miàn-zi* 瞧著...面子	*thé...bīn* 體...面 *khuànn (tsāi)...bīn (siōng)* 看(在)...面(上) *khuànn...tsîng-bīn* 看...情面 *tài...bīn-á* 帶...面兒 *tsûn...bīn-phuê* 存...面皮 *tài...bīn-phuê* 帶...面皮 *thé...bīn-phuê* 體...面皮 *khuànn tsāi... bīn-hun* 看在...面分

Table 6.7: Group 2 – 'For the sake of someone's 'face'' collocations

As Table 5 shows, this collocation group consists of 8 'face'-related expressions in the Teochew Opera corpus, while only 2 such expressions were found in the Peking Opera corpus. These collocations consist of a verb followed by a possessive personal pronoun indicating the owner of 'face', and finally a nominal expression of 'face'. All these expressions have two uses: they can either be used by the speaker to explain why she or he did/will do or not did/will not do something, or as a request to the addressee to do or not to do something. In the following, I provide examples from the Peking and Teochew corpora to illustrate the uses of these expressions.

Explaining why the speaker did/will do or not did/will not do something

(24) (Peking)

金玉奴：細思想這件事心中難忍，起毒心將奴家推入江心。你落魄我父女何等恭敬，你做官害死奴逐走嚴親。（金玉奴哭。）

莫稽：勸娘子且莫要悲聲太甚，一時錯我情願跪到天明。

金玉奴：丫鬟，與我打！

四丫鬟：打呀！打呀！打呀！

莫稽：哎喲，打壞了！

（金松上。）

金松：蒙大人恩情重將我找定，到後堂見女兒細說分明。你不是莫稽嗎？

莫稽：小婿正是莫稽。

金松：我把你個狗日的！一見莫稽怒氣生，不由老夫動無名。手使枴杖要兒的命！

（金松打莫稽。林潤、玉成同上。）

玉成：老伯息怒且消停。

林潤：親翁，這也夠了，饒了他吧！

金松：我要不<u>看在撫臺大人的面上</u>，我定要小雜種的命。

Jin Yunu: The thought of this matter troubles my heart deeply. You had a wicked heart and pushed me into the river. When you were disgraced, my father and I treated you with respect. But when you held an official position, you killed me and drove my father away. (Ms. Jin Yu-nu weeps.)

Mo Ji: My wife, please do not grieve too much. For my mistake, I am willing to kneel until dawn.

Jin Yunu: Yahuan, beat him!

Si Yahuan: Beat him, beat him, beat him!

Mo Ji: Ouch, this is painful!

(Jin Song enters.)

Jin Song: I am grateful for the favour of the lord (Lin Run) in finding me and clarifying everything with my daughter in the back hall. Aren't you Mo Ji?

Mo Ji: Yes, I am your son-in-law, Mo Ji.

Jin Song: You damned dog! Seeing Mo Ji enraged me, and I could not withhold my anger. I will use this cane to take your life!

(Jin Song hits Mo Ji. Lin Run and Yu Cheng also enter.)

Yu Cheng: Uncle, please calm down.

Lin Rui: Father of Jin Yunu, enough! Let him go!

Jin Song: If I don't <u>look at Lord Futai's (Lin Run) *mian* ('face')</u>, I will definitely kill you little bastard.

<div align="right">— Peking Opera script Jīn Yù Nú</div>

In example (24) from Peking, the background of the conversation is as follows. The father Jin Song and his daughter Jin Yunu rescued Mo Ji when he was in poverty. Jin Yunu even married him. Unexpectedly, after Mo Ji became an official, he decided to kill Jin Yunu and remarry another woman because of his desire of power and money. Fortunately, Jin Yunu was rescued by Lin Run, the Master of Futai, and she recognised Lin Run as his adoptive father. After what Mo Ji did was exposed, Jin Song was so angry and wanted to kill Mo Ji when they met. As Lin Run persuaded him not to do that, Jin Song thus gave up killing Mo Ji for the sake of Lin Run's 'face'.

(25) (Teochew)

呂賽花：他的心肝硬似鐵，看來破鏡難團圓，我也無面，和爹孃相見，看破世情出家為尼。

劉慶：千萬不可行這條路，怎可出家做尼姑。咱阿姑若知會痛苦，你怎樣一時變胡塗。

玉蓮：玉蓮聽了很傷心，都怪我阿兄太絕情，三番二次不相認，難怪阿嫂看破世情。你若出家著僥倖，下日要和好無可能。

呂賽花: 苦苦哀求跪地面，鐵石的人也動心。<u>看在你兩人的情面</u>，我就帶發修行，拜觀音。

Lü Saihua: His heart is as hard as iron. It seems that it is impossible to fix our broken relationship. I have no face to meet with my parents, so I am considering becoming a nun to leave the world behind.

Liu Qing: Don't do this. How can you become a nun? If our auntie knew about this, she must be heartbroken. How could you suddenly become confused?

Yulian: Hearing this makes me so sad. It's all because my heartless brother repeatedly

refused to accept you. No wonder my sister-in-law (Lü Saihua) has given up on the world. If you become a nun, there is no chance of reconciling in the future.

Lü Saihua: The two of you knelt on the ground and begged so hard, even a person with a heart of stone would be moved. <u>Looking at your affection-*mian*</u> (i.e., for the sake of your 'face'), I will practice Buddhism and pray to Guanyin without shaving off my hair.

Lü Saihua: The two of you knelt on the ground and begged so hard, even a person with a heart of stone would be tempted. <u>Looking at your affection-*mian*</u> (i.e., for your sake), I will practice without shaving off my hair and worship Guanyin.

— Teochew Opera script *Tiong Gī Liông Iân*

In example (25) from Teochew, Lü Saihua had once misunderstood and hurt Bai Yuting. After learning the truth, she confessed to Bai Yuting and asked for his forgiveness and reconciliation. However, Bai Yuting refused to forgive her. In this conversation, Bai Yuting's life was in danger of being poisoned, and Lü Saihua spent all her efforts to find the antidote for him. Unexpectedly, when Bai Yuting knew that the medicine was sent by Lü Saihua, he not only refused to take it but even tried to kill Lü Saihua. Lü Saihua was so sad and decided to become a nun. Bai Yuting's cousin Yulian and Lü Saihua's cousin Liu Qing knelt down and begged her not to become a nun. Facing their begging, Lü Saihua could not bear to refuse them. She thus decided to become a nun but not to shave her hair for the sake of their 'face'.

In these two examples, the expressions *kàn zài…miàn shàng* 看在...面上 (look at one's *mian*) and *khuànn…tsîng-bīn* 看...情面 (look at one's affection-*mian*) are both used by the speakers to explain why they decide not to do something. Such *for the sake of someone's 'face'* collocations often appear when the speaker originally decided to do something but then gave up or they initially did not plan to do something but then decide to do because of someone's requests and persuasions. This 'someone's face' then becomes the speaker's 'excuse' in their statement, justifying why they are going to do or not do something. Like in both examples (24) and (25), after the speakers accepted someone's requests and persuasions, such 'face'-related expressions became the reasons explaining their not going to do something (killing Moji in example 24 and shaving off hair in example 25) and going to do something (practicing without

shaving off hair).

Requesting to the addressee to do or not to do something

(26) (Peking)

陸游：師傅請了，過來。

不空：喲，你這個讀書的人怎麼滿街拉姑子呀，擠鼻子弄眼的，調戲我是怎麼著？

陸游：師傅不可取笑，只因我母親將表妹罰跪在此，是我講情不準，你是她的心腹
　　　人，請你前去勸解勸解。

不空：小姐為什麼罰跪呀？

陸游：只因整理妝臺，將我母親心愛的玉簪摔斷了。

...

（不空進門。）

不空：阿彌陀佛！

唐氏：師傅來了請坐。

不空：坐著，我說老太太，怎麼不見您那兒媳婦呀？

唐氏：只因她每日招惹是非，是我將她罰跪在此。

不空：在哪兒哪？我瞧瞧去。喲，這不是上我廟裡燒香的那位大小姐嗎？怎麼矮了
　　　半截了！你在廟裡得罪神佛，回來就叫你罰跪，你說佛爺靈不靈！阿彌陀佛。
　　　我說老太太，您叫小姐在這兒跪著，咱們也不得說話，幹脆<u>瞧著我的面子</u>，
　　　叫她起來得了。

Lu You: Master, please come here.

Bu Kong: Well, as a scholar, why do you surround yourself with those women? Why are
　　　you scrunching your nose and winking at me? Are you trying to flirt with me?

Lu You: Master, please don't tease me. It's because my mother punished my cousin for
　　　kneeling here, and I failed to persuade her. You are her confidant, please go and
　　　advise her.

Bu Kong: Why did the young lady kneel?

Lu You: It's because she accidentally broke my mother's beloved jade hairpin while
　　　tidying up the dressing table.

....

(Bu Kong enters the room.)

Bu Kong: Amitabha!

Mrs Tang: Master, please have a seat.

Bu Kong: I'm already sitting. Madam, where is your daughter-in-law?

Mrs Tang: She stirs up troubles every day, so I punished her by kneeling here.

Bu Kong: Where is she? Let me have a look. Oh, isn't she the young lady who burns incense in my temple? Why is she half a head shorter? You (the lady) offend the gods in the temple and get punished when you come back. Do you believe that the Lord Buddha's spiritual power is present? Amitabha. Madam, you let the lady kneel here, we can't talk freely. Just <u>look at my *mian-zi*</u> ('face') and tell her to get up.

— Peking Opera script *Chāi Tóu Fèng*

In Peking example (26), Tang Huixian accidentally broke her mother-in-law Mrs Tang's jade hairpin and was punished to kneel on the ground. Lu You tried to persuade his mother Mrs Tang not to publish his wife, but he failed. So, Lu You went and found Bu Kong, hoping she could change his mother's mind. When the nun Bukong came over to talk to Mrs Tang and saw Tang Huixian kneeling on the ground, she asked Mrs Tang to let Tang Huixian get up and not punish her anymore for the sake of her 'face'.

(27) (Teochew)

李唔直的二舅子：早間是阮有不是，望將契約送還阮，永遠不忘大恩義。

李唔直：剛才是恁做到盡，甘願寫契賣田根，如今和約在阮手，欲阮送還萬不能。

李唔直的大舅子：細妹細丈來做情，還須念著骨肉親，早間言語屬戲耍，望勿以假當為真。

李唔直：恁擔柑賣了，剩下擔柑擔，說進說出樣樣能，你就騙得樹尾鳥，也難勸回我心胸。

李唔直的岳母：賢婿女兒<u>看我面</u>，還伊田厝生命根，早間雖然有得罪，終久都是自己親。

Li Wuzhi's second brother-in-law: It is my fault this morning, please return the contracts to me, and I will always remember your great kindness.

Li Wuzhi: It was your just now to do things in a way without .... You were willingly writing the contracts to sell the land. Now that the contracts are in my hands, it is absolutely impossible for me to return them.

Li Wuzhi's eldest brother-in-law: My youngest sister and youngest brother-in-law, please do some favours and consider our family ties. Our words before were just playful banter, please don't take them seriously.

Li Wuzhi: You carry oranges to sell, but you're left with an empty basket. You can twist words all you want. Even if you can fool the birds sitting on the trees, you cannot change my mind.

Li Wuzhi's mother-in-law: Dear son-in-law and daughter, please <u>look at my *mian* (for the sake of my 'face')</u> and return his land contract and house contract. They are his lifeblood. Although they may have offended you before, in the end, we are all family.

<div align="right">— Teochew Opera script <i>Lí Onn Tit</i></div>

In example (27) from Teochew, Li Wuzhi's father-in-law and his two brothers-in-law looked down on him, thinking he was poor and had no money. In order to humiliate him, Li Wuzhi's two brothers-in-law joked and sold their house and land to him at half price. They even signed a contract with Li Wuzhi. Li Wuzhi's father-in-law also said that if Li Wuzhi had the money to buy these, he would give him another field. Unexpectedly, Li Wuzhi was in fact really rich and was able to pay for all those houses and farms. As the situation became embarrassing, Li Wuzhi's mother-in-law beseeched Li Wuzhi to return the contracts of farm and house to his two brothers-in-law for the sake of her 'face'.

As the above two examples show, the expressions *qiáo zhe...miàn-zi* 瞧著...面子 (look at one's *mian-zi*) and *khuànn...bīn* 看...面 (look at one's *mian*) are both used by the speakers as requests to the addressee to do something. Here *for the sake of someone's 'face'* collocations are used as a pre-positioned, routine-like plea, which reinforces and justifies the following request. Like in example (26) and (27), the speakers firstly offered their 'face' as something

that they believed the recipients would value and then perform the requests, expecting the recipients will accept their requests. In most of such circumstances, the speakers' power often higher than the recipient or they have no power difference.

Although the above-discussed two uses of the 'for the sake of someone's face' collocations occurred in both our Teochew and Peking corpora, their frequency was again different in the two corpora. In total, we found 17 cases in the Teochew corpus and 9 cases in Peking corpus.

To sum up Section 6.3.2, notwithstanding the significant differences between historical Mandarin and the Minnan dialect which were identified in the above contrastive study of the core 'face' expressions (Section 6.3.1), there are two collocation groups which have very similar uses in the two historical dialects. This outcome shows that although one needs to talk about two different 'face universes' in the two historical dialects, there are still some noteworthy commonalities between them. While the quantitative evidence above should not be overinterpreted, it fits well into my finding (see Section 6.3.1) that historical Minnan was comparatively richer in 'face'-related expressions than historical Mandarin.

6.4 Conclusion

In this study, I conducted a historical contrastive dialectological analysis of 'face'-related expressions in Mandarin and Minnan. The results show that in historical Mandarin *lian–mian* are used in a duality, in a somewhat similar way to what has been found about modern Mandarin. However, it is also found that *mian* in historical Mandarin can refer to either 'back/heavy' or 'front/light' 'face', and in historical Teochew opera scripts *yan* and *mian* are used in a duality, unlike what one can witness in modern Minnan. It also transpired from the analysis that *yan* in Teochew means 'back/heavy face', and *mian* can refer to either 'back/heavy' or 'front/light' 'face'. Further, both expressions in the *lian–mian* duality in historical Mandarin and the *yan– mian* duality in historical Minnan can refer to physical face as well. This research has also shown that certain (*mian*-related) collocations – e.g., 'for the sake of someone's face' collocations – existed in both dialects, i.e., there is no clear-cut 'divide' between these two dialects. These findings show that there is no such a thing as a unitary 'Chinese face' from the historical pragmatician's point of view. The following Figure 3 summarises the main differences between 'core' 'face'-related expression in modern and historical Mandarin and Minnan:
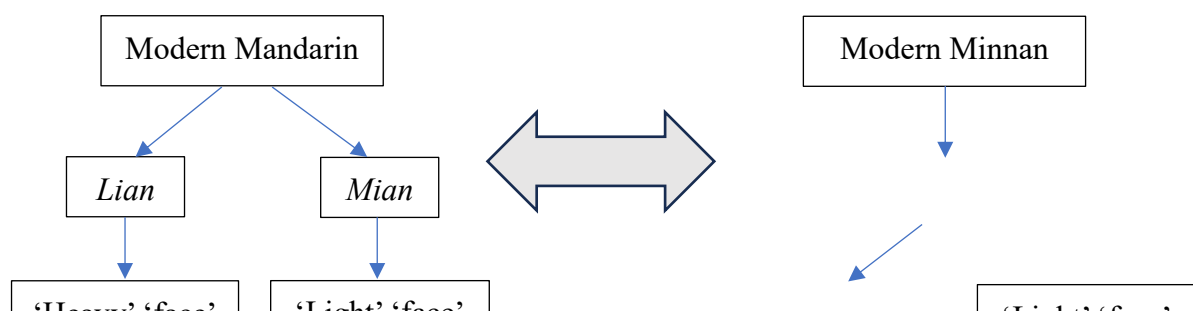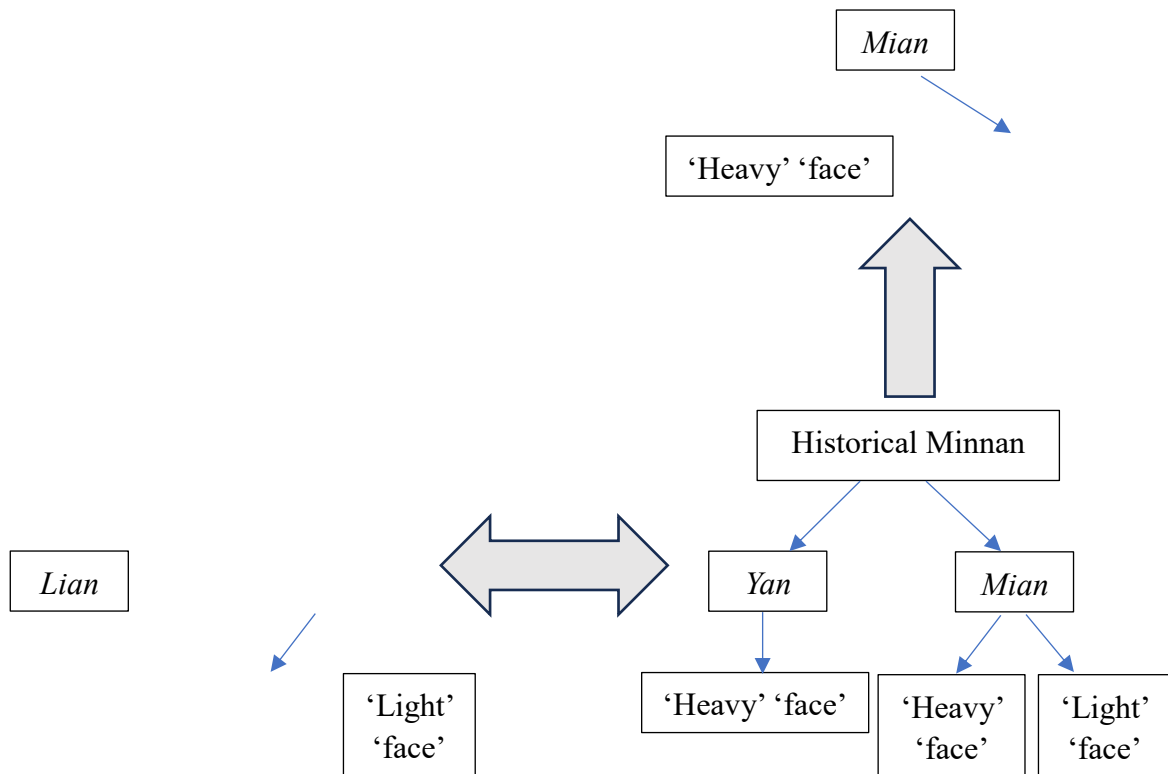
Figure 6.3: Main differences between 'core' 'face' expressions in modern and historical Mandarin and Minnan

While I did not engage in detailed developmental research, I found that Mandarin 'face'-expressions have been relatively 'constant' or 'conservative' in the sense that the duality of *mian* and *lian* existed since the Ming–Qing period to the present day, even though *mian* could also refer to 'back/heavy' 'face' in historical Mandarin texts. In Minnan, however, *yan* disappeared from colloquial language use over time.

7. Conclusion

In this study, I study 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese from a pragmatic perspective. I define 'face'-related expressions as linguistic expressions which indicate the constructive or destructive effects on one's 'face'. By investigating Minnan 'face'-related expressions, I challenge the long-held assumption that Chinese 'face' is a homogeneous concept.

In this chapter, I first summarise the studies conducted in this research project aiming to answer three research questions, and then I discuss the contributions of this thesis and present future research orientations.

7.1. Summary of the Study

Chapter 4. 'Face'-related Expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese

Research Question 1: Whether the dualism *lian* and *mian(-zi)* and their higher-lower-order relationship also holds for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect?

Chapter 4 is devoted to my Research Question 1. I collected Minnan 'face'-related expressions with the aid of multiple types of data. Altogether there were 209 occurrences of 'face'-related expressions in my various data types, consisting of 80 different 'face'-related expressions. These 80 'face'-related collocations, belonging to altogether 12 core 'face' expressions, consisted of both Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' and 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun polysyllabic structures (i.e., nominal 'face'-related expressions collocating with a verb, an adjective or a pronoun). By categorising these 'face'-related expressions, a surprising outcome has been that *lián* (*lian* in Minnan) is remarkedly underrepresented in the data with only one example, while *mian*-related expressions occur to be heavily dominant: altogether 11 *mian*-related core expressions of 'face' were identified involving 79 verb/adjective/pronoun-collocating forms with 208 occurrences. This finding shows that *lian* is definitely *less* important

than *mian* in Minnan: the fact that only 1 *lian*-related expression occurred among the 80 'face'-related expressions in my corpora, and also that all the Minnan-speaking respondents in my study did not encounter this expression shows that *lian* is not a frequently used Minnan expression. Also, by analysing the use of *mian*-related expressions in Minnan, I found that the higher-lower-relationship between *lian* and *mian* is inapplicable in Minnan as *mian* in Minnan can refer to both the 'front/light' unimportant 'face' and the 'back/heavy' important 'face'.

As a follow-up of this study, I also studied Minnan 'face'-related expressions without 'face' nominal expressions. I first identified 4 such expressions in a Minnan TV series and then conduct a bipartite test to a group of bilinguals of Minnan and Mandarin to investigate whether the 'face'-relatedness of these expressions could be realised by the speakers when without and with contexts. The results show that 3 of the understudied Minnan expressions are idiomatically used as 'face'-related expressions as their 'face'-relatedness could be freely recognised by the speakers both within and without contextual information, while the other one expression is somewhat 'ad hoc' 'face'-related expression as it was only related to 'face' in specific contexts.

Chapter 5. Minnan Dialectal Expressions with no Mandarin Counterparts

Research Question 2: Whether such dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are readily interpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects?

In order to answer my Research Question 2, I conducted a test in Chapter 5. I set out from the hypothesis that Minnan 'face'-related expressions are interpretable for any Chinese speaker because Mandarin and Minnan use the same writing system with the exception of some 'local' characters in Minnan. Based on my results in Chapter 4, I administered a test to investigate whether the collected 80 Minnan 'face'-related expressions were ready to interpret by Minnan native speakers and Mandarin speakers who did not speak the Minnan Dialect. The test showed that 44 out of 80 Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' and 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun 'face'-related expressions do not have counterparts in Mandarin. While the Minnan-speaking participants had no difficulty with interpreting all 'face'-related expressions, the Mandarin speakers often struggled with properly interpreting and, more importantly, translating them to

Mandarin. Consequently, my hypothesis that Chinese writing resolves interpretational difficulties for any speaker of Chinese when it comes to Minnan 'face'-related expressions was disconfirmed.

Chapter 6. Chinese 'Face'-related Expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera Scripts – A Historical Contrastive Pragmatic Inquiry

Research Question 3: Whether the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan apply to Chinese historical data (Chapter 6)?

Aiming at Research Question 3, I conducted a contrastive historical investigation of 'face'-related expressions in Minnan and Mandarin in Chapter 6. I hypothesised that the duality *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin and the singularity *mian* in Minnan also hold for Chinese historical data. I studied 19 Peking Opera scripts (written in Mandarin, 404,719 characters in total) and 19 Teochew Opera scripts (written in the Minnan Dialect, 401,823 characters in total) compiled during Ming – Qing period. Altogether, 50 occurrences of 'face'-related expressions were found in 19 Peking Opera scripts, consisting of 30 various 'face'-related expressions. In 19 Teochew Opera scripts, 112 occurrences of 'face' were obtained, including 54 different 'face'-related expressions. These expressions consisted of Verb/Adjective/Pronoun + 'face' and 'face' + Verb/Adjective/Pronoun polysyllabic structures in both data types.

This historical investigation showed that 30 Peking 'face'-related expressions belong to 11 core 'face' expressions, including 5 *mian*-related, 3 *lian*-related and 1 *yan*-related 顏 (*yan*, i.e., face) nominal expressions of 'face', and two compounds *lian-mian* and *yan-mian*. Yet, the infrequency of *yan* in the Peking data indicates that *yan* in Mandarin was unusually used as a reference to the physical face rather than referring to one's honour. This finding implied that the *mian–lian* dichotomy was also valid in understanding the examined historical Mandarin data. On the other hand, *mian* in Peking data was found can be both used in a 'front/light' and 'back/heavy' way, i.e., the higher-lower relationship of *lian* and *mian* in modern Mandarin is not found in historical Mandarin data.

While in the Teochew data, 54 'face'-related expressions belong to 12 core expressions of

'face', including 10 *mian*-related and 2 *yan*-related nominal expressions of 'face'. These two *yan*-related expressions refer to one's 'back/heavy' 'face' with 22 occurrences while *mian*-expressions can refer to either 'back/heavy' or 'front/light' 'face'. This finding pointed to the fact that 'face' in Minnan was not realised as a singular *mian* in the examined historical data, but also represented as a duality as Mandarin. However, the duality of 'face' in Minnan was *yan* and *mian* instead of *lian* and *mian*. This result falsified my hypothesis about Minnan that a singularity of *mian* in Minnan also exists in the examined historical data.

Notwithstanding these significant differences in the core 'face' expressions between historical Mandarin and the Minnan dialect, there are two collocation groups which have very similar uses in the two historical dialects. This outcome shows that although one needs to talk about two different 'face universes' in the two historical dialects, there are still some noteworthy commonalities between them.

To sum up, by studying Minnan 'face'-related expressions, this thesis finds that:

1) the dualism *lian* and *mian(-zi)* and their higher-lower-order relationship does not hold for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect;

2) more than half of the dialectal Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Minnan are uninterpretable in a written form for speakers of other dialects of Chinese;

3) although the duality of 'face' *mian* and *lian* in Mandarin applies to Chinese historical data (during Ming – Qing period), their lower-higher-relationship cannot as *mian* in the examined historical data can also refer to the 'back/heavy' 'face';

4) the singularity *mian* in Minnan does not apply to Chinese historical data as 'face' in historical Minnan (during Ming – Qing period) as it is also represented by a dichotomy *mian* (as both the 'back/heavy' or 'front/light' 'face') and *yan* (as the 'back/heavy' 'face');

5) noteworthy commonalities were found in historical Mandarin and the Minnan dialect in terms of their pragmatic use of 'face'-related expressions;

6) linguistic idiomatic expressions of 'face' (i.e., 'face'-related expressions) do not necessarily include nominal 'face' components.

7.2. Contribution of the Thesis and Future Research

The outcomes of this thesis thus contribute to 'face' research in the following five aspects, where the future research orientations are also discussed respectively.

Firstly, this thesis provides an overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions. As a major Chinese dialect and the native tongue of many Chinese migrants overseas, the Minnan Dialect has a large inventory of archaic and local expressions, especially a rich variety of 'face'-related expressions. However, very little research has been dedicated to the 'face'-related inventory in Minnan and no systematic overview of Minnan 'face'-related expressions has been made (see more in Chapter 2, section 2.3). The current study thus fulfils this gap by providing an overview of 80 various verb/adjective/pronouns-collocating 'face'-related expressions in Minnan. It would be no doubt fruitful for future research to investigate 'face'-related idioms in other dialects of Chinese to provide a more comprehensive view on Chinese 'face'-related expressions.

Secondly, the study challenges the long-held assumption that Chinese 'face' is a pan-Chinese notion. Since Hu's famous interpretation of Chinese 'face' in 1944, most of the subsequent research perceives Chinese 'face' as a pan-Chinese concept manifested by two lexemes *mian* and *lian* (where *mian* refers to the 'light' 'face' and *lian* refers to the 'heavy' 'face'), which can be applied to any speakers of Chinese in any context (see e.g. Mao, 1994; Su, 2009; He & Zhang, 2011; Pan, 2011; Hinze, 2012; Chan et al., 2018; Li, 2020; Chen et al., 2021; Su & Lee, 2022). The results of this thesis on the one hand highlight that synchronic variations exist in both modern and historical Mandarin and Minnan. The dualism *mian* and *lian* and their lower-higher-relationship in modern Mandarin cannot be applied to the Minnan Dialect as modern Minnan only has a singularity *mian* referring to both the 'light' and 'heavy' 'face'. While historical Mandarin had the dichotomy of 'face' *mian* and *lian*, historical Minnan had another typology of 'face' *mian* and *yan*. On the other hand, the thesis pinpoints the diachronic variations in Chinese 'face', i.e., 'face' core expressions diverse in modern and historical Mandarin, as well as in modern and historical Minnan. This study thus stands with scholars like Fang and Zhang (2012), Gui and Ouyang (2012), Dong and Guo (2017) and Zhang (2019), arguing that it is problematic to study Chinese dialectal language use relying on a

dichotomy created on the basis of Mandarin 'face'-related expressions since speakers of Chinese dialects often struggle to explain 'face' by using Mandarin. The outcomes of this study thus suggest that there may not be such a thing as a single homogeneous concept of 'Chinese face'. Rather, one should distinguish dialectal repertoires of 'face'. Such repertoires may have a lot in common, so differences between them may not so much be differences *in kind* by rather *in degree*. However, the extent of such differences ultimately calls for studying Chinese dialectal repertoires of 'face'-related expressions separately, and also to avoid making *a priori* assumptions about 'face' in Chinese dialects on the basis of Mandarin. It would be important to continue the research I proposed here by studying 'face'-related expressions in other Chinese dialects such as Cantonese and Hakka.

Thirdly, this research shows that it is worth engaging in a historical contrastive study because any difference we found between the historical and modern uses of 'face'-related expressions in the individual dialects are eclipsed once we compare them with historical differences between the two dialectal corpora (see Chapter 6). I believe that it would be worthwhile in future research to contrastively examine 'face'-related expressions in other Chinese dialects as well since there are various major dialects – and many sub-dialects – in Chinese. While maybe not all these dialects have such a well-developed literary tradition as Minnan, some of them like Cantonese and Wu do have a long literary tradition, including local operas, and so the historical research presented in this study might well be replicated at least with opera scripts written in these dialects. I believe it would be particularly fruitful to interconnect dialectology and historical pragmatics (see an overview in Meurman-Solin, 2012) in the study of 'face' in Chinese. Such contrastive research would help us unearth the intriguing inventories of 'face'-related expressions across Chinese dialects.

Fourthly, this research project points out that 'face'-related expressions do not obligatorily include face nominal components. Since the academic notion of 'face' has been proposed, idiomatic expressions including face in different linguacultures are widely discussed in 'face'-related research (see Hu, 1944; Goffman, 1955; Ho, 1976; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Nwoye, 1992; Zhai, 1999; Yu, 2001; Haugh & Hinze, 2003; Ukosakul, 2003; Zhai, 2004; Haugh, 2007; Qi, 2011; Hinze, 2012; Zhou & Zhang, 2017, etc.). However, although Sifianou (2013) and Zhai (1999; 2021a) have pinpointed in their studies that 'face'-related expressions include not

only those idioms that contains face but also other expressions which do not include face, such expressions are long-ignored in the previous 'face' research. By conducting a bipartite test (see Chapter 4, section 4.3), the current study identifies the 'face'-relatedness of 4 Minnan idiomatic expressions, demonstrating that 'face'-related expressions do not necessarily involve face nominal components. Such expressions are not a unique treatise of Minnan but also exist in other dialects of Chinese (see Zhai, 1999, 2021a), or in other languages (see Sifianou, 2013). This finding offers important hints for studying 'face' in those linguacultures which do not have rich 'face'-related expressions with face nominal components. I believe that future investigation on such 'face'-related expressions would contribute to a more holistic view of 'face' and 'facework' in various linguacultures.

Lastly, in this study, I shied away from devoting attention to the relationship between 'face-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect and politeness and impoliteness. Although in previous studies, 'face' is often interweaved with (im)politeness (see e.g., Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Trees & Manusov, 1998; Chen, 2001; Yu, 2003; Kohnen, 2008; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2011; Mari, 2019; Jucker, 2011; Hostetler, 2012), the current study holds the view that 'face' should be studied as its own. The relationship between 'face' and politeness represents an academic can of worms and would need another academic paper. It would be idle and speculative to argue that politeness *per se* in the Minnan Dialect is different from Mandarin simply because there are different repertoires of 'face'-related expressions in these two dialects of Chinese. Yet, I believe that the outcomes of this research are definitely relevant for politeness research because the differences identified in this study imply that speakers of Minnan and Mandarin talk about politeness and impoliteness into being in significantly different ways. For example, the richness of 'face'-related verbs in the Minnan Dialect implies that speakers of this dialect have very diverse ways of describing and referring to the loss of 'face', either if they are participants of an interaction or when they talk about an interaction as observers. This contrastive difference does not mean that Minnan is metapragmatically more 'developed' than Mandarin. That is, the relative lack of *lian* in the Minnan Dialect implies that Minnan speakers unlike Mandarin speakers cannot make much use of the *lian/mian* distinction on the metapragmatic level.[26]

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[26] Cf. Zhou and Zhang (2017).

Considering that politeness and impoliteness come into existence through evaluations, and also that evaluations themselves often get evaluated, the study of such metapragmatic issues is clearly relevant from the point of view of politeness research. I hope this research would lay down the foundations for such future research.

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Abstract

In this thesis, I investigate the use of 'face'-related expressions in the Minnan Dialect of Chinese. Minnan is often referred to as a 'conservative' dialect because of its large inventory of archaic and local expressions, including a rich variety of 'face'-related expressions. To date little research has been dedicated to this 'face'-related inventory in Minnan, supposedly because it is often assumed that 'face' is a homogeneous notion in Chinese. In this thesis, I critically revisit this assumption.

In this study, I first collected and categorised Minnan dialectal 'face'-related expressions and their use with the aid of data drawn from audio-recorded conversations, online videos, dictionaries, literary works, interviews and TV series. The results pointed to significant differences between Minnan 'face'-expressions and their Mandarin counterparts, i.e., the dualism *lian* and *mian* and their higher-lower-order relationship does not hold for the use of 'face' in the Minnan Dialect. I then distributed a test to two groups of speakers: speakers of Mandarin who were not fluent in Minnan and a group of Minnan speakers. The aim of this test was to find out whether both groups can interpret Minnan 'face'-related expressions in a written form. I hypothesised that Minnan 'face'-related expressions in a written form can easily be interpreted by Mandarin speakers because Mandarin and Minnan use roughly the same writing system. However, this hypothesis was falsified because a significant number of Minnan 'face'-related expressions triggered various types of interpretational difficulties for Mandarin-speakers for various reasons.

Based on these results, I conduct a historical contrastive pragmatic study of the use of Chinese 'face'-related expressions in Peking and Teochew Opera scripts. Peking Opera is the most well-known Chinese opera performed in Mandarin, while Teochew Opera is a Chinese dialectal opera performed in Teochew, which is a variant of the Minnan Dialect. The rationale behind conducting this investigation is that contemporary Mandarin and the Minnan Dialect operate with very different inventories of 'face'-related expressions, and it is worth considering whether this difference also applies to their historical variants and, if so, how. This historical study is based on a corpus of 19 Peking Opera scripts and a comparable corpus of 19 Teochew Opera scripts, written during the Ming and Qing period (1368–1912). The results show that the

historical Mandarin corpus operates with a duality of the 'face' expressions *lian* and *mian*, in a similar way to modern Mandarin, even though I found differences between the ways in which these expressions were used in former times and at present. Yet, such differences fade if we contrast historical Mandarin with the Teochew scripts where I found a very different 'face' duality than in Mandarin, namely a duality of *yan* and *mian*. This duality also differs from what one can witness in present-day Minnan. These findings show that there is no such thing as a unitary 'Chinese face' from the historical pragmatician's point of view.

Despite of the above investigations, I also studied Minnan 'face'-related expressions without 'face' nominal expressions. I first identified 4 such expressions in a Minnan TV series and then conduct a bipartite test to a group of bilinguals of Minnan and Mandarin to investigate whether the 'face'-relatedness of these expressions could be realised by the speakers when without and with contexts. The results highlight the fact that 'face'-related expressions do not obligatorily include 'face' nominal components. Future investigation into such 'face'-related expressions would be undoutedly fruitful and contribute to a more holistic view of 'face' and 'facework' in various linguacultures.

In conclusion, the outcomes of this thesis suggest that there may not be such a thing as a single homogeneous concept of 'Chinese face'. Rather, one should distinguish dialectal repertoires of 'face'. This research also shows that it is worth engaging in a historical contrastive study and it would be fruitful in future research to contrastively examine 'face'-related expressions in other Chinese dialects as well since there are various major dialects – and many sub-dialects – in Chinese. Such contrastive research would help us unearth the intriguing inventories of 'face'-related expressions across Chinese dialects. Moreover, future investigation into 'face'-related expressions which do not include face components would be undoubtedly worthwhile and contribute to a more holistic view of 'face' and 'facework' in various linguacultures. Finally, I believe that the outcomes of this research are definitely relevant for politeness research and I hope this research would lay down the foundations for such future research.

Absztrakt

Ebben a dolgozatban az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések használatát vizsgálom a kínai Minnan dialektusban. A Minnant gyakran „konzervatív" dialektusnak nevezik, mivel rengeteg archaikus és helyi kifejezést tartalmaz, beleértve az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések gazdag választékát. A mai napig kevés kutatást szenteltek ennek az „arculatokkal" kapcsolatos kifejezéskészletnek a Minnanban, feltehetőleg azért, mert gyakran feltételezik, hogy az „arculat" homogén fogalom a kínai nyelvben. Dolgozatomban kritikusan újragondolom ezt a feltételezést.

Dolgozatomban elsőként gyűjtöttem össze és kategorizáltam a Minnan nyelvjárási „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezéseket és azok használatát hangfelvételekből, online videókból, szótárakból, irodalmi művekből, interjúkból és tévésorozatokból származó adatok segítségével. Az eredmények szignifikáns különbségekre mutattak rá a Minnan „arculat" kifejezések és mandarin megfelelőik között, vagyis a lian és mian dualizmus, valamint magasabb-alacsonyabb rendű kapcsolatuk nem áll fenn az „arculat" használatárban a Minnan dialektusban. Ezután kiosztottam egy tesztet a beszélők két csoportjának: a mandarin beszélőknek, akik nem beszéltek folyékonyan a Minnan dialektusban, és egy csoport anyanyelviMinnan beszélőnek. Ennek a tesztnek az volt a célja, hogy megtudjam, vajon mindkét csoport képes-e értelmezni a Minnan „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezéseit írásban. Feltételeztem, hogy a Minnan „arculattal" kapcsolatos írásbeli kifejezéseket könnyen értelmezhetik a mandarin beszélők, mivel a mandarin és a Minnan nagyjából ugyanazt az írásrendszert használja. Ezt a hipotézist azonban nem sikerült bizonyítanom , mert a Minnan „arculattal" kapcsolatos megnyilvánulások jelentős része különböző okokból váltott ki különféle értelmezési nehézségeket a mandarin beszélők számára.

Ezen eredmények alapján történelmi kontrasztív pragmatikai vizsgálatot végzek a kínai „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések használatáról Pekingi és Teochew Opera forgatókönyveiben. A Pekingi Opera a legismertebb mandarin nyelven előadott kínai opera, míg a Teochew Opera egy kínai nyelvjárási opera Teochew-ban, amely a Minnan-dialektus egy változata. A vizsgálat indoklása az, hogy a kortárs mandarin és a minnan-dialektus az „arcokhoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések nagyon eltérő készleteivel működik, és érdemes megfontolni, hogy ez

a különbség érvényes-e ezek történeti változataira is, és ha igen, hogyan. Ez a történeti tanulmány egy 19 pekingi opera forgatókönyvből és egy hasonló, 19 Teochew Opera forgatókönyvből álló korpuszon alapul, amelyeket a Ming és Qing időszakban írtak (1368–1912). Az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy a történelmi mandarin korpusz a lian és mian „arculat" kifejezések kettősségével működik, hasonlóan a modern mandarinhoz, még akkor is, ha különbségeket találtam aközött, ahogyan ezeket a kifejezéseket használták a korábbi időkben és a jelenben. Az ilyen különbségek azonban elhalványulnak, ha szembeállítjuk a történelmi mandarint a Teochew-írásokkal, ahol egy egészen más „arculat" kettősséget találtam, mint a mandarinban, nevezetesen a yan és a mian kettősségét. Ez a kettősség is eltér attól, aminek a mai Minnanban lehetünk tanúi. Ezek az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy a történelmi pragmatikus szemszögéből nem létezik egységes „kínai arculat".

A fenti eredmények ellenére is tanulmányoztam a Minnan „arculat"-hoz kapcsolódó kifejezéseket „arculat" névleges kifejezések nélkül. Először 4 ilyen kifejezést azonosítottam egy Minnan TV-sorozatban, majd kétoldalú tesztet végeztem Minnan és Mandarin kétnyelvű beszélők egy csoportján, hogy megvizsgáljam, vajon ezeknek a kifejezéseknek az „arculat"-rokonságát a beszélők felismerhetik-e, ha nem, és kontextusokkal együtt. Az eredmények rávilágítanak arra a tényre, hogy az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések nem tartalmaznak kötelezően „arculat" névleges összetevőket. Az ilyen „arculattal" kapcsolatos kifejezések jövőbeli vizsgálata kétségtelenül gyümölcsöző lenne, és hozzájárulna az „arculat" és „arculati munka" holisztikusabb szemléletéhez a különböző nyelvi kultúrákban.

Összefoglalva, a dolgozat eredményei azt sugallják, hogy nem létezik egyetlen homogén „kínai arculat" fogalom. Érdemes inkább megkülönböztetni az „arculat" nyelvjárási repertoárját. Ez a kutatás azt is mutatja, hogy érdemes egy történelmi kontrasztív vizsgálatba belefogni, és a jövőbeni kutatások során hasznos lenne kontrasztív módon megvizsgálni az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezéseket más kínai dialektusokban is, mivel számos jelentősebb dialektus – és számos aldialektus – létezik kínaiul. Az ilyen kontrasztív kutatások segítenének feltárni az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezések érdekes készleteit a kínai dialektusokban. Ezenkívül kétségtelenül érdemes lenne megvizsgálni az „arculathoz" kapcsolódó kifejezéseket, amelyek nem tartalmaznak arculat komponenseket, és hozzájárulnának az „arculat" és „arculati munka" holisztikusabb szemléletéhez a különböző nyelvkultúrákban. Végül úgy gondolom,

hogy ennek a kutatásnak az eredményei feltétlenül relevánsak az udvariassági kutatások szempontjából, és remélem, hogy ez a kutatás megalapozza az ilyen jövőbeli kutatásokat.