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Diachronic change of rapport orientation and sentence-periphery in Mandarin: Illocutional concurrences of (im-)politeness and clause final particles

This paper provides a corpus-based analysis of the formal structure and the rapport orientation (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2008) of speech acts of evaluation in written Mandarin starting from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) leading up to the present. It focuses on illocutional concurrences (IC) (Author 2018) where the change of rapport management with the interlocutor significantly correlates with evaluative speech acts (Author 2016a). IC are holistic patterns that emerge at various levels of an utterance. They contribute both locally (i.e. at the morphosyntactic level) and peripherally (i.e. at the illocutionary level) to the encoding of contextually and temporally situated speech acts or pragmemes (i.a. Mey 2001; Author 2016a). Mixed methods of hierarchical clustering (Steinbach et al. 2000) and multiple correspondence analysis (Nenadic & Greenacre 2007) indicate that the recent history of evaluative speech acts in written Chinese is characterised by a shift from prevalently rapport-maintaining orientation to utterances more overtly marked for (im-)politeness. Evaluative language in written Mandarin became less mitigated at the structural level and increasingly oriented towards rapport enhancement and rapport challenge. This shift significantly intersects with a progressive replacement of clause final particles during the 20th century, especially after the so-called 'May the 4th Movement'.

1.   Introduction

In this paper we aim at disentangling the role played by pragmatic, syntactical and semantic factors involved in the change of modal evaluations in written fictional Mandarin starting from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) up to the present.

We deployed a range of exploratory techniques to identify unbiased converges of form, meaning, contextual conditions and pragmatic effects that contribute to expression of evaluations at different stages of change. Hierarchical intersections of variables subsumed by these 4 dimensions is what we call **illocutional concurrences (IC)**. IC encompass converging factors at various levels of verbal experience that contribute both locally (i.e. at the morphosyntactic level) and peripherally (i.e. at the illocutionary level) to the encoding of contextually and culturally situated speech acts or pragmemes (i.a. Mey 2001, 2010; Capone 2005; Author 2016c). This project broadly aims at providing a novel model to analyse facework in interaction from a diachronic perspective and is inspired by Jucker & Staley's call for further developments in corpus methodology and the general trend towards quantitative methods into the impoliteness scholars spectrum of research tools (cf. Jucker & Staley 2017: 424-425). More specifically, it tackles the following research questions:

1. What is the relationship between rapport orientation and speech acts of evaluations in Mandarin fictional interaction?
2. Is this relationship limited to pragmatic constraints or it also unfolds to formal and morphosyntactic dimensions?
3. Do speech acts of evaluations change diachronically in Mandarin fictional language?
4. Is it possible to provide data-driven evidence to show whether rapport orientation change is affected by elements of prescriptivism?

We retrieved our data from the Peking University diachronic corpus of Mandarin Chinese CCL. Our analysis is based on hierarchical clustering (Steinbach et al. 2000) and multiple correspondence modelling (Nenadic & Greenacre 2007). Mandarin evaluations in the written language show a diachronic tendency to shift from rapport-maintenance orientation to more overt rapport challenging and rapport enhancing speech acts. This illocutionary shift intersects with a significant change of the nature and the frequency of clause final particles in between the end of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the 20th century. After 1911, evaluations in Written Chinese become increasing marked for (im-)politeness, undergo substantial change of sentence periphery marking, increased syntactic and speaking subject-hood marking. Importantly, while the socio-cultural implicatures of (im-)polite speech acts may me be perceived in different ways at different stages of language change, the focus of this study is on the linguistic system in use. Simply put, we are concerned with the diachronic change of Chinese evaluative interactional patterns per sé and how those overtly changed at the morphosyntactic and the illocutional level. While it is undeniable that the Chinese language in the written fictional form changed substantially from the Qing Dynasty up to the present, the aim of this project is to look into the formal and interactional features of this process of change. In this sense, our primary aim is thus distinctively linguistic, viz. underpinning the way evaluative interaction is formally and illocutionally organised at different stages of language change.

This paper is divided in three parts: it first introduces the formal and pragmatic dimensions that intersect with realisation of evaluations in written Mandarin fictional language. It then illustrates the annotation criteria of evaluative speech acts at different stages of language change. It finally describes quantitative the results of our corpus-based survey. More specifically, section 2 introduces the notion of evaluative speech acts. In section 3 we illustrate the broad concept of facework (i.a. Goffman 1967; Brown & Levinson 1987) and the more fine-grained taxonomy of rapport-management (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2008). which will constitute a fundamental dimension of our analysis. In the same section we also discuss the inherent relationship of pragmatic markers and clause final particles (CFP) at sentence periphery and the function of rapport-maintenance (RM), which

underpins interactional ways to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors. In section 4 we illustrate the retrieval and the preparation of our data from the diachronic section of the Peking University Corpus CCL[1]. In particular, section 4.2 is specifically dedicated to the operationalisation of our annotating scheme for all the utterances of our study. In section 5 are finally presented the results of our analysis. Our findings show a significant increase during the 20th century of less compositional (im-)polite utterances together with decrease of sentence periphery and subject-hood marking of written evaluative language. We argue that abrupt changes underpinning (im-)politeness and structure of sentence periphery after 1911 are partly related to the so-called 'May the 4th Movement'.

2.   Evaluative speech acts

Our enquiry is centred on evaluative speech acts (Searle 1979; Hunston & Thompson 2000; Author 2016a, forthcoming). More precisely, it focuses on evaluations that include a modal verbal auxiliary which may qualify the proposition in terms of certainty, obligations, wants and so on. This choice was made as facework and (im-)politeness are always characterised by an either implicit or explicit element of evaluation of the self or another persona's personal or social image (cf. Goffman 1959, 1967). As a result, from a usage-based perspective it makes sense to retrieve all those utterances where the evaluative element of face directly intersects with the illocutionary force of the speech acts that are included in the analysis.

In Searle, evaluations are considered a subclass either of assertions (evaluations involve an affirmation of some proposition) or of expressives (they imply the expression of a certain psychic state). Lyons (1977) addresses speech acts of evaluations as functions of connotation, while Halliday (1994) regards them as attitudes. In Martin & White (2005) Conrad & Biber (2000) and Englebretson (2007) discuss appraisals as forms of utterances carrying an inherent evaluative force. Dam-Jensen & Zethsen (2007) address situated evaluations as positive/negative interpretations of linguistic expressions that are dependent on the context in which they occur. Hunston & Thompson (2000) view evaluations as speaker's (S) linguistic acts of expressing opinion, which include state-of-affairs that are referred to as (un-)certain or positive or negative. They acknowledge a clear overlap with modality with a special focus on "speaker or writer's attitude or [that] may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values" (2000: 5). Importantly, evaluative speech acts often intersect with modal elements which can be performative (involving the speaker's own, subjective evaluation) or descriptive (reporting the epistemic qualification of a state of affair) (i.a.

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[1] http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index.jsp?dir=xiandai. Last accessed: 14/07/18.

Author 2015, Author 2016d, Author 2017b; Aijmer 2018; Nuyts 2018). Most modal subtypes often count as attitudinal categories, viz. involving the extent to which the assessor can commit him/herself to the state of affairs (i.a. Lyons 1977; Bybee et al. 1994; Palmer 2001; Narrog 2005a, 2005b, 2016), viz. covering deontic modality (the extent of the assessor's moral commitment) and epistemic modality (the extent of the assessor's existential commitment).

In the present study, the retrieval of evaluative speech acts includes both performative and descriptive usages of modalised expressions, as long as they contribute to the encoding of some evaluative force. This entails that, beyond epistemic and deontic modal meanings, even dynamic-situational modality can underpin the pragmatic attempt of evaluating the state of affairs of some situation or event. Consider (1) below, where the auxiliary *can* encodes situational modality, yet it also pragmatically intersects with a certain degree of evaluative force. In fact, *can* in (1) does not allow evaluational distancing (cf. Author 2016a), as a subsequent rebuking of the reasoning process behind the utterance would not be consistent with the previous statement:

(1)   Help **can** be summoned from ACET or other services merely by pressing a button on a
        pendant worn around the neck.

                                                                                              BNC A00 284

(1) a.   ? Help **can** be summoned from ACET or other services merely by pressing a button on a
         pendant worn around the neck, although I don't think so.

Our corpus-based enquiry is centred on modalised utterances that are characterised by different degrees of evaluative force (EvF(p)), i.e. where the direction of fit is "words to the world" with S expressing either overt or assumed "psychological state of Belief that (p): ⊣↓B(p)" (cf. Searle 1979: 12).

Possible caveats exist when illocutionary force is addressed from a diachronic angle. Taavitsainen and Jucker (2008a: 4) wonder about the extent to which "pragmatic meaning works uniformly over periods and societies". They suggest that the answer may depend on the type of speech act under investigation. Different speech acts indeed show varying degrees of diachronic variation, e.g. directives are a type of speech act that are less sensitive to cultural and historical variation than other speech acts such as apologies, complaints and compliments for instance (Kohnen 2002). Evaluations as a speech act type may be considered as fairly stable over time, as they do not inherently impinge on potential either positive or negative face threats, as their primary function directly hinges on expressing the degree of likelihood of a proposition (cf. Nuyts 2001), will, ability and so on.

3. Facework, rapport management and clause-periphery

3.1 Facework and rapport management

Over the last decades research centred on modality has been increasingly concerned with "interactional, textual and rhetorical functions, such as persuading, manipulating, challenging, confronting, accepting, encouraging the flow of the conversation and creating cohesive texts" (cf. Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2012: 2109; i.a. see also Simon-Vandebergen & Aijmer 2007; Englebreston 2007; Author 2016a, 2017a). Somewhat surprisingly, to date very few studies addressed facework as an important variable of modalised propositions (e.g. Heritage 2012 for an approach based on conversation analysis) .

The concept face is first considered by Goffman as the "the traffic rules of social interaction" (1967:12). In Brown & Levinson's influential research on (im-)politeness (1987) face is addressed as a universal concern which can refer to two wants of the individual. A so-called positive face that necessitates approval by others and a negative face requiring one's actions or thoughts to be unimpeded by others. Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach has been challenged for neglecting the interpersonal or social perspective on face, while placing too much emphasis on the Western ideal of individual freedom and autonomy. In turn, Matsumoto (1988), Ide (1989) and Mao (1994) all stress the importance of "social identity" as a concept in Japanese and Chinese societies.

A second important matter of debate in facework studies regards the relationship between language use and identity during and beyond interaction (i.a. Spencer-Oatey & Ruhi 2007). There is a strand of research where identity is indeed viewed as a byproduct of interaction (Heritage 2001: 48; Hecht et al. 2005; Benwell & Stokoe 2006). In other cases, facework is tackled as a dimension that endures across interactions unless otherwise challenged (Spencer-Oatey, 2005:102–103).

In this paper, we will be looking at face from a usage-based perspective and a corpus-based framework. The theoretical foundation of our analysis will be consistent with a conceptualisation of face as interactional, necessarily involving "evaluation by others, which in turn presupposes that interaction has indeed taken place" (Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini 2010: 2074). This approach draws on the so-called 'co-constituting model of communication' (Arundale 2010), which places special emphasis on the relationship that is achieved interactionally between two or more personas, rather than a long-term person-centred construct such as Goffman's (1955) claimed self-image/social identity, or Brown and Levinson's (1987) social wants. We are thus interested in observing face when emerging "as a relational and interactional phenomenon that arises in every day talk/conduct, and is opposed to a person-centred attribute that determines the shape of an individual utterance" (Arundale, 2010:2079)

In Brown & Levinson (1987) framework there is a clear stress on intentionality and the face-threatening potential of any speech act. A more multifaceted taxonomy is proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2008), as she suggests that people can hold four different types of rapport orientation:

1. Rapport enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors.
2. Rapport maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors.
3. Rapport neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors (perhaps because of a focus on self).
4. Rapport challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors.

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008:32)

Despite not having been designed for usage-based purposes, Spencer-Oatey's taxonomy can operationally inform an annotating scheme tackling S's overt attempts to maintain, enhance or challenge his/her ongoing rapport with H.

We are aware of some downsides of a corpus-based approach to facework and rapport management, as a distinctive focus on interaction cannot capture the long-term construing of personas' face and their perception within a social group from an ethnomethodological angle (i.a. Samra & Fredericks 2010). However, it is also worth noting that corpus-based analysis has the advantage of operationally tackling facework when it occurs as an overtly codified phenomenon, unveiling large-scale patterns of 'overt' rapport-management. In addition, facework seen as as overtly marked device can be statistically analysed and compared cross-culturally and diachronically. In fact, in the case studies from section 5 we look diachronically at rapport-management in written interaction by focusing on utterances where S evaluates some state of affairs and the degree to which s/he intends to overtly problematise or prevent H's reaction to potential face enhancing or face threatening speech acts.

3.2   Sentence-periphery and rapport management

From a usage-based perspective, rapport-maintenance is overtly codified through pragmatic marking. Pragmatic markers (here-forth PMs) act as procedural instructions or "linguistic 'road-signs' to intended meaning" during linguistic exchanges (Hansen 1998: 199; Waltereit 2001). Clause-periphery is widely acknowledged to be as formal diagnostic for identifying PMs, as they take scope

over the whole clause and intersect with speech act oriented modality and intersubjectivity (i.a. Sweetser 1990; Narrog 2012).

Traugott's working definition of intersubjectivity felicitously captures Sp/w's overt attempt to codify his/her awareness of his interactional rapport with Ad/r as it regards "the locutionary agent's expression of his or her awareness of the addresses's attitudes and beliefs, most specially their 'face' or 'self-image'" (Traugott 2003:128). Functions of language that are most likely to mark the S's attention to the intersubjective face of the interlocutors are often related to politeness and meta-discursive functions such as turn-giving, agreement-seeking or elicitation of response (Traugott 2012: 10). Concerning the identification of and clause-peripheral PMs, Traugott argues that all contextual variables being equal, when meta-discursive and peripheral "uptake by another interlocutor appears on a regular basis in [the same genre of] texts, then the marker is being used intersubjectively" (Traugott 2012: 10). Research of peripheral usages of *clearly* and *no doubt* reveal a process of intersubjectification between the 16th and the 18th century (Traugott 2012: 11.) Turn-taking devices and question tags soliciting a response by the hearer also result from intersubjective reanalysis such is the case of clause *final right?* and *is it not?, isn't it?* and similar ones (Tottie and Hoffmann 2006). A process of intersubjectification has been similarly observed through sentence peripheral reanalysis of Mandarin connectives (Wang & Huang 2006) and clause final particles (Rhee 2012; Author 2017a; Author 2018b).

3.3 Mandarin sentence-periphery

Spencer-Oatey's notion of rapport-maintenance clearly intersects with Traugottian intersubjectivity, as procedural PMs constitute a codified attempt to monitor the on-going interaction with Ad/r and his/her potential reactions to Sp/w's utterance. This interactional side of rapport-maintenance is compatible with Goffman's original emphasis on the communicated awareness of face coded as a spontaneous mechanism with "involvement in the face of others that is as immediate and spontaneous as the involvement [the speaker] has in his or others' face" (Goffman, 1967:6). Overtly codified attempts of rapport-maintenance indicate when Sp/w finds necessary to encode his/her awareness of Ad/r as a distinctive effort or 'surplus' over mere propositional meaning and 'politic' behaviour (e.g. Gouldner 1960; Kasper 1990; Watts 2003; Culpeper 2011; Author 2016b, 2017a, 2017b; Author 2018a; Author 2018c): e.g. *Actually, I'm tired now* vs. *I'm tired now* (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002; Author 2017a on the intersubjective functions of the discourse markers *actually*).

In Mandarin and most Sinitic Languages, clause-final modal particles (语气词 *yǔqìcí*) – here-forth CFP – correspond to a highly grammaticalised form of PMs, as they are inherently characterised

by procedural function, highly intersubjectified meaning and peripheral usage (cf. Chappell & Peyarube 2018). Typologically, modal particles are often considered as markers of evaluations (Doherty 1987). As a grammaticalised sub-class of PMs, they have scope over the whole clause, they do not carry stress, they are not used to form sentences in isolation or cannot be coordinated (i.a. Hansen 1998: 42-44; Waltereit 2001).

Despite not being obligatory (cf. Bisang 1996: 535 on the issue of non-obligatoriness in the Chinese grammatical system), Mandarin CFP are added as a procedural 'surplus' of meaning at the end of the clause to "facilitate conversational interaction and collaborative "production", coding emotions as varied as surprise, exasperation, indignation, and impatience, not to mention conveying the desired or perceived role relationship between speaker and addressee" (Chappell & Peyarube 2018: 321). Consider the usage of 吧 *ba* and 啊 *a* in (2) below:

[referring to China Airlines]

(2)　　A: 它们更便宜。

　　　　　tāmen gèng piányì

　　　　　they more cheap

　　　　　'They are even cheaper.'

　　　　B: 不会吧，华航还是很贵啊。

　　　　　bùhuì **ba**，huáháng háishi hěn huì **a**

　　　　　not being-the-case **BA**, China Airlines still very expensive **A**

　　　　　'It can't be come on, China Airlines are pretty expensive actually.'

<div align="right">(Adapted from Wu 2004: 26)</div>

The particle 吧 *ba* is used to mitigate B's disagreement with A. 吧 *ba* is often "used to code suggestions" (Chappell & Peyarube 2018: 323) or invite H to take part to a physical or 'epistemic' co-action (Author 2017a), viz. engaging Ad/r in a shared activity or shared belief. The intersubjective nature of 吧 *ba* depends on its function to check or confirm that the addressee accepts the validity of the given proposition and is often rendered with tag-questions in English, e.g. *don't you think so?* or *wouldn't you agree?* (cf. Li & Thompson 1982: 307). Similarly, the CFP 啊 *a* (or 呀 *ya*) is characterised by "a hortatory use in prompting or urging the addressee to carry out the action desired by the speaker" (cf. Chappell & Peyarube 2018: 323). When it is employed epistemically, 啊 *a*

emphasises S's subjective certainty (i.a. Xu 2007) while expecting Ad/r's acknowledgement of the state of affairs of p.

Both statements uttered by B in (2) are epistemically in opposition with what is said by A. Despite the difference in meaning between 吧 *ba* and 啊 *a,* in both cases there is Sp/w's codified effort to acknowledge Ad/r's potential reactions to his/her disagreement and the attempt to 'save' their interactional rapport. Put simply, in (2B) there is an overt intention to "protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors" (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 32), which in Mandarin is often grammatically (albeit not obligatorily) encoded in clause final position.

There is an evident mismatch between particles in Modern and pre-Modern and classical literary Chinese, 文言文 *wényánwén*. In fact, the latter used to be the register for almost all formal writing in China until the early 20th century. As an illustration, 矣 *yǐ* and 也 *yě* are two most frequently used CFP in Classical Chinese. The aspectual meaning of former is roughly equivalent to the CFP indicating current relevance 了 *le* in Modern Mandarin (cf. Edwin & Pulleyblank 2010: 166), while at the modal level it often underpins Sp/w's epistemic reasoning and conjecturing (Xu 2002: 193). On the other hand, 也 *yě* in dialogic contexts expresses confirmation of some state of affairs, with a similar usage as clause final 啊 *a* (Xu 2002: 183). In turn, it is often acknowledged that Modern Mandarin CFP such as 呢 *ne* and 吧 *ba* do not have any comparable particle in Classical Chinese (i.a. Guo et al 1999, Lü 2002, Smith 1991, Wei 2015).

As it will be discussed in section 4, our annotation scheme includes a categorical variable referring to CFP appearing at the end of the clause. Their presence of CFP in dialogical evaluations is an overt indicator of Sp/w's rapport-maintenance intentions, as s/he overtly opts for a codified 'surplus' of meaning (CFP are not obligatory), being expressed specifically to acknowledge Ad/r's potential reactions to the utterance.

4.   Data preparation and annotation

4.1   Data retrieval and normalisation

We retrieved our data from the Peking diachronic corpus of Mandarin Chinese CCL. We specifically looked at subcorpora encompassing 清 *Qīng* dynasty (1644-1911), 民国 *Mínguó* period (1911-1949)

and the 现代 *Xiàndài* (Modern) period (1949-present). We centred our enquiry on the fictional section of each subcorpus due to two reasons. First, the fictional section is the only one that is constant across the three subcorpora. Secondly, as we aimed at capturing whether and how rapport orientation changed from the Pre-Modern to the Modern era, the fictional section provides a controlled environment of dialogic exchanges that could be representative of the formal and pragmatic features at stake in each sub-period. Crucially, data from trials, plays, conversation in novels and letters is representative of language relatively close to speech, and constitutes a precious resource for diachronic investigation (cf. Culpeper & Kyto 2010; Author 2017a, 2017b). Written language is widely acknowledged to be an important window to investigate language change (Traugott and Dasher, 2002:46) as ''text provides a mode of speech'' (Olson, 1994, p. xviii). Diachronies of words and constructions display well-attested reflexes in contemporary spoken data (Biber, 1988) and gradient changes of meaning that can be attested diachronic re-analysis unveil sedimentation of spontaneous innovation (cf. Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

All collocates that have been included in our survey are corpus-driven and correspond to evaluative utterances including a modal auxiliary. We first retrieved a random sample of 200 collocates based on the three most frequent auxiliaries occurring in each period, we then annotated each usage by looking at 9 variables: period, modal auxiliary, presence of speaking subject, presence of syntactic subject, presence of CFP, type of CFP, modal meaning of the auxiliary, rapport and propositional face (i.e. whether Sp/w evaluation targeted Ad/r's persona). All occurrences from our dataset have been through manual double-blind annotation (two annotators), with a matching rate of 86% (see 5.2 for an illustration of our annotation scheme). All remaining collocates have been disambiguated after a third round of annotation from a third annotator.

At this point, we normalised our observations based on the size of the fictional section of each corpus, respectively 45,229,510 words for the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), 35,371,339 words for the Minguo period (1911-1949) and 14,052,591 words for the Modern period (1949-present). We calculated the per-milion-word rapport of each set of observations based on the size of each fictional sub-section, respectively 4.4, 5.6, 14.2. We then multiplied our observations per each rapport minus one (i.e. the actual sample): 3.4, 4.6 and 13.2. This 'post-annotation' method of normalisation allowed us to control the proportion and the inner relationship among the 9 variables from each sample by also taking into account the size of each period of the CCL. Normalised data have been used for association tests in section 5.3.

On a methodological note, it is important to acknowledge that from a strictly historical pragmatic angle, it cannot be taken for granted that past evaluations can be analysed with the same accuracy as contemporary evaluations. As a matter of fact, a temporally and contextually situated socio-pragmatic mismatches are always at stake in any enterprise involving the analysis of language

change data (whether it is purely semantic, grammatical or pragmatic). At the same time, research on semasiological change is an example where illocutional modification and invited inferencing trigger semantic reanalysis (i.a. Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2012, 2016; Brinton 2017). While this project is centred on speech acts, rather than specific lexemes, the underlying methodology is fairly similar, as the manual annotation of all the evaluations in our dataset has taken into account information about immediate context and the nature of each text where evaluations were realised.

4.2   Annotation and usage-based operationalisation of the criteria

We opted for a two layered annotation model to analyse rapport orientation through dialogic interaction in each fictional subcorpus. The first layer underpins rapport, i.e. whether S aims at maintaining (RM), enhancing (RE), challenging (RC) or whether s/he simply neglects (RN) his/her rapport with Ad/r whilst making an evaluation.

The second layer regards whether Sp/w overtly expresses a positive or negative evaluation of Ad/r. We define this phenomenon as **propositional facework** (Author 2018b), in order to shed light on whether there is a diachronic increase of cases where S overtly says what s/he thinks about H, either in the form of a FTA (face-threatening act) or FEA (face-enhancing act). Our corpus-driven annotation scheme was based on the following usage-based taxonomy, specifically intending to capture overt signs of rapport-management in interaction:

Tag	Rapport-orientation
RE	*S makes the attempt to improve his/her rapport with H. S/he says something that is advantageous for H (e.g. proposes something that may be beneficial for him/her: "you could do p, p would be good for you").*
RE+pFEA	*S overtly says something that boosts H personal/social image (e.g. appraisals, positive comments).*
RM	*S overtly codifies his/her awareness of H's potential reactions to the utterance. This intersects formally with presence of clause-periphery intersubjective markers (PMs) and peripheral periphrastic formulae.*
RN	*S makes an evaluation without any overt element of* RE *or* RM.
RC	*S utters something that is disadvantageous to H (e.g. gives an overt order, accuses or exerts some form of power over H).*
RC+pFTA	*S overtly says something about H that downgrades his/her personal/social image.*

Table 1.

Criteria for the usage-based identification 6 different layers of rapport management

It is important to emphasise the usage-based nature of this study, as our annotation depends on interactionally marked elements informed by the taxonomy in table 1. This approach is not based on 'interpreting' the feelings of the single interactants, but rather on identifying overtly codified signs of rapport management. An illustration of our annotation criteria is given in the next section. Our focus is on proposing a model that may account for rapport-management from spontaneous interaction. That is, we do not aim at uncovering individuals' specific understanding of each other's 'face' as such throughout interaction, as this would reach far beyond the scope and the empirical testing of this project. Rather, we are interested in operationalising interactional ways in which elements of rapport orientation do emerge from spontaneous speech acts of evaluation in temporally and cultural situated contexts of fictional interaction. This approach aligns with a functional strand of corpus-based approaches to (im-)politeness (i.a. Jucker 2000; Honegger 2003; Culpeper & Archer 2008; Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008). Our scope of enquiry is tehrefore specifically linguistic and aims at providing a coherent picture of how evaluative interaction formally changed in written Mandarin regardless of feelings and intentions that authors meant to ascribe to their characters at different stages of change.

4.3 An operational annotation of rapport management and propositional facework in interaction

This section we illustrate the criteria for the annotation scheme in section 1. Importantly, our annotation is not limited to single utterances. It is inherently based on contextually informed annotation of dialogic exchanges, which controls for book-types in which they occur (all comparable fictional works meant to be representative of each period) and large contextual spans where evaluations take place. Labels of each category are given in chevron (< >) at the top of each example (or group of examples). Below are first given two cases of rapport enhancement RE:

<RE>

(3)　　 "**我家只有老母一人，你若不能携**带妻子同去赴任，**可以**让她先住在我家，

　　　　wǒ jiā zhǐ yǒu lǎomǔ yī rén，nǐ ruò bù néng xiédài qīzi tóngqù fùrèn，

　　　　kěyǐ ràng tā xiān zhùzài wǒ jiā

　　　　"My home only there-is old-mother one person, you if cannot take-along

　　　　wife together go to-duty,can let her first stay my home

　　　　等您上任后安排好了再来接她。"

　　　　děng nín shàngrèn hòu ānpái hǎo le zài lái jiē tā

　　　　wait you be-at-office organise then come to pick-up her.

13

'There is just my mother at home, if you cannot take your wife to your post, you can let her stay in my home. Once you will be done, you can come and pick her up.'

CCL/Minguo (1911-1949) /Gujin Qinghai

<RE>

(4)　　 "那东西是我拿的，那东西！**我不能**连累你们，**我去自首！我去自首！**"

nà dōngxi shì wǒ náde，nà dōngxi！wǒ bù **néng** liánlèi nǐmen, wǒ qù zìshǒu! wǒ qùzìshǒu

that thing is I take DE, that thing! Wo cannot involve you, I go give-up I go give-up
'It was me the one who took that thing! That thing! I cannot get you into trouble, I am going to give myself up, I am going!'

CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Xiayan

In (3) above S overtly makes an attempt to enhance his/her rapport with H: s/he makes an evaluation with 可以 *kěyǐ* 'can, be-allowed' to make a suggestion that is meant to be beneficial to H. Something similar occurs with 不能 *bù néng* 'cannot' in (4) whereby S evaluates a possibility that would ultimately enhance his/her rapport with H. In our scheme, RE utterances are valid when they are potentially compatible with following evaluations stressing a positive conditional outcome from H's perspective, e.g. 这对你会有帮助/好处 *zhè duì nǐ huì yǒu bāngzhù hǎochù* 'that would be good for you'.

<RE+pFEA>

(5)　　 "**你真会用香水**，闻起来 […] 这么清淡，**而又**这么幽远。"

nǐ zhēn **huì** yòng xiāngshuǐ，wénqǐlai zhème qīngdàn ér zhème yōuyuǎn

ni really can use perfume, smell-start so mild, and also so remote
'You really know how to choose your perfume, it smells so fresh and distant at the same time.'

CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Caoyu Richu

<RE+pFEA>

(6)　　 "**可是最能**唱这歌的，**不是咱**们的密斯杨吗？"

kěshì zuì **néng** chàng zhè gē de，bù shì zánmen de mìsīyáng ma？

however most can sing this song DE, not is out DE Mi Siyang MA

'However, who would disagree that Mi Siyang is the one who can sing best this song?'

<div align="right">CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Xiayan</div>

In (5-6) above, S enhances the personal/social image of Has s/he positively evaluates and praises his/her skills, intellectual abilities or emotional/moral qualities at the propositional level. In our dataset such usages are given as both RE and pFTA. They can be identified when they are potentially compatible with subsequent evaluations further boosting H 's personal/social image, e.g. you are pretty good, 你很棒/厉害/好 *nǐ hěn bàng/lìhai/hǎo* 'you are amazing/a good person' and the like. They differ from bare RE (e.g. (3-4) above), as they are not compatible with comments entail an advantageous outcome for H, such as *that would be good for you.*

<RM>

(7)　　"今文字之厄若此，谁复**能**漠然**哉**！"

jīn wénzài zhī è ruò cǐ，shéi fù **néng** mòrán **zāi**

today script ZHI disaster as-such, who again can indifferent
'How can we again ignore the disastrous state of today's writing!'

<div align="right">CCL/Qing (1644-1911) /Liaozhai Zhiyi</div>

<RM>

(8)　　医生："嗯？啊唷！这个怎么**能吃呢**？赶快拿去倒掉它。"

yīsheng："En? Ayo!" zhè ge zenme **néng** chī **ne**？gǎnkuài ná qù dàodiào tā"

Doctor："EN? AYO! This CLASS how can eat NE? Quickly take go throw-away it

'The doctor: "Mm? Oh no! How can this be eaten come on, throw that away immediately."'

<div align="right">CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Xiayan</div>

While making an evaluation in (7), S employs the grammaticalised exclamative CFP 哉 *zāi* (cf. Xu 2002: 1999) to make overt his/her intention to account for H's stance while expecting him/her to finally agree with p. Similarly, in (8) despite the presence of a rhetorical question, S conveys a clear evaluation about what H is about to eat. The evaluative force of the utterance is mitigated with the CFP 呢 *ne,* which is employed as intersubjective marker to invite H to take part to the evaluation. In

both (7-8) S does not merely qualify the evaluation modally, but also overtly conveys awareness of his/her on-going rapport with H with the clause peripheral PMs 哉 *zāi* and 呢 *ne*, through which s/he negotiates the 'common sense' of his/her statement (see Author 2013, 2017a, 2018c about immediate vs extended construals of intersubjectivity; cf. Fox Tree 1999; Fox Tree & Shrock 2002 for detailed accounts of the interactional function of intersubjective PMs in conversation). Evaluative utterances that we labelled as RM formally include CFPs as peripheral PMs of intersubjectivity. They are also not compatible with ensuing comments impinging on either H's advantageous conditions, nor to his/her social/personal image, such is the case of respectively RE (3-4) and RE+pFEA in (5-6).

<RN>

(9)　　"**黑夜之**间，**焉能一**战成功。"

　　　hēyè zhījiān，yān **néng** yīzhàn chénggōng

　　　night between, how can one battle sucess
　　　'There is no way we can win a battle in one night.'

<div align="right">CCL/Qing (1644-1911) /Qijia Wuyi</div>

<RN>

(10)　　"**咱**们立刻起程，**不要**伤心。"

　　　zánmen lìkè qǐchéng，bù **yào** shāngxīn

　　　we immediately, set-out, not must sad.
　　　'Let's leave immediately, don't be sad.'

<div align="right">CCL/Minguo (1911-1949) /Gujin Qinghai</div>

All the modal evaluations that do not include any overt codification of H as an interactional persona have been marked as RN. Such usages occur without conventionalised CFPs of intersubjectivity, nor they overtly express any evaluation that is somewhat connected to H's personal or social image. Cases of RN are given in (9-10).

<RC>

(11)　　"**你**给我搬出去，**我**这个屋子不能让你住！"

　　　nǐ gěi wǒ bānchūqù，wǒ zhè ge wūzi **bù néng** ràng nǐ zhù

　　　you to me move-out, I this CLAS house not can let you live
　　　'Move out, I cannot let you stay in this house anymore!'

<RC>

(12)   打手们：“对，我们得见见八爷。”

dǎshòumen：“duì，wǒmen děi jiàn jiàn bā yé

goons: "yes, we must see see Ba master"
'The goons: "yes, we must go and pay a visit to master Ba.'

陈白露：“**不成，你不能**见。”

chén báilù：“bùchéng，nǐ **bùnéng** jiàn"

Chen Bailu: "no work, you no can see"
'Chen Bailu: "No, you cannot see him."'

<div align="right">CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Caoyu Richu</div>

We coded as RC all cases where S makes an evaluation that may have a negative impact on his/her rapport with H. As an illustration, in (11) the deontic usage of 不能 *bùnéng* 'you cannot' clearly intersects with the attempt to impair the on-going rapport with H. Similarly, in (12) Chen Bailu overtly reject a request made by H. He makes an evaluation (你不能见 *nǐ bùnéng jiàn* 'you cannot see)' that directly affects H's negative face and inhibit his/her freedom of action and autonomy. Utterances labeled as RC are compatible with preventive apologies or ad-hoc formulae preparing H to hear something more or less discomforting such as, *frankly, I am sorry but* p, *I have to tell you that* p, 对不起, 可是 *duì bù qǐ，kěshì* 'I am sorry, but', 我跟你说 *wǒ gēn nǐ shuō* 'let me tell you'. This type of mitigating formulae (which can also be anaphoric) are distinctive of RC usages as they are clearly not compatible with REs, RE+pFEAs or bare RMs.

<RC+pFTA>

(13)   “我与你没有缘分，不要靠近我。”

wǒ yú nǐ méiyǒu yuánfèn，bù yào kàojìn wǒ.

I and you not have destiny, not must be-close me
'You and I are not meant to be together, you should't get close to me.'

<div align="right">CCL/Minguo (1911-1949) /Gujin Qinghai</div>

<RC+pFTA>

(14)   潘月亭：（恼怒）"你怎么能把我的信拆开!"

pān yuè tíng: (nǎonù) "nǐ zénme **néng** bǎ wǒ de xìn chāikāi！"

Pan Yueting: (upset) "you how can BA I DE letter take apart"

'Pan Yueting: (with an upset tone) "How could you unseal my letter!"'

<div align="right">CCL/Xiandai (1949-present) /Caoyu Richu</div>

In (13-14) above are finally given two cases of RC+pFTA, as S's evaluation directly targets and challenges H's face at the propositional level.

All in all, most of the functions discussed in this section are marked for (im-)politeness, as Sp/w overtly intervenes on his/her on-going rapport with Ad/r. The only cases where (im-)politeness is not overtly at stake are utterances of rapport neglecting (RN). From this taxonomy, (im-)politeness intersects with evaluative speech acts as a gradient dimension, which can range from overt appraisals (RE+pFEA) or criticisms (RC+pFTA) of Ad/r's persona, to evaluations aimed at boosting (RE) or challenging (RC) S and H rapport, to finally cases of overt orientation to monitor the harmonious interaction among interlocutors (RM). Our annotation aims at unveiling illocutional concurrences (IC), which in this study significantly emerge from the intersection of formal and pragmatic variables that contribute to the encoding of evaluations in different periods of Written Mandarin. With this in mind, beyond the above classification of rapport-management we also took into account:

- the modal meaning of each modal verb we queried;

- the polarity of the evaluation;

- which (if any) PMs would appear in a sentence periphery position;

- whether the sentence would include a syntactic subject;

- whether evaluations would formally include a speaking subject (i.e. a first person pronoun).

All the columns of our spreadsheet are illustrated below, with one sampled collocate of could (corresponding to (11) above) out of all the 600 annotated evaluative occurrences:

lexeme	speak_subj	synt_subj	sent_p_PM	PM	polarity	modal_m	rapport	p_facework
neng	yes	yes	no	absent	neg	deo	RC	absent

Table 2.

All collocates that were not evaluative speech acts were manually excluded from our samples. Missing observations of any of the 6 lexemes we queried were then replaced from a randomised sample from our annotated dataset, with a final spreadsheet counting 200 observations for each lexeme in each period.

5. Change in the rapport orientation of Mandarin evaluations

5.1 Rapport and clause final particles

One important hypothesis of this study was the strong relationship between clause final particles and significant changes of interactional orientation involving rapport management. We thus started by looking holistically at the similarity of evaluations across the three periods by focusing on clause final particles (CFP) as a dependent variable. We plotted a hierarchical clustering model (Steinbach et al. 2000) of our annotated samples with the aim of unveiling significant classification of usages based on similarity of distribution among all the variables that we listed in section 4.3. In cognitive linguistics this method is called behavioural profile analysis (BPA) and relies on multivariate exploratory statistics to differentiate senses and forms of a lexeme (cf. Gries 2010; Jansegers & Gries 2017: 3) :
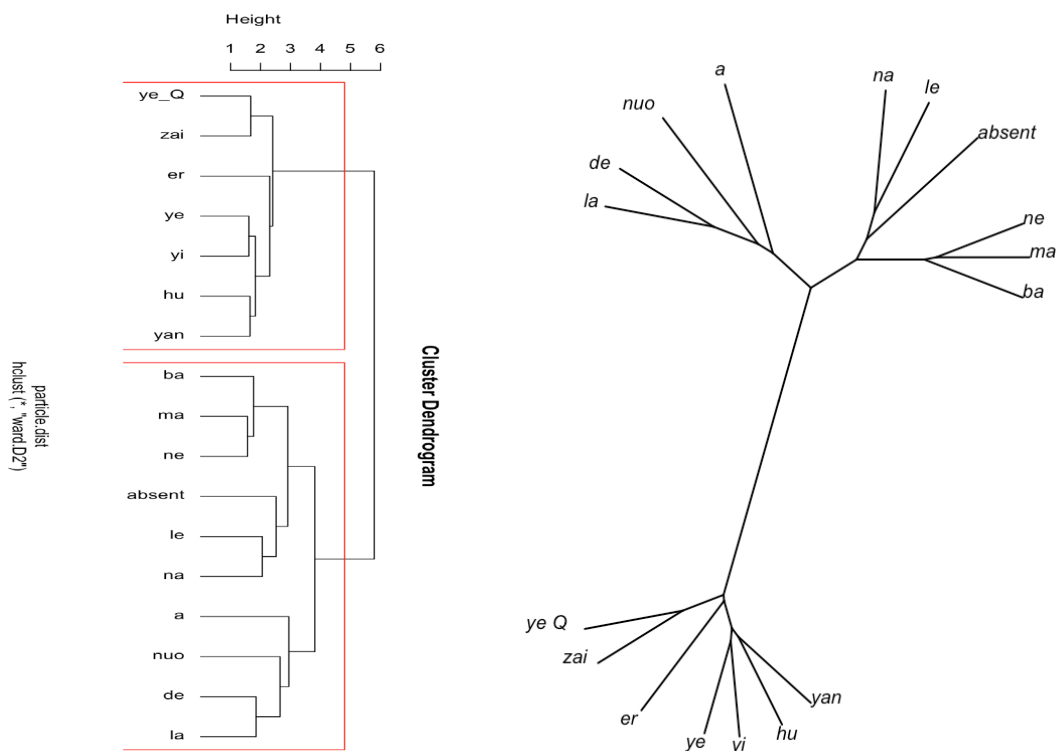
Figure 1

Clustering based on formal and pragmatic similarity of CFP

The left-hand side plot above is called a dendrogram. Each object (which in our case is an evaluative utterance type) represents its own cluster, or a 'leaf'. Subsequently, most similar objects (the ones for which the distance between the objects is the smallest) are merged. This procedure is then repeated until all leaves and branches are merged into one tree-like representation, leading to each clause final particle (CFP) appearing at the bottom of the plot (i.e. the left-hand side of figure 1). The greater the hight of each cluster, the greater the behavioural distance among particles, thus the stronger the difference in terms formal and pragmatic features: e.g. rapport, presence of syntactic/speaking subject, polarity, modal meaning and so on. In red is given the optimal number of significant clusters (2 in this case) that determine the behavioural classification of CFP across the tree periods Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Minguo (1911-1949) and Xiandai (1949-present). The second plot at the right hand-side of figure 1 provides the same results in a more intuitive visualisation, with differences among the two main clusters that are also represented by distance.

From the above, we can immediately notice a strong differentiation between one cluster including comparatively older particles 耶 *yé,* 哉 *zāi,* 耳 *ěr,* 也 *yě,* 矣 *yǐ,* 乎 *hū,* 焉 *yān* and a second cluster combining *absence* of particles together with newer ones 啦 *la,* 的 *de,* 喏 *nuò,* 啊 *a,* 呐 *na,* 了 *le,* 呢 *ne,* 嘛 *ma,* 吧 *ba*. Intuitively, this partition reflects evaluative usages marked at sentence periphery respectively before and after the 20th century, with a substantial replacement and reduced frequency of CFP (as *absent* is attracted to the 'recent' cluster). The inner relationship among variables leading to the classifications above, can be unveiled with a so-called 'snake-plot', which represents the effect-size differences between the average values in both clusters (cf. Levshina 2015: 313) and positions them in relation to either the first or the second cluster:
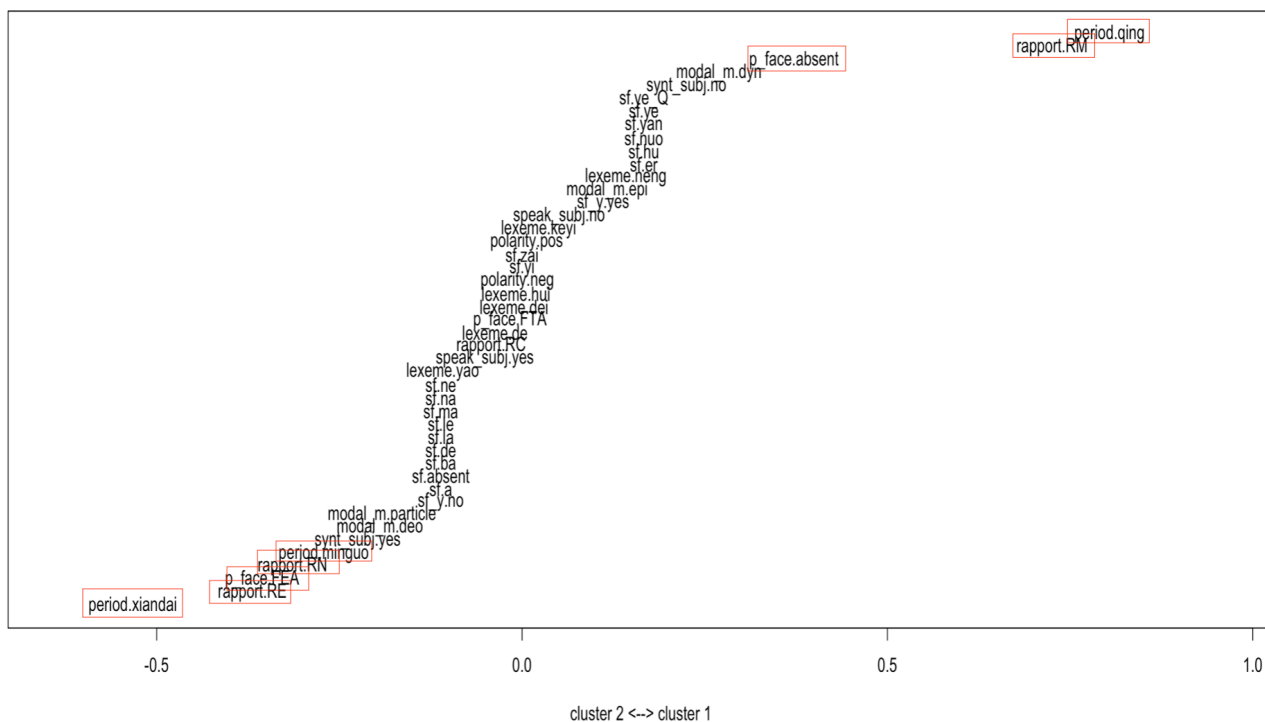
Figure 2.

Inner formal and pragmatic variables contributing to the classification of CFP

Figure 2 above includes the behavioural profiles of all the annotated evaluations of our dataset, which, to different degrees, are respectively more attracted to cluster 1 (right-hand side) or cluster 2 (left-hand side). It is based on the same multifactorial calculation of correspondences among variables that we see in figure 1. Yet in this case we can see which covariants concur with one another to the partition of the two clusters emerging from figure 1, e.g. which form of rapport orientation tends to occur in which period in connection with which particle, with which modal meaning and so on. As for figure 1, the closer the distance among covariants, the closer the relationship among them.

At the two poles of the plot appear respectively the Xiandai period (1949–present) at the bottom-left corner, and the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) at the top right one. Evaluations of the Xiandai period are closely associated with utterances (marked in red) oriented toward rapport-enhancement (RE), face-enhancing propositional face (p_face_FEA), rapport neglecting (RN) and rapport-challenging (RC). This entails a fundamental result:

Evaluative speech acts during the Modern period tend to be comparatively more marked for (im-)politeness, with compositional linguistic acts more overtly impairing or strengthening the harmonious interaction with the addressee.

Not surprisingly, all these profiles are also closely associated to the Minguo period (1911–1949), still appearing at the bottom-left part of the plot and thus sharing similar forms of evaluations as for the Xiandai stage. Quite differently, the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) – at the top right corner – is strongly associated with more fixed rapport-maintenance (RM) orientation and absence of evaluations impinging on propositional face (p_face.absent). This indicates another crucial finding:

> Evaluations from the Qing period tend to be more structurally fixed, thus marked with clause final particles (CFP) at sentence periphery and with a preference for more conventional and idiomatic formulae to maintain the harmonious relations with the addressee.

Evaluations during the Modern period shift towards absence of CFP as qualitatively exemplified below. In (15) the modalised evaluation is from the Qing dynasty and is structurally marked with clause-final 也 *yě*, occurring as a fixed rapport-maintenance (RM) device. As Xu (2002: 183) points out, the clause-final 也 *yě* that characterises the written Chinese language in use from the end of the Han Dynasty (220 AD) to the early 20th century includes a comparable range of usages as the the clause-final 啊 *a* (see example (2). In (16), 不可能 *bù kěnéng* 'it cannot be possible' is unmarked at sentence periphery and occurs as a rapport neglecting (RN) utterance, viz. without overt coding of Ad/r's potential reaction to the evaluation.

\<RM\>

(15)　　安老爷道：“是不能也，非不许也”

　　　　ān lǎoye dào："shì bù néng **yě**，fēi bù xǔ **yě**"

　　　　An master say: "is not can YE, not not allowed YE"

　　　　'An master said: "In fact, this simply cannot be done, it is not a matter of permission."'

<div align="right">CCL/ Qing (1644-1911) /Xianü Qiyuan</div>

\<RN\>

(16)　A: 大哥，芳蜜来了！

　　　　dàgē，fāngmì lái le

　　　　brother, Fangmi arrive now

　　B: 徐芳蜜，那不可能，不可能！

　　　　xúfāngmì，nà bù kěnéng，bùkěnéng

Xu Fangmi, that not is-possible, not is-possible

'A: Brother, Fangmi is here!'

'B: Xu Fangmi? That can't be possible, can't be possible!'

<div align="right">CCL/ Xiandai (1911-present) /Laoshe Xiju</div>

5.2   Illocutional concurrences of rapport and sentence periphery

The interaction between the change of CFP and rapport orientation from the Qing dynasty to Minguo (1911–1949) and Xiandai (1949–present) periods can be clearly captured on a two dimensional space with a multiple correspondence analysis (Nenadic & Greenacre 2007). The latter allows to model associations among variables by calculating the chi-square distance between different categories of the variables and between observations. These associations are then represented graphically as a map, which eases the interpretation of the structures in the data, the closer the distance between variables, the stronger the statistical correspondence.
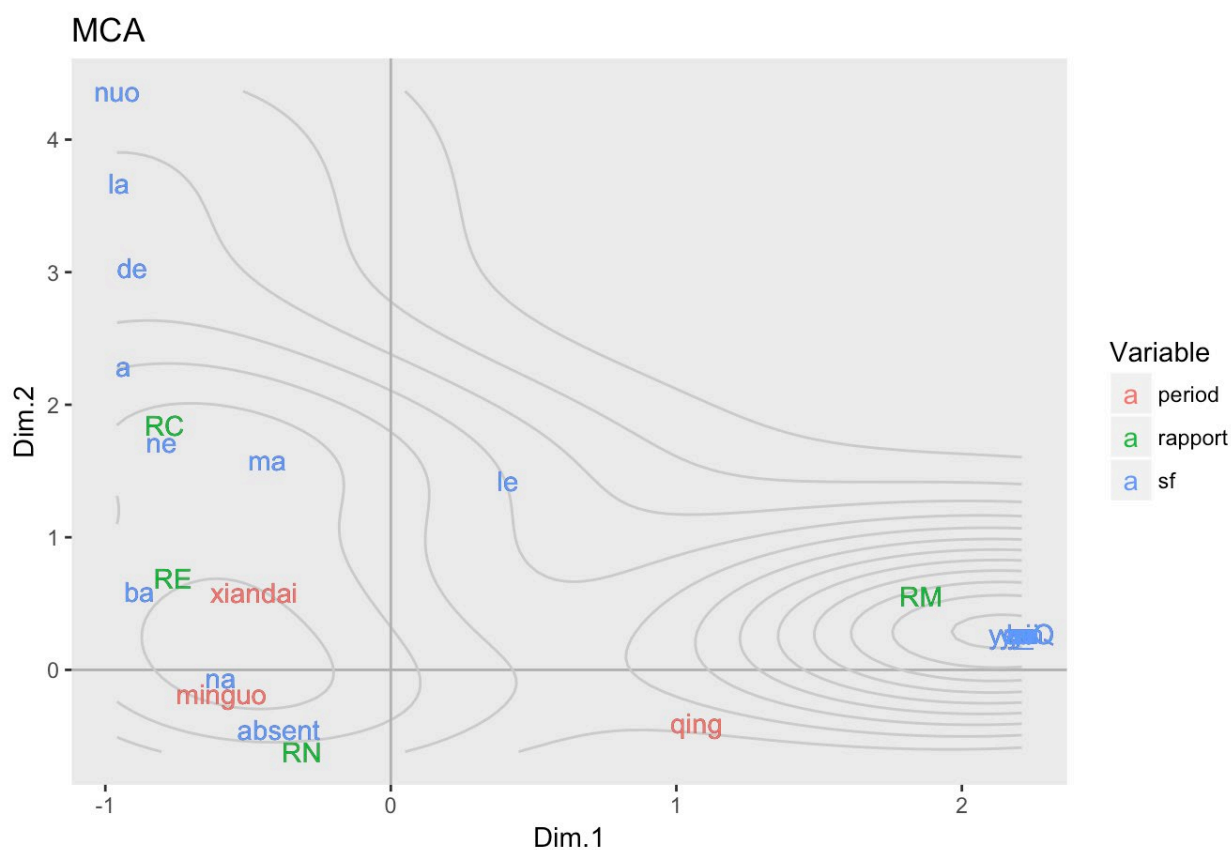

Figure 3.

Two-dimensional correspondence of rapport, CFP and periods

In the plot above the two dimensions represent 84.1% of variation, which is considered a good approximation for MCA visualisation. The strong separation of particles before and after the 20th century is quite striking. In fact, it is possible notice how the same particles (given in blue) – as well as *absence* of any of them – from the same cluster in figure 1, all appear around the two modern periods Minguo and Xiandai (in red) at the left-hand side of the map. Similarly, we can find confirmation of the strong correspondence of the second cluster of comparatively older particles with the Qing dynasty (Dim1: 2.2; Dim2: 0.2), bottom right. What is also most revealing is the distribution of rapport orientation (in green), with less compositional and less structurally fixed utterances, all closely associated with Minguo and Xiandai periods: RC, RE and RN. Conversely, the Qing dynasty has a strong correspondence with RM usages.

Temporal and context-bound intersections of formal and illocutionary dimensions of this kind are what we call **illocutional concurrences** (**IC**). IC encompass converging factors at various levels of verbal experience that contribute both locally (i.e. at the morphosyntactic level) and peripherally (i.e. at the illocutionary level) to the encoding of contextually and temporally situated speech acts (i.a. Mey 2001; Author 2016a). In the case of our study, we have been focusing on IC of contextually and temporally situated evaluations and obtained a holistic representation of how the rapport management of evaluations have been changing in Mandarin written interaction. Most relevant IC from the Qing period have been the intersection of RM with presence of structurally coded CFP at sentence periphery. This a fundamental result, as it unveils how facework as a by-product of language in use (i.a. Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini 2010: 2074; Arundale 2010) is formally and pragmatically bound to interactional conventions that may change or decrease diachronically. One specific IC regards the close relationship during the 20th century between 吧 *ba* and RE orientation, such is the case of (17):

<RE>

(17) "大概很辛苦了吧？那你可以去休息一会吧！"

dàgài hěn xīnkǔ le ba？na nǐ **kěyǐ** qù xiūxi yì huì **ba**

broadly very hard-working LE BA? then you can go rest a-bit BA

'You have been working quite hard isn't it? Then you can definitely go to rest a bit!'"

CCL/ Xiandai (1911-present) /Shijiamounizhuan

As illustrated in (17), 吧 *ba* is most attracted to evaluations that boost the rapport among the interlocutors, namely Sp/w suggesting Ad/r *to rest*. As discussed in section 4.3, RE utterances further

evaluations stressing a positive conditional outcome from H's perspective, e.g. 这对你会有帮助/好处 *zhè duì nǐ huì yǒu bāngzhù hǎochù* 'that would be good for you'. During the same period we can also notice one IC from figure 3 underpinning absence of clause final particles (CFP) and RN utterances, see (18) below:

\<RN\>

(18)　"咱们应该看到一个更大更好的家庭。"

　　zánmen **yīnggāi** kàndào yī ge gèng dà gèng hǎo de jiātǐng
　　we shoudl see one CLAS more big more good DE household
　　'We should look at a bigger and nicer household.'

<div align="right">CCL/ Xiandai (1911-present) /Laoshe Xiju</div>

RN are utterances where the rapport with the Ad/r is not overtly taken into account, this is made evident by the absence of clause final particles as well as interactional forms that aim at overly challenging or enhancing the rapport with Ad/r.

All in all, it is possible to conclude that evaluative language has been changing significantly in written Mandarin, with fictional interaction originally being more structured and marked at sentence periphery. Quite differently, 20th century written interaction has become less compositional, less mitigated at the structural level and more marked for (im-)politeness, with increased usages of both RE and RC evaluations.

5.3　Sentence-periphery and increased subject-hood marking

Albeit modern Mandarin is still characterised by frequent employment clause-final particles (CFP) (i.a. Chappell & Peyarube 2018), it should now be clear how evaluations in the written language have become increasingly less structurally marked at sentence periphery. The two plots in figure 4 below account for the normalised frequency from our annotation (see section 4.1) of presence versus absence of CFP in evaluative speech acts. The bar-plot on the left hand-side provides the normalised frequencies of CFP before and after the 20th century. The visualisation on the right shows the Person residuals based on the chi-square difference between observed and predicted frequencies, with a highly significant mismatch (< 2.22e-16) between the two periods. Namely, the darker the blue colour, the more significant the 'positive' presence of CFP, while increasingly dark red bars indicate significant absence of it.
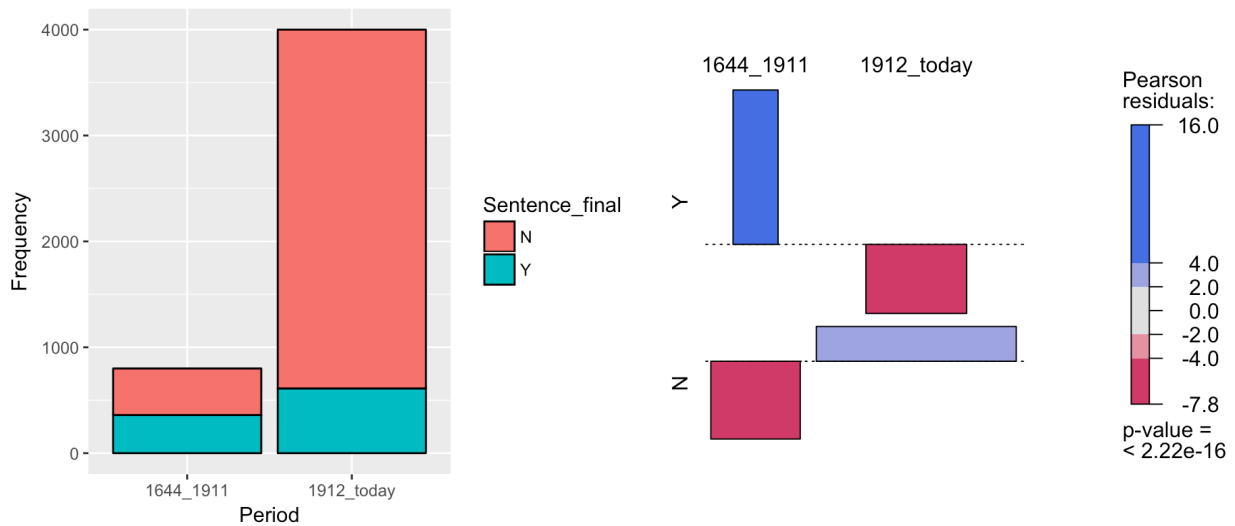
Figure 4.

Bar-plots and significance of the decrease of CFP after 1911

From figure 4 above it clearly emerges a significant decrease of CFP after 1911, as process of 'de-peripherization', which indeed support the main points of our discussion in section 6.2.

Another crucial tendency encompassing the transition from the Qing dynasty to the 20th century has to do with subject-hood, as both syntactic and speaking subject (e.g. 我 *wǒ* 'I', 我们 *wǒmen* 'we')[2] have become increasingly frequent after 1911. Figures 5 and 6 respectively indicate a significant increase of the overt encoding of the subject in the evaluative language during the 20th century. Particularly revealing is the bar-plot in figure 6, showing how during the Qing dynasty speaking subject (the evaluator) used to be structurally almost absent from evaluative utterances, while it then increased significantly during the 20th century.

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[2] Older forms of self denigration such as 愚兄 *yúxiōng* 'a male', 在下 *zàixià* 'below', 不才 *bùcái* 'incompetent', 奴才 *núcai* 'useless fellow' have also been included in the analysis.
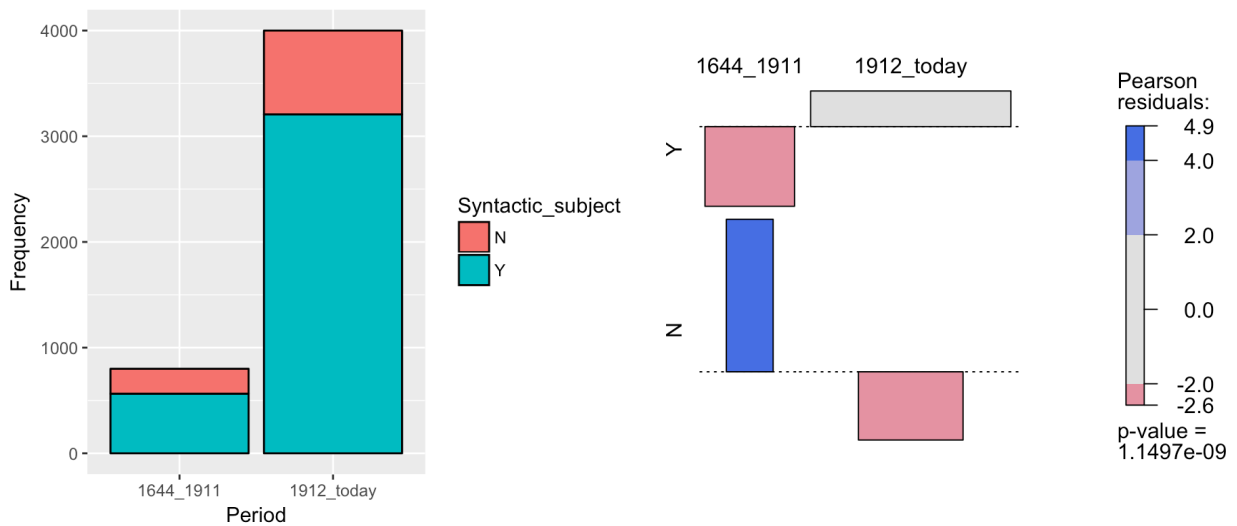
Figure 5.

Bar-plots and significance of the increase of syntactic-subjects after 1911
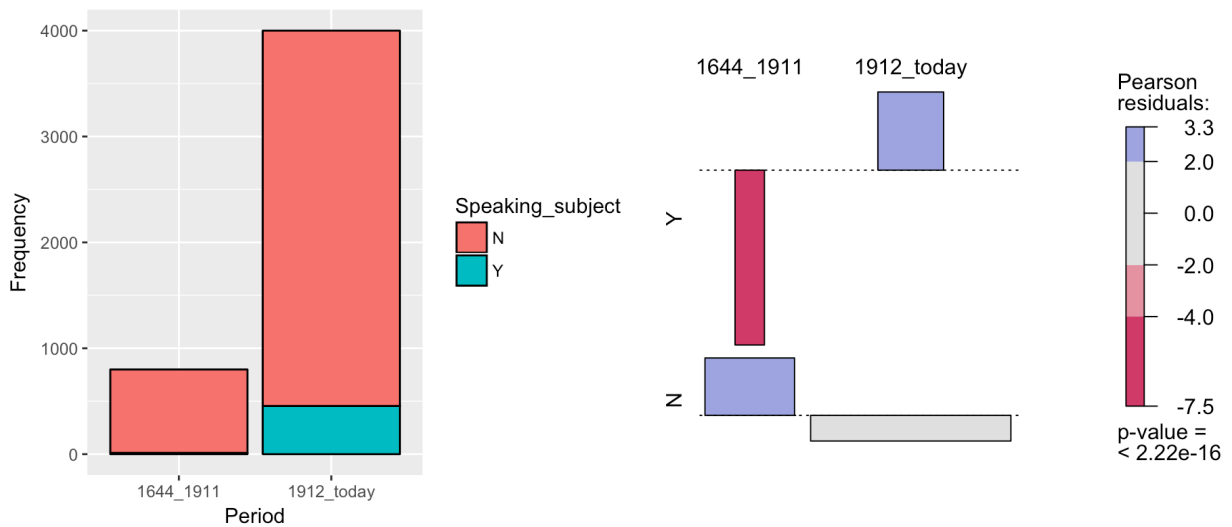

Figure 6.

Bar-plots and significance of the increase of speaking-subjects after 1911

Crucially, we need to bear in mind that all the changes that we have discussed in these last sections (i.e. evaluations increasing marked for (im-)politeness, substantial change of sentence periphery marking, increased syntactic and speaking subject-hood marking) are both the the result of a natural development of the Chinese language, together with socio-cultural elements of prescriptivism that contributed to an abrupt transition of form and usage in between the end of the Qing dynasty and the Minguo period. The most important of those is probably the 五四运动 *wǔsìyùndòng* 'May the 4th movement'.

5.4 The 'May the 4th movement'

A final yet fundamental note thus needs to be made about the role of prescriptivism in the change of the Chinese written language and the pragmatics of evaluations represented in fictional texts.

Before the 1911, the official style of the written language in China used to be the so-called literary Chinese (文言文 *wényánwén*). It corresponds to the written Chinese language in use from the end of the Han Dynasty (220 CE) to the early 20th century. Due to its official register, the written style of 文言文 *wényánwén* remained prescriptively stable over the years, thus increasingly diverging from the natural development of the spoken language (Pulleyblank 1995). Our data from the Qing period is mainly from fictional texts produced during the so-called "literati era" from 1723 to 1840, which fell within the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). These narratives can be divided into classical-language fictions and vernacular fictions, both of which exhibit hybrid features in terms of language and narration (Wei 2010). The 文言文 *wényánwén* was classically regarded as the socially more 'important' language and by the late imperial period it "was considerably different from colloquial (e.g. it applied a monosyllabic lexicon in contrast with the colloquial polysyllabic one), while the vernacular imitated spoken style and thus was closer to colloquial" (cf. Pan & Kadar 2011: 26).

Abrupt formal and pragmatic changes in the written language in between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (sections 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3) can be probably traced back to the 五四运动 *wǔsìyùndòng* 'May the 4th movement'. This was a political, cultural and anti-imperialist movement that affected the Chinese system of values, together with the language use per se. Students and scholars demanded political and cultural reforms inspired by Western-style democracy. This led to the birth of a new anti-traditionalist intellectual class that criticised core elements of traditional Chinese culture and the Confucian ideology. Intellectuals from May the 4th Movement agreed that 文言文 *wényánwén* style was a 'dead language' and claimed that literature should now be written in vernacular Chinese. The famous writer Hu Shi (1891-1962) was the ideological father of this literary revolution and introduced the terminology 白话文 *báihuàwén* 'written vernacular Chinese' to address the new writing style born from the 五四运动 *wǔsìyùndòng*. He gave the guidelines to create a new form of literature aiming to avoid classical allusions, discard stale and outworn literary phrases, and adopt vernacular words and expressions (Wang 2010) together with major orthographic innovations, such as the standardisation the use of *de* particles in 1920 (Gunn 1991; Latham 2007; Dluhošová 2008; Airaksinen 2014).

6.   Conclusions

This paper provides a novel approach for the diachronic analysis of interactional facework and rapport orientation. We looked at evaluative speech acts in the recent history of fictional Mandarin. We distinctively focused on the utterance as a unit of analysis and holistically accounted for formal, contextual, temporal and illocutionary variables. Holistic, data-driven convergences of situated interaction is what we call illocutional concurrences (IC). From a combination of hierarchical clustering and multiple correspondence analysis, it emerged that IC of Mandarin evaluations dramatically changed both formally and pragmatically. During the 20th century there is a significant transition from structurally fixed evaluative utterances underpinning rapport maintenance (RM) and clause-peripheral marking, to less compositional evaluations more overtly conveying (im-)politeness, viz. either impinging on rapport challenging (RC), neglecting (RN) or enhancing (RE). Similarly, our data show a significant increase of both overt syntactic and speaking subject-hood marking, with the evaluator being more frequently encoded within his/her own evaluation (e.g. *I think that* p). We argued that the abrupt change of Mandarin fictional interaction after 1911 is partly the result of a natural process of change, but can also be traced back to a prescriptivist element of the 五四运动 *wǔsìyùndòng* 'May the 4th movement'. After 1911, fictional language became formally and pragmatically closer to real spoken interaction. At the same time, it was culturally inspired by a new Western style of writing where (im-)polite speech acts became less structurally mitigated than in the past.

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