A functional approach to identifying compliment data

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Abstract
Researchers into compliments are divided on what constitutes compliment data because of the complex nature of the speech act. Their experiences in data collection and analysis of compliment data have led to diverging views and conclusions. While one school of thought holds that it is not necessary to define the compliment because of its formulaic and easy to access nature (among other features), the other school argues that because the compliment is not that simplistic in nature, and to avoid confusing the compliment with other allied speech functions, it should be defined for easy identification and analysis. In this paper, I side with the latter group and propose a defining characteristic that is rooted within speech act theory and stresses the functional characteristic of compliment. Although I allow that there might be other approaches to defining the compliment, I argue that the functional approach would be useful for (researchers’) data collection and analysis because of its emphasis on compliments as performative acts.

Keywords: Compliments, Functional Approach, Collection, Analysis, Definition

1 Introduction
Holmes (1986) first drew attention to the need to define the compliment when she noted that when collecting and analysing examples of a particular speech act, it is important to have a clear definition in order to decide what counts and what does not count as a compliment. However, while some researchers agree with her position, not many researchers hold the same view; rather, some contend that defining the compliment is not necessary when embarking on compliment data collection and analysis.

2 Data
The data used for this paper are mainly those collected from educated speakers of Nigerian English based in Lagos, Nigeria, between November 2001 and February 2002.

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My fieldwork assistants and I used recall-protocol (asking subjects for compliments recently received and/or given) to record compliment sets with the use of field notes. From the pool collected 1200 compliment sets (compliments and responses) were selected following the criteria set for identifying compliments. This corpus was first used for my doctoral research in Essex University, Colchester (2000 – 2004). In addition, data from previous studies were used and the sources are mentioned in the paper.

3 Definition Required or not Required

Researchers who maintain that it is not necessary to define the compliment base their stance on their fieldwork experience. According to Manes and Wolfson (1981) the students who were involved in the collection of American compliments for their study were reported to have asked nothing about describing or defining compliments, and did not indicate confusion concerning what was expected of them. Thus, the data they collected were unambiguously identifiable as compliments with almost no exceptions. Other studies have also reported the ease with which compliment sets were collected. Their argument is that compliments are not only clear and unambiguous but also mobile in natural conversation. Thus, compliments, unlike greetings, are said to be rarely tied to any fixed position within interactions; they may occur at the beginning, middle or end of a conversation. It has also been added that compliments abound in almost every speech situation – at a dinner party, on a shopping trip, in an office and at almost any point in the conversation (Manes and Wolfson 1981).

In addition to the ease with which compliments can be identified, previous researchers have stressed the natural mobility of compliments that make them independent of the utterances that precede them. According to Manes and Wolfson (1981:125):

If a compliment appears as an aside, in the middle of a conversation or, as is frequently the case, begins the conversation, the listener may well be confused as to the intended object of the compliments, but whether compliments occur at the beginning of a conversation, in isolation or during an interaction of which they are not integral part, their independence from what precedes (them) makes it imperative that they somehow be readily identifiable as compliments.

Based on this characteristic (standing out as a distinct speech unit within interactions which makes them easy to identify) data collectors suggest that compliments do not require any description or definition. Coupled with this is that as a formulaic speech act like greetings, apologies, thanks, and farewells, compliments make themselves readily identifiable in discourse. Many studies show that restricted syntactic structure and precoded lexical items generally characterize the structure of compliments. For example, Wolfson (1978) reports that compliments seem to be precoded and highly recognizable in structure, relying on only a few syntactic patterns. Manes and Wolfson (1981) also found that 80% of the compliments in their corpus were adjectival compliments, and within the set, two-thirds depended on only five adjectives to carry the positive semantic load.
In addition, studies have shown that certain topics are prominent as objects of praise in compliments. These are appearance (natural beauty, or attractiveness that results from self-effort), performance/attainment or skills, personality/character traits and possessions. Ruhi (2001) adds affect compliments, although this category can be subsumed under personality compliments. Thus it is argued that these topics of praise make compliments readily identifiable. Herbert (1989:05) concurs with this position in his comments that compliments are, on the whole, readily extracted from discourse. In fact, researchers who oppose the need to have a definition of the compliment argued that it might be difficult to define and describe compliments because they occur in unpredictable positions within interaction, and are ubiquitous across speech situations.

Contrary to the position taken above, some researchers have argued that a definition is a required tool for compliment data collectors and analysts. For example, Irvine (1986) argues that analyses of speech functions such as compliments are often circular in that they do not provide information which could enable one to identify compliments unless one already intuitively knows what utterances count as compliments. Similarly, it has been added that because of the multi-functional character of compliments (as offers of solidarity, as pre-acts, as flatteries, as greetings, rewards, praise and congratulations) and their overlap with other speech acts, it is necessary to define and describe the compliment. Compliments are not only similar to other speech acts in function but also in form. This finding has compelled some researchers to make a general distinction between compliments and some other speech acts such as praise, congratulations, appreciation and other positive evaluative statements (Norrick 1990, Marandin 1987, Kerbrat-Orechioni 1987, Lewandowska-Tomaszczycy 1989, Holmes 1988 among others). Holmes (1988) holds that not all positive statements and praise are compliments. Compliments form a subset of statements of praise and admiration, which share many things in common with others.

The thin line between compliments and these other speech functions makes problematic this blind reliance on what has been described as popular widespread agreement on what constitutes a compliment, especially for cross-cultural work. For example, my Nigerian English compliment data contain a mixture of compliments and the other speech acts such as congratulations, praise and flatteries. I had to provide training on what compliments are and how to collect them before my research assistants were able to exclude the other speech acts from the corpus they gathered. This mixture is illustrated in Example (1) which the fieldworker took for two compliment sets.

(1) A: Congratulations! This is a very beautiful car.
   B: Thank you.

The difficulty in Example (1) is whether to classify A’s utterance as congratulations or compliment or as both. However, I took A’s utterances as a combination of congratulations and compliment; the first part is not a compliment but the second part is a compliment.

Lewandowska-Tomaszcecyk’s (1989) distinction between praise and compliments in her Polish data stresses how far relying on popular agreement can help in identifying compliments. Her comparative study of praising and complimenting based mainly on materials from Polish with some reference to British and American
English compliments highlights the differences between praise and compliments. (See further clarification on the nature of the differences later in this paper.) She concludes that praising as a term has a wider range than complimenting in Poland. Therefore, researchers need to make clear whether they are exploring praise or compliments.

Another confusing example is the comparison between flatteries, insincere compliments and sincere compliments. According to Barnlund et. al. (1985:12), Americans tend to draw a sharp boundary between compliments and flattery: they regard compliments as authentic expressions of admiration without manipulative intent. That means we have to rely on native speakers’ intuitions to identify compliments and distinguish them from flatteries. However, according to their study the same cannot be said about compliments in the Japanese language because Japanese sanji (which means compliments) and oseji (flattery) are both expressions of praise. Though sanji “implies a more modest and subtle expressed compliments oseji, on the other hand, might be honest or not, but could be used simply to promote conversation or more harmonious relations” (Barnlund et al. 1985:12). For data collectors searching for compliments, when is an oseji - honest praise (compliment) and when is it flattery? The confusion between these terms calls for the a need for researchers to define the compliment.

Although it has been observed that such confusion might be avoided by having native speakers as data collectors, relying on the intuitive knowledge of the native speaker on what utterances count as compliments might be unreliable. For example, native speakers might note down what they think speakers or societies do rather than what they hear in the field. However, native speakers’ judgements might be trusted to certain extent because of their familiarity with the cultural norms of their speech community/community of practice. In addition, evidence from cross-cultural studies on compliments (Thomas 1983, Holmes and Brown 1987, Herbert 1989, and the others) show that compliments differ from one community to another. This is so because of varied cultural norms and values. Objects of praise and the wording of compliments may differ from one society to another.

There is one other piece evidence from fieldwork experience in some previous studies on compliments that supports the view that there is a need for a definition. Following the general characteristics of compliments given in the literature, Jacobs et al. (1993) show that only 20% of their American compliment corpus can be categorized as compliments. They had to expand the criteria set of common knowledge of what compliments are to accommodate the remaining 80% of their corpus. Thus Aarhus and Aldrich (2002:399,400) argue that compliments are not always bald, as the grammatical approach suggests, but can be coiffed in many ways: the inference of a compliment may not depend on issuing an explicit compliment formula. They give an example – /I don’t know how you did that so quickly/ -- which they claim has the force of a compliment through an inference that having accomplished something quickly is positive. Thus “compliments can be inferred from aspects of the social context that the speaker’s message brings into play” (Aarhus and Aldrich 2002:400). They argue, therefore, that having at least a working definition should precede the study of compliments in any given community.

From the above discussion, it appears that though it has been claimed that there is no need for a definition, the reasons advanced for the opposing view outweigh that of the former. This means that although native speakers’ intuitions about what
compliments are and are not in their communities might be a starting point, there is a need for a definition because native speakers’ knowledge may not always fully match what speakers do in daily interactions. It also means that since cultural differences can dictate what constitutes a compliment in different communities, there is also a need for a culture-specific definition. Similarly, not all compliments are formulaic in nature and there are compliments that use certain verbs outside the popular verbs such as like, love, admire and adjectives such as good, nice, fine and others.

In sum, it is noted that difficulty in distinguishing compliments from other allied speech acts, the unreliability of native speaker intuition, evidence from cross-cultural studies and variation in the form of compliments indicate the need for compliment data collectors and analysts to have a working definition. The next question is what kind of definition and description is needed.

4 Functional Approach and Culture Specificity

Any answer to the above question should take into consideration culture-specificity and the multi-functional nature of compliments. In other words, I would recommend a definition that is both emic and etic and that takes into consideration the culture of the speech community under investigation. In what follows, I shall critically review some definitions of the compliment that are functional in their approach before proposing a definition that may be adaptable to any given speech community.

A classic example of a functional approach to the definition of compliment that is widely quoted is that of Holmes (1986:485) who claims that “a compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some good (possessions, characteristics, skill, etc) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer”. This definition highlights two major concepts. First, it indicates that a compliment is a speech act – an expression that performs an act. In this sense, compliments offer verbal gifts and attribute credit to the recipient, thereby making the addressee feel good. In other words, the functional definition underlines speech act theory.

Austin (1962) observes that the uttering of the sentence is, or is part of, doing an action aside from the sense of reference it makes. In uttering a sentence, the speaker performs the locutionary act of vocalizing the sentence with a certain sense and reference, and also of necessity, performs an illocutionary speech act. In addition, these ideas normally have effects on the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the addressee. These, he called perlocutionary acts. In this case, a compliment might be thought of as a sentence that is said or written with its own sense and reference of evaluation and admiration, which at the same time offers a verbal gift (of praise or friendship) and leaves an effect on the receiver (e.g., makes the addressee feel good).

The next question to ask will be whether compliments fit into the groups described by Austin. Austin (1971) describes such sentences as performatives (“declarative statements that do action”) and distinguishes them from constatives (declarative statements whose truth or falsity can be judged). The performative verb “that realizes a particular action (the action that the verb names) when uttered in a specific context is integral as illustrated in Example (2).
Unfortunately, compliments (e.g., I like/love/admire your shirt) appear to lack such performative verbs. But Aakhus and Aldrich (2002:401) argue that compliments are not excluded from speech acts: they are indirect speech acts in that they perform through other speech acts, such as assertions. In fact, some compliments fit into constatives (e.g., Your shirt is nice/You look fine) because the truth/falsity they assert can be judged. Also Austin’s (1968) distinction between performatives and constatives can be collapsed into one – utterances that have the same qualities (truth/falsity and felicitous/infelicitous). What this means is that both constatives and performatives involve judgments of truth and falsity on the one hand and of felicity and infelicity on the other hand (Schiffrin 1998:54). In spite of this merging, it appears that illocutionary analysis is yet to be applied to some speech acts (barring Jacob et al (1993) and McLaughlin (1984)), particularly, compliments, because compliments lack performative verbs. Unlike promises or requests that have explicit performative verbs (e.g., I promise to send the draft), compliments lack such action words.

As far as I know, only Jacobs et al. (1993:06) and McLaughlin (1984:142,143) have applied illocutionary analysis to compliments using Searlean felicitous conditions, which were developed from Austin’s concept of felicity. Searle’s (1965, 1969 and 1975) concept of felicitous actions defines the conditions under which a message is understood to perform a certain action, in other words, when an utterance counts as a compliment. With Searle’s four conditions Jacobs et al. (1993:6) provide the following felicity conditions for compliments: (i) propositional condition (where the speaker must indicate a positive value for an attribute, state, or event), (ii) sincerity condition (the speaker must approve of the attribute, state or event being mentioned), (iii) preparatory conditions (the attribute must have positive value, the attribute must be noteworthy, and the hearer must be able to take credit for the attribute) and (iv) essential condition (the utterance has to count as recognition and approval of the attribute, state, or event credited to the hearer).

Within this illocutionary approach, a functional definition of the compliment sets out rules for inferring utterances that count and those that do not count as compliments. Also sentences that are direct compliments, as illustrated in Example (3), and indirect compliments, as illustrated in Example (4), are easily identified as compliments since they satisfy the four types of felicity conditions provided by Jacobs et al. (1996).

(3) I like your hair style.
(4) I am glad I went to the same school with cool-headed people like you.

If compliments are speech acts, we are faced with another problem of units within the acts. Are we referring to the first pair – the compliment or the compliment and its response? To answer this question it might be necessary to say a few things about the concepts of speech acts, speech event and speech situation. Hymes (1972) argues that while the speech event is restricted to rule/norm-governed activities or aspects of activities of speech purposes, a speech event may consist of a single speech
act, but often comprises several. Generally, magnitude marks the difference. For example, a party exemplifies a speech situation, a conversation during the party, a speech event, and a joke within the conversation, a speech act. Hymes (1972:65) describes the speech act as the minimal unit representing a level distinct from the sentence and not identifiable with any portion of other levels of grammar, nor with a segment of any particular size defined in terms of other levels of grammar.

However, Example (5) illustrates how problematic Hymes’s definition is in real situations. While utterances (i), (ii) and (iia) contain greetings; utterances (iiib), (iv) and (v) introduce the topic for conversation; (vi) proffers a compliment and the first part of (vii) responds to the compliment proffered; the second part contains leave-taking. In this case, the compliment as a unit is woven into the speech situation. Hymes (1972), however, realizes the complexity of his description and notes that a speech event may consist of a single speech act just as an occurrence of a noun may at the same time constitute a whole noun phrase and a whole sentence (e.g., “Fire!”). Therefore, a speech act may constitute the whole of a speech event.

(5) Two graduate students meet along the staircase within the school premises
   (i) Helen: Good morning o, and how are my people?
   (ii) Sam: They are fine. And you?
   (iia) Helen: I’m fine
   (iiib) These are the sandals (pointing to her feet) I was talking about
   (iv) Sam: Ah...., they are quite feminine.
   (v) Helen: I told you.
   (vi) Sam: But they are nice
   (vii) Helen: (pauses) oookay, thank you (in a very low tone while smiling).
       Let me go, bye!
       Sam: Bye!

In fact, there are occasions when a compliment will form the subject matter of a conversation, although very often they occur within other conversations, as illustrated in Example (5).

Considering the description of the speech act as the minimal term that represents a level distinct from the sentence, a compliment and its response may be taken as a speech act. In other words, a compliment and its response should be taken as a whole unit. On the other hand, if either of the two (the compliment and the response) is being looked into, it is still a speech act because each sub-unit performs an act although a detailed study of compliments requires a record of the entire speech event as illustrated in Example (5). In that sense, the term speech event will be more appropriate for the researcher in the field collecting data and for the analyst analysing compliment data).

5 Compliments and Praise

At this point, it must be mentioned in passing that a functional definition of the compliment should be distinguished from praise and positive assessment though they
belong to the same pool of acts that have been loosely labelled as compliments. Our functional definition of compliment excludes praise and positive assessment. Holmes (1986:486) categorically asserts that positive evaluation does not count as a compliment. Thus exchanges as in Example (6) are not compliments because the possessors of the attribute praised are not being addressed directly, nor are they related to the person praised. In other words, such praise or positive assessment does not satisfy the preparatory condition which stipulates that the hearer must be able to take credit for the attribute.

(6) Two elderly women discussing a new TV newsreader
   A: Oh but you must admit she’s got a lovely voice.
   B: She certainly has.

Example (7), on the other hand, is a compliment even though the focus is not on something directly attributable to the person addressed (from the wordings of the compliment) because the person addressed gets the credit. In other words, the compliment indirectly attributes a certain valued good to the recipient. In this instance, Carol, the mother, gets the compliment for the politeness (good quality of her child) as a mark of good parenting. Thus, when a compliment apparently refers to a third person, it may well be indirectly complimenting the recipient (since a relation can always be constructed) (Holmes 1988). On the issue of relation to the addressee, it may be argued that compliments can always construct such a relationship thereby making it the intention that counts in classifying an expression as a compliment. This position does not apply to Example (6) because there is no relationship between the interlocutors and the newsreader who is being praised and none of the interlocutors get the credit. For Example (6) to count as a compliment, “the utterance has to count as recognition and approval of the attribute, state, or event credited to the hearer” (Jacob, et al. 1993:06). Therefore, a remark that a speaker gave an informative speech/talk to another member of the audience who is not related in any way to the speaker cannot be taken as a compliment but instead should be considered as praise because the addressee does not receive the credit.

(7) Rhoda is visiting an old school friend, Carol and comments on one of Carol’s children
   Rhoda: What a polite child!
   Carol: Thank you. We do our best

(Source: Holmes 1995:117)

Therefore, it may not be problematic to detach compliments from praise and positive evaluation/judgement although the linguistic form bearing the semantic load of compliment is best tagged as praise or positive evaluative statements and compliments themselves are sometimes loosely classified as sub-sets of praise. For example, Polish speakers take praise as a broader term for compliments.

In addition to what has been explicated thus far about a functional definition of the compliment, it is necessary to reiterate the importance of cultural acceptability of the topics of praise to participants that I mentioned at the beginning of Section 4 of this paper. In other words, a compliment as an act does things that are culture-specific. The following examples from Herbert (1989:05) illustrate this point well.
Herbert (1989) remarks compliments vary cross-culturally, as within an English-speaking community, Example (8) and Example (9) will be recognized as compliments whereas Example (10) and Example (11) will not. However, Example (10) and Example (11) are perceived as compliments in Indonesian and Japanese cultures respectively according to Wolfson (1981). Thus Holmes’s (1986:485) clause “... which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer” holds true for all compliments. Similarly, objects of praise may vary. For example, gaining weight among Nigerians according to my data is an object of praise, whereas this is a source of worry to some Westerners. Therefore, in identifying and describing compliments, the cultural values of the people should be taken into account. Some women may receive Example (12) as a compliment while others will treat it as verbal sexual harassment.

(12) Man on a building sights a young woman passing by.
    A: Wow what legs! What are you doing with them tonight, Sweetie?
    (Source: Holmes 1995:121)

Other cases that stress the importance of cross-cultural differences include situations where the expression of admiration for an object imposes a duty on the recipient as in Example (13).

(13) Pakeha woman to Samoan friend (Eti) whom she is visiting.
    Sue: What an unusual necklace. It’s beautiful.
    Eti: Please take it.
    (Source: Holmes 1995:120)

Holmes (1995:120) reports that Sue was very embarrassed at being offered as a gift the object she admired. “But Eti’s response was perfectly predictable by anyone familiar with Samoan culture and norms with respect to complimenting behaviour”.

Thus far in my approach to identifying compliment data I have blended the functional approach with cultural specificity stressing that compliments are performative utterances that accomplish certain social actions and leave conventional effects. For example, Manes and Wolfson (1981:123, 4) note that, when complimenting, the speaker is stating a favourable judgment or opinion, saying something nice to another individual. In doing so, the speaker expresses a commonality of taste or interest with the addressee, thus reinforcing, or in the case of strangers creating, at least a minimal amount of solidarity.

According to Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989:75) compliments are typically performed to make the addressee feel good by saying something nice to him or her. In such cases, they possibly satisfy the addressee’s expectations rather than express a positive judgment for a referential or informative reason, as may be the case with other types of positive assessment sequences. In fact, there is a whole range of functions that
compliments perform. Among them are: creating and reinforcing solidarity, and ameliorating face-threatening actions. This is in line with Brown and Levinson’s (1995:118) description of compliments as positively affective speech acts serving to increase or consolidate the solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. To Wolfson (1983), compliments are social lubricants, which create or maintain rapport. According to Mustapha (2010) compliments perform other functions such as pre-acts or gambits, reinforcers of social actions, norms and values.

6 Conclusion

Contrary to research that sees no need to define the compliment, I have argued that in spite of the formulaic nature of compliments and their accessibility to native speakers, there is a need to define compliment. This position is anchored on the multi-functional nature of compliments and the experiences of some fieldworkers. Having taken that position, I propose that one of the ways to define compliment is to do so within the purviews of speech act theory and a defined culture before embarking on collecting and/or analysing compliment data for research purposes. I emphasize in this paper that compliments are culture specific performative utterances that serve to reinforce social norms and values and at the same leave desirable conventional effects on their recipients. I anticipate that other researchers in a similar position (that is, those who require a definition of the compliment) will advance other ways to define the compliment for data collectors and analysts.
References


Appendix

Some Nigerian English compliments from our corpus

1. A: Congratulations! This is a very beautiful car...
   B: Thank you. (MM)

2. A: What a nice dress you have on...
   B: Is this nice or you’re actually telling me it’s bad?
   A: You too knew it’s bad to wear such a short skirt, try wearing something better another time.
   B: Thank you, Auntie. (FF)

3. A: Oh but you must admit she’s got a lovely voice.
   B: She certainly has. (FF) (Source Holmes 1995)

4. A: You are looking sweet today and I am interested.
   B: Thank you, but am not. (MF)

5. A: It looks as if you’re going to see Mr. President
   B: Why?
   A: This your outfit is expensive and respected.
   B: Mo ti e mo pe nkan ti e so niyen, e see
   [I didn’t know that’s what you mean, thank you] (MM)

6. A: I like your person.
   B: Thank you.
   A: Your answer is too short.
   B: What else? (MF)

7. A: I like your person and I like to know you better.
   B: (Pauses) Thanks for your likeness (leaves).
   (The recipient does not show interest and leaves the scene) (MF)

   B: Stop it. It’s your son that I want. (MF)

   B: Ah, what are we for, but to help one another. (FM)

10. A: Bro Gab, where are you coming from this morning? You look cute.
    B: Hi, no easy my brother. We thank God.
    [Hi, life is not easy, we thank God] (MM)

11. A: You’re all assets to this company.
    B: Thank you. We’ve enjoyed working here. (MF)

12. A: You have done a good job: the rug looks new again.
    B: Thank you very much. It’s my pleasure. (FM)
13. A: Princess? What a nice name you gave her!  
   B: Keep your compliment to yourself. (MF)

   B: You've not seen the other side of me. (MF)

15. A: What a nice dress ...  
   B: Is this nice or you're actually telling me it's bad?  
   A: You too knew it's bad to wear such a short skirt; try wear something better  
   B: Thank you auntie. (FF)

16. A: Sir, a nice car you've just bought.  
   B: Oh thanks, dear. (FM)

17. A (husband): You're the best thing that has ever happened to me.  
   B (wife): You've made my day. (MF)

18. A: Mama Success, I like your baby.  
   B: Osolo by emeko,  
   [Thank God] (FF)

19. A: I like your suit, can you give me to wear?  
   B: Thanks for the compliment. I will give you later. (MM)

20. A: You look fine in this uniform.  
   B: (Smiles) (FM)

21. A: This girl, you're looking fine o  
   B: (Hisses) I beg with all these my pimples. (MF)

22. A: Your food is sweet  
   B: Uh Uh, thank you. (FF)

23. A: It's sweet o. (referring to the prepared meal)  
   B: Thank you. (MF)

   B: Thank you. (MF)

25. A: Excuse me, Sir, you're looking fresh. You're enjoying o: this strike is good for you.  
   B: Really? I thank God for that. Only I'm not enjoying the strike  
   A: But you're looking good. (FM)

26. A (driver): This your rug, Sir, fits your parlour.  
   B (boss): Thank you. Is that what I said you should come and say this morning. (MM)

27. A (student): Sir, are you all going for a programme? You're neatly
dressed and looking good, Sir.
B (lecturer): Thank you very much. (FM)

   B: Oh, thank you, (appreciates the offer) are you really sure it fits me?)
      (MM)

   B: Do you mean it?(first part) All thanks to my God.(second) (smiles)
      Thank you, my grandson (third). (MF)

30. A: You're handsome
    B: Thank you.