COMPLIMENTS AND COMPLIMENT RESPONSES IN KUNMING CHINESE

Yi Yuan

Abstract

This article describes the way compliments and compliment responses are executed in Kunming Chinese, a Mandarin dialect spoken in Kunming, China. By looking at data collected through DCT questionnaires and natural observations, the author examines the semantic formulas used in forming compliments and compliment responses and the syntactic patterns of compliments in the two types of data. It is found that explicit compliments are the most common form of complimenting in the dialect. Implicit compliments, on the other hand, are much rarer and tend to occur by themselves. Syntactically, over 90% of the compliments fall into one of 4 syntactic structures paid through the third person/impersonal or second person perspectives. In replying to a compliment, speakers of Kunming Chinese are found to be drifting away from the tradition of rejecting compliments outright. They are more willing to accept compliments now although often indirectly. A quarter of the time, in real life situations, they just smile away a compliment they receive. While the DCT data and natural data are similar in the use of a majority of the semantic formulas, some differences are also found between the two types of data. Some methodological and cross-cultural implications are discussed at the end of the article.

Key words: Kunming Chinese, descriptive study, compliment event, DCT data, natural data.

1. Introduction

In the field of empirical pragmatics research, a lot of attention has been given to the exploration of pragmatic norms of different speech acts in different languages. Some examples include refusals in Chinese (Chen, Ye, & Zhang, 1995), apologies in American English (Edmundson, 1992) and New Zealand English (Holmes, 1990),

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1 This study was carried out under the supervision of professors B. Hartford, K. Bardovi-Harlig, P. Newman, S. Obeng, and M. Yan of Indiana University, Bloomington. My sincere thanks go to all of them. I am also grateful for the critical comments and suggestions of the anonymous reviewers. The remaining errors are all mine.
requests in Chinese (Zhang, 1995), complaints in Nepali English (Hartford, 1994), and compliments and compliment responses in American English (Herbert, 1986; Manes & Wolfson, 1980; Pomerantz, 1978), New Zealand English (Holmes, 1988a) and Polish (Jaworski, 1995). Such studies are valuable in that they broaden our understanding of the pragmatic norms of different cultures and provide evidence for cross cultural comparisons.

Compliments and compliment responses have attracted particular attention from researchers because they not only give insights into the rules of language use in a speech community, but also show the value system of individual speakers as well as the community (cf. Knapp et al., 1984; Manes, 1983; Wolfson, 1984).

The term compliment has been defined in literature as “a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some ‘good’ (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer” (Holmes, 1988a: 485). The ethnolinguistic term the author used to describe compliment activities to the informants in the field was 草美 (literally ‘beautify’), which is equivalent to what is treated as a compliment in English-speaking cultures as The New English-Chinese Dictionary (1979) translates the English word ‘compliment’ into 草美 (literally ‘beautify’) and 草美 (literally ‘praise’) in Chinese. The working definition of a compliment for this article will be an utterance that contains at least one explicit positive semantic carrier to give a positive evaluation to something that is related to the addressee. (1) below is an example of compliment in Kunming Chinese where the object - ‘this house of yours’ - is complimented through the use of the explicit positive adjective ‘beautiful’:

(1) 嗨，你们这个房子漂亮了嘛。
(Particle) you (pl.) this house beautiful (Tense Marker) (Particle)
‘Wow, this house of yours is beautiful (Particle).’

In cases where no positive semantic carrier is used, an utterance can only be regarded as a compliment if the complimentary force can be induced from the utterance itself in a situation where something good or positive is obvious and a compliment is normally expected. In (2), for example, ‘you’ notice that your friend is wearing a nice new dress and say to her:

(2). 你这条裙子哪里买的？我也想买一条穿穿。
you this dress where buy I also want buy one wear
‘Where did you buy your dress? I want to buy one myself.’

Here ‘I want to buy one myself’ is coded as an Implicit Compliment as it implies that the speaker likes the dress since people only buy things they think are good.

Serious research on the speech act of compliments began with a series of work by Wolfson and Manes on compliments in American English (Manes, 1983; Manes & Wolfson, 1980; Wolfson, 1981, 1983, 1984; and Wolfson & Manes, 1980). Based on almost 700 naturally occurring compliments by middle class Americans, Manes and Wolfson (1980) found for the first time that this speech act was highly formulaic in
American English at the syntactic, semantic, and lexical levels. This formulaicness was later found to be true in other varieties of English and other languages, such as in New Zealand English (Holmes, 1988a), Hawaiian Creole English (Lee, 1990), Japanese (Daikuhara, 1986), Polish (Herbert, 1991; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989), and Chinese (Ye, 1995).

Apart from the formulaicness of compliments found across cultures, some differences have also emerged. Herbert (1991), for instance, found that while compliments in English had a rather even distribution of first, second, and third person/impersonal focus, compliments in Polish had a predominant second person focus. The topic of compliments also varies. That is, American English speakers (Manes, 1983) and New Zealand English speakers (Holmes, 1988a) tend to compliment people on personal appearance, Polish speakers on the topic of possession (Herbert, 1991), Egyptian speakers on personality (Nelson, Bakary & Al-Batal, 1993), and Chinese speakers on performance (Ye, 1995).

Compliments have also been studied in relation to such social factors as gender, age, and social distance. Wolfson (1989), for instance, found that more and lengthier compliments were given between acquaintances of equal status than between total strangers or intimates. This 'bulge' distribution of compliments was also found in Australian English (cf. Cordella, Large, & Pardo, 1995). Women have been found to give and receive more compliments than men do, especially on their appearance, in American English, New Zealand English, and Hawaiian Creole English (Holmes, 1988b; Lee, 1990; Wolfson, 1983, 1984). Compliments also occur more often between interlocutors of the same gender, especially in female ~ female interactions in American English (Knapp et al., 1984), New Zealand English (Holmes, 1988b), and Chinese (Ye, 1995). In addition, women tend to use more personal references (both first and second persons) and more intensifiers (Johnson & Roen, 1992) than men do to express deference (cf. Herbert, 1990; Johnson & Roen, 1992).

Most recent research on the speech act of compliment responses is based on Pomerantz' 1978 study. In general, cultures differ in terms of the extent to which they accept or reject a compliment. For example, although the Americans, the British, and the South Africans are all English-speaking, the latter two have been found to accept compliments more readily (about 2/3 of the time) than the former (about 1/3 of the time) (c.f. Herbert, 1986; Herbert & Straight, 1989). Other cultures, such as the Japanese, the Chinese, and the French, tend to reject compliments more often (Chen, 1993; Daikuhara, 1986; Wieland, 1995).

In spite of the vast body of literature, compliments and compliment responses in Chinese have been studied less. The two major studies to date are Chen (1993) and Ye (1995). In Ye (1995), the author designed a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaire, collected 768 compliments from 96 informants and examined the linguistic forms of compliments and compliment responses, their relations to context and gender, and their functions. Out of the 768 compliments, only slightly over half were explicit compliments. The other half consisted of implicit compliments, opt outs, and non-complimentary remarks. In contrast to American English, which has a high frequency of compliments on interlocutors' appearance (Manes & Wolfson, 1980), performance was the preferred topic of compliments in Mandarin Chinese. Regarding
the relationship between the form of a compliment and the topic of a compliment, Ye found that while new sneakers elicited a very high percentage of no responses, the scenario of painting received the biggest number of explicit compliments, indicating that informants interpreted different scenarios differently. At the syntactic level, one characteristic of Chinese compliments was the high frequency of adjectives/stative verbs (54.5%) and low frequency of verbs (2.3%). This forms a sharp contrast with American English, which makes use of verbs to a greater extent (16%, Manes & Wolfson, 1980).

Chen (1993) explores different politeness strategies used by Chinese and Americans in responding to compliments. She finds that the culturally valued Modesty Maxim leads the Chinese to denigrate themselves and elevate others by rejecting compliments they receive while the Agreement Maxim prevails over other considerations when Americans respond to compliments.

While these studies provide some insights into compliments and compliment responses in Mandarin Chinese, we have to bear in mind that the term ‘Chinese’ embraces numerous dialects and speech communities both within and outside China. Differences among these dialects and speech communities are bound to exist. We therefore need to look at different dialects or speech communities to gain a thorough understanding of the culture. In addition, the two studies on Chinese compliments, the Chen and Ye studies, not only used discourse completion task (or DCT) questionnaires alone to collect data, but the questionnaires were administered in China by someone other than the researchers themselves. Also, the subjects of the two studies were either university students or people with a tertiary educational level or above. As a result, the data used may not be readily generalisable.

The present study was designed to provide a comprehensive description of the compliment event in Kunming Chinese and to discuss some methodological issues. It aims to address the following research questions:

1. How do speakers of Kunming Chinese compliment? What are their compliments like in general?
2. How do speakers of Kunming Chinese respond to compliments?
3. Is the DCT a valuable and reliable data-gathering method as natural data? Are natural data as desirable as people think?

The speech community of Kunming and its dialect are worth studying because like many cities in China, Kunming is medium-sized and has become increasingly open to the outside world. By studying one speech community, we can come to an understanding of most cities in China. A general description of compliments in this dialect will provide an interesting perspective to look at Chinese pragmatics and will provide good bases for meaningful dialectal comparisons.

The research site of Kunming is the capital city of Yunnan province, China. The province borders with Tibet to the northwest, Burma to the west, and Laos and Vietnam to the south. It has a population of about 3 ½ million.

Kunming Chinese is one of the representative varieties of the South-western Mandarin spoken in the three mid- and south-western provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan,
and Guizhou, as well as in parts of Hubei, Hunnan, Guangxi, Shanxi, and Gansu. The relationship between Kunming Chinese and the other dialects of China is shown in Figure 1 (adapted from Gui, 1990: 118).

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

Figure 1. The relationship between Kunming Chinese and the Chinese language

The differences between Kunming Chinese and the Northern Mandarin (or Mandarin in short, with Beijing dialect as the representative) mainly lie in the tones of words, the tone values of the tones, the lexicon, and the different pronunciations of some words. The following are some comparisons between Kunming Chinese and Mandarin adapted from Chan, 1981: 99-108.²

² The pronunciations of observational and interview data as well as oral DCT data used in the text are transcribed as they are spoken in Kunming Chinese with the following IPA symbols (Adapted from Norman, 1988: 192):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain apicals</th>
<th>Apical Sibilants</th>
<th>Retroflexes</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʂ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>tʂ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(j)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1. Comparison of initial consonants between Kunming Chinese and Mandarin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>Kunming Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to free'</td>
<td>tɕ</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'together'</td>
<td>tɕʰ</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'shoe'</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'should'</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'open'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sea'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'career'</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Comparison of vowels between Kunming Chinese and Mandarin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>Kunming Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'display'</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'medicine'</td>
<td>iao</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sky'</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'song'</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uncle'</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'but'</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lack'</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Comparison of tones between Kunming Chinese and Mandarin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>拉 (‘pull’)</th>
<th>出 (‘exit’)</th>
<th>德 (‘moral’)</th>
<th>哪 (‘which’)</th>
<th>布 (‘cloth’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>Level (1)</td>
<td>Level (1)</td>
<td>Rise (2)</td>
<td>Fall-Rise (3)</td>
<td>Fall (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunming Chinese</td>
<td>Level (1)</td>
<td>Rise (2)</td>
<td>Rise (2)</td>
<td>Fall (4)</td>
<td>Fall-Rise (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All data analysed in this study were collected by the researcher in Kunming during the months of December 1996 to April 1997.

2. Methodology

2.1. The data

Three types of data were collected. These are DCT data, natural observational notebook data, and recorded interview data.

The tone of a character is indicated by a number (from 1-4) after the sound notation. Number 1 stands for the first or the level tone, 2 for the rising tone, 3 for the fall-rise or contour tone, and 4 for the falling tone. A sound notation without a number means the character is unstressed.
The DCT is a written questionnaire that contains a number of hypothetical scenarios or situations used to elicit a certain speech act. Respondents are required to supply, in writing, what they would say in real life if similar situations happen to them. An example is given in (3) below.

(3) You are sitting in a large lecture hall during class. The professor's voice is so low that you cannot hear it clearly. If you asked the professor to speak a little louder, what would you say?

"______________________________"

(Rose and Ono, 1995: 219)

Such DCT questionnaires, if designed carefully, can produce a large amount of useful data in a short period of time for an initial understanding of a speech act in a dialect/language although some shortcomings have also been reported (c.f. Beebe & Cummings, 1996; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992).

For the present study, a DCT questionnaire (see Appendix II) was designed based on a large amount of observational notebook data collected by the researcher herself in Bloomington, Indiana, USA and Kunming, China before the current study was carried out. This was done to ensure that the DCT situations were as authentic and close to life as possible. The topics of child, ability, appearance, attire, possession, and whole person, which had appeared in the observational data, were each represented in two separate DCT situations so that the two genders were equally represented for each topic (see Appendix I). The social relationship between the interlocutors was kept constant at the equal status level between acquaintances, neighbours, colleagues, or friends. The questionnaire had been tested twice among native speakers of Kunming Chinese and had been revised according to their feedback before it was administered in Kunming, China.

The questionnaire had two parts. Part I consisted of 12 situations where the informant was said to have noticed something explicitly positive or nice about the DCT interactant and was expected to pay a compliment to the interactant in a normal situation. So in (4), a compliment is expected because 'your' acquaintance has achieved so much academically and because of the given sentence "you said to her with admiration".

(4) 熟人朱雁不到三十岁就拿到北大的博士学位, 还找到一个很好的工作, 昨天你碰到她说起这事, 感慨地对她说: (Zhu Yan, an acquaintance, got her Ph.D. from Beijing University before she turned thirty and then found a very good job. When you saw her yesterday, you talked about it. You said to her with admiration:)

Part II of the DCT had 12 dialogue-type situations with compliments to see how informants would respond to these compliments:

(5) 你是个既勤快又爱干净的人, 家里面随时都收拾得干干净净 —
Each situation in the DCT contained a gender-specific name of the imagined DCT interlocutor, the relationship between the DCT interlocutor and the respondent, and the scenario that calls for a compliment or a response to a compliment. No third parties were involved in the scenarios except for situations 1 and 3, where the third party was a child who was also the prospective object of compliment directed to the parent. Respondents were given an opportunity to opt out if they thought they would not say anything in a given situation.

The DCT was administered in two ways, i.e., orally and in writing, to reduce such undesirable effects of written DCTs as producing data that are more direct and less hedged (Beebe & Cummings, 1996; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992) and that contain fewer features of oral speech (Yuan, 2001) than oral data. A combination of the two forms of the DCT may cancel out these effects and provide a truer picture of the compliment pragmatics of Kunming Chinese.

2.2. The subjects and the data-collection procedure

Altogether, 175 informants (90 males and 85 females) responded to the DCT questionnaire. The informants were selected by the method of judgement sampling. In particular, Milroy’s (1980) methodological framework of social network was used to establish initial contacts, through whom more informants were identified and contacted until the desired number of informants from different age, gender, and educational groups were recruited. The three age groups (18-29, 30-49, 50 years old or older), three educational levels (the junior high school or below group, the high school group, and tertiary and above group), as well as the two gender groups were about equally represented in the oral, written, and interview subject pools so that the data could represent the whole population rather than a certain sector of it. Because the two genders were equally represented in the DCT situations and about equally represented in the subject pool, there should be no gender bias in the data collected. A detailed analysis of the correlation between gender (as well as other social factors) and the use of compliments is reported in a separate work (c.f. Yuan, 2000).

The written DCT questionnaire was filled out by 88 (46 males and 42 females) of the 175 informants at their own pace and in a place of their own choice. Another 87 informants (44 males and 43 females) responded to the DCT orally. The oral DCT was done in the following way. First, the DCT situations were tape-recorded by two (one male and one female) native speakers of Kunming Chinese in their 30s in a neutral tone and intonation. Informants were then invited to the researcher’s residence individually at a time of their choice. They listened to one situation at a time and responded to the
situation orally before the next situation was played to them. A second tape-recorder recorded the oral sessions in their entirety. Interviews were conducted and audio-taped with 51 (24 males and 27 females) of the 87 oral DCT informants right after their oral DCT sessions to find out whether and why they thought they complimented people and whether there was anybody they would not feel comfortable complimenting under certain circumstances. Such interviews should provide insights into informants’ perceptions of and opinions about the compliment event in the speech community.

The oral interviews as well as the oral DCT responses were transcribed in their entirety in Kunming Chinese. Interruptions, overlaps, back-channels, and laughter were noted, but no effort was made to time pauses or other temporal cues.

A data pool of 256 occurrences of compliments were also penned down in notebooks by the researcher at the research site of Kunming during the 4 months of her field work. She wrote down, either right after a compliment exchange or at the end of the day, all the compliments that occurred around her, with or without her participation. These included compliment exchanges that occurred in the street, on the bus, in hospital waiting rooms, at class reunions, in friends’ homes, or at work places or dinner tables. Relevant contextual information and interlocutors’ relationship to each other as well as their age and gender were recorded in the notebook whenever such information was available. Table 4 presents a rough profile of the participants of the 256 compliment events. The high proportion of females and participants in the 30-45 age group in this data pool may reflect a bias resulted from the researcher’s own personal profile and social circle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Profile of participants of the observational data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complimenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complimentee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complimenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complimentee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purpose of collecting the three different types of data was to give a full and complementary picture of the compliment pragmatics in Kunming Chinese, as each form of the data may provide different perspectives on the same subject of compliment in terms of linguistic forms and theoretical/methodological implications (see Yuan, 2001). Results of the DCT questionnaire (oral and written data combined) and the observational notebook data will be reported both quantitatively and qualitatively and interview data will be used as supporting evidence when appropriate.

2.3. Data-coding
The compliment event in Kunming Chinese will be described in terms of the semantic formulas used and the syntactic structures of the compliments. The term ‘semantic formula’ is defined as those parts of a reply/utterance that “represent the means by which a particular speech act is accomplished in terms of the primary content of an utterance, such as a reason, an explanation, or an alternative” (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992: 34). The following semantic formulas are used to categorise compliments and compliment responses in the data pool:

### Compliments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unbound Semantic Formulas</th>
<th>Bound Semantic Formulas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Compliment</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Compliment</td>
<td>Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suggestion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Invitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confirmation Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Downgrade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Non-Complimentary Replies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Compliment</th>
<th>Opt Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opt Out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The semantic formulas for compliments are divided into 2 macro categories, namely Compliments and Non-complimentary Replies. Compliments are further divided into Unbound and Bound semantic formulas. The unbound semantic formulas refer to Explicit Compliments (with at least one positive semantic carrier) and Implicit Compliments, both of which can be interpreted as compliments of one kind or another by their surface forms. So ‘Nice dress’ is an Explicit Compliment because of the positive semantic carrier ‘nice’. An Implicit Compliment is often a general statement with or without a positive semantic carrier, where the addressee is not directly mentioned but the positive meaning can be inferred from what is said in a particular context. So when someone says upon noticing her friend wearing a nice new dress ‘Where did you buy this dress? I want to buy one myself’, the part ‘I want to buy it myself’ is coded as an Implicit Compliment as it implies that the speaker likes the dress since people only buy things they think are good.

The bound semantic formulas are things that have to co-occur with one of the unbound semantic formulas to be interpreted as part of a compliment. So the question ‘Where did you buy this dress?’ is not coded as a compliment if it occurs by itself as we cannot make any positive inference from the question itself without any context or without the presence of a positive semantic carrier. However, if I say ‘Nice dress. Where did you buy it?’, then the question is coded as a token of Information Question because of the Explicit Compliment ‘Nice dress’.
Non-complimentary Replies include Non-Compliments and Opt Outs. Non-Compliments are either bound semantic formulas occurring by themselves or other replies that do not carry any positive meanings whereas Opt Outs are cases where informants do not say/supply anything in a situation where a compliment is usually expected. (6) below provides examples of each of the semantic formulas.

(6). Explicit Compliment

你儿子太乖了。
you(r) son so good/obedient (Tense Marker)
‘This child of yours is extremely good.’

Implicit Compliment

只要人好看，任何发型都是好看的。
as long as man good looking no matter any hairstyle all be good looking
‘As long as (one’s) good looking, any hair style would look good.’

Explanation

1 嘿，漂亮了，一个家又反这份，再反这份配上
(Particle) beautiful a home again like this again like this coupled with
2 那个兰颜色地毯太舒服了，一处也
that blue colour carpet so comfortable (Tense Marker) one place too
3 不想去了一天就想在家不
not want go (Tense Marker) one day only want be home in
‘Wow, (it’s) beautiful. A house with a, with a blue carpet like this (is) so comfortable. (You) don’t want to go anywhere, but only want to stay home.’

Information Question

哎呀，这个地毯太好看了，你在哪点买的?
(Particle) this carpet so good looking you be where buy
‘Gosh, this carpet is so pretty. Where did you buy it?’

Future Reference

蛮能干了嘛！二天当个博士没问题。
quite capable (Particle) future become one PhD no problem
‘Quite capable (Particle)! There shouldn’t be any problem (for you) to get a Ph.D. in the future.’

Contrast

1 你家这个太乖了嘛，哪个像我家的深更半夜
your home this one so good (Particle) which like my home deep midnight
2 不睡觉喊她做事讨价还价的点都不听话
not sleep call her do little thing bargain little not listen words
‘This child of yours is so good (Particle), not at all like mine, (who) doesn’t come home until midnight. When (I) ask her to do something, (she) bargains. (She’s) not obedient at all.’

Advice
1. **Acceptance** (Replying to a compliment on new dress at wedding)

    我 很 高兴 你 也 这样 说。
    I'm very glad you too like this say
    'I'm very glad you said so too.'

2. **Explanation** (Replying to a compliment on a new colour TV)

    这 电视 画面 大, 看起来 舒服, 感觉 好.
    This TV has a big screen, which makes TV-watching comfortable and enjoyable.

3. **Return** (Replying to a compliment on a clean, nice house)

    你 家 比 我 家 干净.
    'Your house compare my house clean
'Your house is cleaner than mine.'

4. Appreciation (Replying to a compliment on a nice outfit)

咯 哩？ 感谢
(Particle) be thanks
'Is it? Thanks.'

5. Upgrade (Replying to a compliment on a nice outfit)

我 时候 比 这个 还 漂亮。
I normally compare this more beautiful
'I look even more beautiful at other times.'

6. Reassignment (Replying to a compliment on a chess champion)

都是 老师 教 得 好。
all be teacher teach good
'It's all because the teacher/coach did a great job.'

7. Suggestion (Replying to a compliment on a new colour TV)

你 去 买 一 台 嘛
you go buy one set (Particle)
'Go and buy one yourself (Particle).'

8. Invitation (Replying to a compliment on kindness)

叫 大力 经常 来 玩。
ask Da Li often come play
'Ask Da Li to come and play often.'

9. Confirmation Question (Replying to a compliment on looking)

咯 哩？
(Particle) be
'Is it?'

10. Downgrade (Replying to a compliment on generosity)

朋友 之间 帮 点 忙 算 不了什么。
friend between help little busy count not what
'It's just friends helping each other out. Nothing worth mentioning.'

11. Disagreement (Replying to a compliment on a clean, nice house)

干净 嘛
clean what
'Not clean at all!'

12. Opt Out (No reply or just a smile)
3. Results and Discussion

In the following, results of the DCT data (oral and written combined) and the natural data will be presented quantitatively in separate sections. Findings will be analysed locally where appropriate.

3.1. Compliments

3.1.1. An overall view of compliments in the DCT data

There are altogether 2100 replies collected from the 12 compliment scenarios by the 87 oral and 88 written DCT respondents \([(12 \times 87) + (12 \times 88) = 2100]\). These replies produce 2979 tokens of semantic formulas as some responses contain combinations of two or more semantic formulas.

Table 5. An overall view of the DCT responses: Compliments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Raw Numbers</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compliments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Compliments</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>(83.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Compliments</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(5.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-complimentary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Compliments</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>(7.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Outs</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>(3.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 5, among the 2100 replies, 1745 or 83.1% are Explicit Compliments, indicating that people prefer to issue a clear positive statement when they pay compliments. Another 120 replies (or 5.71%) are Implicit Compliments that also belong to the big category of Compliments. This means that people compliment in almost 90% of the complimenting situations created in the DCT.

However, the fact that Non-Complimentary Replies have a relatively high frequency (7.76% Non-Compliments + 3.43% Opt Outs = 11.19%) shows that not everybody compliments in a situation where a compliment is called for. In example (8), respondent 16 expresses his non-disappointment in seeing the newly-cut hair style of his imagined DCT friend even though “she looks very energetic and cute”:

(8) [Scenario 7, new hair cut]

This example illustrates how the DCT scenarios were designed to capture a wide range of reactions to compliments, including non-disappointments.

---

3 The two forms of the DCT as well as the notebook and interview data produced some differences in terms of linguistic forms as well as the length and number of turns of interactions. For a more detailed discussion, please see Yuan, 2001.

4 A complimenting situation is a situation where something positive or nice is obvious and a compliment is usually expected. As the DCT scenarios were all based on authentic observational data where compliments had actually occurred in similar real life situations, they are all regarded as complimenting situations.
When asked whether he would compliment the interlocutor if he liked the new hair style of his friend, the same respondent said he still would not because he did not like women with short hair.

The other type of reply that does not belong to compliment is Opt Out, where a respondent decides not to say anything in a given situation. 72 of the 2100 responses belong to this category. This may be because some people do not feel comfortable complimenting people face-to-face. The following comment from my interview with an elderly, high-school educated female respondent may illustrate this point.

(9) ... ...

The character of people like us is to throw a smile to people's compliment (Particle). When (we) think somebody is good, (we) only ponder about it in (our) heart. (We) also do not (Particle) join in other people's comments. That is it. (We) have our own principles of life, right, principles of life. (We) say what we should say and refrain from what (we) shouldn't.' (83-F-O-H)
In other words, even though sometimes someone may feel something positive about the interlocutor, he/she may still refrain from complimenting that person.

In the following, we will look at the compliments more closely. Table 6 summarises the overall distribution of the semantic formulas in the DCT data. We see that Explicit Compliments account for a majority of them (58.58%). What is also interesting is that while Explicit Compliments may co-occur with bound semantic formulas or appear by themselves, a majority (92.5%) of the Implicit Compliments occur by themselves. It seems then that the two types of compliments behave rather differently. The single Explicit Compliments in the data pool look like (10) below:

(10) [Scenario 7, new hair-cut]
you very beautiful
You're very beautiful. (Written DCT) [Explicit Compliment] (110-M-Y-C)

Table 6. The overall distribution of semantic formulas in the DCT data: Compliments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Formulas</th>
<th>Raw Tokens (%)</th>
<th>Singleton (%)*</th>
<th>Combination (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compliments -- Unbound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Compliment</td>
<td>1745 (58.58)</td>
<td>879 (50.37)</td>
<td>866 (49.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Compliment</td>
<td>120 (4.03)</td>
<td>111 (92.5)</td>
<td>9 (7.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compliments -- Bound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>384 (12.89)</td>
<td></td>
<td>384 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Question</td>
<td>184 (6.18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>184 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Reference</td>
<td>116 (3.89)</td>
<td></td>
<td>116 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>106 (3.56)</td>
<td></td>
<td>106 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>61 (2.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td>61 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>28 (0.94)</td>
<td></td>
<td>28 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Complimentary Replies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-COMPLIMENTS</td>
<td>163 (5.47)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Out</td>
<td>72 (2.42)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2979 (100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total sum of singletons and combinations on each row should be the same as the number of raw tokens of the same row.

About half of the Explicit Compliments co-occur with one or more of the bound semantic formulas, such as in (11), although such combinations rarely exceed three semantic formulas.

(11) [Scenario 3, obedient child]

1. ni4 tse1 ti3 ko3 t'e2 kue1 lo ma na4 ko2 pie2 wo4 t'ai1 na gain1 kai1
   your home this one so good (Particle) which one like mine deep night
2. 半夜不睡觉 喊她做点事讨价还价的
   night not sleep call her do some things bargain how much
Compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese 

Explicit Compliments combine most frequently with Explanations: There are 384 (or nearly 13%) occurrences of Explanations out of the total semantic formulas of 2979. Among these occurrences, only 6 co-occurred with Implicit Compliment whereas the rest are combinations with Explicit Compliment.

Information Question is another semantic formula that frequently co-occurs with Explicit Compliment. It can precede or follow an Explicit Compliment. A typical Information Question asks about where or when something is purchased:

(12) [Scenario 9, new carpet]

Gosh, this carpet is so pretty. Where did you buy it?'

(Oral DCT) [Explicit Compliment] [Information Question] (77-F-O-J)

The bound semantic formulas of Future Reference and Contrast have roughly the same frequency, but interestingly, Contrast co-occurs only with Explicit Compliment, as in (11) above, whereas Advice and Request are much less common compared with all the other semantic formulas.

Implicit Compliments, on the other hand, tend to occur by themselves most of the time (111 times out of 120). The following is an example:

(13) [Scenario 7, new hair cut]

As long as (one’s) good looking, any hair style would look good.’

(Written DCT) [Implicit Compliment] (53-F-Y-H)

When an Implicit Compliment does combine with something else, it is found to co-occur mostly with Explanations (6 out of the 9 combination cases).

Finally, combinations of the unbound and bound semantic formulas occur in one turn at one stretch in the DCT data, as in (12), because of the non-interactive nature of DCTs although occasionally oral DCT respondents can be quite imaginative and may create an additional turn in their responses:

(14) [Scenario 4, a capable person]
1 - you fix this computer be professional or be amateur learn
Do you fix computers professionally or do you do it at your spare time?

2 - (如果是业余的)
if be amateur
(If it’s a spare time hobby, I’ll say)

3 - 你 非常能干, 嗯, 肯 钻研。
you very capable (Particle) willing study
You’re very capable, um, and willing to work hard. (42-M-O-C)

In summary, we have seen that in the DCT situations, people often compliment overtly. Occasionally, however, they may make general references or non-complimentary remarks, or they may even prefer not to say anything.

3.1.2. An overall view of compliments in the natural observational data

Table 7. An overall view of the natural observational data: Compliments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compliments</th>
<th>Raw Numbers</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Compliments</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>(94.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Compliments</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(5.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Complimentary Replies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Compliments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Outs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, compliments recorded in the observational notebook data resemble what we have seen in the DCT data to a certain extent. Table 7 shows that while the percentage of Implicit Compliment remains roughly the same in the natural data as in the DCT data (a little over 5%), the ratio of Explicit Compliment increases to almost 95% from the 83.10% of the DCT. This increase results from the no show of Non-Complimentary Replies, including Non-Compliments as well as Opt Outs, understandably because the researcher only noted down utterances that fit her definition of ‘compliments’, i.e. utterances that contained at least one positive semantic carrier or utterances with an induceable positive meaning. This difference between the natural data and the DCT data highlights the possibility that natural observations may not capture cases where people prefer not to say anything about something positive or nice, a disadvantage that has not been recorded so far.

Table 8 shows that the 256 compliments that occurred in natural settings yield 390 semantic formulas. The percentages of Explicit Compliments (62.05%) and Implicit Compliments (3.59%) are similar to those of the DCT data (58.58% & 4.03%, see Table 6), reinforcing our earlier observation that speakers of Kunming Chinese prefer explicit statements when they pay compliments. The other numerical similarity
between the DCT data and the natural data is the percentage of Explanations (over 12%).

However, when we compare Table 8 with Table 6, some differences between the DCT data and the natural data also emerge: (i). All the Implicit Compliments occur by themselves in the natural data whereas 7.5% of them co-occur with one or more bound semantic formulas in the DCT data. (ii). The semantic formula of Contrast appears more frequently in real life than in the DCT situations (10% vs. 3.56%) whereas Information Question is more common in DCT (6.18%) than in real life (3.59%). (iii). The bound semantic formulas of Advice and Request do not appear at all in the natural data; Future Reference only appears once in the natural data but it appears a few times in the DCT data. (iv). Finally, the natural data contain the use of Conversation Openers, Address Terms, and Appreciation Tokens that do not exist at all in the DCT data. These are exemplified in (15) to (17).

Table 8. The overall distribution of semantic formulas in the natural data: Compliments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Formulas</th>
<th>Raw Tokens (%)</th>
<th>Singleton (%)</th>
<th>Combination (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unbound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Compliment</td>
<td>242 (62.05%)</td>
<td>112 (46.28%)</td>
<td>130 (53.72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Compliment</td>
<td>14 (3.59%)</td>
<td>14 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>47 (12.05%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>47 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Question</td>
<td>14 (3.59%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Reference</td>
<td>1 (0.26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>39 (10.00%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>39 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Complimentary Replies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Compliment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Out</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional Semantic Formulas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation Opener</td>
<td>24 (6.15%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address Term</td>
<td>8 (2.05%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation Token</td>
<td>1 (0.26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>390 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) (Researcher running into an acquaintance for the first time after a long absence):
1 Researcher: 超, 你 好。
   ei4  ni4  xao4
   (Particle) you  good
   'Hi, how are you?'

2 Acquaintance: 超, 你 好。听说 你回来了, 还 一直
The finding of the use of Conversation Openers and Address Terms with compliments in natural settings highlights the fact that compliments are part and parcel of real life conversations and therefore do not always occur by themselves, as some studies based on DCT data alone might unintentionally suggest (e.g. Ye, 1995).

More importantly, while compliments and their bound semantic formulas may occur consecutively in the observational data as they do in the DCT, such as in (18), it is also common to see them spread over several turns, such as in (19):

(18) A 唉，这个录音机好了，小巧玲珑。
  jo4 ni4 xiaow4 tsi3 ka3 lu2 jin1 tsi1 gao4 lo gao4 tsi’i gao4 li3 luo2 lo
  (Particle) this tape-recorder good small dainty
  ‘Wow, this tape-recorder is good: Small and dainty.’

  B 咱，方便。
   n2 fan1 pien3
   (Particle) convenient
   ‘Yeah, (it’s) convenient/easy to carry.’

(19) A 哼，你一回来这个地方又干干净净的了。
  heng4 ni4 ji2 xui2 le2 tsi3 ko tsi1 jiu3 ke1 ke tsi3 tsi3 nang4 lo
  (Particle) you as soon as come back this house again clean (Tense Marker)
‘As soon as you come back, this place becomes clean again.’

B. 
不 会 嘛。
pu2 xui3 ma
not possible (Particle)
‘Not really.’

A. 1 X.C. 住 在 这 点 的 时 候 连 地 板 的 花 纹
tsu3 se3 ti4 nei2 ji'2 xou3 lien2 ti3 pe4 nei xu1 wan2
X.C. live here even time floor wooden pattern
2 都 看 不 见 了, 灰 蒙 蒙 的。
tou1 ke3 pu2 tuen3 lo xui1 mon42 mon42 nei
even see not (Tense Marker) dusty (Particle)
‘When X.C. lived here, (you) couldn’t even see the patterns of the wooden floor: (It was all) dusty.’

B. (笑 笑) (Smile)

Here in (19), there is a sequence of Compliment -> Disagreement -> Contrast -> Opt Out (with a smile). Such interactive exchanges or negotiations of compliments and compliment responses have not been found in any DCT-based studies no matter how creative/imaginative a DCT respondent can be. It is therefore one of the constraints of the DCT questionnaire.

From the discussions of the DCT data and the natural data, we can say with certain confidence that compliments in Kunming Chinese most frequently take the form of an explicit statement either alone or in combination with an explanation, or a question, or a contrast, usually with the compliment preceding the other elements. Indirect compliments, on the other hand, occur by themselves most of the time. Compliments are also often embedded in conversations and may come with conversation openers or address terms.

3.1.3. Personal focus of compliments in Kunming Chinese

All replies that were categorised as one of the two unbound semantic formulas are analysed in terms of whether the subject is first person, second person, third person/impersonal, or a combination of two or more of these, or dropped altogether. Tables 9 and 10 summarise the DCT and natural data respectively.

Table 9. Distribution of personal focus in DCT data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person/Impersonal</th>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Dropped</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raw Score</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>37.69</td>
<td>37.69</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>21.55</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9 shows that among the different possibilities, the second person 'you' and third person/impersonal focuses have the highest percentages (37.69%) in the DCT data. (20) and (21) are examples:

(20) [Scenario 7, new hair cut]

6 &K @ /É 7" you more grow more attractive (Tense Marker)
‘You’\'re getting more and more attractive.’
(Written DCT) (Second Person Focus, 43-M-O-C)

(21) [Scenario 1, bright child]

64 ni4 e2tsí4 t'e3 n appréci2 ke3 lo mo (Particle) you son so capable (Tense Marker) (Particle)
‘Wow, your son is so very capable (Particle)!’
(Oral DCT) (Third Person Focus, 55-F-Y-H)

Subject deletion is also common, accounting for 21.55% of the DCT compliments:

(22) [Scenario 1, bright child]

1 呵呵，这么聪明才这么大二年级能做二年级的
me4 ni4 e2tsí4 t'e3 n appréci2 ke3 lo mo (Particle) you son so capable (Tense Marker) (Particle)
‘Wow, (he is) so bright, (he) can do grade two maths when (he is) so young. (He) must have a bright future later.’ (Oral DCT) (Subject Deletion, 173-F-O-H)

On the other hand, respondents rarely pay compliments from a first person perspective (only about 2% of the time) or combine 2 or more focuses. The very few times when the first person does appear are when ‘I’ is used in the syntactic pattern of ‘I {think/feel} + subordinate clause’. This is very different from American and New Zealand English, where the first person focus appears predominantly in the syntactic pattern of ‘I {like/love} NP’ (cf. Holmes, 1988a; Wolfson, 1989).

The natural data, however, present a somewhat different picture from the DCT data in the use of second person and third person/impersonal focuses although the first person and combination of two or more focuses remain rare. We see in Table 10 that the frequency of the second person focus drops to 17.97% in the natural data from the 37.69% of the DCT whereas the frequency of the third person/impersonal focus almost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person/Impersonal</th>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Dropped</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raw Score</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>64.45</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>12.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Distribution of personal focus in natural data
doubles, from 37.69% in the DCT to 64.45% in the natural data. A closer look at the data reveals that the high frequency of the third person/impersonal focus is mainly brought about by the fact that speakers of Kunming Chinese tend to emphasise the object of compliment by placing it in the prominent subject position, especially when the object of compliment involves the compliment-receiver's ability, possession, child, or attire. Examples (23) to (26) illustrate this point:

(23) 你的字写得好像漂亮的！
ni4 ne tsi2 sie4 te xao4 p’iao2 lie2 a
your words write good beautiful (Particle)
'Your handwriting is so beautiful (Particle)!' (Ability)

(24) 你这个房子不错嘛，厨房厕所都那么大。
ni4 tsi3 ka fe2 tsi4 pu2 ts’o3 ma tsu2 fe2 tsao2 so4 tou1 na3 mo ta3
you this house not bad (Particle) kitchen toilet both that big
'This house of yours is not bad (Particle). The kitchen and the restroom are both so big.' (Possession)

(25) 看，这个儿子长得太漂亮了。
me4 tsi3 ke a2 tsi4 tsan4 te t’e3 p’iao3 lie3 lo
(Particle) this son grow so beautiful (Tense Marker)
'Wow, this son (of yours) is so handsome.' (Child)

(26) 你这个裙子穿起来还蛮好看的。
ni4 tsi3 ke tsun2 tsi4 tsue1 tsi4 xe2 me4 xao4 ke3 na
you this dress wear still quite good looking (Particle)
'This dress of yours looks good (on you).'</Attire)

The second person focus, on the other hand, is mostly restricted to compliments paid on the compliment-receiver's young looking or healthy looking appearance, as in (27):

(27) 喔，你看到身体还好嘛，怪精神的。
o4 ni4 k’e3 tao4 san1 t’i4 xe2 xao4 ma kue3 tsan1 san2 na
(Particle) you look health still good (Particle) quite energetic (Particle)
'Wow, you look to be in good health (Particle), very energetic.' (Appearance)

Table 11. Distribution of topic/object of compliment in natural data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Attire</th>
<th>Whole Person</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.39%</td>
<td>22.66%</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
<td>18.36</td>
<td>11.33</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we look at the distribution of objects or topics of compliments in the natural data shown in Table 110 we see that ability, possession, child, and attire together account for about 73% of the compliments. Since most compliments involving these topics have the object of compliment in the subject position, it is not surprising that over 64% of the 256 real life compliments have the third person/impersonal focus.

3.1.4. The syntactic patterns of compliment in Kunming Chinese

As in American English, the syntactic structures of compliments in Kunming Chinese turn out to be very formulaic. To recapitulate, about 85% of compliments in American English fall into the following three syntactic patterns (see Wolfson, 1981: 122):

\[
\begin{align*}
28(a) & \quad \text{NP} \ [\text{is/looks}] \ (really) \ ADJ \quad (53.6\%) \\
28(b) & \quad I \ (really) \ [like/love] \ NP \quad (16.1\%) \\
28(c) & \quad \text{PRO is} \ (really) \ (a) \ ADJ \ NP \quad (14.9\%)
\end{align*}
\]

In Kunming Chinese, about 94% of both the DCT and the natural compliments fall into one of four syntactic structures and the similarities between the DCT and natural data are extremely striking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(NP) (Intensifier) ADJ/VERB (Object)</th>
<th>DCT</th>
<th>Natural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(NP) V ʃʃ (\text{te2, complement particle}) Complement</td>
<td>(21.82%)</td>
<td>(19.14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NP) {Agent} (Intensifier) ʃʃ (\text{gi2 ko/ 'is a'}) NP</td>
<td>(7.02%)</td>
<td>(5.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NP) {Agent} (Intensifier) ʃʃ (\text{jiu4/ 'have'}) NP</td>
<td>(3.65%)</td>
<td>(4.69%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 93.94% 93.75%

The structure in (29a) is the most productive of all, accounting for over 60% of the compliments. The obligatory element of this structure is the predicate, which can be either an adjective/stative verb or a verb, with or without an intensifier. An object may be optionally present if the predicate is a verb. An NP denoting an agent or an object may or may not appear in the subject position. (30) is an example of this structure:

\[(30) \quad \text{[Scenario 1, bright child]} \quad \text{[Particle] love study (Tense Marker) (Particle)} \quad \text{‘Wow, (you) love study (Particle).’} \quad [\text{(Dropped NP) VERB OBJECT}] (\text{Oral DCT}) (31-M-O-J)\]

The structure in (29b) involves an NP subject, present or absent, followed by a verb accompanied by the complement particle ʃʃ (\text{te2/}) with an obligatory complement. This complement functions very much like an adverbial in English:
Compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese

(31) [Scenario 11, newly renovated house]

1 我们

me4 ni4 jia1 t'e3 tse1 siu1 te t'e3 xao4 lo mo

(Particle) you house so renovate so good (Tense Marker) (Particle)

2 漂亮了!
p'iao3 lie3 lo mo

beautiful (Tense Marker) (Particle)

‘Gosh, your house (is) extremely, is decorated extremely well (Particle).
(It’s) beautiful (Particle)!’

(Oral DCT) [Explicit Compliment] (70-F-M-H)

On the other hand, the structure in (29c) involves positive semantic carriers that are nouns while the structure in (29d) has a stative verb with a noun as the positive semantic carrier. These are exemplified in (32) and (33) respectively:

(32) [Scenario 4, a capable person]

你真是个面手。
you really are one many-sided hand

‘You're really a many-sided hand.’

(Written DCT) (Pattern 13c, 43-M-O-C)

(33) [Scenario 9, new carpet]

你很有眼见。
you very have eyesight

‘You have a very good taste.’ (Written DCT) (Pattern 13d, 171-F-O-H)

The most common structure of (29a) in Kunming Chinese is similar to the ‘NP is/looks (really) ADJ’ pattern of (28a) found most often in American English whereas (29c) of Kunming Chinese resembles (28c) of American English. However, (28b) of American English has only one occurrence in Kunming Chinese partly because most Chinese compliments have third person/impersonal and second person focuses and partly because expressions such as ‘I like’ or ‘I love NP’ may cause such mis-interpretations as ‘I want your NP’. They are thus avoided in Kunming Chinese when possible.

3.2. Compliment responses

3.2.1. An overall view of compliment responses in the DCT data

Like compliments, there are 2100 compliment responses elicited (175 subjects x 12 scenarios), which yield a total of 2900 tokens of semantic formulas. Table 12 summarises the distribution of the 12 semantic formulas. It shows that Explanation is the predominant semantic formula of all in that it accounts for over 43% of all the semantic formulas used. (34) is an example of Explanation that appeared in the oral DCT:
(34). [Scenario 17, in response to “Wow, you’re dressed up so beautifully” at a wedding]

1 么来参加婚礼嘛要穿讲究点，大家都mē le2 tse1 tsi1xun1 li4 ma jao2 tseau1 tse1 tsi1 tse1 tsi1 tou1 (Particle) come attend wedding (Particle) need wear good little everyone all

2 穿讲究大家都穿得好嘛也不能说是tsue1 tse1 tsi1 tsi1 tsi1 tsi1 tou1 tse1 tse1 tse1 tse1 tse1 je4 pu2 naŋ2 suo2 si3 wear good everyone all wear good (Particle) also cannot say be

3 来参加你的婚礼了嘛还嗯穿得那个不le2 tse1 tsi1 ni4 no xun1 li4 lo ma xe2 n tse1 tse1 tse1 na3 ke pu2 come attend your wedding (Particle) still (Particle) wear that not

4 整齐么，就不美观了tšai2 ni4 tse1 tsi1 tse1 tse1 tse1 pu2 mei4 kue1 lo tidy (Particle) then not good see (Particle)

‘Coming to (your) wedding (Particle), of course, (I) want to dress up a little bit. Everybody dresses up, everybody dresses up nicely (Particle), and (I) can’t come to (your) wedding (Particle) and still, um, not dressed neatly. That wouldn’t be visually pleasant.’

(Oral DCT) [Explanation] (76-F-O-J)

Table 12. An overall view of the DCT data: Compliment responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Formulas</th>
<th>Raw Tokens</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>43.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>7.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrade</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reassignment</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation Seeking</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgrade</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>16.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>12.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Out</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2900</td>
<td>99.99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in (34), Explanations can imply acceptance of a compliment even though the respondent does not necessarily state so overtly. So in the above example, the respondent did not say ‘Yes, my dress is nice’. However, by explaining that since everybody else is dressed up, I cannot do otherwise, she is saying indirectly that yes, I am dressed up, but for a good reason. The fact that Explanations account for nearly half of the semantic formulas used, together with the fact that 7% of the responses are explicit acceptances, suggests that speakers of Kunming Chinese are more ready to accept compliments than cultural stereotypes have assumed them (Chinese in general) to be, although they probably prefer to do so implicitly, such as with Explanations.

In contrast, the two rejection semantic formulas of Downgrade and Disagreement account for only about 29% of all the compliment responses:

(35) [Scenario 22, in response to “You’re really nice and kind. I admire and respect you very much”]

差 不 多, 都 是 一 样 的。

(Particle) difference not many all be same

‘Well, (we’re) more or less the same, (everybody’s) the same.’

[Downgrade] (5-M-Y-J)

(36) [Scenario 21, in response to “Your place is always so nice and clean!”]

干 净 哪 样 还 不 是 老 样子。

clean what still not be old appearance

‘(It’s) not at all clean (Particle); (it’s) still the same as usual.’

[Disagreement] [Downgrade] (158-F-M-H)

Table 13. Chen’s findings about Chinese compliment responses (1993: 56)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Super Strategy 1: Rejecting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Disagreeing and denigrating</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>50.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expressing embarrassment</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Explaining</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>279</td>
<td>95.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Super Strategy 2: Thanking and denigrating</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thanking and denigrating</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Super Strategy 3: Accepting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Thanking only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>292</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This low frequency of rejection is quite interesting as denying a compliment and denigrating oneself to show one's modesty have been regarded as the norm of compliment responses in Chinese and have been found to be true in Chen's (1993) study. If we compare what we see in Table 12 with Chen's findings in Table 13, we will see a world of difference. Here as much as 95.73% of the compliment responses belong to the super strategy of Rejecting as compared to 29% of the present study. Even if we exclude the ambiguous semantic formula of Explaining from the Rejecting category in Table 13 (as we have shown earlier that Explanations can be interpreted as acceptances in some contexts), the rejecting rate in Chen's study is still very high, over 70%. We will discuss this difference in the Discussion and Implications section.

3.2.2. An overall view of compliment responses in the natural observational data

The way compliments are responded to in the natural observational data is summarised in Table 14.

Table 14. An overall view of the natural data: Compliment responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Formulas</th>
<th>Raw Tokens</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrade</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reassignment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation Seeking</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgrade</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Out (with a smile)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>100.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to the DCT data, we see that the frequency of the two rejecting semantic formulas of Downgrade and Disagreement is still rather low compared to Chen's (1993) findings, at about 34%. This not only reinforces the earlier suggestion that speakers of Kunming Chinese are less conventional than they are thought to be, but may also indicate certain dialectal differences or may even have certain methodological implications (see the discussion section). In addition, Table 14 also shows some differences between the natural observational data and the DCT data. One of these differences is a lower frequency of Explanations in the natural data than in the DCT data (15.63% vs. 43.28%) and a higher acceptance rate (15.63% vs. 7%). In the conversation of (37), for example, C shows no hesitation in accepting the compliment he receives:
(37).

A. Z.M 是个 学 语 言 的 天 才 学 哪 样 像 哪 样。
   ʂi3 kɔ3 ʂio2 jy4 je2 ne t‘ɪə1 ts‘e2, ʂio2 nɔ4 jje3 ʂiə3 nɔ4 je3
Z.M be a learn language genius learn what resemble what
‘Z.M is a genius in language learning. Whatever he learns he learns it well.’

B. 哦。
   (Particle)
   ‘Yes.’

C. 我 还 是 可 以 的。
   ʨo4 xe2 ʂi3 k‘o4 jje4 ne
I still be OK (Particle)
‘I’m OK.’

Another difference between the observational data and the DCT data is the no-show of Appreciations, Reassignments, and Suggestions. It is worth noting that the Appreciation type of replies such as ‘Thank yous’ has been found in the DCT data of the present study as well as in the other two studies on compliment responses in Chinese, i.e. Chen’s 1993 and Ye’s 1995 studies, both of which are DCT based. The fact that it is NOT found at all in the natural observational data may suggest that subjects may write down in the DCT questionnaire something which they THINK they may say in a certain situation but which they do not actually say in real life situations. It has been reported that saying ‘Thank you’ in response to a compliment is the standard norm in the American culture (cf. Herbert, 1986), but it is something not usually found in Kunming Chinese. (38) below is the opinion of an interviewee about the use of ‘Thank yous’ in compliment responses in Kunming Chinese:

(38)
1 Interviewer: 那 别人 如果称赞 你, 会不会 说, 比如 说
   then others if compliment you will not will say for example say

2 人家 说 ‘嘿, 王 老师 今天 真 是, 衣服 穿得
   someone say wow Wang teacher today really is, clothes wear

3 你 会 不 会 说 ‘谢谢’?
   you will will say thank you
   ‘Then if someone compliments you, would [you] say, for instance, if someone says, ‘Wow, today teacher Wang looks really, you’re dressed up so nicely and appropriately’ (Particle), would you say ‘Thank you’?’

Interviewee: 一般 不 会.
   usually not will
'Usually not.'

Interviewer: 一般 不 会 哈?
            usually not will (Particle)

'Usually not?'

Interviewee: 不会，嗯，‘谢谢’这个词呢，都，都，都是现在这些
            no (Particle) thanks this word (Particle) all all all be now these

时髦的人提出来的。‘哎，某某你太漂亮了!’
            fashionable people raise out (Particle) so and so you so pretty

'谢谢!’，那个是电影，电视里面的了。昆明的生活
            thanks that be movie TV inside Kunming’s life

in there none (Particle) thanks then learn TV say there is

真正的，哎，真正的昆明的生活习惯，不会说
            real (Particle), real Kunming’s life habit not say

'The word ‘Thank you’ (Particle) is all, all, all, made up by some
            fashionable people. ‘Well, so and so, you’re beautiful!’”, ‘Thank
            you’. This only appears in movies and TV. It doesn’t exist in the
daybyday life of Kunming. Um, indeed people may copy what’s
in TV and say ‘Thank you’. Real, um, real Kunming customs don’t
do it.’

(35-M-O-H)

As the interviewee comments, ‘Thank you’ is a new and fashionable thing to say in
response to a compliment as a result of western influence but it is still not common in
Kunming Chinese. Maybe what we see in the DCT is a change in progress in the
pragmatics of the dialect: Speakers of the dialect are tempted to shift towards the
‘Thank you’ type of response to compliments and think they may say so in some
situations. So they put it down in the DCT. However, since this is something so new, it
may not have registered in people’s mind yet. That is perhaps why we are not seeing it
in the observational data yet. We can probably predict that the ‘Thank you’ type of
response will gradually become one of the possible ways to respond to compliments in
Kunming Chinese although it may take some time before it takes its root in the dialect.

The most noticeable result in Table 14 is the very high frequency of Opt Outs in
the observational data as compared to the DCT data (25.4% vs. 3.720%). What is more,
all the Opt Outs in the observational data are accompanied by a smile, such as in (39):

(39). (Upon A’s entering the apartment of B)

A. 你 家 太 干 净 了 嘛。
    ni4 tsia1 t'ei3 kei1 tsin3 lo ma
    you house so clean (Particle)
    ‘Your house is so clean.’

B. (Smile)
The fact that a quarter of the 256 compliments in the observational data are replied in this manner shows that this is a very important strategy speakers of this dialect use. Maybe smiling away a compliment one receives can resolve the conflict of being modest and disagreeing with the interlocutor. The virtue of being modest in the Chinese tradition requires one to deny a compliment one receives, but in order to achieve this goal, one has to disagree with the compliment one receives, thus threatening the complimenter’s positive face (c.f. Brown and Levinson, 1987). An Opt Out with a smile allows the complimentee to accept the compliment gracefully without risking the complimenter’s face.

4. Discussion and Implications

4.1. Compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese

We have seen in the previous section that speakers of Kunming Chinese tend to pay compliments explicitly in most of the complimenting situations. Other times but much less frequently, they either make general statements or make non-complimentary remarks.

If we compare findings of the present study with those of Ye’s 1995 study presented in Table 15, we will see some differences between the two studies. Specifically, apart from Implicit Compliments, which are used to about the same extent in both studies and in different types of data, Ye’s study has a lower frequency of Explicit Compliments than the two types of data of the present study. This lower frequency is brought about directly by the high frequencies of Non-Complimentary Replies and Opt Outs. While it is not clear why as much as 23.9% of Ye’s DCT questions did not receive any replies and 13.6% of the other replies are non-complimentary in nature, what we can say with confidence is that speakers of Kunming Chinese tend to be explicit when they pay compliments. The existence of Non-Compliments and Opt Outs in both the DCT data of the current study and Ye’s DCT-based study (although not in the natural data of the present study) also suggests that offering a compliment in a complimenting situation is not obligatory in both Mandarin and Kunming Chinese. There are cases where somebody notices something nice and positive and yet refrains from issuing a compliment. However, such non-complimentary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compliments</th>
<th>Present study: Natural data (%)</th>
<th>Present study: DCT data (%)</th>
<th>Ye 1995 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit Compliments</td>
<td>94.53</td>
<td>83.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implicit Compliments</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>5.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-complimentary Replies</td>
<td>Non-Compliments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opt Outs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chinese tend to be explicit when they pay compliments. The existence of Non-Compliments and Opt Outs in both the DCT data of the current study and Ye’s DCT-based study (although not in the natural data of the present study) also suggests that offering a compliment in a complimenting situation is not obligatory in both Mandarin and Kunming Chinese. There are cases where somebody notices something nice and positive and yet refrains from issuing a compliment. However, such non-complimentary
behaviour has not been reported in the literature of compliments in other languages as most such studies use ethnographically collected data in their analyses (e.g. Herbert, 1991; Holmes, 1988a; Wolfson, 1981) and have therefore noted down compliments only when they occur. As a result, non-complimentary remarks or absence of compliments in complimenting situations have necessarily escaped the attention of researchers, showing the constraints of using one data source for pragmatic studies.

Turning now to compliment responses, we have found that speakers of Kunming Chinese do not reject compliments as much as what the stereotypes tell us. In fact, the rejection rates for the natural as well as the DCT data in the present study are both very low compared with Chen’s (1993) findings. If we only look at Acceptance, Downgrade and Disagreement (pure accepting and rejecting) and disregard the other semantic formulas as the latter can be interpreted either as acceptances or rejections depending on the context they occur, we get Table 16.

Table 16. Comparison of compliment responses between present study and Chen’s 1993 study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present study: Natural data (%)</th>
<th>Present study: DCT data (%)</th>
<th>Chen 1993 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accepting</td>
<td>15.63</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejecting</td>
<td>33.98</td>
<td>28.93</td>
<td>95.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt Outs</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures in the last column are adapted from Chen, 1993: 64)

Here we see the acceptance rate is the highest in the natural data and lowest in Chen’s study while the rejection rate is over 95% in Chen’s study. This has led Chen to claim that the Modest Maxim carries more weight than the Agreement Maxim in the Chinese culture and that “the norm of Chinese society ... is to be modest” by rejecting compliments they receive (pp. 66-67). While this may be true in Chen’s study, it is certainly not quite so in the present study. In the natural data, for instance, a quarter of the responses are Opt Outs with a smile. We have seen in the result section that these are actually non-verbal acceptances of compliments, a strategy people use to avoid the conflict between the Modest Maxim and the Agreement Maxim. If that is the case, then we can perhaps interpret the difference between Chen’s study and the present study as a possible dialectal difference between Mandarin Chinese and Kunming Chinese. That is, while Mandarin speakers reject compliments they receive, speakers of Kunming Chinese are equally likely to reject or accept compliments either verbally or non-verbally. In other words, speakers of Kunming Chinese are gradually beginning to deviate from the tradition of disagreeing to or downgrading a compliment to a more accepting attitude, probably because of western influence through movies and the media. We have seen earlier in (38) the emergence of ‘Thank yous’ as a result of such
influence. The following excerpt from my interview with a respondent reinforces this claim of western influence and the changes such an influence entails:

(40)

Interviewer: 现在 西方 那些 影响 还是大了嘛， 嘿， 我觉得？
now western those influence still big (Particle), right, I feel

‘Now influences from the west are pretty big (Particle), right, I feel?’

Interviewee: 唉， 影响 还是大， 确实 是大的。 像 以前 有些 话， 嘿，
(Particle) influence still big indeed be big like before some words (Particle)

从 那些 西方的文化呵， 各种 传播 方式呵， 它的 语言 方面， 给我们
这种， 不管 哪点的人， 带来的 影响 都还是大 呢。 讲说 可能 我们
this kind no matter where people bring influence all be big (Particle) say maybe we
现在这种 赞扬 的 方式 跟 比 我们大 几十岁的 人 完全 是
now this compliment way compare we older some decades people completely be
两 间 事情， 治过 的 态度了 嘛， 都是有影响的， 实际上 从 这些
two thing treat people attitude (Particle) all have influence, in fact from these
这类 录的 呵， 这些， 各方面 讲， 甚至 有时候 一句 那种 比较
movies (Particle) these all aspects say, even sometimes one comparatively
流行点的 口头禅 呵 那些， 嘿， 从 港 台 片阿， 从 西方 的
fashionable pet phrase these, (Particle), from Hong Kong Taiwan movies, from western
从 这些 你 听了以后， 就 可能 学着 说 了。
from these you hear after, then maybe learn say (Tense Marker)

‘Well, the influence is rather big, indeed it’s big. Like there were some
expressions in the past, right, for example, from western civilisations,
through all kinds of channels, their languages, have had great influence
on people like us, people everywhere. For example, our way of
compliment is totally different from that of people who are a few
dozens of years older than we are. Their attitudes towards people have
all kinds of impact, in fact. From things like video tapes, in all aspects,
even a popular pet phrase, things like that, right, from Hong Kong and
Taiwan movies, from the west, when you hear them, you’ll learn to
say them.’

(6-M-Y-H)

4.2. Methodological implications

4.2.1. Observational data vs. DCT data

This study has uncovered some important differences between the data-gathering
methods of natural observation and the DCT.

Firstly, although some semantic formulas found in the DCT are also found in
the observational data, there are semantic formulas used in the DCT that are NOT
found in the observational data and vice versa. For example, in compliments, Advice,
Request, Non-Compliment and Opt Out found in the DCT did not show up at all in the
observational data. On the other hand, Conversational Opener, Address Term and Appreciation Token that appeared in the observational data were not found at all in the DCT data. In compliment responses, Appreciation, Reassignment and Suggestion that showed up in the DCT did not appear in the observational data while Opt Out with a smile had a much higher frequency in the observational data than in the DCT data. Such additional information from the observational data enables us to look at the compliment event as part of our everyday interactions (instead of an isolated language phenomenon) and provides us important insights into the function of the compliment event in our everyday life. The differences show that perhaps DCT respondents are just reporting what they think they would or should say or do in a certain situation and not what they actually do in real life. In this sense, observational data will be a better choice if the purpose of a study is to investigate real life complimenting activities in a speech community.

Secondly, DCTs tend to elicit monologic compliments and compliment responses whereas observations yield longer exchanges where the speech event of compliment occurs with conversation openers and address terms and may be realised in several turns through negotiations and reinforcement, such as in (19). This phenomenon has also been reported in Beebe and Cummings (1996) and Yuan (2001). Undoubtedly, it gives observational data the edge of being closer to life than DCT data do. However, observational data may not contain situations where a compliment fails to show up in a complimenting situation whereas DCTs can do the job. To recapitulate, some DCT respondents opted out in some of the complimenting situations whereas no such case was recorded in the observational data or in any study that is based on observational data such as Herbert, 1991 and Wolfson, 1983. This is because researchers only write down compliment exchanges as they occur. Such a practice can be problematic since different observers may have a somewhat different definition of what makes a compliment and therefore what gets observed and noted down may vary from researcher to researcher. In addition, the gender, age and other personal background of the researcher may place a limit on who gets observed. In the present study, for example, a majority of the people observed fall into the category of females in their 30s and 40s. As a result, the data might be biased. In this sense, then, the DCT has certain advantages over natural observation in that it can be more controlled/balanced and that the researcher would know if an opt out situation occurs.

The similarities and differences between the DCT and observational data show, on one hand, the value of the DCT as a basic tool to get an initial understanding of a speech act/event in a speech community as respondents will tell you how they think a speech act is done in their speech community. However, to get an authentic picture of how the speech act/event is actually executed in real life, natural data will have to be used, that is, if you are willing to accept the possibility of bias mentioned in the previous paragraph. Ideally, if there is enough time and manpower, a combination of different data-gathering methods should be used so that the results will complement and compensate for each other.

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6 See Beebe (1994) and Yuan (2001) where they caution the lack of accuracy in the wording of what is noted down in observational data.
4.2.2. Categorisation of semantic formulas

Another important contribution of the present study is the categorisation of the compliment semantic formulas into unbound and bound groups. Most studies on compliments to date (e.g. Herbert, 1991; Holmes, 1988a; Wolfson, 1981, etc.) report only compliments that contain one single utterance containing a positive semantic carrier. The current data pool of Kunming Chinese contains many instances of compliments that consist of not only the central part with the positive semantic carrier, but also some other elements such as information questions, explanations, and so on. Ignoring these adjunct elements would obscure the picture of how compliments are paid in the dialect.

The division of unbound and bound semantic formulas not only differentiates the core of a compliment from other supportive moves, it also makes the coding system more comparable to other speech acts. Requests, for instance, are often coded as Head Acts and Adjuncts (cf. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). The unbound and bound semantic formulas in compliments resemble the Head Acts and Adjuncts in requests in some ways. The difference, though, lies in the fact that an Adjunct in requests (such as an Explanation) can become a Head Act (an indirect request) in the absence of an explicit request. However, a bound semantic formula in compliments such as an Information Question cannot be coded as an unbound semantic formula (or compliment) since an utterance without any explicit or inferable positive connotation can be ambiguous in meaning.

Although the categorisation of unbound and bound semantic formulas is not always required for all speech acts (it is not relevant for compliment responses, for example, since anything following a compliment is a response to it), it may be useful for other speech acts. Take apologies as an example. The CCSARP project uses five criteria to determine whether an utterance is an apology: (a) The utterance has an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID); or (b) It contains an explanation; or (c) The speaker takes on responsibility for an offence; or (d) The speaker provides an offer of repair; or (e) The utterance contains a promise of forbearance (cf. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). (41) to (45) are examples of the five categories.

(41) I’m so sorry (that) I’m so late. (IFID)
(42) I’m so forgetful. (Taking on responsibility)
(43) The bus was late. (Explanation)
(44) I’ll pay for the damage. (Offer of repair)
(45) This won’t happen again. (Promise of forbearance)
(Source: Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984: 207-208)

However, it seems that only the IFID category can unambiguously make an utterance an apology whereas the other categories do not necessarily do so. ‘The bus was late’, for example, can imply that ‘It’s not my fault that I’m late. I’m late because the bus was late. So don’t blame me’. In fact, the same utterance ‘The bus is late’ can be either apologetic or non-apologetic depending on the intonation, the intention of the speaker,
the interpretation of the hearer and some other factors, but without any IFID or interviewing the speaker as well as the hearer, we cannot know. The same is true for information questions such as ‘Where did you get that blouse?’ in a complimenting situation. We cannot be sure it is a compliment until we have interviewed the speaker and the hearer since the question does not contain any positive semantic carrier. By following the bound-unbound coding system proposed in this study and categorising only the IFID as apologies (whereas the other 4 types have to co-occur with an IFID to be counted as an apology), we avoid such ambiguities and uncertainties. It seems then that the unbound-bound division of semantic formulas has some theoretical and methodological implications across different speech acts.

4.3. Cross-cultural variation and implication

Complimenting activities exist in perhaps most cultures in the world. One thing that has emerged from studies on this speech event is that compliments tend to be highly formulaic syntactically across different cultures, indicating that the speech act of compliment may have become highly routinised in different cultures (cf. Ye, 1995).

However, some differences have also emerged across different cultures. Firstly, the specific syntactic patterns used in each culture may vary. For example, although the structure ‘(NP) (Intensifier) ADJ/VERB (Object)’ (which accounts for over 60% of the Kunming Chinese data) and the structure ‘NP [is/looks] (really) ADJ’ (which accounts for 53.6% of the American data) are similar, the ‘I (really) [like/love] NP’ structure is very rare in Kunming Chinese. In other words, compliments are rarely paid from the first person perspective in Kunming Chinese. This is because compliments such as ‘This carpet looks great’ sound more objective than ‘I like the carpet’ even though the latter occurs more frequently in American English (16.1%, cf. Wolfson, 1981) and New Zealand English (15.9%, Holmes, 1988a). The ‘I like NP’ pattern may also come across Írans an indirect request in Chinese and is therefore undesirable/embarrassing if that is not the intended illocution. (46) records such an incidence:

(46). (At B’s home, A seeing B knitting something)

A. 这个真好看, 我喜欢这个颜色。
   tși2 ko me4 xao4 k’e3 nə     wo4 gi4 xue1 tși2 ko jen2 sə2
   this quite good-looking (Particle) I like this colour
   ‘This looks quite nice. I like the colour.’

B. 是围巾, 咱要不要? 要么我打好了给你。
   sî3 wei2 tɕin1 se    kə1 sje4 jao3? jao3 me wo ta4 xao4 lo    kə4 ni4
   be scarf (Particle) want have want I finish (Tense Marker) give you
   ‘It’s a scarf. Do you want it? I’ll give it to you when I finish it.’

A. 不要。
   pu2 jao3
   not want
   ‘No.’

B. 为哪样呢?
   wei3 nai4 je3  nə
for what (Particle)
‘Why?’
A. 不好意思。
pu2 xao4 ji3 si1
embarrassed
‘(I’m) embarrassed.’

The more ‘Chinese’ way is to pay compliments from a second person or third
person/impersonal perspective.

Secondly, what is valued in one culture is not always valued in another. In
Kunming Chinese (and perhaps in Chinese in general), for instance, being fat (but not
excessively fat) is not necessarily a bad thing, especially to the older generations. The
following is a compliment exchange between two friends in their late 30s and early 40s
who haven’t seen each other for a few years:

(47). 你 看 你 长 得 又 白 又 胖 呢。
ni4 k’e3 ni4 ts’eh4 ta jiu3 pa2 jiu3 p’e3 ne
you see you grow so white so fat (Particle)
‘Look at you, you are so fat with such a fair complexion.’
B. 哪 个 说 你 才 是 富 恋 呢。
na4 ke suo2 ni4 ts’e gi3 fu3 t’e3 ne
who say you be rich state (Particle)
‘Not true. You are the one who are well-fed (look rich).’

Here being fat is interpreted as a sign of being rich and well-fed and the utterance is
therefore interpreted as a compliment. Besides, having a fair (white) complexion is
highly desirable too, especially for females. This value system forms a sharp contrast
with western cultures where being fat is very bad and having a tan is something worth
showing off.

Thirdly, the way compliments are responded to also differs from culture to
culture. It has been shown in literature that people from western cultures tend to accept
compliments with ‘Thank yous’ even though the extent to which they are willing to
accept compliments may vary (cf. Herbert, 1986; Herbert & Straight, 1989). While
Chen’s 1993 study finds that Mandarin speakers reject compliments 95% of the time,
the current study discovers that speakers of Kunming Chinese are more likely to accept
compliments than Mandarin speakers. In addition, speakers of Kunming Chinese often
accept compliments non-verbally, with a smile. This forms a sharp contrast to other
cultures and even to Mandarin speakers, indicating that compliment pragmatics not
only varies across different cultures, but also across different dialects of the same
language. Such cross-cultural and cross-dialectal variations are very important
information for people to learn to avoid mis-understandings in inter- and intra-cultural
communications.

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7 This traditional view of valuing fuller figures is undergoing changes among the younger
generations in China under the influence of western cultures.
5. Closing Remarks

The present article gives an overview of compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese produced in both natural settings and DCT questionnaires. Data are analysed in great detail both quantitatively and qualitatively and the three research questions are answered adequately. We believe that the findings presented in this article can provide a good understanding of the speech event in the dialect. They also highlight some similarities and differences of complimenting behaviour between Kunming Chinese and other languages/dialects and the need to use different types of data-gathering methods to provide a complete picture of the language phenomenon under study.

References


Compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese


Appendix I. The Topics of the DCT Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Gender of Complimentee</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Object of Compliment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Child</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>bright child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>obedient daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Ability</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Appearance</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S5</td>
<td>age (looking young)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S7</td>
<td>new hair cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Attire</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>new leather jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attire</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S8</td>
<td>new dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Possession</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S9</td>
<td>new carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S11</td>
<td>newly renovated house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Whole Person</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>S10</td>
<td>thoughtfulness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Person</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>S12</td>
<td>kindness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix II. The English Translation of the Chinese Questionnaire

**Instructions:** The following is a questionnaire about the use of Kunming Chinese. Please provide as much information as possible based on your experience in everyday life. Imagine yourself in the situations given and write in the space provided what exactly you would say in real life. If for some reason you think you will not say anything in a particular situation, note that in the same space. Please fill out the questionnaire in order.

**Part One**

1. When you drop by your friend Zhang Yong-gang's place, you see his four-year-old son working on second grade math problems with great interest. You say to Zhang Yong-gang:
This space will be omitted in the following scenarios.

2. Zhu Yan, an acquaintance, got her Ph.D. from Beijing University before she turned thirty and then found a very good job. When you saw her yesterday, you talked about this. You said to her with admiration:

3. The four-year-old daughter of your neighbour is a very good girl. One day you went to their house with your own daughter. At 8:30 p.m., your neighbour said to her daughter, "Ling Ling, it's time for bed." Ling Ling said, "OK", and retreated to her room. You say to her mother:

4. Your friend Li Gang-qiang is very good both at work and at home. After he successfully fixes a computer for a friend today, you say to him:

5. You are going to meet somebody called Wang Jian-guo at the airport today. You've never met him before, but from the name you guess he must be 46-47 years old. When you see him, you find he is still in his twenties. You say to him:

6. You see your elder brother wearing a new leather jacket today. He looks really good. You say to him:

7. Your friend Su Ling-ling had her hair cut short yesterday. She looks very energetic and cute. When you see her today, you say to her:

8. Your colleague Li Xiu-mei is wearing a pretty, fashionable dress from Hong Kong today. You see it and say to her:

9. When you visited your neighbour Xu Tao recently, you found that he had just bought a very nice blue carpet. You said to him:

10. Your friend Lo Xia is a very nice person, who always places other people's interest before her own. One day you said to her with admiration:

11. You go to see the newly remodelled house of your friend Yang Li-hua and find it very artistic and comfortable. You say to her:

12. Zhao Nan is an acquaintance of yours. He is very honest and loves to help others. Lately a friend of his was hospitalised. Zhao Nan not only gave him blood, but also went to see him everyday. You heard about this and said to him with admiration:
13. Your son has a little friend Da Li, who frequently comes to play in your house. You often play with them for hours. Da Li's mother is very grateful for this. Today Da Li comes again. When his mother comes to pick him up, she says to you, "Oh, thank you so much. Da Li keeps telling me you're the nicest person in the world." You say to her:

14. It's Saturday today. You and your family plan to go to the Green Lake Park to take pictures. You are all dressed up. At the door, you meet your neighbour Li Jing. He says, "Wow, you're all dressed up so beautifully today!" You say to him:

15. Not long ago you got to know somebody called Lei Peng on a train to Beijing. In your conversation with him, you mentioned that you had just been to Hong Kong to compete in the International Speech Competition for Yunnan Province. He was really impressed and said with admiration, "Wow, you were in the provincial team! You're really good." You said to him:

16. When you and your neighbour Zhao Da-hai both took kids to school the other day, Zhao Da-hai said to you on the way, "your son Xiao Bo is very bright. He's especially good at logical thinking. He'll definitely have a great future." You replied:

17. You went to a wedding yesterday, wearing a newly-bought, expensive clothes. The bride loved your outfit and said to you in compliment, "Wow, you're dressed up so beautifully!" You said:

18. You've been relaxing all the summer and are feeling really good. Your neighbour Zhao Lan saw you at the door this morning and said: "You look so young today! I saw someone at a distance, and was wondering who it was. So young!" You said to her:

19. You're the oldest child in the family and began to look after your younger brothers and sisters at an early age for your parents. Now as a grown-up, you're supporting the whole family. Your neighbour Jiang Hong knows about this and said to you one day, "Oh, you're really a capable person. I wouldn't know what to do if I were you." You said to her:

20. Your five-year-old daughter is an excellent chess-player. She won the championship yesterday in the Provincial Children's Chess Competition. Your friend Xiao Mei saw you today and said to you, "Your daughter Xiao Ping is so good. She plays chess so well!" You replied:

21. You always keep your house clean and tidy. One day your friend Li Li dropped by and was very much impressed. She said, "Your place is always so nice and clean!" You said to her:
22. You're always generous and willing to help other people. One day, your colleague Li Chuan said to you, "You're really nice and kind. I admire and respect you very much." You said to him:

23. You just bought a 29" imported colour TV the other day. Li Ming, an acquaintance, saw it and said to you, "Have you just bought this new TV? It's beautiful." You said to him:

24. You went to Shanghai for job training for six months. When you came home, your big brother said to you: "You seem to have gained a little weight. You look really nice." You said to him:

Note

1. This name implies that the person (most likely a man) bearing the name was born at the time when China was founded, namely, in 1949. That means he was around the age of 46 or 47 when the questionnaire was administered.