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Regulatory talk and politeness at the dinner table

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Abstract

The focus of this study was the use of regulatory talk during dinner in 20 Swedish families. The questions posed were: How is activity regulation at dinnertime realized, i. e. direct or indirect (“polite”), and what differences may be distinguished due to the influence exerted by contextual factors, such as age of participating children, number of participants and different kinds of conversational contexts (instrumental talk and non-instrumental conversation).

Regulatory utterances constituted about 10 % of all utterances produced during the family dinners in the twenty Swedish families. Except for an early explorative study of Ervin-Tripp (1976) and a socio-cultural study of Blum-Kulka (1991, 1997), there seem to be few systematic comparative observations addressing the relative amounts of different kinds of control acts in similar settings.

In the families included in this study, where the participating children were aged 7 - 17, regulation at dinner time appeared primarily to have the goal of asking for actions to be performed or objects to be handed over, mostly related to the main activity of having dinner (about 60 %). There were, however, also many so called pedagogic regulators, produced by the parents but also by the children. When the groups were compared, there tended to be more regulation in families with younger children (>11 years) and during dinners with more than four participants. Most of the regulators appearing during the dinners were formulated as direct requests and about 15 % of them were mitigated, softening the impact of coerciveness. Indirect regulators occurred in less than one half of the cases and could be more or less indirect – and perhaps more or less polite. Hints were rather uncommon in these twenty families. When occurring, they were not often responded to in the expected way. Disregarding contextual differences within the conversations, the tendency appears to be more indirect but less mitigated communication in the twenty Swedish families, compared to the American and Israeli groups in Blum-Kulka (1997).

The activity context had an obvious impact on the way regulatory utterances were performed. Most instrumental regulators were direct (somewhat more than 60 %), most non-instrumental regulators were indirect (nearly 60 %). There were tendencies of group variation in different contexts but the groups and the differences between them were too small to be significant.

Parental regulation was indirect in nearly half of the cases, but individual differences could be distinguished. Direct parental regulators were mitigated in about 25 % of the cases, closely matching the American parents in the study of Blum-Kulka (1990). There were also some striking differences between mothers and fathers. Maternal regulation was more indirect and maternal direct utterances were often more mitigated (21-48 %). However, the numbers of participating fathers was unfortunately too small (!) for far-reaching conclusions. In instrumental contexts, i. e. when regulating routine actions were related to the meal, most parental regulators were direct (60 %). In non-instrumental contexts, on the other hand, about 75 % of the utterances were indirect.

Not only activity context or talk genre seemed to affect the regulators used but also their intended goal, i. e. what action was wanted from the addressee. Thus, most often regulation at the dinner table concerned non-verbal actions and requests for objects, related to the main activity.

Finally, about 50% of the regulatory utterances in the 20 families were adequately responded to, both those of the parents and those of the children. However, parental regulators were obeyed to if indirect, child regulation if direct. In those cases when there was no compliance, negotiation was rather common, both to child and parental regulation. Ignorance and resistance occurred in less than 10% of the cases. Thus, judging from the realization of regulatory utterances and the outcome effectuated by the regulators, Swedish family members seem to be fairly indirect and “polite” around the dinner table.

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Introduction

One of the basic functions of human communication is regulating the nonverbal or verbal behaviour of others. This regulatory function is important in social conversations as well as in transactional or instrumental encounters.

In the context of one-way communication between parties with unequal access to power, as for instance between captain and crew during a flight or between doctor and nurse during surgery, the regulatory speech may - and must - be fairly direct. The cooperation requires distinctive directives, disregarding social relations between the parties without offending any of them.

In more social settings without obvious differences in power relations, there may be a need for some instrumental cooperation, regulated by accompanying verbal communication between the participants. In dinner table talk between equals, for example, the joint activity is highly facilitated by routinized control acts (like "Pass the salt, please!"), which may arise in the middle of other kinds of talk or conversation, serving more social functions (like "How was your day in town?").

In such settings, however, regulatory speech may be potentially threatening the self-esteem or "face" of the addressed party, thus distorting the balance of the communication, whether resulting in the intended effect or not. To avoid social conflicts and misunderstandings due to offensive directness, the use of control acts may be attenuated by for example indirect speech or other mitigating devices (like "Would you, please, ...?"). This kind of "linguistic politeness" seems to exist in all known speech communities, although governed by different culturally conditioned norms and rule systems.

In several respects, dinner talk occurring in families with children does not differ so much from other types of table conversations. Like them, family dinner table conversations serve two main functions: regulating the dinner routines and creating an atmosphere of social ambience (Blum-Kulka 1990, 1997). And just as in other social settings, regulatory talk most often requires some mitigating to preserve positive relationships between the participants.

However, family dinner table talk most often differs from other kinds of dinner conversations in some important respects. First, there is a naturally asymmetric power relationship between parents and children, which appears obvious at the dinner table. Second, as a consequence, the coming together of parents and children around the dinner table provides an excellent opportunity of explicit and implicit (modelling) socialization. Third, in modern Western families, the dinner has a special status as one of the few remaining moments to consolidate family bonds of solidarity and affect.

Thus, there seems to be a conflict between the need to display the unequal power relation for socializations purposes on the one hand and the desire to create an atmosphere of solidarity and affect by avoiding face-threatening directives on the other hand.

How do families manage to keep the balance between social solidarity and affect and the need for social control and socialization at dinnertime?

The purpose and hypotheses of this study

The purpose of this pilot study was to explore how the realization of regulatory functions of table conversation varies with contextual factors during family dinners. More specifically, the observations were focussed on the conflicting demands of exercising social control and regulating the activity by the use of control acts (e. g. requests formulated as directives) on the one hand and cultivating solidarity and affect between family members by the use of mitigating strategies (e. g. indirect and mitigating devices) on the other.

Since the groups of families chosen for the study were rather socio-culturally homogenous, the expected similarities between the families with regard to regulatory talk would reflect a common basis of socio-cultural norm or rule systems, governing what and how to say, when and for what purpose. On the other hand, the possible differences regarding, for instance, the choice of linguistic forms were supposed to depend on other contextual/situational factors. Contextual factors considered were age of the participating children and number of participants during the dinner, but also on other individual factors or variations in the settings, such as choice of conversational genres, serving different functions in the individual table conversations.

The relevance of this study

Earlier research has given evidence for a large amount of more or less mitigated regulating control acts in all types of communication between adults and children (Ervin-Tripp et al 1990), especially between parents and children (Snow & 1990), during dinner table conversations (Blum-Kulka 1990, 1993, 1997). Studies have also found children to be sensitive to situational constraints on formulation of control acts and to develop their ability to use indirect and mitigated devices until the pre-adolescence - an ability they have been observed to drop later, at least in home settings (Snow & 1990).

However, the constraints on the performance of control acts in family dinner conversations exerted by such situational factors as functional types of communication during different stages of the dinner, age of participating children and number of participants in the meal has apparently not received a similar attention in research.

In this study of dinner conversations in Swedish families, these situational factors are focussed in observations of the use of control acts.

Theoretical and empirical framework

Dinner table conversation

Dinner table conversations are situated, culturally conditioned social activities, deeply embedded in historical cultural and political traditions. As other well-defined socio-cultural activities, dinner table conversations are governed by a host of explicit or implicit rules and norms. This means that conventions govern not only how to perform the physical activity of having dinner but also which nonverbal and verbal means are permissible for regulating dinner routines (Goffman 1981).

Moreover, talking while eating for other purposes than regulating the physical activity is not a commonly accepted habit in all cultures or social settings, and when accepted, it is usually surrounded by a multiplicity of norms for what is appropriate to say, at which moment, to whom etc. In certain cultures, verbal activities during the meals are reduced to a necessary minimum, e.g. in certain rural families (see examples quoted in Blum-Kulka 1997). In most Western urban well-educated populations, on the other hand, dinner talk and even conversation (see the distinction made below between talk and conversation) are not only permitted activities but also socially required.

Family dinner as a socio-cultural event

Family dinners are, of course, not less embedded in socio-cultural routines and norms than other social events, but they differ from most encounters between adults in a number of respects.

In contrast to many other types of social events, including meals involving adults, family dinners are “bounded in time and space, delimited in its participants and governed by /.../ own rules of interaction (Blum-Kulka 1997, p. 8). Unlike casual encounters that are not goal directed, the family dinner is governed by an intentionality, namely to carry out the instrumental activity and maintain the social interaction at the same time (Goffman 1981).

Moreover, the participation of small children during the meal implies a more asymmetrical power relationship between the participants than generally in dinners with adults only, by the need for social control from the part of the parents. However, the use of “social control acts” (Blum-Kulka 1997) may be potentially “face-threatening” (Brown and Levinson 1987), which might threaten the social bonds in the family. In Western middle-class families the use of social control is therefore generally balanced by the efforts to preserve an emotional atmosphere. The degree of formality and the roles prescribed for the participants may differ considerably between different cultures as well as within the same socio-cultural context. Thus, family dinners generally appear less formal but generally rule-governed, in a “place of continuum between mundane, day-to-day informal encounters and formal public events” (Blum-Kulka 1997, p.8).

Child contributions are more or less encouraged or “monitored” (Blum-Kulka 1997, p.3), depending on socio-cultural and individual assumptions about relations between power and language. Such ideas and assumptions also reflect the attitudes of adults toward childrens’ physical and verbal behaviour at dinner as well as parental beliefs about the role of the dinner activity for pragmatic socialization.

In conclusion, the family dinner may be described as “an intergenerationally shared social conversational event” (Blum-Kulka 1997, p.9), a socio-cultural construction, valid for urban middle-class families of the Western World. As such, it is also a pragmatic socialization context in which children become “competent conversational partners in intergenerational multiparty talk”. “Dinnertime is /.../ an opportunity space – a temporal, spatial and social possibility of joint activity among family members” (p. 9).

The functions of family dinner table talk and conversation

As pointed out above, family dinner talk has certain components common with other types social encounters – including other dinner settings – but it also differs from other types of dinner table conversations by serving a multitude of different specific functions.

The most obvious communicative function is that of regulating the activity of having dinner by routinized talk: laying the table, serving, passing dishes and spices and, eating. This “instrumental” talk accompanies and relates to the activity and may arise in the middle of other kinds of talk or conversation.

Apart from instrumental talk regulating the dinner routines, family dinner table conversations serve two other main functions: creating an atmosphere of social ambience (sociability, Blum-Kulka 1997) and serving socialization purposes (socialization Blum-Kulka, p. 34).

More generally speaking, the sociability goal entails the phatic and the informative function, moving within certain thematic frames (van Dijk 1981), whereas the socialization goal is achieved directly and explicitly through pedagogic and regulatory talk on the one hand, and indirectly through all kinds of socio-culturally conditioned talk on the other. This means that anything happening during the dinner might have a potential socialization value.

These seemingly conflicting goals of table talk during family meals appear evidenced by the frequent use of more or less mitigated control acts, not only aimed at regulating the eating activity but also serving socializing purposes.

Regulation of behaviour through control acts

The regulatory functions of communication, exercised by different kinds of communicative acts, termed “requests”, “directives” or “control acts” etc, depending on the perspectives and the methods used, has attracted attention from a theoretical as well as from an empirical perspective (Austin 1962, Searle 1965, Dore 1973, Grice 1975, Ervin-Tripp 1976, Ervin-Tripp 1982, Ervin-Tripp & Gordon 1986).

In the research review below, the more widely used term control act is used as a common denominator.

The components of control acts

From a speech act perspective, Austin (1962) was one of the first to recognize the functions of locutions in natural discourse. Although examining isolated, primarily performative, acts out of context, he distinguished that an utterance may have similar locutionary content and syntactic form but different illocutionary force, or communicative function, depending on situation (Austin 1962).

Further, in addition to the illocutionary force of a control act, e. g. a request, we also have a varying perlocutionary force, which may be defined as the expected outcome of the request in an actual situation (Searle 1977, Coulthard 1978). The perlocutionary force can have several dimensions. According to Ervin-Tripp (1982), a request is successful with regard to its outcome if it

- attracts the attention of an appropriate partner in case of no joint engagement,
- helps the addressee to know what to do, explicitly or implicitly by the aid of contextual clues,
- is persuasive and convinces the addressee to act,
- establishes or maintains an appropriate social relationship.

The occurrence and realization of requests in natural communication

Ever since the first studies of speech acts, a lot of empirical work has been carried out to investigate the occurrence and realization of control acts (especially requests) in natural communication. In a by now classical study, Ervin-Tripp (1976) demonstrated through a large number of examples that not only may the same locutionary content and syntactic form require different interpretations in different situations, but the same intention can be realized in a number of different ways depending on the setting and the response required. In her extensive material, she found for instance at least six different ways of asking for a match:

need statements (e. g. “I need a match”), imperatives (“Give me a match!” or elliptical, “A match!”), embedded imperatives (“Could you give me a match?”), permission directives (“May I have a match?”), question directives (“Have you got a match?”) and hints (“The matches are all gone”).

The first two categories mentioned above, i. e. need statements and imperatives, have been found to be frequent within family discourse with children and one of their first means to express wants. Among the imperative requests, Ervin-Tripp observed four main structural variants, apart from ellipses: a) you + imperative (“You shall ...”), b) attention-getters (“Excuse me!”), post-posed tags (“Carry these, will you?”) and rising pitch. She further found a distinctive social distribution of different variants. In certain settings, for instance at table, “please” was used to mark rank or age differences and in certain professional groups request forms were likely to co-occur with other speech features, such as slang, casual phonology and first-naming.

A third category named “embedded imperatives”, formed as questions and thus more indirect, according to the system elaborated by Brown & Levinson 1987 and Blum-Kulka 1993, appear nevertheless to be understood successfully in most situations, even by two-years-olds. Imbedded imperatives, noted as frequent in communication between parent and child in activity-oriented situation, are found to be the earliest structurally differentiated forms in children (Ervin-Tripp 1978). Furthermore, the social distribution in use of imbedded imperatives is quite distinct.

The reason for the transparency of imbedded imperatives would probably be that object and agent are expressed explicitly, as pointed out by Ervin-Tripp, but also that they contain a) the modal verbs can, could, will, would, b) a subject that is identical with the addressee and c) a predicate that describes physically possible action at the time of utterance (Sinclair & Coulthard 1974). According to Brown & Levinson (1987), who used the term indirect for this category, the verb forms “would” and “could” might further serve as hedging and thereby mark the utterance.

The permission directives, similar to the imbedded imperatives, being transparent but indirect (according to the terminology of Brown & Levinson 1987), but differing by the shift of focus to the sender’s activity, were observed to be lacking between adults but frequently occurring among children (“Can I have X?”). Equally indirect (despite the term created by Ervin-Tripp (1976) signalling directness) the non-explicit question directives require more inference and interpretation from the addressee. On the other hand, their ambiguity allows the addressee “an escape route”, if he does not want to comply (Ervin-Tripp 1976). Despite the risk of misunderstandings, this indirect (Brown & Levinson 1987, Blum-Kulka 1990) variant of requests appears to be quite frequent and have the same social determinants as imbedded imperatives, although the former seem to be more optional.

As pointed out by several theorists, the indirectness in the latter cases is counterbalanced by the normative force of the conventional rule systems. According to a rule model suggested by Sinclair & Coulthard (1974), declaratives and interrogatives should be interpreted as requests (or commands) if a) “the agent is we, someone or there is no agent”, b) “it refers to an action or activity within the obligations of the addressee”, and c) “in the case of “we”, it is directed to a subordinate.

The most opaque form of request is that of hints, demanding inference and leaving interpretations and options open to the addressee. Ervin-Tripp (1976) found this type of requests in situations, on the one hand, where the demand was special and the sender did not want to be explicit, and, on the other hand, where the necessity of the demanded act was clear by the fact that everyone knew what had to be done and by whom. Furthermore, hints were found to serve a multitude of different functions and be frequent in families and communal groups, by alluding to shared knowledge and serve solidarity-enhancement.

Due to their indirectness, these “condition directives” appear to be ineffective under most circumstances, “except under strong obligation or solicitude” (Ervin-Tripp 1976:44).

The selective factors influencing the realization of requests have thus been observed to be rank, age and familiarity between the parties (Ervin-Tripp 1976), power, solidarity and affect in family settings (Blum-Kulka 1990), distance and deference in the relation of the parties (Brown & Levinson 1987), presence of outsiders, especially those of high rank (Ervin-Tripp 1976), territorial location (Ervin-Tripp 1976), the imposition exerted by the request (Brown & Levinson 1987) or the seriousness or cost of the service asked, the relation of the directive to expected roles, and whether compliance may be assumed due to the type of service, normal roles or power relations (Ervin-Tripp 1976).

Studies on both adults and children show that activity context is most important for choice of request. Children also make role-relevant differentiation between familiar and unfamiliar addressees as well as between addressees who are presupposed to comply and those from whom no compliance could be expected.

The realization of control acts related to dimensions of directness and “politeness”

Why does the realization of control acts differ with such situational factors as social, distance, power and the cost of the acts or actions demanded? Some possible explanations have been conveyed by the “politeness” theories during the last two decades.

Despite different perspectives, theorists and empirical researchers seem to agree upon the use of “politeness” in conversation as a strategy for conflict avoidance (Lakoff 1973, 1975, Brown and Levinson 1978, Leech 1983, Fraser 1990). Brown and Levinson (1987) depart, for instance, from a standpoint, derived from Goffman’s assumption (1971) of communication as a fundamentally dangerous occupation where participants adopt as a basic interactional strategy “the diplomatic fiction of the virtual offence”. Among acts considered as potential “offences” are for instance requests, offers and promises, by imposing some – positive or negative – want on the addressee.

The underlying social motivation for systems of rules regulating acts of politeness would, thus, be that of face-concerns (Goffman 1967). Politeness is used to satisfy the face-needs of the self and of others in case of threat, and it is expressed by strategic or culturally constrained choices affected by such variables as the necessity to communicate something efficiently or urgently, the social distance and power between the parties, the degree of perceived imposition (for instance by the cost of the act demanded), i. e. the “negative face”, as well as the need for enhancement of a positive self-image.

In a concrete situation, the speaker has, if he wants to perform a “face-threatening act”, e. g. a request, to choose an “on-record” strategy, with or without redressive actions (such as mitigations), or an “off-record” strategy, e. g. by using a hint, at the risk of offending the addressee or forcing him to make inferences about the aim of the face-threatening act.

The greater the distance between the parties, the more obvious the is difference between them with regard to social power and the higher the degree of the imposition of the “offending” act, the more urgent the need for redressive actions by mitigation or politeness strategies, for instance “on-record” conventional indirectness.

In contrast to most acts in “positive face” situations, control acts however always imply the risk of face threat, being implicitly imposing or intruding. Ervin-Tripp (1976) states that the realizations of requests from imperatives, imbedded imperatives, question imperatives over to hints “are successively more coercive” (Ervin-Tripp 1976:51). Statements do not require responding, interrogatives allow the listener to interpret the directive as an information request and imbedded imperatives give the listener the possibility to react as if he had done it voluntarily.

Thus, indirection protects both parties from an explicit non-compliance. The different forms also require differing amount of inference or background knowledge.

However, if directness of requests may be imposing by intrusion and coerciveness in certain situations, indirect requests may in other situations, where efficiency is important, create irritation by being ambiguous and requiring the addressee's inference and thus increasing the imposition instead of neutralizing it. The counter-balance between these two poles has been studied in empirical research in terms of "politeness". As pointed out by Ervin-Tripp et al (1990), persuasiveness and politeness are "separable dimensions of control acts" (Ervin-Tripp et al 1990:310).

The realization of "politeness" in control acts in adult – child communication

The use of or control acts by parents has also been widely studied ever since the rise of interest in natural parent – child communications (Ervin-Tripp & Gordon 1986, Snow, Blum-Kulka 1987, 1990). Blum-Kulka claims conversation between adults and children to be "essentially polite", which means "richly mitigated", though "highly direct" (Blum-Kulka 1990:259). Adult directives were observed to be direct in 60 – 80 % of the cases in three cultural groups and mitigated in about 50 % of the cases in the parental directives in the three groups studied. The reason for these apparently contradictory facts would be not only the high degree of asymmetry, informality and affect between the parties but also the clear relation between choice of speech acts and situational domain constraints. Blum-Kulka suggests that parents have the choice of two modes available to be polite, the solidarity politeness mode, expressed through directness attenuated by mitigation and the conventional politeness mode, which is expressed by two forms of indirectness, conventional and non-conventional (1997).

In children, the ability to "read" the requirements of a given communication situation may be seen already at the age of two- to four years (Bates 1976, Ervin-Tripp). Children's comparative ratings of politeness show that at first permission requests are judged more polite than conventional modal requests for action from the other, which are "on record". Hints seem not to be recognized as requests by the youngest children.

However, even if very young children manage to discern and respond to requests, making themselves successful requests politely may not only be cognitively demanding but also incompatible, as pointed out by Ervin-Tripp et al (1990). On the one hand, children have been taught and learnt that a direct want may reveal a lack of good manners and might be counter-persuasive. On the other hand, a conventionally indirect, i. e. polite, request may signal that an imposing demand is involved and thus increase the risk for refusal from the addressee, which also has been shown to happen in most cases of conversations between adults and children (Ervin-Tripp et al 1990).

Nevertheless, Ervin-Tripp et al (1990) have shown awareness of addressee as a form differentiator and adaptive ability in a study of children's requests. In natural contexts, children were shown to use polite markers in 10 % of the requests to mother, while 15 % of the requests to experimenters were mitigated. Similarly, aggravated tone of voice (as showing that the demand was supposed as motivated) appeared in 5 % to experimenters, in 12 % to fathers and in 22% to mothers. By the age of five years, children differentiate whom to be polite to, how to adapt politeness to rights and costs by increasing polite forms in high cost demands and how to use polite devices as a persuasive tactic, which show as a higher percentage of mitigation in retries (Ervin-Tripp et al 1990).

Both experimental and natural studies (Garvey 1975, Dore 1977, Ervin-Tripp et al 1984) have revealed that children are quite good at using both social and persuasive tactics, by attention-getters, such as "Mommy!" to remind the adult of parental duties, or justifications to motivate and decrease the cost of the action demanded.

When, however, the role of the adult was presupposed so that compliance could be expected, five- and six-year-olds would use direct need statements or non-mitigated ellipses. Thus, children select persons from whom they can expect support and do not provide polite markers in low-cost requests.

Furthermore, by the age of 7-8 years children display considerable elaboration of means of distancing or mitigating, such as past tense and conditionals. Older school children, however, appeared to drop politeness markers, which might be due to their discovery that politeness reduces compliance in familiar addressees and to the home setting with younger siblings present only – or simply to a general change of attitudes toward values of the adult world.

Cultural constraints on politeness

The socially conditioned politeness variables, distance between speaker and hearer, and the relative power between them, may however vary, not only across situations within the same culture (e. g. the relation between parent and child compared to the relation between two equals or between strangers) but also within the same situation across cultures. Studies report, for instance, that families from different cultures differ in their requirements of politeness strategies within the family (Blum-Kulka 1990).

The reason for this would be that, within a given culture, social situations or types of speech events (Hymes 1974) play a formative role in determining politeness values not only because they reflect specific configurations of socially significant variables, but because they create their own interpretative frameworks, which in turn affect both the expression and meanings attached to linguistic choices. Thus, the definition of the speech event, as constructed by the participants, creates event-specific frames, which affect both the repertoire and the interpretation of politeness values. The perceived imposition of the face-threat may thus differ, not only culturally, but also situationally – perhaps even at different occasions within the same situation. An instrumental demand, for instance, a request for something on the table may be considered as less imposing than a request for a loan.

Therefore, as pointed out above, strategic politeness has to be distinguished from politeness and social indexing (Ervin-Tripp et al 1990). Children have been shown to acquire socio-culturally dependent social indices before and independently of politeness strategies

Actually, cross-cultural studies on “politeness” strategies have demonstrated, on the one hand, certain similarities (Brown & Levinson 1987), on the other hand, striking differences (Rosaldo 1982, Weigl & Weigl 1985, Wierzbicka 1985) between cultures. For instance, cross-cultural data on requests support to some extent the hypothesis that imposition on the addressee is regularly counterbalanced by mitigation, but data also reveal that the amount and kinds of strategies used may differ considerably (Rosaldo 1982, Wierzbicka 1985).

Generally speaking, societies tending to minimize social distance and perceived imposition tend towards positive politeness, whereas societies linguistically marking distance, power and imposition tend toward negative politeness. On the other hand, the same degree and kind of politeness investment, afforded in the performance of linguistic acts, might still produce distinct differences across cultures in realization and social meaning.

Methods and procedures

Participants

This paper was a preliminary exploratory part of a larger intercultural study of the regulatory functions of talk and conversation during family dinner, and thus focused on a culturally homogenous group in order to provide a basis of knowledge for further intercultural investigation.

The study was based on 20 Swedish monolingual families with one to four children of school-age (7 – 17 years), but (at least) one of which, named the target child, was preadolescent (10-12 years of age). In one of the families, an adult sibling (23 years) was invited as a visitor. The families were of urban middle-class and a similar socio-economic background, living in or in the neighbourhood of Stockholm. Appropriate families were recruited through letters shortly describing the study and distributed via elementary schools in the area.

In addition, a questionnaire inquiring demographic data, beliefs about the role played by conversation during meals and beliefs about pragmatic socialization in general (appendix 1) was distributed after recording to check the socio-cultural homogeneity of the group.

Recordings

The 20 families having indicated willingness to participate were contacted and appropriate dates for video recording were decided. In all, 19 mothers, 10 fathers and 46 children of age 6 to 23 participated in the dinner conversations. The dinner table conversations were recorded in their entirety, usually in the family kitchen while the researcher was absent or waiting elsewhere in the house. The family members were told to act as normally as possible. The mean duration of the meal was 17 min.

Transcription

The 20 recordings were transcribed using a modified version of the CHAT system (McWhinney 1991) for transcription of natural discourse (see appendix 2). The recordings were transcribed in their totality, starting and finishing by devices, like “Now we start!”, delimiting the meal. Verbal utterances and non-verbal expressions having a clear communicative function relevant to the conversation, as judged by two researchers, were identified and coded by means of the coding categories presented below. Selected parts of the transcriptions were judged as to their reliability with regard to the video recording by two researchers familiar with the actual transcription methods whereas the interrater reliability amounted to 85%.

Basic coding units

For the segmentation of the recorded conversations, the units of **turn** and **utterance** were considered to be most appropriate, both from an informative and an interactional perspective.

Turn was defined as the verbal utterances and the non-verbal expressions by which one participant holds the floor in the conversation (c. f. Sacks et al 1974).

Utterance was defined as a part of a turn corresponding to one prosodic clause and syntactically to one or more syntactic clauses (see for instance Hellspong 1988, Brumark 1989).

Turns consisted of one or more utterances carrying the main function of regulating nonverbal or verbal behaviour and thus constituting the minimal coding units of social control acts, here termed **regulatory utterances/regulators**.

The intended outcome of regulatory acts could be performed as conventionally non-communicative behaviours, **actions**, or/and communicative behaviours, **acts**.

Coding categories

The **regulators** (see Hellspång 1988, Brumark 1989, cf requests in Ervin-Tripp (1976) and “control acts” in Ervin-Tripp (1990)Blum-Kulka (1993, 1997)), directing and controlling non-verbal and verbal acts, actions and activities during the dinner, may be realized in a number of different ways and may appear as **nonverbal** or **verbal** acts (i. e. verbal utterances). In this study, the focus was on verbal utterances, with two exceptions, attention getters (see Hellspång 1988), pre-requests, (see Levinson 1983:345ff, Brumark 1991) and focus regulators (see Hellspång 1988), which quite often are nonverbal (e. g. eye contact and points).

The target of regulation might be other participants’ expected **attention** or **focus** on the one hand and nonverbal or verbal **acts** or **actions** on the other. Nonverbal, as well as verbal attention- and focus-regulating utterances, usually realized by the addressee’s name or by kinship terms, such as “Mamma!” (“Mummy!”), or by conventionalized vocatives as “Hörru!”(verbatim: “Do you hear!”) or by pre-requests, such as “Mamma, vet du vad?” (“Mummy, you know what?”), were collected and accounted for, but omitted from further coding. It must be noticed, however, that names and other vocatives may be used as requests for actions (e. g. “Peter!”, meaning: “Don’t do like that!”).

Verbal utterances regulating acts or actions (i. e. apart from the attention-getting vocatives and pre-requests mentioned above) were further coded in the following dimensions, relating to function, focus and effect (or outcome) of the regulatory utterances.

Functions, focus (goal) and (intended) effect (outcome) of regulatory utterances

Functions

A preliminary distinction was made between two main general **functions** of dinner talk, the realizations of which formed **two kinds of contexts** in which the regulatory utterances could appear:

- **instrumental** function, related to the routinized talk accompanying and monitoring the activity of having dinner (Blum-Kulka 1997), and
- **non-instrumental** function, i.e. all other types of conversation during the meal.

The regulation of nonverbal actions may regard instrumental as well as non-instrumental actions, i. e. eating behaviour or table manners as well as other behaviours during the dinner. Individual regulatory utterances were thus supposed to appear in both instrumental and non-instrumental parts of the accompanying speech.

Instrumental regulators further appeared as

- **routinized**, i. e. utterances regulating the main activity of having dinner, and

- **pedagogic**, i. e. utterances (regulating the activity or not) with a clear pedagogic purpose. The following examples will demonstrate the difference between routinized and pedagogic utterances:

Example (1)

Routine regulator: Varsågod å ta för dej! (Be so kind to serve your-self!)

Pedagogic regulator: Men du måste lägga upp på din tallrik så kallnar de.
(But you must put on your dish so it cools down.)
Du kan använda skeden om du vill.
(You may use the spoon if you want.)

Example (2)

Routine regulator: Testa lite! (Test some!)

Banuner, gurka ... (Bananas, cucumber ...)

Pedagogic regulator: Men ni ska inte ta soya, det är inte bra.
(But you must not take soya that's not healthy.)

The first (routine) examples, but hardly the second (pedagogic), would be natural in a conversation between two equal parties, e. g. adults of similar social status.

Focus

Furthermore, regulatory utterances were focused on a goal, i. e. some action or act to be performed by the addressee:

- **nonverbal** actions or acts or **verbal** acts, to be performed in the
- **immediate**, i. e. the outcome is expected at present time or **non-immediate**, i. e. the outcome is expected in the future.

Within the category nonverbal action/acts were included

- requests for **stopping ongoing** (undesirable) **activity** (cf Blum-Kulka 1991, 1997)
- requests for **handing over objects** in the immediate situation or in the future ("request for nonverbal goods", cf Blum-Kulka 1997)

The category of "verbal acts" corresponds to the "request for verbal goods" in Blum-Kulka (1997).

Effect (outcome)

Finally, some interest was focused on the **outcome**, the expected (or supposedly expected) verbal or nonverbal immediate effect, of the regulatory utterances (cf Blum-Kulka 1997):

- **compliance**, e. g. performing the action asked for or confirming a performance in the future by a verbal response ("Yes, I will do X"),
- **non-compliance**, including

- **negotiation**, e. g. arguing around the action asked for (“Why must I do X”, “I’ve got no time to do X”)
- **ignorance**, e. g. leaving the regulator unnoticed,
- **resistance**, e. g. refusing to perform the action asked for (“No, I don’t want to do X”) or
- **other**, i. e. responses impossible to code in any other category.

For actions asked to be performed in the future, there had to be a verbal proof in the actual conversation of the addressee’s intent to accomplish them.

Regulatory utterances distributed within the categories mentioned above were further coded in dimensions based on the system, initially elaborated by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), later developed by Blum-Kulka (1990, 1997) and supposed to reflect different degrees of **politeness** usage in the actual context.

Politeness: Directness, conventionality and mitigation of regulatory utterances

Directness

- **Direct**, expressed by explicit or implicit naming of the act, either by the mode of imperative, e. g. “Sluta!”, “Sitt ner!”, “Ge mig X!” (“Stop it!”, “Sit down!”, “Give me X!”), by the main verb in present tense, e. g. “Du är där!” (“You are there!” in a directive tone of voice), by a modal verb in present or past tense and the action verb in infinitive, negated or not, e. g. “Du måste X!”, “Du kan X nu!”, “Du bör X!”, “Du får X!” or “Så får du inte göra!”, indicating the actual action to be stopped (“You must X”, “You can X now”, “You should X”, “You’re supposed to X!”, “You must not do that!”) or by a explicit declarative or a performative, marking the sender’s wish that the addressee do X, e. g. “Jag vill att du X!”, “Jag tycker att du ska X!”, sometimes mitigated as in “Jag föreslår att du X.” (“I want you to X”, “I am asking you to X”, etc.), as well as direct expressions of wants and wishes, e. g. “Jag vill ha Y!” or only “Y!”, followed by a pointing at the desired object (“I want Y!”, “Y!”), or simply by directive ellipses, like “Mjölk!” (“Milk!”, meaning “Give me milk!”) or “Här!” (“Here!”, meaning “Take this!”).
- **Non-direct (indirect)**, expressed by interrogative form, which – at least fictively - give the addressee the option to refuse to perform the expected action, e. g. “Kan du X?”, “Skulle du kunna X?”, “Vill du vara snäll att X?” (“Can you X?”, “Will you X?”, “Would you be kind to X?”), focused on the wanted action, or “Kan jag få Y?” (“May I have Y?”), focused on the wanted object, or certain declaratives expressing a need like “Jag ska be att få Y.” (approximately: “I am asking if I could have Y.” or “I would like to have Y.”)

Utterances not coded as regulatory are “Do you want Y?” and the like, intended as requests for prerequisite information about a possible wish of the addressee.

Conventionality

- **Conventional**, expressed for example by habitual indirect forms such as questions, e. g. “Vill du vara snäll att X?” (“Would you be so kind to X?”), i. e. most of the examples mentioned above under the head-line Indirect.
- **Non-conventional**, expressed by non-conventional forms such as idiosyncratic hints, e. g. questions like “Har du någon läxa?” (“Do you have any home-work?”), in cases where this question is meant to function as a request for prompt acting. To this category was counted idiomatic expressions, not conventional in the use as regulators, such as the Swedish expression “Nu är du ute å cyklar”, (verbatim: “Now you are out biking”, in the actual case to be interpreted as “Now, you don’t know what you are talking about!”) and hints aiming at more proper or correct responses, e. g. “Va sa du?” (“What did you say?”, meaning “Say it properly!”).

Mitigation

- **Mitigated**, endearments, nick-names, pluralization (by “we”), point-of-view-manipulations, external modifications by pre-requests or reasons and justifications, or internal modifications by politeness markers (e. g. “Take this Robban!”, “One does not sing at the table”, “I suggest that you ... (cf above), “Mummy!” – “Can I have more?”, “Don’t touch! It’s warm!”, “Can you passe the salt, please?”)
- **Non-mitigated**, i. e. lacking the markers mentioned above.

In order to get a picture of the different conversational contexts of regulation and politeness, the **focus of verbal regulators** was coded, i. e. if the target of the regulatory acts were **nonverbal** or **verbal reactions** and with regard to **time**, i. e. if they were to be performed immediately or in the near or remote future.

Coding and analysing procedures

As a preliminary procedure, verbal and certain non-verbal behaviours produced in the dinner conversations were distinguished and segmented into turns and utterances, whereupon total amounts of turns and utterances, frequencies and percentages for. The material thus consisted of 4991 turns and 6245 utterances.

The regulatory categories appearing in the conversational contributions of adults as well as of children were then coded, using utterance as basic unit. Amounts of the main regulative categories (table 3), means, standard deviations and proportions were calculated in order to get an overall picture of the different kinds of regulatory utterances during the family dinners.

Since the regulatory function, though related to single utterances (in contrast to other functions of dinner conversation), has an impact on larger parts of conversation, the share of regulatory talk as well as clearly perceived effects of regulatory utterances, was taken into account for each participant in the conversations.

Amounts and proportions of utterances performed by each family member were thus coded and calculated according to the regulatory categories and the contextual variables, as well as for the “politeness” dimensions listed above.

In order to distinguish similarities and differences between the 20 family dinner conversations due to different background contexts, the families were further divided into group 1 and 2,

defined by age of the participating children (younger or older than 12 years, see table 1a and b), and group A and B, defined by the number of participants (1 – 2 or 3 – 4, table 2a and b). Since the groups are small and partly coinciding, there could be no thorough comparisons between these groups, only hypothesized tendencies.

In addition, to obtain results comparable to other research (Ervin-Tripp 1990, Blum-Kulka 1990), the parents' use of regulatory utterances was particularly considered, both in their entirety and separately as maternal and paternal variables. Their distribution in the age- and number groups was also taken into account, in order to get a picture of parental regulation during the meals and possible differences due to contextual factors mentioned above.

Since the number of participants and the amount of speech differ in the twenty families, table 3 – 8 in the appendix show proportions of all regulatory utterances of all participants in the dinners, both compared with the total amount occurring in the family dinner conversations and in relation to the total amount of different regulators of each individual. Individual amounts of regulators are thus related both to the total amount in the actual family and to the total amount of different individual regulatory utterances.

Function

Instrumental	routine pedagogic
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Non-instrumental

Focus (goal)

Verbal acts

Nonverbal actions	pass objects perform actions stop actions
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Time

Immediate

Non-immediate (mediate)

Effects (Outcome)

Compliance

Non-compliance	negotiation ignorance resistance
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Directness/Politeness

Direct	mitigated non-mitigated
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Non-direct	conventional non-conventional
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Figure 1. Coding categories considered in this study.

Results

In the following sections, the results will be presented and possible explanations of the contextual variations found will be discussed. The contextual background variables mentioned have been marked in the current text by italics. The different age groups are distinguished by naming the group with younger siblings *group 1*, and the group with older siblings *group 2* (italics). Similarly, the group of families with four or less members is called *group A* and that comprising families with five or more members is called *group B*. Family members in the two groups will be referred to as *target child 1, 2, A or B*, *sibling 1, 2, A or B*, *mother 1, 2, A or B*, and *father 1, 2, A or B*.¹

Generally, the proportions presented refer to individual shares. When proportions of total amounts in the families are concerned, this is explicitly noted.

In the examples illustrating the findings, the utterances are given in Swedish with an English translation, marked by MOT (=mother), FAT (=father), CHI 1-4 (=target children and siblings) and COM for contextual information of importance for understanding the example. The group from which the actual example is collected will be marked in the headline above the example.

General overview of the use of regulatory utterances (table 3)

Like conversations in other contexts where adults interact with children, the family dinners displayed some regulation of verbal and non-verbal actions (in all 420 regulatory utterances in the twenty families). The proportion of all *regulatory utterances* within each family ranged from 2, 9% to 13, 8 % (mean 6, 4% and standard deviation 3, 7%).

Among regulatory utterances, those regulating *nonverbal actions* covered 60 – 100% of all regulators (mean 93,3%), whereas *verbal actions (utterances)* were prompted by regulatory utterances in 2, 8% to 25% of the cases (mean 6, 8%).

(Example 1: Group 2/B: Utterance regulating nonverbal and verbal actions)

FAT	ta de här	take this
	säg stopp	say stop

As expected, *age* appeared to be of some importance in influencing the use of regulatory speech. Regulatory utterances covered 7, 7% of all utterances in *group 1* with younger siblings compared to 6, 4% in *group 2* with older siblings.²

A closer look on different regulatory utterances, furthermore, revealed twice as many *attention getting* devices in *group 1* (16% versus 8, 8%), whereas family members in *group 2* seemed to use more *focus* regulating devices (8, 3% versus 2, 6%, see table 3). Most common were the names of the addressees (“Mummy!”, “Eva!”) and deictic devices (“Look there!”) and/or pointings.

In the conversations with the youngest children (4 – 7 years), exchanges of attention and focus regulating devices preceding the request to come could be observed (c.f. Ochs 1997, Linell & Gustavsson 1987, Brumark forthcoming):

¹ Notice that group 1 and 2, on the one hand, and group A and B, on the other hand overlap, being defined by two different background variables.

² Due to the limited number of subjects in some of the groups, no significant differences could be obtained.

(Example 2: Group 1/A: Attention and focus regulating device)

CHI 1	mamma	mummy	(attention regulator)
MOT	mm	mm	
CHI 1	vet du vad	you know what	(focus regulator)
MOT	mm	mm	
COM	(the child initiates a narrative)		

There seemed to be some relation between regulatory utterances made by adults and the participation of younger children during the meal. A comparison suggested that *mothers* in the *group 1*, with younger siblings regulated more often than the mothers in *group 2* with older siblings (44% versus 42%), a tendency that seemed even more accentuated for *fathers* (14% versus 11%, table 3).

Fathers thus did not regulate child behaviours as much as did the mothers, but sometimes more directly:

(Example 3: Group 1/A: Paternal action regulator)

FAT	nä nä nä sluta nu	no no no stop it
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In this example, however, the father continues by hinting:

FAT	nu är du ute å cyklar	now you are out biking (i.e. you must not do that)
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Among the children, on the other hand, the *target children* in *group 2* produced more regulatory utterances than the *target children* in *group 1* (24% versus 19%), just as the *siblings* in *group 1* compared to the *siblings* in *group 2* (21% versus 15%). These results might reflect the circumstance that the younger siblings in both groups have to try harder to attract attention and make their needs responded to.

Also, the *number of participants* seemed to affect the use of regulators. A comparison between the two number groups showed a larger proportion of regulative utterances (8, 6% versus 6, 3%) and a considerably larger share of both *attention* and *focus regulating* devices in *the families with more than four members*: 16% of attention regulators in the “big family” *group B* against 10, 7% in the “small family” *group A*, and 7, 8% of the focus regulators in the larger group against 3, 6% in the smaller. Thus, regulating attention or focus occurred, not unexpectedly, more frequently in conversations including more than four participants (see table 9).

Furthermore, the share of *maternal regulation* was less dominant in the group of big families (32% against 50%), to the advantage of the *target children* in this group (28% against 16%). These results suggest great problems of making one-self seen and heard among the younger children in families with more than four members.

In conclusion, the most frequent regulators were those monitoring the non-verbal activities during the dinner, whereas only few had the aim of regulating speech.

Regulatory utterances and the impact of context

Direct and indirect regulatory utterances (Table 4)

In a study of “parental politeness” in three different cultural groups, Blum-Kulka concluded that parental communication with children is fairly direct and still polite (Blum-Kulka 1990, 1997). This is to some extent true also for the present study, though the data here are more detailed with regard to impact of context on conversation. Moreover, this study also examines the politeness strategies used by the children.

The regulatory utterances made by family members in the twenty Swedish families proved to be *direct* in about 50 – 60 % of the cases (in *groups 1, 2, B*). This means that almost one half of the regulatory utterances in these groups tended to be indirect. Among the *indirect* utterances, those realized by linguistically *conventional* forms amounted to slightly more than 85 % in all groups. *Mitigation* occurred in 15 % of all *direct* regulatory utterances (see table 4 and figure 2a below, example 4 - 6).

(Example 4: Group 1/A: Direct)

MOT kom å ät come to the table

(Example 5: Group 2/A: Indirect)

MOT ska du börja Pelle will you begin Pelle

(Example 6: Group 1/A: Mitigated)

MOT du kan *väl* säga stopp you will say stop, *wont you*

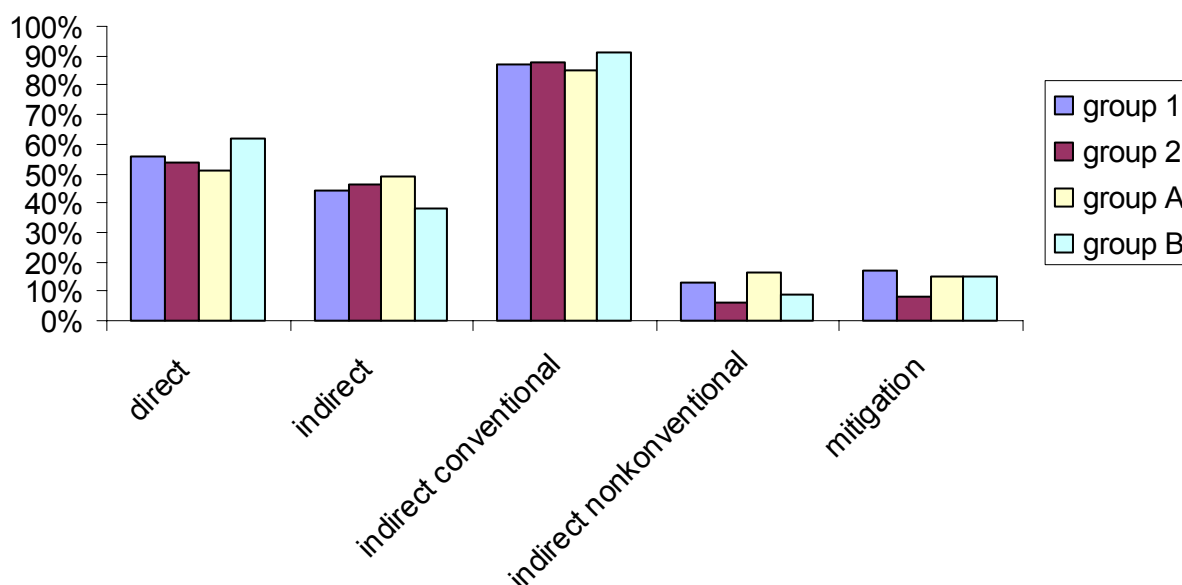


Figure 2a. Proportion of direct, indirect and mitigated regulation in age and number groups.

All together, the *parents* seemed to use as many *indirect* as *direct* regulatory strategies and mostly *conventional indirect* forms. As mentioned above, *mitigation* was used in 15 % of all *direct regulative* utterances but in about 25 % in those of the parents.

The *Swedish parents* of this study seemed to be *more indirect*, producing 45 % indirect regulatory utterances, compared to the Israeli and American groups (producing 17 % and 38 % of indirect utterances respectively) participating in the study of Blum-Kulka (1990).

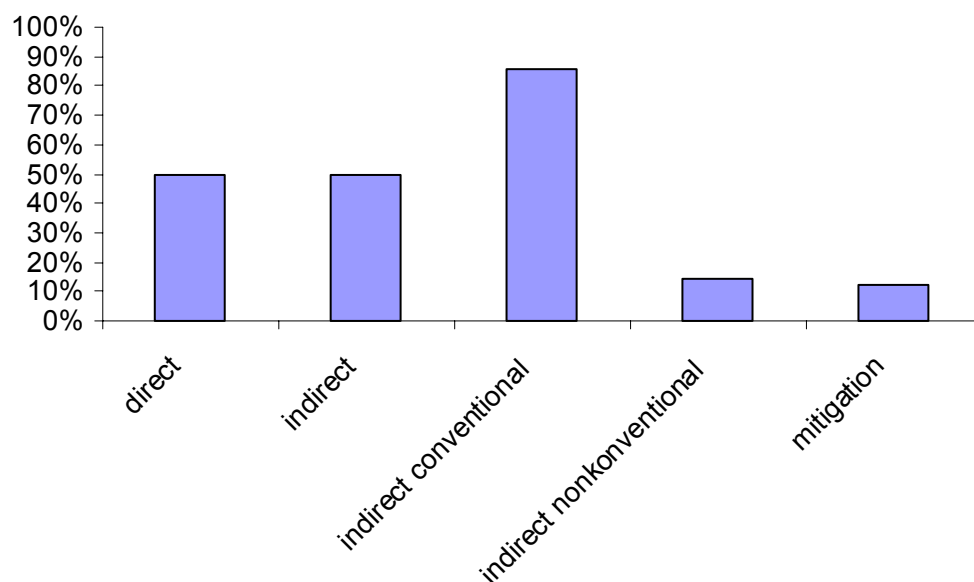


Figure 2b. Proportion of direct, indirect and mitigated parental regulation.

Mothers in group 1, 2, A seemed to be *less direct* (40-45 % of the cases) than mothers in *group B* (the “big family” group) and less direct than all other family members. In contrast, *fathers* in all groups acted by *direct* regulatory utterances in two thirds of the cases (see table 4).

When being indirect, *mothers* in all groups choose *conventional* forms (in 85-95 % of the cases). *Fathers in group 1 A*, on the other hand, seemed to like *non-conventional* hints (30-35 % of their indirect utterances, cf example 3 above), whereas fathers in group 2, B – just as most of the mothers – did not use non-conventional forms at all.

The *mothers* in all groups mitigated, however, in 21-48 % of the regulatory utterances, thus showing a pattern similar to that of the study of Blum-Kulka (1990), where 45-50 % of the direct parental regulators were mitigated. For *fathers* in the present study, mitigation was observed only in 6 to 14 % of the cases in groups 1, 2, A (see example 7 and 8 below).

(Example 7: Group 1/A: Mitigation)

FAT	sitt still <i>Eva</i> (<i>whispering</i>)	sit still <i>Eva</i>
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(Example 8: Group 1/A: Mitigation)

FAT	ni <i>behöver väl</i> inte bli tysta för att kameran är på	you need not be tacet because the camera is on, <i>do you</i>
-----	---	--

Direct and indirect utterances in instrumental and non-instrumental contexts (Table 5)

In this study, I have also analysed how regulatory talk varied with different stages of the dinner. In a pilot study (Brumark, forthcoming), communication during family dinners was seen to vary considerably with regard to function and content of utterances, depending on different types of dinner conversation. In the present study, two main types were distinguished, *instrumental talk*, regulating the main activity during the meal, and *non-instrumental conversation*.

There seemed to be a clear difference between instrumental and non-instrumental contexts with regard to regulative communication in the Swedish families. In all groups, except for group B, more than 60 % of the *regulatory utterances* occurred in the context of *instrumental talk*.

Furthermore, in all groups (except group 2 due to the extent of maternal pedagogic utterances in this group, see below), *routine* regulators outweigh the *pedagogic* utterances (ca 60 % against ca 40 %). In both routine and pedagogic contexts there seemed to be a preference for *direct* regulatory utterances, ranging from 55 % to 68 %. *Mitigation* occurred in 4 – 18 % of all instrumental talk (see figure 3a).

In *non-instrumental* context, the conditions appeared to be reversed as to directness, the regulators being *indirect* in all groups except *group B*, the “big family” group, where the share of *direct* utterances in *non-instrumental contexts* equalled the total share of instrumental utterances in this group, namely 56 %.

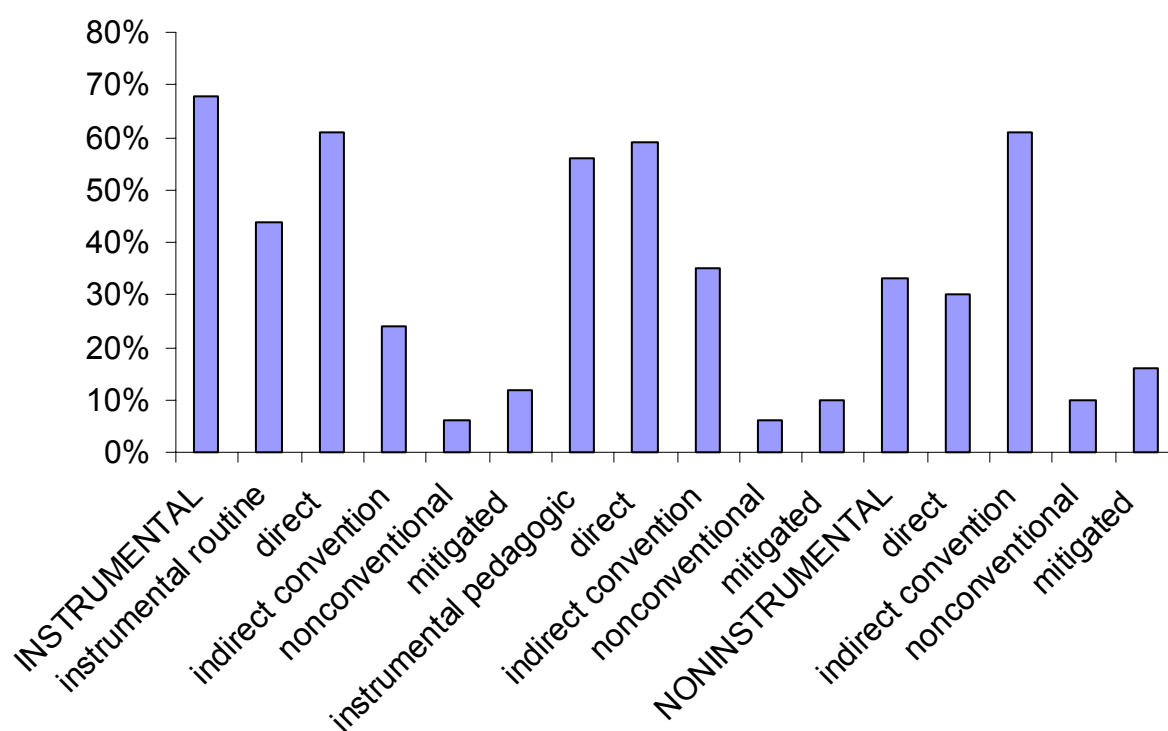


Figure 3a. Proportion of direct and indirect regulation in instrumental and non-instrumental contexts

When counting *the instrumental regulatory utterances of the parents*, their share amounted to 65 % (see table 5 and figure 2b and 2c). Most of the *instrumental* parental utterances, about 60 %, were *direct* whereas the opposite tendency could be seen in *non-instrumental* utterances, where three fourths were *indirect* (figure 3b below). Remember that the ratio of the total amount of direct and indirect utterances, regardless of context, was about 50%.

In *non-instrumental contexts* (i. e. “pure” conversation), however, parental regulatory communication did not seem to play such a dominant role – the mothers in group B did not, for instance, use any direct non-instrumental regulators at all.

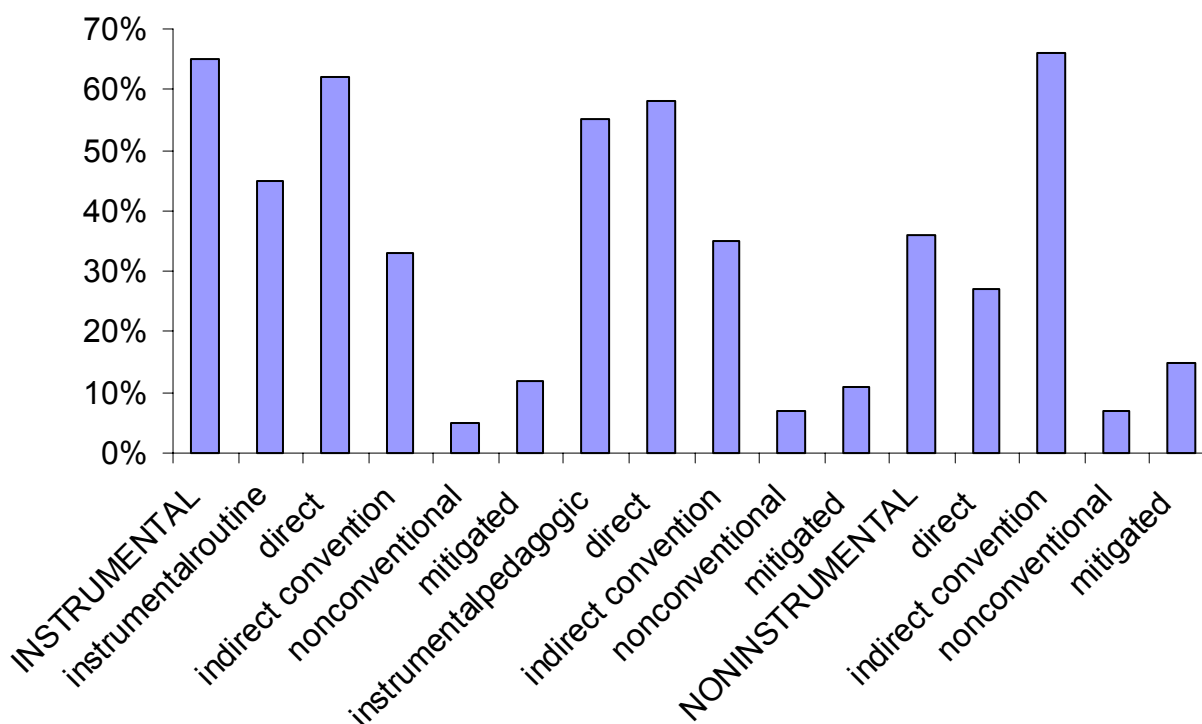


Figure 3b. Proportion of direct and indirect parental regulation in instrumental and non-instrumental contexts.

Considering the parents separately, the *mothers* displayed roughly the same tendencies as the groups in their totality, i. e. a higher frequency of *direct* utterances in *instrumental* context, but a reverse pattern, i. e. more *indirectness*, in *non-instrumental* contexts. *Indirect maternal regulation* occurred, however, even in *instrumental routine contexts*, as demonstrated by example 12 and 13 below:

(Example 12: Group 2/B: Indirect regulation in instrumental context)

MOT	Eva-Lotta e de du som har ställt/ De e inte din	EL have you put your/ that is not yours
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(Example 13: Group 2/A: Indirect regulation in instrumental context)

MOT	kan du ge mej brödfatet	will you pass the bread
-----	-------------------------	-------------------------

Also, *fathers* differed in their use of direct and indirect regulatory utterances. Mostly, however, they preferred *direct* communication, except for *group 1 and A* in *instrumental pedagogic context*, where two fathers were using a high frequency of *non-conventional hints* (a special kind of ironic jargon, cf example 3), which yielded a higher degree of indirectness (42 % and 66 % respectively). However, fathers did not participate and contribute to the conversations in the families to such an extent that comparisons could be done (see table 1 and 3). Their contributions varied considerably between different variables (see table 5a and 5b).

The *target children* in *groups 1, 2 and A* performed about 50% of their regulatory utterances in *instrumental* contexts (50 % in group 1, 57 % in group 2, 58 % in group A), whereas the *target children* in *group B* made only 34 % regulatory utterances in instrumental context, apparently as a consequence of the competition for the floor in a numerous family. As could be expected, however, all children performed 80-100 % of their instrumental regulatory utterances in *routines* – only few had pedagogic function, even if a kind of “mock correcting” utterances occurred, especially among the older children, as in the following indirect example:

(Example 14: Group 2/B: “Mock correcting” child indirect regulator)

CHI 1 Lena, gästerna tar först Lena, the guests must serve themselves at first
(target child tells her sister not to serve herself first since that would not be very polite)

The choice of *direct* regulatory utterances, furthermore, appeared to be general in *instrumental* contexts (covering 63-89 % of the instrumental utterances), except in group A (small families) where the children preferred *conventional indirect utterances* (80 %), sometimes mitigated through social indices, as in the example 15 below:

(Example 15: Group 1/A)

CHI 1 kan ja få mjölken, *mamma* can I have the milk, *mummy*

Some of the children used a special polite indirect form, like target child in group 2/B:

(Example 16: Group 2/B)

CHI 1 kan jag *be att få* såsen/ såsen *pappa* can I ask to have the sauce, *daddy*

Most often, however, needs and wants were expressed more directly:

(Example 17: Group 1/B: Direct child regulator)

CHI 1 ja vill åsså ha salad me too want sallad

When the *proportions* of *child contributions* were compared to those of adult participants, they showed a more scattered pattern, which could be expected due to the asymmetrical power relation between children and parents. Examining different contexts, child participation was found to vary from 7 % to somewhat above 50 %, apparently due to various situational conditions.

With some exceptions, the *target children*, however, seemed to contribute by a share amounting to between one *fourth* and one *third* of the *direct regulatory* utterances of the total amount in the family, which means somewhat more than their expected share.

Direct and indirect utterances related to goal of regulation (Table 6)

The frequency and realization of regulatory utterances were found to vary considerably, not only with situational contexts, but also with the *goal of regulation*, i. e. with the kind of act or action wanted from the addressee. Most common during the meals recorded were, not unexpectedly, *requests for actions* (between 60 % and 70 %) and for *objects* or “*non-verbal goods*” (50 – 70 %), i. e. requests for dishes and spices etc. Regulation of undesirable actions (*stop action*) during the meals amounted to 7 – 15 % of all regulatory utterances, whereas *requests for verbal responses* (“*verbal goods*”) only covered 4 – 6 % (see figure 4a and examples below).

(Example 18: Group 1/A: Direct request for action)

MOT kom å ät come to the table

(Example 19: Group 1/B: Direct request for nonverbal goods)

CHI 2 men ja ska/ja vill ässå ha but I shall/I want some too

(Example 20: Group 1/A: Direct request for ”stop action”)

MOT men sparka inte på hennes fot va but dont kick her foot

(Example 21: Group 1/A: Mitigated request for verbal goods)

MOT du kan *väl* berätta vad du gjorde/
när vi va å handlade you can tell what you did
when we were shopping, *can't* you

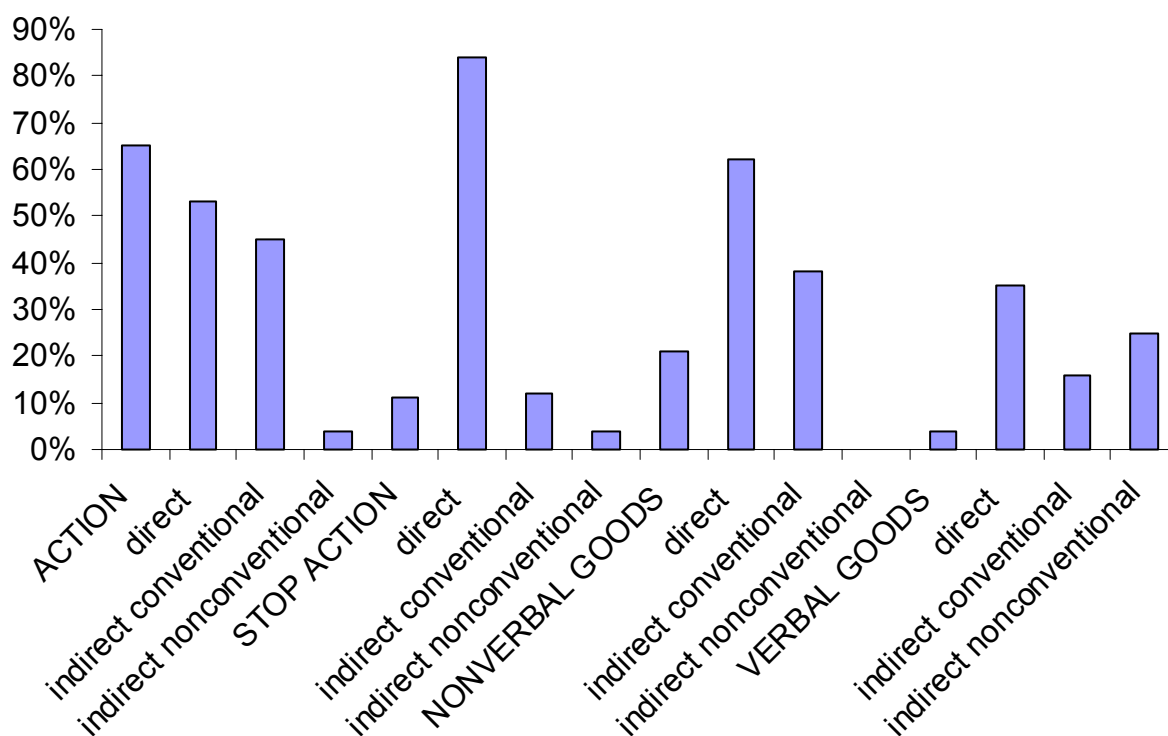


Figure 4a. Proportions of direct and indirect regulatory utterances in relation to goal of regulation

Furthermore, there was some variation of the use of *direct* and *indirect* forms of the utterances in all groups depending on the goal of regulation. The most obvious difference was found between the requests for *actions* and the requests for “*stop action*”, the latter being performed by *direct* utterances in 70 – 100 % of the cases, compared to about 50 % of the cases in the former. Further, *requests for verbal response (“verbal goods”)* seemed to be formulated by using indirect *non-conventional* utterances rather than other regulators (example 22 below).

(Example 22: Group1/A: Indirect non-conventional request for verbal goods)

FAT kan vi få ett svar eller ska vi brevväxla may we have an answer or are we going to mail

The Swedish *parents* altogether showed features of conversation that were surprisingly similar to the three culturally different groups studied in Blum-Kulka (1990). Requests for *action* covered 74 %, to compare with 68,1 % in Blum-Kulka (1990), requests for “*stop action*” amounted to 12 % (compared to 15,1 in Blum-Kulka), requests for “*nonverbal goods*” covered 9 % (against 7,5 % in Blum-Kulka) and requests for “*verbal goods*”, verbal responses amounted to 6 % (against 5,9 % in Blum-Kulka).

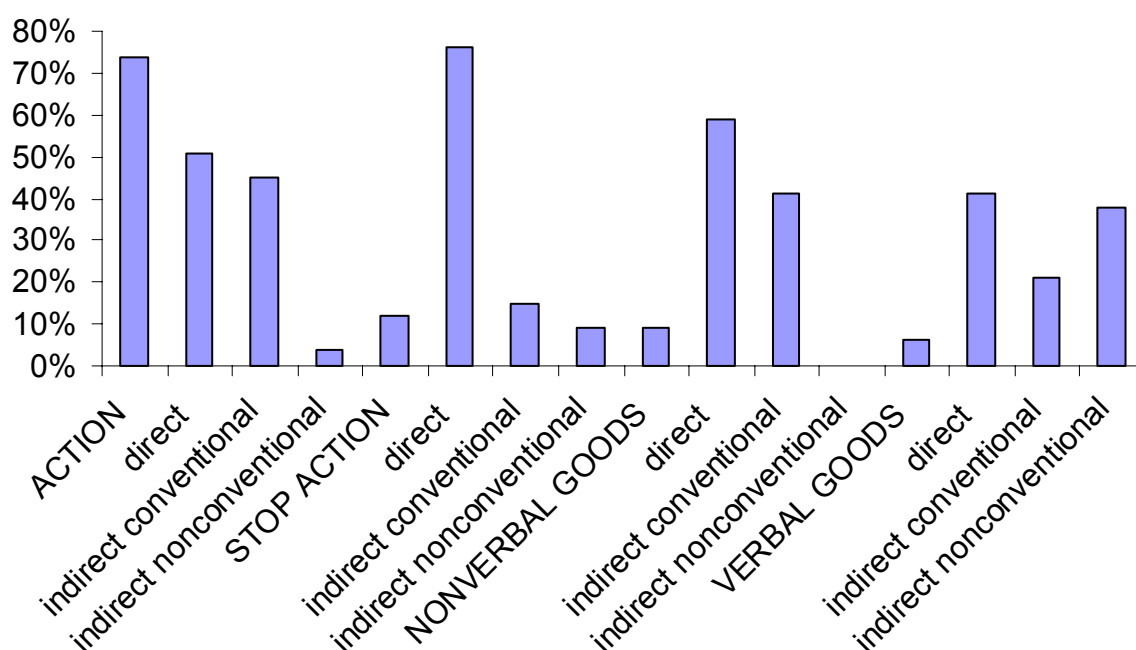


Figure 4b. Proportions of direct and indirect parental regulatory utterances in relation to goal of regulation.

Moreover, a differentiation with regard to *goals of parental regulation* in the Swedish families showed that *requests for “stop action”* most often were *direct* (76 %), *requests for actions* and *objects (“nonverbal goods”)* were direct in slightly more *than one half* of the cases (51 % and 59 % respectively), whereas *requests for “verbal goods”* appeared as *direct* regulatory utterances only in 41 % of the cases (figure 4b, see example 23).

(Example 23: Group 2/A: Direct request for “verbal goods”)

MOT nu ska du berätta vad du gjorde på museet now you must tell what you did at the museum

Despite the “need for behavioural control of children” (Blum-Kulka 1990:275), that would trigger an increased share of parental regulation, the parents of the present study, as a group, showed an unexpectedly similar pattern as that of all members, thus including child contributions (cf table 6a and 6b, figure 4a). Actually, the tendencies displayed in figure 4a for all participants in the dinners were only somewhat accentuated in certain respects for the parents (table 6a and 6b).

Thus, not unexpectedly, the parents seemed to ask for “*non-verbal goods*” less and request *nonverbal* and *verbal actions* in a more *indirect* and *non-conventional* way than their children (figure 4a and 4b). Reversely, the *children* appeared to ask for *non-verbal goods* more often than their parents, which could perhaps be seen as reflecting the asymmetrical power relationship between them (see example 24 and 25).

(Example 24: Group 1/B: Direct request for nonverbal goods)

CHI 1 ja vill åsså ha mjölk me too want milk

(Example 25: Group 2/B: Indirect request for nonverbal goods)

CHI 1 kan jag be att få mjölken pappa may I ask to have some milk daddy

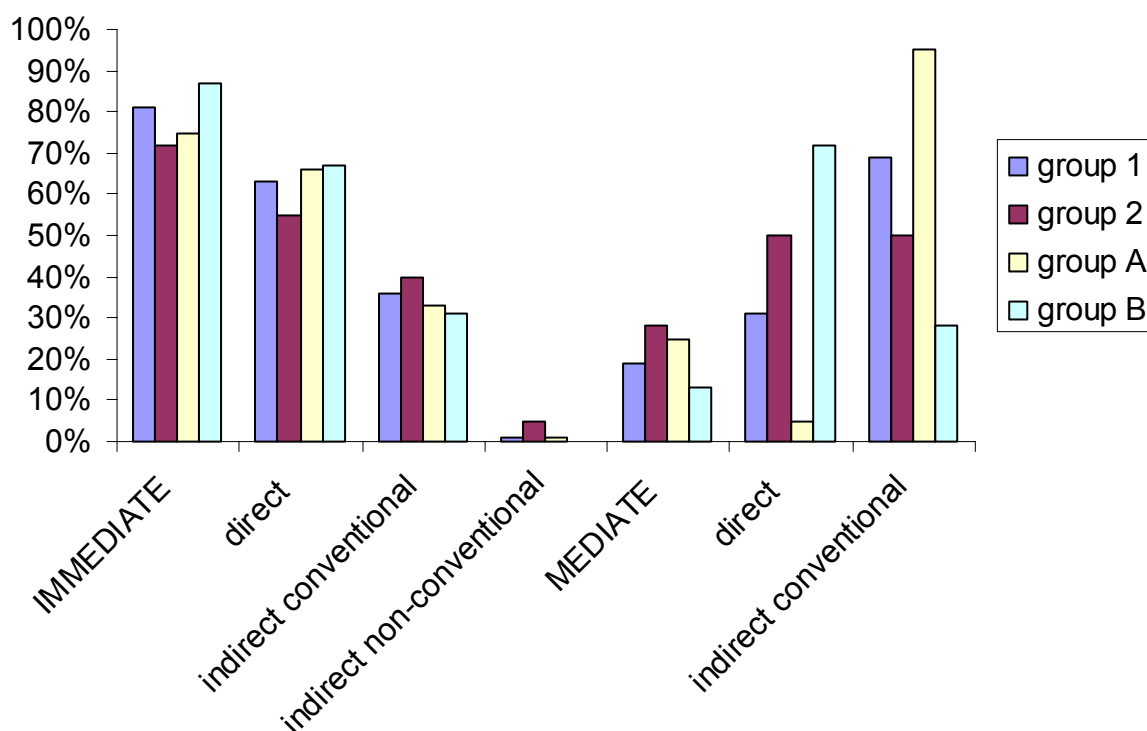
Direct and indirect utterances related to time of expected effect or outcome (table 7)

As can be concluded from the findings regarding the *time* of the expected outcome of the regulation, i. e. in *the immediate* or *non-immediate context* (figure 5a), regulation during the dinner concerns primarily matters *in the actual situation* (75 – 87 %). Furthermore, regulation of the actions and activity in the immediate situation seems to be fairly *direct* (55 – 67 %).

A comparison between the groups in their totality revealed, just as expected, more *mediate* regulation (i. e. concerning *actions* etc to be performed elsewhere and in the future) in *group 2*, the group with older siblings, but also more *direct mediate regulation* in this group (see table 7a and 7b, figure 5a and example 26 below).

(Example 26: Group 1: Direct regulation of actions to be performed in mediate context)

FAT Kalle du måste ha lyse på din cykel K you must put a lamp on your bicycle
Kolla batterit check the battery



5a. Proportions of direct and indirect regulation in immediate and mediate contexts in age and number groups.

A comparison between groups suggested that *fathers* in *group 1, 2 and A* more often regulated actions to be performed in the *immediate context* than mothers (83 – 89 % against 72 – 73 %), whereas the *mothers* and *fathers* in *group B* equalled each other regarding *immediate regulation* (82 – 86 %). The high frequency of *maternal* regulators in *group 1* aiming at actions in the future might reflect the need for joint planning in the group of younger children.

Maternal *directness* occurred unexpectedly more seldom in *immediate context* in *group 1, A and B* (54 – 56 %) and was considerably more unusual in *mediate context* in *group 1 and A* (3 – 25 %). *Fathers* were generally more *direct* than mothers in *immediate contexts*, using 68 – 80 % *direct* utterances regulating actions to be performed immediately.

Child regulation concerned *immediate context* in 70 – 97 % of the cases, except for target children in group 1 and 2, and siblings in group 1, B. Except for group 1, the children also used considerably more *indirect conventional utterances* than direct to demand actions to be performed in the future.

Direct and indirect utterances related to effect (or outcome) of regulation (table 8)

What effect has directness and mitigation on the probability of compliance? Or, expressed more concretely, are the family members who participate in the dinners more likely to comply with requests that are indirect than direct, to polite pleadings than to blunt orders?

First, *compliance* was found to be the most common reaction (together with a rest category, see table 8a and 8b, figure 6a and 6c) during the meals, regardless if the requests were direct or not (45 %). Actually, 55 – 60 % of all regulators complied with were *direct*.

As for *non-compliance*, *negotiation*, questioning the relevance of the request, was triggered by about 7 % of the requests, whereas 5-12 % of all requests produced *resistance*, i. e. verbally or non-verbally expressed refusal, and 2- 4 % were totally *ignored*. Among *negotiated requests*, more than one half were *indirect*. Furthermore, among those requests that produced *resistance*, two thirds were *direct*.

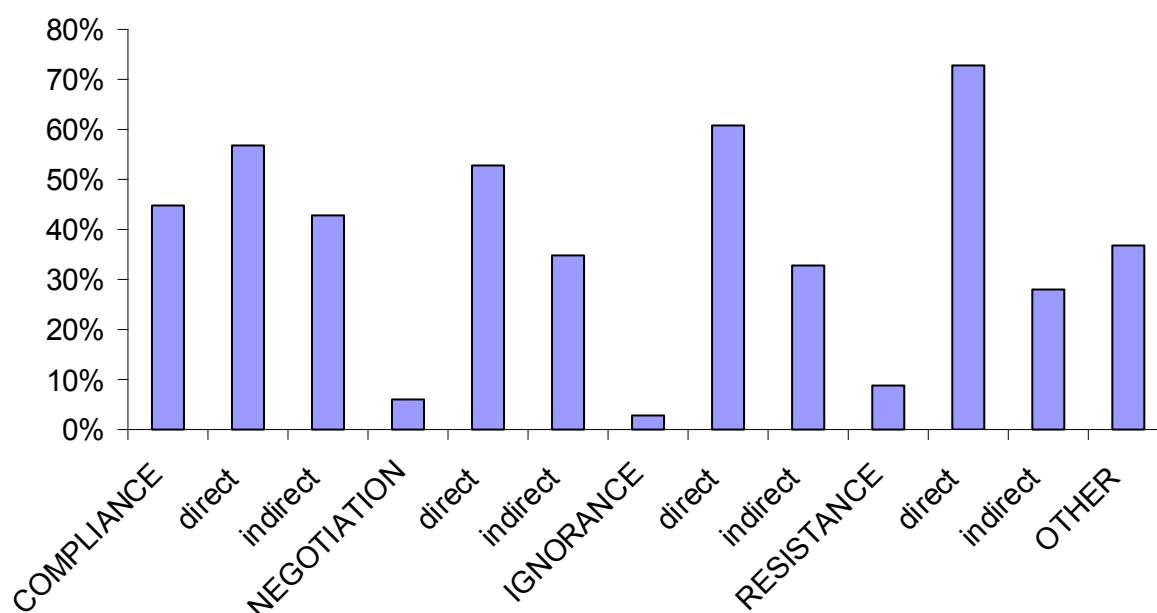


Figure 6a. Proportions of direct and indirect regulatory utterances related to outcome.

The following extracts of transcriptions may serve as examples of varying reactions to different kinds of regulators:

(Example 27: Group 1/A: Negotiation concerning the child's eating a hamburger)

FAT	ät hamburgaren	eat the hamburger
CHI 1	nej	no
FAT	jo	yes
CHI 1	ja vill inte	I don't want to
FAT	jamen du ska	but you must
CHI 1	nej ja gillar inte sånt	no I don't like such things
	Ja gillar bara kött	I only like meat
	Stopp i lagens namn	stop in the name of the law

(Example 28: Group 2/A: Mother ignoring attention-getting regulators from the child)

CHI 1	mamma	mummy
MOT	(to CHI 2) ska du ha mer än en	do you want more than one
CHI 1	mamma	mummy
CHI 1	mamma/ på tisdag	mummy/ on Tuesday
	Å madde som vi har i gympan	and M that we have in athletics
	Går du å pratar me henne	do you talk with her
MOT	(to all four children) skölj av tallriken där	rinse the plate there
	Den som har lust kan vika tvätten	that one who wants may the laundry

(Example 29: Group 1/A: Resistance to maternal request)

MOT	ta kålen	take the cabbage
CHI 1	nej	no

(Example 30: Group 2/A: Resistance to request from the child)

CHI 1	kan du skala min potatis	can you peel my potato
MOT	nej de kan ja inte du får skala själv	no I can't ou must peel yourself

(Example 31: Group 2/A: Resistance to maternal request to talk about playing the violin)

MOT	jaha va brukar vi prata om annars på måndagar din fiol va	what do we use to talk about otherwise on Mondays your violin don't we
CHI 1	NEJ	NO

Among age and number groups, **group 2** (with older siblings) **complied** more often with **direct requests** than did the other groups, and those requests that were **ignored in group 2** were all **direct**. In **group B**, 80 % of the **negotiated requests** were **direct** and all **refused requests** were **direct** (cf examples above). **Group B ignored**, on the other hand, a great deal of the **indirect requests** (about 75 %), just like **group A** (ca 55 %). Further, of the **negotiated requests in group 1**, 60 % were **indirect**, which confirms the general idea of indirect requests as making the addressee believe there is a choice (see examples above).

The groups differed considerably regarding **ignored direct** and **indirect requests**: 100% of all ignored requests in **group 2** were **direct**, 75 % of the ignored requests in **group B** were **direct**. **Group 1, A** ignored more often **indirect requests** (see figure 6a and examples).

Parental requests were responded to by **compliance**, i. e. obedience, in about 40 – 50 % of the cases, more in group 2 and B than in group 1 and A. Out of the remaining categories of parental requests, 5- 12 % produced **resistance**, 3- 10 % triggered **negotiation** and 2 – 3 % were **ignored**.

How was the impact of **directness** on **compliance to parental requests**? As can be seen in figure 6b and 6c, parents' requests were most likely to produce intended responses if they were **indirect** (in all groups but group 2 with older siblings). Otherwise, they seemed to run the risk of **negotiation** (50 – 70 % of **negotiated requests in group 2** and **B** were **direct**, c. f. example 27 and example 28, where the mother's initial request is direct though mitigated), or **ignorance** (100 % of the **ignored requests in group 2** were **direct**), or **resistance** (100 % of the **refused requests in group B** were **direct**).

On the other hand, *indirect requests*, especially in *group 1* and *A*, seemed to be affected by *negotiation*, i. e. were questioned (84 % and 70 % respectively). Among those *parental requests* that were *resisted* to, most were *direct* (cf example 30 above), except for *group 2*, where *resistance* was produced by *indirectness* (see example 32).

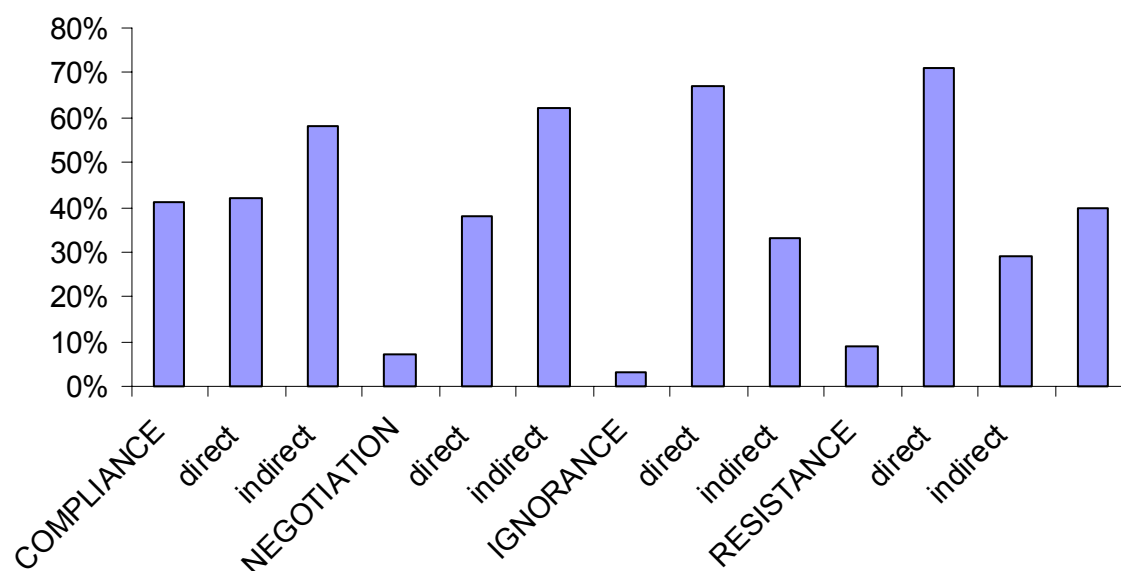


Figure 6b. Proportions of parental direct and indirect regulatory utterances related to outcome.

What effects were produced by the child requests during the meals? Child requests seemed to be responded to by *compliance* to the same extent as those produced by their parents but most of the children's requests responded to were *direct* (59 – 90 %).

Furthermore, child requests were sometimes *negotiated* in *group 1* (only those of the *siblings* in 19 % of the cases) and in *group A* and *B* (3 – 11 %). Among these *negotiated requests*, 75 – 100 % appeared as *direct*. *Ignorance* affected 3 – 14 % of the requests uttered by siblings in *group 1, 2, B*, and, in *group A*, those uttered both by target child and by the sibling. All were *direct* except those of the sibling in *group 1, A* (80 % *indirect*).

Finally, *resistance* was the effect of most *indirect requests* produced by *target children* in *group 1* and of some produce by the *target children* in *group 2* (see example 31 above), a finding that conforms to that of Ervin-Tripp of failed obedience to “polite” child requests (Ervin-Tripp 1990). Otherwise, *direct* requests made by the children were more often rejected by other dinner participants.

In conclusion, *child regulation* was successful when *direct* and was more often negotiated, ignored and resisted to than parental regulation. This was especially apparent in group B, with more than four participants around the table. To be seen and heard by the others, especially by the parents, seemed to be a difficult task for the children, especially for the younger siblings in a “big” family (see example 29 above).

The tendency of parental compliance with direct child requests is furthermore confirmed in the study of Ervin-Tripp (1990), where she refers to the finding that children successively drop polite forms by age. The question she posed was why children learn to use indirect and mitigated regulators at all, since they are not regularly responded to.

Conclusions, qualitative analysis and discussion of the results

In the introduction, the question was posed how regulation and the individual contributions of the joint activity were accomplished in the twenty Swedish monolingual families when having dinner. How did the families manage to keep the balance between social control on the one hand and solidarity, intimacy and affect on the other? Were there any differences in the realization of the regulatory activity during the dinner due to such contextual factors as different genres of talk, age of the participating children and number of participants around the dinner table? Was the choice of regulators affected e. g. by the expected outcome, the predicted reactions of the addressee?

How were regulatory utterances performed in the twenty families?

First, regulatory utterances constituted only about 10 % of all utterances produced during the family dinners in the twenty Swedish families. Except for an early explorative study of Ervin-Tripp (1976), there are however, to my knowledge no systematic comparative observations of relative amounts of control acts in different settings that could serve as comparison to evaluate the present data. In early interaction between mothers and small children, however, there are several studies showing a relatively high frequency of maternal requests (more than 50 % interrogatives in Cross 1977 and Snow 1977, 30 % in Brumark 1989).

In the families included in this study, where the participating children were adolescents, regulation at dinner time appeared primarily to have the goal of asking for actions to be performed or objects to be handed over, mostly related to the main activity of having dinner (about 60 %). There were, however, also many so called pedagogic regulators, produced by the parents but also by the children (see further discussion below).

When the groups were compared, there tended to be more regulation in families with younger children (>11 years) and during dinners with more than four participants. Most of these differences were, however, too small to be significant.

Most of the regulators appearing during the dinners were formulated as direct requests and about 15 % of them were mitigated, softening the impact of coerciveness. Indirect regulators occurred in less than one half of the cases and could be more or less indirect – and perhaps more or less polite (see further discussion below). Hints were rather uncommon in these twenty families. When occurring, they were not often responded to in the expected way (see discussion below).

The activity context had an obvious impact on the way regulatory utterances were performed. Most instrumental regulators were direct (somewhat more than 60 %), most non-instrumental regulators were indirect (nearly 60 %). There were tendencies of group variation but the groups were too heterogenous and the differences too small to be significant.

Parental regulation was indirect in nearly half of the cases, but individual differences could be distinguished. Direct parental regulators were mitigated in about 25 % of the cases, closely matching the American parents in the study of Blum-Kulka (1990).

There were also some striking differences between mothers and fathers. Maternal regulation was more indirect and maternal direct utterances were often more mitigated (21-48 %). However, the numbers of participating fathers was unfortunately too small (!) for far-reaching conclusions.

In instrumental contexts, i. e. when regulating routine actions were related to the meal, most parental regulators were direct (60 %). In non-instrumental contexts, on the other hand, about 75 % of the utterances were indirect. There were, however, individual differences.

Not only activity context or talk genre seemed to affect the regulators used but also their intended goal, i. e. what action was wanted from the addressee. Thus, most often regulation at the dinner table concerned non-verbal actions and requests for objects, related to the main activity. Did these regulators have their expected effect? In most cases they had: more than one half of all requests were complied to. Thus, most regulation was adequately responded to, both that of the parents and that of the children. However, parental regulators were obeyed to if indirect, child regulation if direct.

What effects did the regulators produce if they were not complied to? Negotiation was rather common, both to child and parental regulation. Ignorance and resistance occurred in less than 10% of the cases. Thus, judging from the outcome effectuated by the regulators, Swedish family members are fairly polite at dinner time.

In conclusion, certain regulatory variables focused in this study appeared to vary considerably in the 20 recordings. Some of these fluctuations seemed to depend on individual factors, such as conditions in the family settings (age of the children and number of participants) or different types of talk or conversation preferred within the frame of the “speech event” of dinner (Blum-Kulka 1990). Other variations appeared to depend on specific circumstances turning up in the actual situation. But the results also suggested strong socially and culturally conditioned frames constraining the variations.

How is the need for regulation balanced with family “politeness” at the dinner table?

In her study of “parental politeness” in three different cultural groups Blum-Kulka concluded that parental communication with children is fairly direct and still polite (Blum-Kulka 1990, 1997). This is to some extent true also for the present study, though in a somewhat more nuanced way. Moreover, this study also examines the politeness strategies used by the children.

Judging from the relatively high frequency of direct regulators, the conclusion is that Swedish family members do not bother so much about politeness at the table. However, directness at dinnertime can, according to Blum-Kulka, be considered as relatively neutral with regard to politeness, more effective and, at the same time, marking both power and intimacy. In other words, direct (or unmarked, to use the term of Blum-Kulka 1990) regulation would be a highly domain-specific and natural characteristic of family dinners.

In Swedish, this might be true for certain highly standardized and instrumental direct utterances, such as “Var så goda!” (Help your-selves!), “Kom och ät!” (“Come and eat!”), “Torsten, kom och sätt dig!” (“Torsten, come and sit down!”), “Anna, ta first du!” (“Anna, you take first!”) or “Ta lite, smaka!” (“Take some, taste it!”) and the like. (In some cases, regulatory utterances functioned as cautions, like “Akta ljuset!” (“Be wear of the candle!”), and thus adequately direct.)

Other instrumental regulatory utterances, like “Ge mig saltet!” (“Give me the salt!”), or ellipses like “Lingonsylt!” (“Lingonberry jam!”), “Där!” (“There (you are)!”), or just “Öh!” (“Eh!” ?), accompanied or not by a pointing gesture, requiring a lot of inference from the context, were however often corrected by the parents if uttered by the children, though most often adequately reacted upon at the same time. Such requests are probably considered as more or less impolite by most Swedes, even when used in the family domain.

Among the regulators, classified as direct, there were many utterances containing the modal verbs “får” (“may”) or “kan” (“can”). Using the terms of Blum-Kulka, the examples 32-34 might be rather “neutral” in their instrumental context:

(Example 32: Group 2/B)

MOT nu kan sätta er för nu e de serverat now you may sit down because dinner is served

(Example 33: Group 2/A)

MOT du kan smaka de här you may taste this

(Example 34: Group 1/B)

MOT du får ta smör you may take butter

Direct utterances may, however, be differently interpreted in different situational and conversational contexts, as pointed out by Brown & Levinson (1987). Thus, the utterances in example 35 and 36 were produced in a context where the target child's behaviour had provoked irritation, a circumstance that might affect the interpretation of them. In example 35, the mitigated formulation may be perceived as somewhat ironic in a situation where the child wants to obtain permission to leave the table. And in example 36, the tone of voice aggravates the illocutionary implication of the mother's regulatory utterance.

(Example 35: Group 1/B)

MOT du får *gärna* sitta med you *may* sit down

(Example 36: Group 1/B)

MOT jamen du får pilla bort dom but you have to remove them
(irritated tone of voice)

Not only may regulatory utterances, formulated in the same way, vary with regard to directness (or impoliteness) with the situational context, but different successive formulations may also be used, either to aggravate or to mitigate, as in the examples 37 and 38 below:

(Example 37: Group 2/B)

MOT nu får du ta å skriva åsså nu you must write some too
du har ju inte skrivit något you have not written anything, have you
ska du göra de me en gång are you going to do that at once

In example 37, the maternal regulation starts by a direct directive, followed by a mitigating motivation and ends up by a request, considered as indirect (by the question form, which at least fictively leaves a choice open).

In example 38, the regulator is initiated by an utterance, classified as indirect request (a formally based identification that might be questioned – considering the demanding posture and tone of voice!). When the child signals a refuse, the mother continues by a direct request, focusing the expected action:

(Example 38: Group 1/B)

MOT men du kan väl smaka but you can taste, can't you
smakar gör du you are tasting it

Characteristic for the family dinners with younger children were also the many “need statements” (Ervin-Tripp 1976), such as “Jag vill också ha mjölk!” (“Me too want milk!”, uttered in a complaining tone of voice) or “Jag vill inte ha det där!” (“I don’t want that!”) in order to stop the parent putting meat on the plate. Similarly, cries for help like “Mamma du ska skära!” (Mummy you must cut!) or “Mamma, du måste hjälpa mig!” (“Mummy, you must help me!”) appeared quite often. These regulators reflect not only the natural directness of instrumental talk during the dinner, but also, in a wider perspective, the intimacy of the family encounter on the one hand and the inferiority, dependency and – often – helplessness of the child on the other.

This asymmetry of the relation is also apparent by the number of so called pedagogic regulators during the meals. Regulatory utterances, such as: “Dra tallriken närmre karotten!” (“Pull the plate nearer the cattle!”) or “Ta inte mer, du vet att det är mäktigt” (“Don’t take more, you know that it is stabby!”) are quite natural in parents’ talk to children but would hardly be accepted by an adult addressee (except in very special circumstances).

Actually, there seemed to be a development among the children, from “bald on record” imperatives and need statements in the youngest siblings, over conventionally indirect requests in the target children, towards either extreme polite or impolite utterances among the teen-agers.

As pointed out above, direct regulators might be more or less coercive in the actual context, but they are also quite often counter-balanced by mitigation (or “hedging” to adopt the term used in e. g. Brown & Levinson 1987), especially if there is a risk of non-compliance. As pointed out by Blum-Kulka (1990), mitigated directness represents a special kind of politeness, termed “solidarity politeness” (in Scollon & Scollon (1981)). In Swedish, such “solidarity politeness” is often formulated as tags, like “... är du snäll.” (“... will you?”) or “... eller hur?”, as in the example: “Du får ta frukt sen, *eller hur?*” (“You can take a fruit afterwards, can’t you?”), posed after the request, or as adverbs, like “väl” in “Du kan *väl* hämta mjölken.” (represented in English by a tag question: “You can bring the milk, can’t you.”). Pluralization of “I” and “you” into “we” and nicknaming were also used, such as Pelle for Per, or “lilla gumman/gubben” addressed to children (verbatim “little old lady/man”, approximately translated by “dear” or “honey”), but not seemingly so often as in the material of Blum-Kulka (1990). The use of “we” for “you” or for “I and you” is well known from research on developmental aspects of the communication between adult and child.

In the Swedish families, mitigation was frequent in parental regulation, especially in the mothers’ (see below) but more often formulated as internal or external justifying formulations: “Du *kanske kan passa på* at ...” (“You might take the opportunity to ...”) or “Ta inte mer än du orkar, *du vet att de e mäktigt!*” (“Don’t take more than you can eat, you know it is stabby!”). This kind of mitigation appeared at least once in each recording:

(Example 39: Group 2/A)

MOT	men <i>om</i> du tar upp å lägger på din tallrik <i>så kallnar de</i>	but <i>if</i> you take up and put on your plate <i>it will be chilled</i>
-----	--	--

(Example 40: Group 1/A)

MOT	<i>lite</i> skinka vill du ha (+ inversion)	<i>some</i> ham do you want
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(Example 41: Group 1/A)

MOT	sen <i>tycker ja</i> att du ska dricka lite mjölk <i>faktiskt så man får starka ben</i>	<i>then I think</i> you should drink some milk <i>so you get strong legs</i>
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(Example 42: Group 1/A)

MOT	du kan vänta lite <i>Johannes e åsså snart färdig här</i>	you can wait a little <i>J is also soon ready here</i>
-----	--	---

(Example 43: Group 2/B)

FAT	sätt dej ner du kan väl vänta tills de/ e färdigt	sit down you may wait until it is ready
-----	--	--

(Example 44: Group 1/A)

MOT	om du känner att du vill gå från bordet så får du säga tack för maten å gå från bordet	if you feel that you want to leave the table then you can say thank you and leave the table
-----	---	--

(Example 45: Group 2/A)

MOT	kan du inte äta färdigt så vi får torka av här	could you finish eating so we can wipe here
-----	--	---

(Example 46: Group 2/A)

MOT	ja skulle förslå en dusch ja tror inte du har tvättat håret sen du klippte dej	I would suggest a shower I don't think you have washed your hair since you cut it
-----	--	---

Mitigation occurs, however, not only in routine but also in pedagogic contexts, as demonstrated by the last example, classified as pedagogic rather than regulating the instrumental routine.

That mitigation appears also in indirect regulatory utterances is illustrated by the example 38, which is considered as indirect, according to the model elaborated by Blum-Kulka (1990), although this classification might be questioned (see further below). Actually, the results of this study also suggested conventional indirectness to be regularly chosen, at least by parents and especially by mothers. Indirect requests are often used for regulating some action to be undertaken in the future, like in the following example concerning the child's bringing some money to the school for a visit to the cinema:

(Example 47: Group 1/A)

MOT	de e väl bäst att du har med dej lite tidigare eller samma dag/ på onsdag väl	you had better bring it a bit earlier or the same day/ on Wednesday, isn't it
-----	--	--

As pointed out by Blum-Kulka, parents have to face the option between mitigated direct and conventional indirect utterances if they want to avoid "bald on record" directness. This is true also for the children, but they adopted primarily conventional indirectness, despite the fact that their direct requests were more often responded to.

In this material, most indirect child requests, both for nonverbal actions and goods, were formulated as questions beginning with the modal verb "kan" ("can"), as in the examples 48-50:

(Example 48: Group 1/A)

CHI 1	kan ja få en ostbit	may I have a piece of cheese
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(Example 49: Group 1/A)

CHI 1 kan du hålla på can you pour

(Example 50: Group 2/B)

CHI 1 kan du skicka hit för ja ska åsså ha can you passe (it) because I want too

In the last example above, the child's indirect request is mitigated by a motivation.

Indirect requests formulated with the verb “kan” were also most frequent in parental regulation, although parents made use of more varying conventionally indirect utterances, for instance with formulations as “vill du” or “skulle du vilja” (“do you want” or “would you”):

(Example 51: Group 2/B)

FAT kan du flytta dej lite can you move a bit

(Example 52: Group 2/B)

MOT vill du skicka sötsur sås som star där do you want to passe sauce that is there

Are all indirect utterances more polite than direct equivalents? As suggested above, this depends highly both on the way of uttering them and of factors in the actual context. Consider the following utterance – not found in twenty Swedish families, but still highly possible in a family setting: “Karl Nilsson, skulle du vilja vara så vänlig att flytta dina skor!” (“K. N., would you be so kind to move your shoes!”). In this case, the use of the full name and the conventional formality would (as pointed out by Ervin-Tripp 1990 and Blum-Kulka 1997) be in conflict with the normal informality and intimacy within the primary group of the family and therefore be perceived as impolite or even hostile. This does not restrain desperate parents from using it regularly!

Like many other non-conventional requests, hints are often regulators with a low degree of propositional and illocutionary transparency, though their interpretation in certain routine contexts may be perfectly clear. Hints were not frequent in my material but seemed to be adequately interpreted (though not so often complied with, see below) due to their appearance in highly “conventional directive frames” (Ervin-Tripp 1976).

As demonstrated by the examples presented in the Result section, hints might be polite in certain contexts but are seldom so in family dinner situations. Besides the excessive cognitive inference required of the children, they might give the impression of irony, likely to provoke confusion and opposition.

Also, they very often provoked negotiation or resistance when used to control child behaviour (see examples below). Paradoxically and inconceivably, parents often used them to make their children listen and respond to provoking requests, such as eating undesirable food, doing unfinished school homework or telling embarrassing episodes, as in the following examples:

(Example 54: Group 1/A)

MOT hur går de me pianot då how is the piano then

(Example 55: Group 2/A)

MOT	hade du nåra läxor	did you have any homework
-----	--------------------	---------------------------

As suggested above, direct requests as well as hints often provoked the child and resulted in protests or, more often, negotiation about the requested action, like in the following example:

(Example 56: Group 2/A: Negotiation concerning eating chocolate before grapes)

MOT	du får noblesse sen	you may have noblesse later
	först får du äta vindruvor	first you must eat grapes
CHI 1	nä ja/ hur mycke då	no I/ how much then
MOT	de e ganska mycke	there are quite a lot
	så du får ta så mycke du vill ha	so you may take as much as you want
CHI 1	högst fem	five at the most
MOT	va	what
CHI 1	högst fem sen får ja noblesse	five at the most then I can have noblesse
MOT	/laughs/ ja trodde du gillade vindruvor	I thought that you liked grapes
CHI 1	jamen	but
MOT	då måste du ta en liten/	then you must have a small/
CHI 1	men	but
MOT	då måste du först ta en ren tallrik	then you must take a clean plate
CHI 1	kan ja inte först få noblesse å sen vindruvor	can't I have noblesse first and then grapes
MOT	nä först vindruvor sen noblesse	no grapes first then noblesse
CHI 1	nämen	but
MOT	men ja hade tänkt mig lite efterrätt här seru	but I had planned a bit of desert here you know
CHI 1	inte så där mycke	not so much
MOT	nej nej nej	no no no
	Men ja måste hämta nåra små tallrikar	but I have to fetch some small plates
	Man kunde kanske använda dom vi har	we could perhaps use those that we have
	Men dom e så kladdiga	but they are så

The example above displays a kind of negotiation rather common in the families, especially among target children with older siblings! In this example, the mother tries hard, by a number of more or less indirect and coaxing arguments, to plead for the principle of eating fruit before chocolates.

Judging from the last extracts, the conclusion would be that the dinner table is an arena for argumentative discussions and even for giving way to conflicts within the families. However, the analyses suggest that family members are quite skilful in adapting their regulatory behaviour both to the norms of politeness and to the requirements of the situation. They also accept a relatively high level of direct utterances, and even brusque changes between sequences of rather coercive directness and passages of smoothly flowing dinner conversations.

General discussion

Theoretical background and coding categories

In order to make the data comparable to other studies (Blum-Kulka 1990, 1997, Ervin-Tripp et al 1990, Snow et al 1990), the distinction of the categories direct and indirect have been adapted to the theoretical frames of these researchers and, to some extent, modified according to the discussion in Ervin-Tripp (1976). The coding categories in this study were not based on the renewed model of “solidarity politeness” presented in Blum-Kulka (1990, 1997). The primary reason for this was not cultural differences between my families and those studied by Blum-Kulka but rather the design of my research – I frequently studied mitigation also in conventionally indirect utterances, which would obstruct the classification if I had strictly followed Blum-Kulka’s model. The model developed by Blum-Kulka is, however, of importance for the discussion of my data.

Concerning the theoretically well documented phenomenon of indirect speech (see Grice 1975, Searle 1975), Brown & Levinson (1987) claim that “indirect speech acts are universal and for the most part probably constructed in essentially similar ways in all languages”. Basing their standpoint on extensive inter-cultural studies, Brown & Levinson (1987) further maintain that “indirect speech acts *do* translate across quite unrelated languages and cultures, but when they do not, the translation gaps are due either to particular linguistic gaps or to social filters of this nature” (Brown & Levinson 1987:139). After analysing the Swedish material collected for this study, I would rather conclude, as Blum-Kulka (1997), that not specific gaps but considerable socio-cultural differences on the micro level of language nuances make comparisons hard to do, if not impossible. Even within the Swedish family groups, there were striking differences in the use of various types of requests, despite certain seemingly culture-related constants. Some of these differences seemed to depend more on situational constraints than on culture-specific factors.

In Swedish, the distinctions adopted from Blum-Kulka (1997), e. g. between direct and indirect and between mitigated and not mitigated requests could be discussed and even challenged. Actually, some direct regulatory utterances might as well be considered as indirect (see examples in the section above). On the other hand, certain indirect utterances could be perceived as fairly direct.

Data collection, material and method of analysis

How data were collected might have biased the results, due to participant awareness of being recorded. Most likely, many direct utterances, which could be perceived as coercive, were probably suppressed, at least among the parents.

The validity would be sensitive to the generality of the model used. Perhaps a model more adapted to the Swedish material would have generated more nuanced results.

Furthermore, the reliability might be affected by the fact mentioned in Methods and Results that the age groups and number groups included in the study are small and not mutually independent, since the larger the number of children in the family, the greater the probability of younger children. However, despite the limited material and the coding and analysing problems entailed in the methods used, the results highlight some interesting tendencies regarding the use of regulatory means at the dinner table in Swedish families. More elaborated methods and a larger corpus of recordings would be needed to confirm the findings.

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Appendix 1.

Questionnaire inquiring demographic data (Swedish)

Projektet vuxna och växande – svenska, polsksvenska och polska familjer

ENKÅT OM DEMOGRAFISKA DATA

1. Familjens sammansättning

FAMIJLEMEDLEM	ÅLDER	UTBILDNING
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. Val av språk

SPRÅK	SITUATION	GRAD AV TVÅSPRÅKIGHET
.....
.....

INSTRUKTION FÖR RESTEN AV ENKÄTEN

Läs igenom påståendena under punkt tre och fyra och markera med hjälp av skalan här nedan i vilken grad det stämmer med Dina åsikter.

0	stämmer inte alls
1	stämmer inte så bra
2	vet inte
3	stämmer ganska bra
4	stämmer helt och hållet

3. Idéer om språkutveckling och språkinlärning

Föräldrar måste prata mycket med sina barn.

Barn ska lära sig att ”tala är silver och tiga är guld”.

Barn ska lära sig att uttrycka och förklara sina åsikter.

Barn ska lära sig att tala korrekt.

Barn ska utveckla förmågan att tala i alla möjliga situationer.

Det är föräldrarnas uppgift att stödja sina barns språkutveckling.

Skolan bör satsa mer på träning och utveckling av modersmålet.

4. Idéer om samtal under måltider

Under måltiden ska man ”låta maten tysta mun”, d v s inte prata i onödan.

Det är viktigt att lära barn att vara artiga vid matbordet.

Vid matbordet får alla familjemedlemmar ta upp vilket samtalsämne som helst.

Samråd, planering och diskussioner som rör familjen ska tas upp vid middagsbordet.

Det är viktigt att barn lär sig konversera som vuxna vid matbordet.

Barn lär sig och utvecklar sitt språk under måltiderna.

Måltiderna bör ägnas så mycket som möjligt åt konversation.

Tack för att ni besvarade enkäten!

Appendix 2.

Modified version of the CHAT system for transcription

1. PARTICIPANTS

- *MOT = mother
- *FAT= father
- *CHI 1 = target child
- *CHI 2-N = siblings and peers
- *VIS = visitor
- *RES = researcher (if not participating in the meal)

2. VERBAL EXPRESSIONS

2.1. Speaking turns, utterances and words

Spoken **words** are written according to the norm system for written language but slightly modified to reflect casual speech, i.e. with reductions and assimilations common in spoken language.

A speaking turn constitutes the speech produced by one participant until another participant takes the floor. A speaking turn may include one or more **utterances** constituting syntactic units and delimited by prosodic signals, i.e. forming a prosodic phrase (se transcription and 3.2.1. below).

2.2. Prosodic signals

2.2.1. *Delimitation of utterances*

A new utterance is marked by shifting to a new line and delimited by a full stop, according to syntactic form, prosodic contour and terminal tone:

- . = declarative
- ? = question
- ! = exclamation

3.2.2. *Interruption*

Interrupted prosodic contours, i.e. when a participant interrupts his speech, either or not continuing another verbal construction, are marked by slashes / (se transcription).

3.2.3. *Pauses*

Pauses shorter than three seconds are marked by three points (...), se below.

2.3. Overlapping speech

Overlapping speech is marked by brackets [at the beginning of overlapping utterances.

2.4. Nonidentifiable speech

Unidentified speech is marked by ----- but still counted as an utterance.

2.5. Translation

Translated utterances are put into brackets ().

3. NONVERBAL COMMUNICATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Nonverbal and clearly communicative expressions are put within slashes, e.g. /nods/
More general supralinguistic expressions are treated as nonverbal context, see below.

4. NONVERBAL CONTEXT

The symbol for nonverbal context is %COM (according to the Chiles system Chat).

Pauses longer than ca 3 seconds are denoted by %COM and “pause”.

Furthermore, the symbol %COM is used to note any other incidence of interest that does not fit in under other headlines.

Table 1a. Group 1 defined by participating children younger than 12 years

FAMILY	ADULTS			CHILD 1		CHILD 2		CHILD 3		CHILD 4		COMMENTS	
	M	AGE	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		AGE
F 1	1	44	1		1								
F 2	1	41				1							
F 3	1	41	1		1		1						
F 6	1	36				1		1					
F 8	1	28				1		1					
F 13	1	38	1			1		1		6			
F 14	1	41				1		1		7			
F 15	1	36			1		1			7			
F 16			1	33		1		1		7			
F 17	1	40			1		1			7			
F 19	1	39	1		1		1			7			
S:A ALL	10		5		4	7		2	7			1	1
% OF ALL	55		50										
MEAN AGE		34,9								7,3			8

Table 1b. Group 2 defined by participating children older than 12 years

FAMILY	ADULTS			CHILD 1		CHILD 2		CHILD 3		CHILD 4		COMMENTS	
	M	AGE	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		AGE
F 4	1	41				1		1		14			
F 5	1	39	1			1		1		14		17	
F 7	1	52			1		1			14			
F 9	1	47	1		1		1			13			
F 10	1	41			1		1			14			
F 11	1	41	1		1		1			14		7	1
F 12	1	40	1		1		1			13		4	
F 18	1	36			1		1			14			
F 20	1	40	1		1		1			14		15	1
S:A ALL	9		5		5	4		4	5				
% OF ALL	45		50										
MEAN AGE		42								13,8			10,8

Peer of target

child

Table 2a. Group A defined by four or less participants in family dinner table conversation

FAMILY	ADULTS		CHILD 1		CHILD 2		CHILD 3		CHILD 4		COMMENTS				
	M	AGE	F	AGE	M	F	AGE	M	F	AGE		M	F	AGE	
F1	1	44	1		1	7	12								
F2	1	41				1	10								
F3	1	41	1		1		12		1	9					
F4	1	41				1	10		1	14					
F6	1	36				1	11		1	9					
F7	1	52			1		11		1	14					
F8	1	28				1	11		1	7					
F9	1	47	1		1		11		1	13					
F10	1	41			1		11		1	14					
F13	1	38	1		1		11		1	6					
F14	1	41			1		11		1	7					
F15	1	36			1		11		1	7					
F16			1	33		1	10		1	7					
F17	1	40			1		10		1	7					
F18	1	36			1		10		1	14					
S:A ALL	14		5		8	7		4	9						
% OF ALL															
MEAN AGE		40,1					10,8			10					

Table 2b. Group B defined by five or more participants in family dinner table conversation

FAMILY	ADULTS		CHILD 1		CHILD 2		CHILD 3		CHILD 4		COMMENTS				
	M	AGE	F	AGE	M	F	AGE	M	F	AGE		M	F	AGE	
F5	1	39	1			1	10		1	14					Father absent
F11	1	41	1			1	11		1	14					
F12	1	40	1		1		11		1	13					
F19	1	39	1			1	10		1	8					
F20	1	40	1			1	12		1	14					Peer of target child
S:A ALL	5		5		1	4		2	3		2	3			
% OF ALL															
MEAN AGE		39,8					10,8			11,2			11,4		15,3

Table 3a. Amounts and proportions of regulatory utterances in family group 1 and 2 defined by the age of the children

FAMGROUP	GROUP 1											GROUP 2															
	GROUP 1 + 2	S:A		MO		FA		CH1		CH2		S:A		MO		FA		CH1		CH2		CHN					
VARIABLE	s:a all	%reg	%utt	%reg	%utt	%	%	%	%	%	%	%reg	%utt	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%					
FORM																											
NONVERB	16	3,8	0,3	5	2,2	2	40		1	20	2	40	11	5,7	0,4	1	9	1	9	3	27,3	2	18,2	4	36,4		
VERBAL	404	96,2	6,8	222	97,8	98	44,1	32	14,4	41	18,5	46	20,7	182	94,3	6,1	79	43,4	21	11,5	43	23,6	27	14,8	12	6,6	
FOCUS																											
NONVERBAL	321	93,3	5,4	172	93,7	81	47,1	24	14	31	18	35	20,3	149	93,1	5	68	45,6	19	12,8	37	24,8	20	13,4	5	3,4	
VERBAL	23	6,7	0,4	12	6,3	9	75	3	25					11	6,9	0,4	8	72,7	1		1		1				
ACTION	344	81,9	5,8	184	81,1	90	48,9	27	14,7	31	16,8	35	19	160	82,9	5,3	76	47,5	20	12,5	38	23,8	21	13,1	5	3,3	
ATTENTION	54	12,9	0,9	37	16,3	7	19	5	13,5	10	27	12	32,4	17	8,8	0,6	3	17,6	2	11,8	4	23	3	17,6	5	29,4	
FOCUS	22	5,2	0,4	6	2,6	3	50		1	1	1	1		16	8,3	0,5	1			4	25	5	31,3	6	37,5		
REG S:A	420		7,1	227	54	7,7	100	44,1	32	14,1	42	18,5	48	21,1	193	46	6,4	80	41,5	22	11,4	46	23,8	29	15,3	16	8,3

Table 3b. Amounts and proportions of regulatory utterances in family group A and B defined by number of participants

FAMGROUP	GROUP A											GROUP B															
	GROUP A+B	S:A		MO		FA		CH1		CH2		S:A		MO		FA		CH1		CH2		CHN					
VARIABLE	s:a all	%reg	%utt	%reg	%utt	%	%	%	%	%	%	%reg	%utt	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%					
FORM																											
NONVERB	16	3,8	0,3	7	2,8	2	28,6	1	14,3	2	28,6	9	5,3	0,5	1	11,1	1	11,1	1	11,1	1	11,1	2	22,2	4	44,4	
VERBAL	404	46,2	6,8	244	97,2	6,1	124	50,8	32	13,1	38	15,6	50	20,5	160	94,7	8,2	53	33,1	21	13,1	46	28,8	23	14,4	17	10,6
FOCUS																											
NONVERBAL	321	93,3	5,4	195	90,7	4,9	100	51,3	25	12,8	30	15,4	40	20,5	126	97,7	6,4	50	39,7	19	15,1	35	27,8	16	12,7	6	4,8
VERBAL	23	6,7	0,4	20	9,3	0,5	15	75	3	15	2	10			3	2,3	0,2	1	33,3			1	33,3				
ACTION	344	81,9	5,8	215	85,7	5,4	115	53,5	28	13	32	14,9	40	18,6	129	76,3	6,6	51	39,5	19	14,7	36	27,9	17	13,2	6	4,7
ATTENTION	54	12,9	0,9	27	10,7	0,7	8	29,6	5	18,5	4	14,8	10	37	27	16	1,4	2	7,4	2	7,4	10	37	3	11,1	10	37
FOCUS	22	5,2	0,4	9	3,6	0,2	3	33,3			4	44,4	2	22,2	13	7,8	0,7	1	7,7	1	7,7	1	7,7	5	38,5	5	38,5
REG S:A	420		7,1	251	60	6,3	126	50,2	33	13,1	40	16	52	20,7	169	40	8,6	54	32	22	13	47	27,8	25	14,8	21	12,4

Table 4 a. Amounts and percentages of directness and politeness in family groups 1 and 2

FAMGROUP	1+2		GROUP 1							GROUP 2															
	s:a	%reg	S:A	%reg	MO	%	FA	%	CH1	%	CH2	%	S:A	%reg	MO	%	FA	%	CH1	%	CH2	%	CHN	%	
Directness																									
direct	212	55	124	56	48	46	21	68	32	70	23	62	88	54	29	41	17	74	28	67	14	50			
Indirect	170	45	94	44	56	54	10	32	14	30	14	38	76	46	42	59	6	26	14	33	14	50			
Summa	382		218		104		31		46		37		164		71		23		42		28				
Indirectness																									
conventional	149	88	82	82	50	87	7	70	14	100	13	93	67	88	36		6	100	11	79	14	100			
nonconvent	21	12	12	12	6	13	3	30			1	7	9	12	6				3	21					
Summa	170		94		56		10				14		76												
mitigation	35	17	21	17	16	33	3	14	2	6			14	16	6	21	1	6							

Table 4 b. Amounts and percentages of directness and politeness in family groups A and B.

FAMGROUP	A+B		GROUP A							GROUP B															
	s:a	%reg	S:A	%reg	MO	%	FA	%	CH1	%	CH2	%	S:A	%reg	MO	%	FA	%	CH1	%	CH2	%	CHN	%	
Directness																									
direct	210	55	122	51	51	40	21	66	30	75	20	50	88	62	23	52	16	73	24	59	15	71	10	77	
Indirect	172	45	118	49	77	60	11	34	10	25	20	50	54	38	21	48	6	27	17	41	6	29	3	23	
Summa	382		240		128		32		40		40		142		44		22		41		21		13		
Indirectness																									
conventional	148	86	99	84	65	84	7	64	10	100	17	85	49	91	20	95	6	100	14	6	6	100	3	100	
nonconvent	24	14	19	16	12	16	4	36			3	15	5	9	1	5			3	18					
Summa	172		118		77		11								21				17						
mitigation	31	15	18	15	14	27	3	14	1	3			13	15	11	48			2	8					

Table 8 a. Amounts and percentage of direct/indirect utterances related to outcome in family group 1 an e of regulation in family group 1 and 2.

FAMGROUP	1+2	GROUP 1										GROUP 2																					
		s:a	%reg	S.A	%ca	MO	%ca	%in	FA	%ca	%in	CH1	%ca	%in	CH2	%ca	%in	S.A	%ca	MO	%ca	%in	FA	%ca	%in	CH1	%ca	%in	CH2	%ca	%in	CHN	%ca
OUTCOME	382		218		104			31			46			37			164		71			23			42			28					
compliance	171	45	96	44	41	43	39	12	13	74	20	21	43	23	24	43	75	46	29	39	41	13	17	57	22	29	52	11	15	39			
direct	98	57	53	55	16	30	39	3	7	25	14	26	70	20	38	87	45	60	15	33	52	9	20	69	13	29	59	8	18	73			
indirect	73	43	43	45	25	58	61	9	20	75	6	14	30	3	7	13	30	40	14	47	48	4	13	31	9	30	41	3	10	27			
mitigated																																	
negotiation	18	5	8	4	6	75	6							2	25	19	10	6	9	90	13	1	17	4									
direct	8	44	3	38	1	33	17							2	67	100	5	50	4	80	44	1	20	100									
indirect	10	56	5	62	5	100	83										5	50	5	100	56												
mitigated																																	
ignorance	12	3	8	4	3	33	3							5	56	14	4	2				3	75	13				1	25	4			
direct	6	50	2	25	1	50	33							1	50	20	4	100				3	75	100				1	25	100			
indirect	6	50	6	75	2	33	67							4	67	80																	
mitigated																																	
resistance	37	10	25	11	12	48	10	5	20	16	8	32	17				12	7	4	33	6				4	33	14	4	33	14			
direct	22	59	15	60	9	60	75	3	20	60	3	20	38				7	58	1	14	25				4	57	100	2	29	50			
indirect	15	41	10	40	3	30	25	2	20	40	5	50	62				5	42	3	60	75							2	40	50			
mitigated																																	
other	144	38	81	37	42	52	42	14	16	10	18	23	39	7	9	24	63	37	29	46	41	6	10	26	16	25	33	12	19	43			

Table 8 b. Amounts and percentage of direct/indirect utterances related to outcome of regulation in family group A and B.

FAMGROUP	A and B	GROUP A										GROUP B																						
		s:a	%reg	S:A	%ca	MO	%ca	%in	FA	%ca	%in	CH1	%ca	%in	CH2	%ca	%in	S:A	%ca	%in	MO	%ca	%in	FA	%ca	%in	CH1	%ca	%in	CH2	%ca	%in	CHN	%ca
OUTCOME	392		240		128			32			40			40			142			44			22			38			21			17		
compliance	171	44	104	43	48	46	38	12	12	38	18	17	44	26	25	65	67	47	22	33	50	10	15	45	16	24	42	9	13	43	10	15	59	
direct	96	56	59	57	20	34	42	3	5	25	14	24	78	22	37	85	37	55	7	19	32	6	16	60	8	22	50	7	19	78	9	24	90	
indirect	77	44	45	43	28	62	58	9	20	75	4	9	22	4	9	15	30	45	15	50	68	4	13	40	8	27	50	2	7	22	1	3	10	
indir conv																																		
negotiation	25	7	16	7	13	81	10				1	6	3	2	13	5	9	6	2	22	5	1	11	5	4	44	11	2	22	10				
direct	14	56	7	44	4	57	31				1	14	100	2	30	100	7	78	1	14	50	1	14	100	3	43	75	2	29	100				
indirect	11	44	9	56	9	100	69										2	22	1	50	50				1	50	25							
mitigated																																		
ignorance	13	3	9	4	2	22	2	1	11	3	1	11	3	5	56	13	4	3				3	75	14				1	25	5				
direct	7	53	4	44	1	25	50	1	25	100	1	25	100	1	25	20	3	75				2	67	67					1	33	100			
indirect	6	47	5	56	1	20	50							4	80	80	1	25				1	100	33										
mitigated																																		
resistance	36	9	29	12	11	38	9	5	17	16	9	31	23	4	14	10	7	5	4	57	9	1	14	5	1	14	3				1	14	6	
direct	28	78	21	72	9	43	82	3	14	60	5	24	56	4	19	100	7	100	4	57	100	1	14	100	1	14	100				1	14	100	
indirect	8	22	8	28	2	25	18	2	25	40	4	50	44																					
mitigated																																		
other	137	37	82	34	54	66	42	14	17	44	11	13	27	3	4	8	55	39	16	29	36	7	13	32	17	31	45	9	16	43	6	11	35	