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Two registers and a substrate: An integrative model of Islamic parent–child communication from the Qaulan principles in Indonesian children's fiction

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ABSTRACT

Islamic communication ethics offers five Qur'anic principles of speech, *qaulan layyinan* (gentle), *ma'rufan* (proper), *balighan* (penetrating), *sadidan* (truthful) and *kariman* (noble), but they are usually discussed one at a time and normatively. This article proposes an empirically grounded model of how the five principles work together in parent–child communication. The data are 388 parent-to-child utterances from Tere Liye's *Serial Anak Nusantara*, four Indonesian children's novels, each coded for *qaulan* category, conversational implicature, pragmastylistic strategy, family communication pattern (FCP) and speech function, and read against the child's narrated response. Gentle speech is the largest category (39.4%), followed by proper (24.2%), penetrating (20.1%), truthful (14.9%) and noble speech (1.3%). The categories are strongly associated with style (Cramér's V = 0.53), function (0.44) and FCP (0.40), are distributed differently between father and mother (0.33), and are stable across the four novels (V = 0.06, p = .88). The profiles group into two registers. A regulative-epistemic register (proper and truthful speech) is interrogative and rhetorical, trades on Quantity implicatures, is conversation- or conformity-oriented and serves advice and reprimand; a relational-formative register (gentle and penetrating speech) is mitigated or persuasive, trades on Quality and Relation implicatures, is consensual and serves affective and educative functions. Noble speech functions as a substrate of dignity that surfaces at moments of reconciliation. Sequential analysis shows that each category tends to persist across adjacent utterances and that proper speech is followed by truthful speech more often than chance. Read against the children's responses, the regulative register secures perception and compliance, the formative register secures acceptance and moral feeling, and complete internalisation occurs in episodes that combine both. The resulting model specifies components, relations and conditions, and it offers a framework for research, parenting and character education.

KEYWORDS: *qaulan* principles, Islamic communication, family communication patterns, implicature, pragmatic stylistics, value internalisation, children's literature

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1. Introduction

The Qur'an describes good speech through a series of short phrases, each pairing *qaulan* ("speech") with a qualifying adjective. Indonesian scholars have organised these phrases into a typology of Islamic communication ethics, in which speech should be truthful (*sadidan*), penetrating (*balighan*), proper (*ma'rufan*), gentle (*layyinan*) and noble (*kariman*) (Hefni, 2015; Rakhmat, 1991). The typology is widely taught in Islamic education and frequently applied to preaching, schooling, media and family life. Two features of this literature limit its explanatory power. First, the principles are mostly treated one at a time, as separate virtues, so that little is said about how they combine in a single conversation or relationship. Second, the treatment is mostly normative, even in recent work on parent–child communication (e.g., Asriani & Wahyudi, 2025). It describes what each principle requires but rarely shows, with linguistic evidence, how speakers realise the principles and what the realisations accomplish.

Research on family communication faces a mirror-image limitation. Family Communication Patterns Theory offers well-tested dimensions of conversation and conformity orientation (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002; Schrodt et al., 2008), and developmental research has clarified how parental messages are perceived and accepted (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hoffman, 2000). Pragmatics and stylistics provide tools for analysing how meaning is implied and how style shapes uptake (Black, 2006; Grice, 1975; Thao et al., 2020; Purba et al., 2023; Munthe et al., 2024). Yet these frameworks are seldom connected to the ethical vocabularies through which many families, including the majority of Indonesian families, understand their own speech.

This article builds a bridge between the two bodies of work. It draws on a corpus of 388 parent-to-child utterances from Tere Liye's *Serial Anak Nusantara*, four Indonesian children's novels about a farming family in rural Sumatra. Companion studies have examined each *qaulan* principle separately. The present article integrates their results and asks:

1. How are the five *qaulan* principles distributed in parent-to-child dialogue, and how strongly are they associated with implicature, style, family communication pattern, speech function, parent and novel?
2. Do the principles form larger configurations, and how do they follow one another in sequences of talk?
3. How do these configurations relate to the children's responses, read as evidence of value internalisation and character formation?
4. What model of Islamic parent–child communication do the answers support?

The article contributes a model with two registers and a substrate. A regulative-epistemic register, formed by proper and truthful speech, establishes norms and facts. A relational-formative register, formed by gentle and penetrating speech, secures acceptance and understanding. Noble speech forms a substrate of dignity that surfaces at moments of reconciliation. The model specifies how each part relates to the dimensions of pragmatic and relational analysis and to the stages of internalisation, and it identifies the conditions under which complete internalisation is represented.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The *qaulan* principles as an ethical framework

Table 1 summarises the five principles used in this study, with their principal Qur'anic loci and the orientation each contributes. A sixth phrase, *qaulan maisuran* (Q. 17:28), concerns the gentle refusal of a request and was not treated as a separate category because it overlaps operationally with *layyinan* and *ma'rufan*.

Table 1. The five *qaulan* principles

Principle	Principal locus	Core meaning	Orientation
Layyinan	Q. 20:44	Gentle, soft speech	Manner; managing emotion and relationship
Ma'rufan	Q. 2:235; 4:5	Proper speech, recognised as good	Norm; social propriety

Principle	Principal locus	Core meaning	Orientation
Balighan	Q. 4:63	Speech that reaches the soul	Effect; understanding and change
Sadidan	Q. 4:9; 33:70	Truthful, on-target speech	Content; truth and accuracy
Kariman	Q. 17:23	Noble, honouring speech	Person; dignity

The orientations suggest that the principles are not alternatives but address different aspects of a single speech event: its manner, its norm, its effect, its content and its regard for the person (Shihab, 2002). If so, real or represented speech should show principles working in combination. The Qur'anic portrait of Luqman instructing his son (Q. 31:13–19), which joins affectionate address (*ya bunayya*, "my dear son"), reasons and moral content, is often cited as such a combination in Islamic writing on parenting (Shihab, 2002; Ulwan, 2004).

2.2 Analytic dimensions

Four analytic dimensions connect the ethical framework to linguistic and relational evidence. *Conversational implicature* explains how parents mean more than they say, through the flouting of Grice's (1975) maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner. *Pragmatic stylistics* explains how stylistic choice (mitigated, persuasive, expressive or rhetorical) shapes the force and uptake of an utterance (Black, 2006; Leech & Short, 2007). *Family Communication Patterns Theory* places the utterance in a relational climate defined by conversation and conformity orientation, whose combination yields consensual, pluralistic, protective and laissez-faire types (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002; Koerner et al., 2018). *Speech function* identifies the dominant communicative purpose, such as advice, education, reprimand or affective support.

2.3 Internalisation and character

Grusec and Goodnow (1994) model internalisation as a two-step process in which a child first perceives a parental message accurately and then accepts it. Acceptance depends on the perceived appropriateness of the message, the child's motivation and the sense that the value is self-generated. Lickona (1991) describes character as the integration of moral knowing, moral feeling and moral action. Contemporary socialisation research adds that influence is bidirectional and unfolds over time (Kuczynski & De Mol, 2015). Together these frameworks allow the narrated responses of fictional children to be read as representations of how values are taken up.

2.4 The missing link

Existing models describe parenting through dimensions such as warmth and control (Baumrind, 1971), strategies such as induction and power assertion (Hoffman, 2000), or orientations such as conversation and conformity (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). Islamic writing on parenting describes methods such as example, habituation, advice and attention (Ulwan, 2004). Neither tradition links ethical principles of speech to the observable linguistic and relational features through which they are realised. The present study attempts that link empirically, using a coded literary corpus as its evidence base.

3. Method

3.1 Corpus

The study analyses parent-to-child dialogue in the four novels of Tere Liye's *Serial Anak Nusantara* (Republika Penerbit, 2018). Each novel focuses on one of four siblings in a farming family in rural Sumatra, and each stages extended interaction between the children and their father (Bapak) and mother (Mamak). The unit of analysis is a parental utterance to a child together with its narrative context and the child's narrated response. Units were included when the speaker acted in a parental role, the context allowed interpretation, and the utterance carried meaning beyond its literal content or a marked stylistic effect. The corpus comprises 388 units (Table 2).

Table 2. Corpus by novel and parent

Novel	Focal child	Father → child	Mother → child	Total
Si Anak Kuat	Amelia	60	30	90
Si Anak Pemberani	Eliana	79	32	111
Si Anak Pintar	Pukat	67	44	111
Si Anak Spesial	Burlian	45	31	76
Total		**251**	**137**	**388**

3.2 Coding

Each unit was coded on four analytic dimensions: implicature by the maxim flouted (Quantity, Quality, Relation, Manner); pragmastylistic strategy (mitigated, persuasive, expressive, rhetorical); family communication pattern (conversation-oriented, conformity-oriented, consensual); and one dominant speech function (advice, education, reprimand/directive, affective support, regulation, motivation). Each unit was then assigned to the one *qaulan* category that best described its dominant quality in context. [Inter-coder reliability, to be completed before submission: a stratified random subsample of 78 units (20% of the corpus, proportional to qaulan category and novel) is coded independently by a second trained coder with the coding manual and the reliability workbook supplied with this draft. Report Cohen's κ per dimension here (implicature κ = __; qaulan category κ = __; pragmastylistic strategy κ = __; family communication pattern κ = __; function κ = __) and state that disagreements were resolved by discussion, with the consensus code retained.]

3.3 Analysis

Model construction followed five steps. First, a cross-matrix of *qaulan* category against every analytic dimension, parent and novel was built. Second, recurrent combinations were counted and associations were summarised with Pearson's chi-square and Cramér's V. These statistics are used descriptively, to indicate the strength of patterns in a purposive literary corpus, not to generalise to a population. *Qaulan kariman* (n = 5) was excluded from the tests because of its size, as were three Manner implicatures and one unit with an unassigned style code where those dimensions were tested. Third, category profiles were compared to identify larger configurations, and supporting and deviant cases were examined. Fourth, sequences were analysed by tabulating the category of each unit against that of the next unit in the same novel and parent–child relation (380 transitions; 371 after excluding *kariman*), with standardised residuals identifying transitions more or less frequent than chance. Fifth, extended episodes were read for the children's responses, coded as evidence of perception and acceptance (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) and of moral knowing, feeling and action (Lickona, 1991). The model retains only relations supported by recurrent evidence that can be traced to the data.

4. Findings

4.1 Distribution and stability

Gentle speech is the largest category (153 units, 39.4%), followed by proper speech (94, 24.2%), penetrating speech (78, 20.1%), truthful speech (58, 14.9%) and noble speech (5, 1.3%). Gentle speech is the largest and proper speech the second-largest category in every novel, and the distribution of categories does not differ meaningfully between them ($\chi^2 = 4.47$, df = 9, p = .88, V = 0.06). Whatever patterns the categories form, they belong to the series as a whole rather than to one book or one child.

4.2 Associations

The *qaulan* categories are strongly associated with every analytic dimension (Table 3). The strongest association is with pragmastylistic strategy, followed by speech function and family communication pattern. Category is also associated with the speaking parent and, more weakly, with implicature type.

Table 3. Association of *qaulan* category with analytic dimensions, parent and novel (*kariman* excluded)

Variable	χ^2	df	p	Cramér's V	n
Pragmastylistic strategy	317.06	9	< .001	0.53	382
Speech function	225.40	15	< .001	0.44	382
Family communication pattern	122.51	6	< .001	0.40	382
Parent	42.30	3	< .001	0.33	382
Implicature	76.70	6	< .001	0.32	379
Novel	4.47	9	.88	0.06	382

Table 4 summarises the dominant codes of each category, which are analysed in detail in the companion studies.

Table 4. Dominant codes by *qaulan* category

Category	n (%)	Leading implicature	Leading style	Leading FCP	Leading function	Father's share
Layyinan	153 (39.4)	Quality 42.5%	Mitigated 60.8%	Consensual 55.6%	Affective 36.6%	66.7%
Ma'rufan	94 (24.2)	Quantity 62.8%	Rhetorical 69.1%	Conversation 56.4%	Advice 48.9%	39.4%
Balighan	78 (20.1)	Quality 55.1%	Persuasive 67.9%	Consensual 61.5%	Education 70.5%	85.9%
Sadidan	58 (14.9)	Quantity 46.6%	Rhetorical 69.0%	Conversation 82.8%	Advice 69.0%	70.7%
Kariman	5 (1.3)	Quality 4 of 5	Expressive 4 of 5	Conversation 2, consensual 2	Affective 2, reprimand 2	4 of 5

4.3 Two registers

Table 4 reveals two pairs of categories with similar profiles. *Ma'rufan* and *sadidan* are both led by Quantity implicatures, rhetorical style, conversation orientation and advice. *Layyinan* and *balighan* are both led by Quality implicatures and consensual orientation, and both favour non-rhetorical styles. Table 5 compares the two pairs, which we call registers.

Table 5. The regulative-epistemic and relational-formative registers

Code	Regulative-epistemic (*ma'rufan* + *sadidan*, n = 152) %	Relational-formative (*layyinan* + *balighan*, n = 231) %
Quantity implicature	56.6	22.5
Quality implicature	21.7	46.8
Relation implicature	21.1	29.9
Rhetorical style	69.1	7.8
Mitigated style	9.9	42.0
Persuasive style	7.2	27.7
Expressive style	13.8	22.1
Conversation orientation	66.4	31.2
Conformity orientation	25.7	11.3

Code	Regulative-epistemic (*ma'rufan* + *sadidan*, n = 152) %	Relational-formative (*layyinan* + *balighan*, n = 231) %
Consensual	7.9	57.6
Advice	56.6	17.7
Reprimand/directive	22.4	22.1
Education	11.8	30.3
Affective support	3.9	27.7
Spoken by the father	51.3	73.2

The registers differ sharply in style (V = 0.65), relational orientation (V = 0.50), function (V = 0.48) and implicature (V = 0.35; n = 379). Because the grouping was made after inspecting the profiles, these values describe the contrast rather than test it. The regulative-epistemic register is interrogative and terse. It asks questions whose answers are known or need checking, it either opens the floor or presses for conformity, and it advises or reprimands. The relational-formative register is mitigated or persuasive. It speaks through hyperbole, analogy and story, it combines openness with an expected outcome, and it comforts or educates. Reprimand appears at the same rate in both registers, about one utterance in five, so that the difference lies not in whether parents correct but in how.

4.4 Sequences

The categories tend to persist from one unit to the next. Of the 380 transitions between consecutive units in the same novel and relation, 44.2% stay in the same category. After excluding *kariman*, the distribution of transitions departs from chance ($\chi^2 = 73.5$, df = 9, $p < .001$, V = 0.26). Standardised residuals show persistence in every category: *layyinan* followed by *layyinan* (+4.22), *sadidan* by *sadidan* (+2.79), *balighan* by *balighan* (+2.46) and *ma'rufan* by *ma'rufan* (+2.39). Episodes thus tend to have a dominant register.

Two off-diagonal transitions are informative. *Ma'rufan* is followed by *sadidan* more often than chance (+2.14), which is consistent with the pairing of the two in a regulative-epistemic register: a reminder of a norm is often followed by a check on the facts, or the reverse. *Layyinan* is followed by *sadidan* much less often than chance (–3.53), and *ma'rufan* is followed by *layyinan* less often than chance (–3.04). Gentle talk rarely gives way directly to fact-checking, and a reproach rarely gives way directly to gentleness; this suggests that movement between the registers is often mediated, for example by a change of scene or of speaker.

4.5 Parents

The parents differ in their use of the registers. The father's talk is 67.3% relational-formative and 31.1% regulative-epistemic; gentle speech accounts for 40.6% of what he says to the children and penetrating speech for 26.7%. The mother's talk is 54.0% regulative-epistemic and 45.3% relational-formative; proper speech is her largest category (41.6%), closely followed by gentle speech (37.2%). Both parents use every category, but the mother carries most of the household's norm talk and the father most of its explanation.

4.6 Episode arcs and internalisation

Reading the extended episodes against the children's responses reveals a recurrent arc. Table 6 summarises four arcs, one from each novel.

Table 6. Four episode arcs and their internalisation outcomes

Child (novel)	Regulative phase	Formative phase	Closing	Outcome
Pukat (*Si Anak Pintar*)	Mother's reproaches and punishment; Pukat concludes she hates him	Father's company and reasoning on the veranda (deferred uptake); mother's nursing during his fever	Pukat's tearful apology; "There is nothing to forgive, dear"	Acceptance; moral feeling and action (apology, embrace)

Child (novel)	Regulative phase	Formative phase	Closing	Outcome
Burlian (*Si Anak Spesial*)	Bicycle money lent to a neighbour; mother's explanation only partly accepted	Father's company outside; the bee story	Father honours the mother: "Never hate your mother"	Acceptance; moral feeling and action (enters the house)
Amel (*Si Anak Kuat*)	Daily chores and orders from mother and eldest sister	Father's company; reasoning from remembered evidence of Eli's love	Amel apologises; father affirms her as the strongest child	Acceptance; moral feeling and action (goes inside, smiles)
Eli (*Si Anak Pemberani*)	Repeated reproaches about her duties as eldest	Father's reframing of the mother's love and sacrifice	No reciprocal closing within the episode	Perception and moral feeling; acceptance deferred

The three arcs that end in acceptance share three features. They begin with a norm or fact that the child resists, usually in the regulative register. They pass through the formative register, in which a parent offers presence and reasons, often a different parent from the one who enforced the norm. And they close with an exchange of honour, in which the child apologises or is confronted with a parent's sacrifice and the parent responds by honouring the child or the other parent. The arc that remains unresolved, Eli's, lacks the reciprocal closing. Conversely, episodes that stay within the regulative register, such as the mother's morning orders to Amel, yield compliance without visible acceptance.

5. The model

Figure 1 presents the model that the findings support. It has three components, two registers and a substrate, and a pathway to internalisation.

Figure 1 · Two-register model of Islamic parent–child communication · derived from 388 coded units

The model can be stated as six propositions, each traceable to the findings above.

1. **The regulative-epistemic register.** Proper (*ma'rufan*) and truthful (*sadidan*) speech establish what is expected and what is the case. They are realised mainly through known-answer, verification and rhetorical questions that generate Quantity implicatures, occur in conversation- or conformity-oriented exchanges and serve advice and reprimand. Their characteristic outcomes are perception of the norm, behavioural compliance and moral knowing.
2. **The relational-formative register.** Gentle (*layyinan*) and penetrating (*balighan*) speech manage the relationship and build understanding. They are realised mainly through mitigation, persuasion, hyperbole, analogy and story, generating Quality and Relation implicatures in consensual exchanges, and they serve affective and educative functions. Their characteristic outcomes are acceptance and moral feeling.
3. **Persistence and mediation.** Each register tends to persist across adjacent turns. Direct movement from reproach to gentleness, or from gentleness to fact-checking, is rarer than chance, so the passage between registers is typically mediated by a change of scene or of speaker.
4. **Complementary roles.** In the series the mother carries most of the regulative register and the father most of the formative register, so that a norm enforced by one parent is often explained by the other.
5. **The dignity substrate.** Noble speech (*kariman*) is rarely the dominant quality of an utterance, but it underlies both registers and surfaces at moments of reconciliation, when a child's apology is answered with honour or a parent is honoured in the child's hearing.
6. **The internalisation pathway.** Complete internalisation, in which moral knowing, feeling and action appear together, is represented in episodes that move from the regulative register through the formative register and close with a reciprocal exchange of honour. Uptake in the formative register is often deferred

and is typically confirmed when the child experiences the care that the words described.

6. Discussion

6.1 From a list of virtues to an architecture

The *qaulan* principles are usually presented as a list. The evidence of this corpus suggests that they form an architecture. Two principles, *ma'rufan* and *sadidan*, concern what is said: the norm invoked and the facts asserted. Two, *layyinan* and *balighan*, concern how it is said and to what effect. The fifth, *kariman*, concerns the person to whom and about whom it is said. In the series these orientations are realised by distinct and internally coherent clusters of linguistic and relational features, strong enough to show up in descriptive statistics and stable across four novels.

This reading accords with exegetical views that the principles are complementary rather than alternative (Shihab, 2002), and it gives that view an empirical form. It also explains why the Qur'anic portrait of Luqman's counsel to his son (Q. 31:13–19) has served as a template for Islamic parenting. The passage joins affectionate address, a clear norm and reasons. In the terms of the model, it combines both registers in one speech.

6.2 Relation to family communication patterns

The two registers map onto Family Communication Patterns Theory in an instructive way. The regulative-epistemic register carries both conversation orientation, in open questions and frank answers, and most of the corpus's conformity orientation, in reproaches. The relational-formative register carries most of the consensual pattern. Consensual families, high on both conversation and conformity, are usually described at the level of the family (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). The model suggests that in practice the consensual pattern may be assembled across registers and speakers rather than within single utterances. A norm is set in one exchange and explained in another, often by the other parent. This is consistent with recent work that distinguishes respectful forms of conformity from coercive ones (Hesse et al., 2017; Horstman et al., 2018): conformity in the series is made acceptable by the formative talk that surrounds it.

6.3 Relation to internalisation theory

The model also locates the two steps of Grusec and Goodnow's (1994) internalisation model in different registers. Accurate perception depends on clarity about what is expected and what is true, and that clarity is supplied mainly by the regulative-epistemic register. Acceptance depends on the message being seen as appropriate and the value being felt as one's own, and this is supplied mainly by the relational-formative register and by the reciprocal honour of *kariman*. In Hoffman's (2000) terms, the formative register is the home of induction, while the conformity end of the regulative register approaches power assertion. The finding that acceptance is often deferred, and confirmed by the child's experience of care, aligns with dialectical models of socialisation that treat internalisation as an unfolding, bidirectional process (Kuczynski & De Mol, 2015).

6.4 A caution about complementarity

The division of registers between the parents is a feature of an authored text and should not be read as a description of Indonesian families. It also carries a risk. A narrative in which the mother enforces and the father explains may naturalise a gendered division of parental labour, in which mothers are associated with demands and fathers with understanding. The data themselves show the cost: Eli's grievance against her mother grows from norm talk that no one explains until her father intervenes. The model's practical lesson is therefore not that parents should specialise, but that each parent needs command of both registers and of the dignity on which both rest.

6.5 Methodological contributions and limits

The study shows that ethical categories can be integrated with pragmatic and relational coding in a way that yields testable patterns. Literary data have a particular advantage here: they follow characters across chapters and so reveal the arcs through which values are taken up, which short recordings of interaction rarely capture. The approach also has limits. Single-label coding underestimates principles that work in the background, as the case of *kariman* shows; a layered scheme with primary and secondary categories would be more faithful. The

register grouping was derived after inspecting the profiles and should be tested on an independent corpus. The statistics describe a purposive corpus and do not license population inferences.

6.6 Practical implications

For parents and educators, the model suggests a sequence rather than a single technique. Norms and facts should be stated clearly and truthfully. Resistance should be met with presence and reasons rather than with intensified reproach. Uptake should be given time. And reconciliation should be completed with honour: an apology received with dignity, and an absent family member spoken of with respect. For character education in Indonesian schools, where the *Serial Anak Nusantara* is widely read, the episode arcs offer material through which students can examine not only what values the characters hold but how those values come to be held.

7. Conclusion

This article has proposed an integrative model of Islamic parent–child communication grounded in a coded corpus of 388 utterances from Tere Liye's *Serial Anak Nusantara*. The five *qaulan* principles are strongly associated with style, function and relational orientation, differ between parents and are stable across novels. They form two registers: a regulative-epistemic register of proper and truthful speech, which establishes norms and facts and secures perception and compliance, and a relational-formative register of gentle and penetrating speech, which secures acceptance and moral feeling. Noble speech underlies both as a substrate of dignity and surfaces when episodes close with a reciprocal exchange of honour. Complete internalisation is represented in episodes that pass through both registers and end in such an exchange, often after a period of deferred uptake. The model is derived from fiction by a single author, and it describes how parental communication is imagined and valued in a popular Indonesian children's series rather than how families actually speak. Its register structure was identified after inspecting the data and needs confirmation on independent material. Future research should test the model on recorded parent–child interaction in Indonesian Muslim families, apply a layered coding scheme that captures background principles such as *kariman*, extend the analysis to child-to-parent speech, and examine whether child readers recognise and value the arcs that the model describes.

Declarations

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Conflict of interest. The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Data availability. The coded data set is available from the corresponding author on reasonable request. **Shared data set and related work.** This article draws on a coded corpus of 388 parent-to-child utterances from *Serial Anak Nusantara* that also underlies the authors' companion studies of the individual qaulan principles and of implicature in relation to pragmatic stylistics, family communication patterns and the qaulan principles. Each study addresses a distinct research question. The integrative model, the register analysis and the sequential analysis reported here are specific to this article; the companion study of implicature and the qaulan principles addresses a different, normative question about non-literal speech and truthfulness. [Cite the companion articles as published or under review, and declare the shared data set to the editor at submission.]

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