

Socialization: Interactions Between Parents and Children in Everyday Family Life

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Abstract

This thesis is part of an interdisciplinary research project on the socialization of preschoolers. By adopting a Conversation Analytic (CA) approach informed by Ethnomethodology (EM), it offers a study of the socialization process as it takes place within everyday parent-child interactions. Based on a large audio-visual corpus featuring footage of eight French-speaking families filmed extensively in their homes, the study focuses on recorded examples of young children initiating interactive sequences by producing evaluative turns, such as “that’s beautiful”, “(I) like that”, and “yuck”. By taking into account the interactants’ articulation of embodied resources – talk, gaze, and gesture – the study aims, on the one hand, to describe how young children manage to produce evaluative turns that make a response by the addressed parent relevant; and to evidence how, through their participation in everyday interaction, young children acquire communicative skills and a sense of themselves as effective social actors. On the other hand, it seeks to examine parents’ most frequent responses – agreements, disagreements, or questioning repeats – and to look at the implications of these responses for the further course of action. Looking at how children’s evaluative actions – as attempts to communicate their normative position, and their affective implication with respect to the surrounding world – are treated in turn by the parents, reveals the parents’ emic understanding of their children’s participation in evaluating the world they commonly inhabit. Finally, the study of interactively produced evaluative sequences also allows some new light to be shed on the ways in which parents and children achieve shared understanding, and how they deal with delicate issues of alignment/disalignment, as well as with matters related to their respective membership categories.

Keywords: socialization of preschoolers – parent-child interaction – everyday family life – Ethnomethodology – Conversation Analysis – evaluative sequences – membership categorization

Mots-clés: socialisation d’enfants d’âge préscolaire – interactions parents-enfants – vie familiale quotidienne – analyse conversationnelle – ethnométhodologie – séquences évaluatives – catégorisation des membres

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1. Introduction

This thesis is part of a larger, interdisciplinary research project on the socialization of preschoolers. The project¹ has been directed by Fabrice Clément and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF). It is in the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language of 1828 that the expression *to socialize* makes its first appearance, referring to a process whose aim is “to render social, to make fit for living in society” (Clausen 1968: 21). According to this first definition, it cannot be taken for granted that individuals naturally fit into a given social order. In order to behave in such a manner as might be requested by a given social environment, they need to be prepared and undergo a process of adaptation and apprenticeship controlled by those considered competent members of society.

Half a century later, it was Georg Simmel who introduced the term *socialization* (Simmel 1894: 54) within social theory by emphasizing aspects other than those in the first definition outlined above. Simmel thought of society (or unity) as something that existed and was produced wherever several individuals are engaged in *reciprocal relationships*, or *Wechselwirkungen* (Simmel 1909: 296). According to Simmel, reciprocity between individuals is generated by specific impulses – of an erotic or religious nature – or arising out of specific purposes or interests – such as defense, attack, gain or instruction – that bring individuals to act for or against each other, or more generally bring them into various ways of “being-together”. However, Simmel also argued that these (generic) conditions of association (impulses, purposes, etc.) not only influence individuals’ engagement in reciprocal relationships, but are also shaped (come into being) by individuals’ engagement in reciprocal relationships. Accordingly, it is through these reciprocal relationships that society – being the “sum of these reciprocal relationships” – is perpetually realized (Simmel 1890: 131). The notion of socialization designates:

...the form, actualizing itself in countless various types, in which individuals, on the basis of those interests – sensuous or ideal, momentary or permanent, conscious or unconscious, causally driving or purposefully leading – grow together into a unity, and within which these interests come to realization. (Simmel 1909: 297)

Simmel thought of *the form(s) of socialization* (*Vergesellschaftung*) as being a more appropriate concept than that of society for designating something that is perpetually

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produced through a dynamic, interactive process (Simmel 1917: 13). He proposed that the analysis of these forms of socialization should be the privileged object of study for sociology: “If, therefore, there is to be a science, the object of which is to be ‘society’ and nothing else, it can investigate only these reciprocal influences, these kinds and forms of socialization” (Simmel 1909: 297–298).

These first uses of the notion *to socialize* (Clausen 1968: 21) and the term *socialization* (Simmel 1909: 297) foreshadow the two main lines of investigation that are developed within different theories of socialization over the course of the twentieth century (Terrail 1995: 118). The first one focuses on the “social integration of individuals into a given society”, or a given social order (Grundmann 2006: 9). Its main question can be summarized as follows: “How are human beings produced as social beings that conform to a pre-existing social order?” The question refers first to the idea that individuals are socialized by others, and second, that the aim of socialization is to produce individuals that (re)produce a given (pre-existing) social order (Terrail 1995: 118). This line of investigation is thus predominantly concerned with the individual’s attachment to a larger community. The aim is to examine the social context within which socialization takes place and the impact it has on the individual’s development (Grundmann 2006: 19; Hurrelmann, Grundmann & Walper 2008). The second line of investigation presumes that individuals permanently produce social order and society through their actions. The to-be-socialized individual actively participates in the production of society (Grundmann: 2006: 9; Hurrelmann, Grundmann & Walper 2008: 14; Terrail 1995: 118). Consequently, this line of investigation seeks to answer the following questions: “How are individuals enabled to produce social actions? How are they brought to actively participate within the production of social life?” (Grundmann 2006: 9, 19). It is primarily concerned with individuals’ self-development, examining it as something that is achieved and transformed through social interactions, and which stands in a relation of mutual interdependency with the social and material environment in which individuals grow up. In contrast to the first line of investigation, in which the study tends to focus on the ways the environment shapes the individuals’ development, in the second line of investigation the developing individuals are considered as “producers of their own development” (Hurrelmann, Grundmann & Walper 2008: 14-15).

As Cromdal puts it the term socialization refers thus “to an indefinite array of social events taking place in ordinary life surroundings as well as in institutional settings,

representing events through which people become skilled in the ways of society” (Cromdal 2006: 462).

Studying socialization: the examination of naturally occurring everyday interactions between parents and their young children

Having a sociological background myself, I tackle the study of socialization by adopting a conversation analytic (CA) approach informed by ethnomethodology (EM) for analyzing naturally occurring everyday interactions between parents and young children. The aim is to provide empirically grounded reflections concerning issues and questions that arise within socialization studies in general, and within a growing body of studies on young children’s everyday interactions with their parents, and/or other participants in particular. According to EM/CA, being considered a (competent) member amounts to the “mastery of natural language” (Garfinkel & Sacks 1986: 163): it is only when people employ natural language in order to produce practical actions, practical reasoning, practical circumstances, and to objectively display their commonsense knowledge that they are “somehow” understood and treated as competent members by others. The child thus needs to master the conventions of the communicative framework as a condition of his or her membership of society. It is widely acknowledged that children learn to use language intelligibly through their participation from birth in communicative exchanges, interactions with adults and other children (cf. Clark 2003: 28; Vygotsky 1962; Tomasello 2003). Furthermore, it is within everyday interactions that social order is constituted, negotiated and transformed. Through their participation, children are first exposed to the social world, at the same time acquiring the necessary interactive competences (Mondada 2001: 114; Goodwin 1990; Sacks 1992 I+II; Sidnell 2010a). Consequently, “it is the acquisition of interactional competence and the common-sense knowledge gained in and through such competence which constitutes the core of childhood socialization.” (Heritage 1984a: 239)

Recently, an increasing number of EM/CA studies have been conducted that focus on (very young) children’s everyday interactions with others. Based upon audiovisual recordings, these studies describe and analyze the concrete organization of the everyday interactions of children and adolescents as they take place at home (Butler & Fitzgerald 2010; Filipi 2009; Forrester 2008; Goodwin 2007; Wootton 1997, 2006a+b, 2007, 2010), in the playground (Butler 2008; Goodwin 2006), and in or around the school or nursery (Cekaite & Aronsson 2005; Emanuelsson & Sahlström 2008; Kidwell 2005, 2009; Kidwell &

Zimmerman 2006, 2007; Macbeth 2003, 2011; Pekarek Doehler 2010b; Sahlström 2002, 2009; Sidnell 2010a). The general aim of detailed analytic descriptions of children's interactions with others is to show the ways in which the interactants (including the child) methodically deploy multimodal resources such as gaze, gesture, and language to produce meaningful and intelligible actions and to achieve understanding of each other's contributions. Taking into account young children's mobilization of multimodal resources makes it possible to demonstrate that even before fully mastering natural language, young children display a whole range of interactive competences: they might repeat a gesture and/or a vocalization – through which they are able very early on in life (from the age of eleven months onwards) to produce a recognizable action, such as a request (for information) – in order to get a satisfying response when such a response is not spontaneously produced by the intended recipient (Filipi 2009; Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Wootton 1997). By deploying multimodal resources, young children thus accomplish intelligible actions that generate/project an appropriate response: a repeated request makes relevant either a granting or a refusal from the parent (Heritage 2008: 11). From an early age, therefore, the child might initiate sequences of interactions, and not merely be reactive to the actions of others. Furthermore, studies focusing on the interactive organization of repair practices describe children's early emerging competence in identifying a problem in their own talk and in proposing an appropriate repair without parental intervention (Corrin 2010, Forrester 2008).

As mentioned above, my thesis is part of a larger research project on the socialization of preschoolers. In accordance with the director of the project and with other studies carried out within its framework, the idea was to analyze naturally occurring everyday family interactions, focusing on the ways that two and three years old children interact with their parents. The existing literature in EM/CA on children of this age range is very limited. Indeed, an important number of studies look at the interactions of very young children between nine and eighteen months of age (Corrin 2010; Filipi 2007, 2009; Jones & Zimmerman 2003: 178; Kidwell 2005, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2006, 2007; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003; Lerner, Zimmerman & Kidwell 2007, 2011), or examine the organization of interactions involving children of three years old and above – somewhat older than those in whom we were interested (Butler 2008; Cekaite 2006, 2010; Church 2009; Goodwin M. 1990, 2006, 2007; Sidnell 2010a; Wootton 2006b; 2007). Very few studies focus on interactions involving children who are between two and three years old, and if they do so, they focus on a few fragments that concern the same child (Butler & Fitzgerald 2010), or

constitute single case studies, following the developmental trajectory of one child (Forrester 2008; Forrester & Cherington 2009; Wootton 1997, 2010), or of a few children ranging from ten months to five years of age (Laakso 2010: 76). For example, Forrester (2008) and Cherington (Forrester & Cherington 2009) examine the emerging capacity of the first author's child to repair her own talk, and Wootton (1997) examines his own daughter's developing practices for accomplishing requests. There is thus a research gap that warrants the selection of this particular age group being at the center of this thesis. Another reason for defining the age of the target child within this scope is grounded in the children's language use. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four months, young children undergo a period of rapid lexical growth (Bassano 2000; Petitto 1993, Veneziano 2000). From their second birthday onwards, natural language becomes more and more important for communicating with others (Filipi 2009). Since we were interested in young children's emerging interactive competence with a special focus on their use of natural language, it seemed most promising to choose an age group in which it undergoes significant changes.

The organization of evaluative sequences in everyday parent-child interactions: children's evaluative turns – parents' responses.

On the basis of a large audio-visual corpus of everyday parent-child interactions, my thesis looks at the management of evaluative sequences by young children and their parents. It examines children's production of initial evaluative turns such as "that's beautiful", "(I) like that", "funny", and "yuck" and looks at the responses – agreements, disagreements or questioning repeats – that are produced by the intended recipients (parents). I employ the term *evaluative turn* in order to highlight the fact that although formally quite diverse these kinds of turns at talk all comprise an evaluative dimension. By evaluative dimension I refer to the enunciative definition offered by Goodwin and Goodwin, which underlines the fact that by producing such a turn, a speaker displays his or her normative stance and his or her affective implication toward an object, activity or person. Moreover, I opted for this term in order to emphasize that through the deployment of an evaluative turn a child does not necessarily accomplish an assessment (Mondada 2009a: 352). Quite the contrary, as will become clear throughout my analysis, depending on the embodied, sequential and linguistic resources that children mobilize in combination with the evaluative turn itself, they may achieve a whole range of other social actions (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987; Keel 2011; Lindström & Heinemann 2009; Mondada 2009a, 2009b; Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2006; Pomerantz 1978, 1984a: 63). Finally, the term evaluative turn indicates the sequential unit that speakers employ

in order to accomplish these actions: a turn at talk that can comprise a whole sentence (“the man he is tall”); merely a word (“nice”); or a vocalization (“yuck”).

According to Goodwin & Goodwin (1992: 181–184), interactively produced evaluative sequences constitute a privileged moment for examining the articulation between language, cognition, and culture. First, the authors argue that an evaluative turn (and its response) can be achieved by a simple vocalization, a word, several utterances, or by other means. The issue of how interactants produce evaluative turns – and how they respond to those evaluative turns – is in itself an interesting question. A second important point is the fact that through the production of an evaluative turn (or through their response to it), interactants make their normative position and their affective implication toward an object, an activity, or a person publicly available. Finally, Goodwin and Goodwin emphasize that interactive evaluative sequences constitute a key moment through which a shared understanding and evaluation of the surrounding world is negotiated and eventually reached. In this sense, evaluative sequences constitute a relevant activity for examining cognition as a practical, everyday issue.

Regarding the development of my analytic work, I first focus on young children’s production of evaluative turns. I seek to reveal how they accomplish a wide range of *non-canonical* actions (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 9), such as assessments, noticings, and announcements, and how young children manage to get an adequate response from the intended recipient. It has been suggested that in terms of getting a type-fitted response from the intended recipient, non-canonical actions might imply more interactive work by the speaker than might be the case with *canonical actions*, such as requests, offers, etc. (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 5). Moreover, evaluative actions imply a claim of access to and/or knowledge of the referent (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Mondada 2009a; Pomerantz 1984a). Producing an evaluative turn that elicits an adequate response from the recipient requires the latter to have this access and/or knowledge. To be interactively effective, the producer of an evaluative turn thus needs to ensure the recipient’s access to, or knowledge of the referent. Finally, evaluative actions might be accomplished through a simple vocalization or facial expression, through the use of an evaluative term, or by producing several utterances and combining them with multimodal resources, such as gestures, gazes, facial expressions, or the manipulation of an object, etc. (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992: 181–184; Lindström & Heinemann 2009; Mondada 2009a, 2009b; Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä 2009; Wiggins 2002). In order to make an evaluative turn understandable, the child might deploy a whole array of resources, ranging from

multimodal resources (facial expression, posture, or intonation), to more or less complex linguistic, syntactical constructions, such as “that’s nice”, or “the man, he is tall”. For all these reasons, my analytic work on young children’s evaluative turns first aims at describing how children produce these turns competently:

- How do young children mobilize and coordinate different interactive resources, such as sequential position, gestures, facial expression, language, etc., in order to accomplish different social actions (assessments, noticings, self-praise)?
- How do young children coordinate these resources for ensuring the intended recipient’s access to/knowledge of the referent?
- More generally, how do children make a response from the intended recipient observably relevant, i.e. how do they organize their evaluative turn in such a way that the addressed participant is obliged to respond?

Secondly, my analytic work is devoted to the ways in which parents respond to their young children’s evaluative turns. Evaluative sequences constitute a key moment for demonstrating and negotiating a shared understanding of the surrounding world (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992: 184). Systematic analysis of evaluative sequences produced by adults has shown that the production of a first assessment by speaker A makes relevant a second assessment by speaker B (Pomerantz 1975, 1984a). This second assessment renders observable speaker B’s interpretation or understanding of the previous action (Pomerantz 1975: 22).

A: That’s a r- a (rerry good buy)

B: Great buy.

With his immediate second assessment, B makes it apparent that he understood the previous turn as an assessment that requires his response in the form of a second assessment. By using the qualifier great (instead of repeating A’s “rerry”), B’s second assessment is *upgraded* and expresses clearly his agreement with A’s initial assessment; displaying the interactants’ shared understanding concerning the referent. In this sense, the evaluative process (evaluative turn; response) constitutes a relevant activity for studying “cognition in action” (Jones & Zimmermann 2003; Wootton 1997, 2006a). In addition, it has been established that within adult conversations there is a preference for agreement over disagreement, indexing interactants’ orientation toward solidarity and ‘face’ maintenance

(Heritage 1984a: 265, 2008: 18–19). Interactants' orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement is generated and demonstrated in the sequential and formal production of their responses to evaluative turns (Pomerantz 1984a, 1975). Finally, studies examining the interactive organization of evaluative sequences have demonstrated how participants orient toward interactants' different *epistemic rights* to evaluate (Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006). Participants in a conversation tend, for example, to treat a child's grandmother as having greater epistemic rights to assess the grandchild than would a simple acquaintance of the children's family. These greater rights are indexed in the way that evaluative sequences are sequentially and formally produced and organized by the interactants. As such, evaluative sequences might also manifest an orientation toward 'face' issues, that is to say, for example, the way that an interactants' epistemic right to assess, and thus to display his or her normative stance toward something, is treated by the other participants of the conversation. Hence, the empirical work of my thesis also seeks to provide some descriptive material for discussing the following questions:

1. How do parents treat evaluative turns produced by their young children? Do they respond at all?
2. How do they formally sequentially produce their responses? Do they respect the preference for agreement over disagreement?
3. What might observed particularities (in terms of sequencing or formality) tell us about the relation between parents and children?

In summary, by taking into account the multimodal details, my thesis first seeks to uncover the methodical uses of interactive resources by which young children and their parents render their respective evaluative positions intelligible to each other and through which participants are able to understand each other's contributions and perspectives (Heritage 1984a: 233–292; Gühlich & Mondada 2001, 2008; Sidnell 2010b). Moreover, it aims to reveal how very young children – not yet fully mastering natural language – participate actively (and not merely re-actively) in the evaluation of their here-and-now reality, and how they acquire and display for others a sense of themselves as effective, competent social actors who contribute actively to a shared understanding of their surrounding world (Chapter 4). In this sense, the analysis aspires also to show how young children contribute actively to their own socialization when they interact with their parents. Second, by examining in detail the most frequent parental responses to the child's evaluative

turn – agreement, disagreement, questioning repeat (Chapters 5–7) – the aim is not only to reveal how parents deal with the preference for agreement over disagreement when interacting with their young children (Chapters 5–6), but also to look at how they handle the preference for self-repair over other-repair (in Chapters 6 and 7). The respect of preference organization characterizes conversations between adults. The detailed analysis of parents’ responses to their children’s evaluative turns seeks to shed some new light on the way that preference organization, and thus issues of solidarity (alignment/disalignment) and matters of ‘face’ and epistemic rights are handled within everyday interactions between parents and their young children. Eventually, I will discuss the relevance that the findings regarding the organization of parental response and their implications for further interaction might have for the study of socialization.

Overview of the Thesis: Abstracts of the Chapters

Chapter 2: The Study of Socialization: Historical Context, and Respecification by Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis

The aim of the first chapter is to contextualize EM/CA's studies on children's interaction within the wider field of investigations on socialization, and to highlight their essential contributions to the study of socialization. I briefly present the predominant sociological theories of socialization of the nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties. I then outline how, in the sixties and seventies, a larger movement within social and human sciences engendered new approaches to the study of socialization, sharing a common interest in the interactive momentum of socialization, children's active participation, and interactants' ordinary language use. Finally, I offer a short account of EM/CA's critique and the proposition to respecify the study of socialization, and discuss some studies of child-child and adult(parent)-child interactions in more detail – with a focus on Sacks' work – in order to highlight EM/CA's particular contribution to the study of socialization and to give the reader a better understanding of the approach adopted for this thesis.

Chapter 3: Data/Collection/Transcription

My study is based on a large corpus of audiovisual data. Moreover, the analytic part of my thesis is grounded upon collections of different occurrences of the same interactive phenomena, i.e. a parent's agreement with the child's initial evaluative turn, for example. In Chapter 3, I offer a very brief account of the practical process that led to the constitution of the corpus (participant recruitment, setting, and data collection), the making of collections and transcriptions. At the same time I also briefly discuss the methodological implications of these practices.

Chapter 4: Young Children's Repetitions of Evaluative Turns and Their Orientation Toward Conditional Relevance

The fourth chapter presents an analysis of the ways in which young children (two to three year-olds) produce evaluative turns, and how they repeat them if a (satisfactory) response from the recipient is not (immediately) forthcoming. By taking into account the praxeological context, the detailed examination of 12 fragments shows how the immediate interactive context provides young children with essential resources for distinguishing different trouble

sources (recipient's lack of attention, access to the assessed object, etc.) and how they organize their pursuit of a response accordingly. The chapter argues that when producing evaluative turns within everyday interactions, young children orient toward conditional relevance: they treat their evaluative turns as fundamentally social activities that make a response from the recipient relevant, instead of dealing with them as mere expressions of their private stance toward an object, an activity, or an experience.

Chapter 5: Parental Agreements with the Child's Initial Evaluative Turn – What About the Preference for Agreement in Everyday Family Life?

The fifth chapter offers an analysis of the most frequent parental response to the child's evaluative turn: agreement. The findings are discussed in the light of the literature on adults' preference for an unequivocal (strong and immediate) agreement over disagreement. This discussion reveals that in terms of sequential and formal characteristics, parents' agreements do not fundamentally differ from those produced within adult-adult conversations. Strikingly, however, instead of using strong agreements (as is the case within adult-adult interactions), parents use different types of weak agreements for responding to their children's initial evaluative turns. The chapter seeks to examine how parents' use of different types of agreement shapes the further interaction, arguing that the way in which parents and children handle preference organization within evaluative sequences reflects the praxeological context in which the studied agreements are produced and manifests interactants' orientation to their respective membership categories.

Chapter 6: Parental Disagreement With The Child's Initial Evaluative Turn – What About the Dispreference for Disagreement in Everyday Family Life?

The sixth chapter expands and develops the discussion on preference organization within everyday parent-child interactions, by examining parental responses that disagree with the child's evaluative turn. Within symmetric relations between adults, disagreements are usually produced in a dispreferred format: they occur with delay, are produced in a mitigated form, comprise elements of agreement, and/or they are accompanied by an account. Many occurrences of parental disagreement correspond to this finding. However, parents might also disagree immediately with the child's turn, opting for the preferred format to produce a dispreferred action. The comparison between parental disagreeing responses that present the preferred format and parents' disagreements that are produced in the dispreferred format

indicates that issues regarding the praxeological context and matters of parenting might be at stake.

Chapter 7: Parents' Questioning Repeats in Response to Their Child's Initial Evaluative Turn – What Do They Accomplish Beyond Initiating Repair?

The seventh chapter analyzes the parents' use of a typical device for implementing other-initiation of repair – the questioning (full) repeat (Q(F)R) – after the young child's evaluative turn. The chapter seeks to demonstrate that beyond initiating repair, parents' deployment of Q(F)Rs and children's responses to them accomplish other social (inter)actions. A parental questioning repeat (QR) might primarily ratify the child's previous action/turn; it might adumbrate or display surprise/disbelief, and thus challenge the child's initial claim. Moreover, parents' Q(F)Rs might project and at the same time delay disagreement with the child's previous evaluative turn. Finally, parents' Q(F)Rs might not only delay their dispreferred response, but also engender a stepwise negotiation of their response. Thus, the chapter shows how parents' and children's interactional organization of a genuine practice of other-initiation of repair, beyond initiating repair, might shade into matters of alignment/disalignment between the interactants and into issues of membership categorization.

Chapter 8: Concluding Comments

The closing chapter brings together the themes and observations of the analysis and discusses the implications of the findings for studies on (young) children's socialization and for ethnomethodological and conversation analytic study of parent–child interactions.

2. The Study of Socialization: Historical Context, and Respecification by Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, by adopting an EM/CA approach for analyzing and describing the organization of naturally occurring everyday interactions between parents and their two year-old children, this thesis seeks to contribute to empirically grounded reflections concerning issues and questions that arise within socialization studies in general, and within examinations of young children's everyday interactions with their parents in particular. Before offering my own analysis on parent-child interactions, this first chapter seeks to contextualize EM/CA's proposition to investigate socialization through the detailed examination of adult-child or child-child interactions within the very broad field of sociological and psychological studies of socialization. Outlining the Anglo-Saxon context of the period from the nineteen fifties up to the early seventies makes clear that EM/CA's early investigations of children's interactions emerged within a wider movement of change occurring in the social and human sciences. This movement was characterized by the appearance of new sociological approaches that sought to review the by then predominant paradigms of structural functionalism (Parsons 1951, 1960, 1966) and reproduction theory (Baudelot & Establet 1973; Bourdieu 1966; Bourdieu & Passeron 1964, 1970; Bourdieu et al. 1965; Coleman 1966). In the widest sense, and schematically put, this movement implied that:

...terms to do with structure, reproduction, statistics, combinatorial analysis, invariance, universality, and binary logic fade away, in favor of notions of organizational chaos, fractality, events, process, meaning, complexity, auto-organization, construction, strategy, convention, autonomy, actioning... (Dosse 1995: 13; translated by Duncan Brown).

Simultaneously, developmental psychology became increasingly interested in the examination of mother-child interactions, focusing on the question of how it shaped the young child's development. In order to illustrate the bearing that this general movement had upon the study of socialization, I will offer a very brief account of some of the socialization studies/theories it generated, by paying some more attention to those studies based on audiovisual or audio recordings of parent-child interactions. Finally, I will discuss EM/CA's investigations of naturally occurring everyday adult-child or child-child interactions in more detail, with a special focus on Sacks' work. The general aim of this deepened discussion is to

emphasize the (methodological) originality of these investigations and their specific contributions to the study of socialization. More particularly, it seeks to provide a better understanding of how the thesis itself approaches the study of socialization.

2.1. *Predominant Sociological Approaches to the Study of Socialization Within the Nineteen Fifties, Sixties and Early Seventies*

2.1.1. Durkheim's Concept of Socialization as a Point of Departure

One of the main concerns of sociology is to explain how social cohesion, or social order, is possible (Jenks 2008: 88). Assuming that human beings are born into society as *tabulae rasae*, i.e. as “egoistic, asocial individuals” (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 52), Durkheim argues that mutual economic dependency alone, and the attribution of a specific function for each member of the society, does not sufficiently elucidate why social cohesion is possible. In his view, there must be a consensus amongst society's members regarding a certain set of *social facts*, i.e. fundamental norms, values, rules, and feelings (sentiments), which exist somehow externally to individuals but inform their actions and more importantly constrain individuals' egoistic tendencies. Consequently, the question of how society transmits these values and norms to its newcomers becomes crucial. For education or transmission to take place, a generation of adults must voluntarily orient their educative actions towards a generation of youngsters (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 47). Although these actions may vary considerably within different temporal periods and/or social milieux, their universal aim is to inculcate a certain number of fundamental values, ideas and feelings (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 49). In this sense, the voluntary actions that parents orient to their children, with the aim of creating “a new being, a social being” are considered to constitute what Durkheim calls the *methodic socialization* (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 51).

Socialization activities are influential, and there are two reasons to explain how they have the power to lead children to surpass their individualistic tendencies: First, children are in a “natural state of passivity”, similar to that of a hypnotized person, and have a natural inclination to imitate the actions of adults. Secondly, the parents and/or teachers from which the educative activities emanate have a natural superiority or authority over the child, on account of their experience and culture. Adults' authority, when methodically socializing their children, and children's passivity and inclination to imitate, induces the latter to accept and

internalize what they are taught by the adults (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 64–65). It is interesting to note how Durkheim already highlights that it is throughout the course of each of the “thousands of small actions” that parents and teachers orient toward a child at every moment, that the child is socialized step by step. “Through the sayings we utter, through the activities we accomplish, we model in a continuous way the soul of our children” (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 69).² However, because of the apparent insignificance of each of these small actions, their influential force generally remains unnoticed (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 65). Moreover, Durkheim emphasizes that despite adults’ superiority over children, they are themselves not free in their educative acts, nor in the values, norms, and everything else that they transmit to the younger generation. Quite the contrary, the values considered relevant are constrained by the moral requests of a given society (Terrail 1995: 118, Darmon 2007: 15), and in this sense adults in turn obey a higher *moral personage* – which is the society in which they are living (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 68). For Durkheim, socialization is thus a process in which children – being in a state of passivity (“*cire molle*” Terrail 1995: 119) – internalize the fundamental values, norms, etc. which the parents and teacher transmit to them in order to create a socially integrated being.

2.1.2. Parsons’ Elaboration of an Influential Socialization Model in the Late Nineteen Fifties and Early Sixties

Parsons followed up Durkheim’s ideas that socialization’s aim is the normative integration of children into a given society’s respective social order (Parsons 1951: 208). Like Durkheim, Parsons conceives of socialization as a process that is controlled by parents and adults, and that essentially takes place within the nuclear family and the school. For Parsons, individuals have to internalize socially shared *value orientation patterns* that are ascertained in specific roles, such as those of “father”, or “teacher”, etc. The internalization of these roles implies the individuals’ orientation towards specific expectations and values that are associated to them, and that exist somehow independently of the individuals’ concrete doings. These values serve to “define the main directions of action without reference to specific goals or more detailed situations or structures” (Parsons 1958: 171). In this sense, socialization refers to a developmental process throughout which the to-be-socialized individual is required to adopt a set of roles considered relevant in a given society. To socialize an individual into a specific role involves the continuous tacit or explicit shaping of her/his competences and of her/his

² « Par les paroles que nous prononçons, par les actes que nous accomplissons, nous façonnons d’une manière continue l’âme de nos enfants » (Durkheim 1973 [1922]: 69).

orientations to these implied normative expectations. Unlike Durkheim, however, Parsons believed that the authoritarian and constraining force that society and the central socialization agents (parents and teachers) have over the newcomers is not sufficient to explain why individuals internalize and adopt these constraining value orientation patterns and roles in the first place. According to Parsons, for the individual to enforce a given social order in a continuous way requires adequate motivation and voluntariness (Abels & König 2010: 106–107, 112). In his socialization theory, Parsons thus integrates Fromm's idea, which states that a well functioning society stands in need of members that “want to act in the way they have to act” (Fromm 1944: 381).

According to Parsons, one dimension that might explain why individuals do things in the way they are expected to by society is grounded in the power of custom. By being accustomed to the fact that having a role implies doing things in a certain way, this induces the individuals into a state of passivity, in which things are automatically done as expected. But for Parsons, the individual's real commitment to a system of value patterns involves her/his life-long learning, development and maintenance of an adequate “motivation to participate in socially valued, and controlled forms of actions” (Parsons 1966: 24). According to Parsons, the real task of socialization is to produce individuals who have this required motivation and voluntariness to participate, not only by taking roles which are provided for by the society, but also by considering the way of doing things implied by roles as being reasonable. Although for Parsons, “many features of the actual process of socialization are obscure” (Parsons, 1951: 214), its crucial importance for the maintenance of social order is unquestionable, since the child is not only biologically but also “socially immature”, and thus not naturally motivated and competent to orient towards a set of social expectations associated to specific roles (Parsons 1951: 208).

What has sometimes been called the ‘barbarian invasion’ of the stream of new-born infants is, of course, a critical feature of the situation of any society. Along with the lack of biological maturity, the conspicuous fact about the child is that he has to learn the patterns of behavior expected of persons in his statutes in his society.

According to Durkheim and Parsons, social order is essentially based on a collectively shared set of values and norms, or value orientation patterns, which inform and constrain the members' doings. The socialization process is primarily controlled and organized by the adult generation, and its aim is the young generation's progressive internalization of the normative expectations implied by these shared values, norms, etc. Another very influential socialization

theory in the sixties has been labeled the theory of reproduction (Coulon 1988; Sirota 1993, 1998; Jenks 2008). As its designation foreshadows, the socialization process was essentially seen in terms of reproduction: through the process of socialization, the younger generation was brought to reproduce the social order, structures, and thus the social inequalities already lived by their own parents.

2.1.3. The Theory of Reproduction and Its Elaboration Within the Late Nineteen Sixties and Early Nineteen Seventies

The work of Bourdieu (1966, 1967), together with that of Passeron (1964, 1970, 1977), specifically addresses the process of social reproduction. When the child starts to experience the everyday conditions and practices of his social environment, she/he is confronted with objective relations: structures characteristic of his/her socio-economic environment that exist independently of social interactions, or intersubjective relations between its members (Bourdieu 1980: 90). Through the daily experiencing of specific (socio-economic) conditions and through participation within every day practices peculiar to his social environment, the child incorporates a class-specific *habitus* – “a structured system of dispositions, and schemes of perceptions” that generate and structure the child’s actions and practices from within (Bourdieu 1980: 88). Socialization thus refers to process of incorporation. For example, Bourdieu emphasizes that masculinity or femininity is acquired through a corporal apprenticeship that implies the individual’s adoption of a specific way of shaking hands, walking, looking, lighting a cigarette, eating etc. (Bourdieu 1997: 168–169). The importance that Bourdieu attributes to the bodily dimension of the socialization process explains why he considered the socialized individual to be unconsciously impregnated by the social and normative expectations of his environment (Darmon 2007: 17–21), thus contrasting with the conception of Parsons (Parsons & Bale 1956), who argued that socialization leads toward individuals’ motivation and voluntariness to act according to existent societal norms and rules. It also accounts for the fact that in contrast to Durkheim (1973 [1922]), the norms and values are not conceived as exterior social facts that constrain individuals’ actions from outside, while at the same time being inaccessible to them, but they are understood as being within the individuals’ bodies and minds, and therefore understood, so to speak, as acting from within.

According to Bourdieu, the process of incorporation produces not only bodies and minds, or ways of being in the world, but also implies a specific relation to the social world.

By being exposed to different ways of shaking hands, the child unconsciously learns that the ways of shaking hands might differ depending on the person one is shaking hands with; or by being exposed to different ways of looking at works of art, the child might unconsciously learn that depending on the particular piece of art, different ways of perceiving art are considered appropriate (Bourdieu, Darbel & Schnapper 1969: 106). This explains why the child when incorporating a (bodily) way of being in the world also acquires a *cultural capital* (knowledge of and relation to the social, material world) that is peculiar to his socio-economic milieu. Depending on the socio-economic milieu in which children grow up, they inherit an *economic capital*, but according to Bourdieu's theory of reproduction, their incorporation of a particular habitus endows them furthermore with a more or less prestigious *social capital* (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1964). Children entering school are consequently equipped with different styles of dressing, ways of speaking, of thinking, and understanding the world, different manners, sensitivities, and know-how. Depending on their family context, they are impregnated by different patterns of relevance and relation that eventually ensure a reproduction of their class position and the ideological framework that goes with it. Through the individuals' incorporation of a particular habitus peculiar to their own social environment, societies almost necessarily reproduce the existing social structures and power hierarchies, whereas the socialization of individuals "serves to transform the cultural heritage into a common individual unconscious" (Jenks 2008: 90).

It may be assumed that every individual owes to the type of schooling he has received a set of basic, deeply interiorized master-patterns on the basis of which he subsequently acquires other patterns, so that the system of patterns by which his thought is organized owes its specific character not only to the nature of the patterns constituting it but also to the frequency with which these are used and to the level of consciousness at which they operate, these properties being probably connected with the circumstances in which the most fundamental intellectual patterns were acquired. (Bourdieu 1967: 192–193)

In accordance with the other predominant theories of socialization, reproduction theory (Baudelot & Establet 1973; Bourdieu 1966; Bourdieu & Passeron 1964, 1970; Bourdieu et al. 1965; Coleman 1966) used the notion of socialization in order to account for the reproduction and maintenance of social order, and as a convenient axiom for explaining the individual's development within a given society (Cromdal 2006: 462). However, as an intimate collaborator of Bourdieu remarked, the concept of habitus and thus the process of

socialization, incorporation as theorized and examined by Bourdieu was reminiscent of a “black box” (Boltanski cited in Dosse 1995: 56).

2.2. The Emergence of Alternative Ways of Conceiving and Studying Socialization Within the Nineteen Sixties and Early Nineteen Seventies

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in the sixties and early seventies, the above-outlined approaches to the study of socialization were partially redeemed by alternative ways of studying socialization. These alternative ways were part of a larger movement occurring within social and human sciences that was characterized by the emergence of new sociological approaches, such as ethnography of communication (Hymes 1964), symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969a), social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann 1966), and last but not least, of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks 1992 I + II). At the same time, Vygotsky’s work, which emphasized the importance of social interaction for the development of individuals, was translated from Russian into English (Vygotsky 1962, 1978), engendering increased interest in the study of parent-child interactions, and giving rise to an important number of publications on the subject within the field of developmental psychology. Before discussing EM/CA’s approach to the study of socialization in more detail, some studies of socialization generated by alternative approaches will be very briefly outlined, and a few studies based on video recordings of everyday interactions between parents and children will be more thoroughly presented. The aim is not to discuss these approaches and their contributions to the study of socialization in extensive detail here, but to highlight their common characteristics. Furthermore, these brief presentations will make clear in which sense the new approaches sought to break-off with the hitherto predominant way of studying socialization. By paying special attention to (everyday) interactions between adults and children, the central aim was to provide empirical evidence regarding the concrete daily working of the socialization process, and to open the “black box” that the process was previously considered to represent (Coulon 1988; Sirota 1998).

2.2.1. The Onset of the Linguistic Turn Within Social and Human Sciences

In 1964, a special issue of the *American Anthropologist* was published entitled “The Ethnography of Communication”. Although the diversity of the phenomena investigated in this issue was important, its central aim was quite concise: these articles argued that an

investigation into the cultural and social world needs to take into account ordinary peoples' language use and their face-to-face communication, and sought to show that the analysis of linguistic phenomena cannot ignore how language is an inextricable part of the cultural and social world that people inhabit (Hymes 1964). The most important consequence of the significance attributed to ordinary people's language use by those advocating the linguistic turn had already been succinctly summarized by the philosopher Wittgenstein in the early twenties: "*Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt.*" (*The limits of my language are the limits of my world*; Wittgenstein 1984: 5.6 italics by the author; see also Wiesing 2003: 114–115).³ From this point of view, examining ordinary people's everyday language use makes available their understanding of social reality and their interpretation of their own being in the world. By investigating ordinary peoples face-to-face language use, the ultimate aim of the ethnographers of communication was to provide description of these *emic* understandings, i.e. understandings from within a culture (Leeds-Hurwitz & Sigman 2010: 243). The ethnographers' were thus "committed to follow the actors' interpretative work as closely as possible, without reducing or disqualifying their work by opposing another, stronger interpretation" (Boltanski 1990: 57, translated by myself).

Moreover, the ethnographers of communication promoted openness toward different theories and methods of investigation and considered interdisciplinary research as something normal that was generated by their interest in elaborating an approach that provides for the articulation between language, culture, and social order (Leeds-Hurwitz & Sigman 2010: 237). Goffman and Hymes, for example, used an attributed grant for founding a Center for Urban Ethnography, and for financing research projects involving scholars who either belonged to the *Chicago School* (see section 2.2.2. below), such as Everett Hughes and Robert Park, or who founded CA, such as Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (Leeds-Hurwitz & Sigman 2010: 254–255). Furthermore, Gumperz and Hymes not only opened their publications to anthropologists, sociolinguists, ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts (1972), but Gumperz also functioned as a mediator between the "ethnography of communication", interactionist approaches and conversation analysis, himself integrating CA methods within the sociolinguistic approach he elaborated, such as the use of audio-recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction (DeFornel & Léon 2000: 139).

³ I thank Philippe Sormani for drawing my attention to this very famous Wittgenstein citation.

Through their studies, as published in this 1964 issue and elsewhere (Goffman 1981; Gumperz & Hymes (eds.) 1972; Labov 1972; Labov et al. 1968; Labov & Fanshel 1977), and by collaborating in the training of an important number of scholars that are currently well known internationally for their work on situated talk-in-interaction, including C. Goodwin, M. Goodwin, and E. Ochs (see especially section 2.4.; see also Leeds-Hurwitz & Sigman 2010), Goffman, Hymes, Gumperz and their colleagues collaborated with ethnomethodologists and conversational analysts to introduce the *linguistic (or communicative) turn* (Cuff, Sharrock & Francis 1998) within social and human sciences in the Anglo-Saxon context. In France and Germany, the onset of the linguistic turn was a little delayed (Dosse 1995). In Germany it is intimately bound to the work on language-in-use that Habermas published in the late seventies (Habermas 2009). In France, scientists such as Ferry (1987), Quéré (1999) and Widmer (2010) introduced Habermas and EM/CA in the nineteen eighties and early nineteen nineties, and thus considerably contributed to the implementation of the linguistic turn within social and human sciences⁴.

With respect to the study of socialization and school education, Hymes argued that his “ethnographic monitoring program” of “children’s acquisition of reading/language arts skills in and out of the classroom” should contribute to our knowledge of learning and teaching (Hymes 1980, 1981: 5). By consulting teachers, by observing practices in and out of classroom, and finally by discussing those findings with the teachers, Hymes’ aim was to “make visible emic knowledge from educational voices that are vulnerable”, focusing mainly on black urban school settings, and “giving back” this observed knowledge to those who made it available for inspection in the first place, i.e. the teachers and students of these schools (Van der Aa & Blommaert 2011: 5). As such, his project not only sought to investigate concrete learning and teaching practices, but also pursued a kind of empowerment strategy in respect to the teachers and children that went to school in black urban school settings, which were known to be areas neglected by official policy.

Besides studies on institutional settings, such as the school, ethnographers of communications also advocated the examination of families’ every-day language use in order to analyze socialization. In his article about gender socialization, Goffman (1977) stressed for example, the importance of detailed analysis of talk-in-interaction for understanding how

⁴ For a more thorough discussion and an overview regarding the onset of the linguistic turn within the French context, see Dosse (1991, 1995).

everyday family life (household) constitutes a privileged site for (gender) socialization (Goffman 1977: 314; my italics).

Consider the household as a socialization depot. Take as a paradigm a middle-class pair of cross-sexed sibs. The home training of the two sexes will differ, beginning to orient the girl to taking a domestic supportive role, and the boy to a more widely based competitive one. This difference in orientation will be superimposed on a fundamental quality in many matters that are felt to count. So from the start, then, there will be two basic principles to appeal in making claims and warranting allocations. One is the equality of sibs and beyond this of participating members – the share and share alike theme realized in its strongest form in many wills and in *its most prevalent form in turn-taking systems*. [...] *All of this is perfectly well known in principle, although not adequately explored in detail.*

Goffman's insistence on exploring the details of the household's (specific) turn-taking system reveals Sacks' and Garfinkel's influence (see section 2.4. and 2.5. below). In his research praxis, however, Goffman himself never endorsed EM/CA's insistence that any interactive detail, and/or the examination of the form of conversation might be relevant for providing an emic analysis of face-to-face interactions, i.e. an analysis that reveals the participants' own perspective (cf. DeFornel & Léon 2000: 139).

2.2.2. The Active Actors, and the Subjective Meaning They Attribute to the Encountered Social Reality

The work of the social psychologist Mead (1934a+b) was crucial for the emergence of new approaches within the social and human sciences of the nineteen sixties. As a psychologist working in the beginning of the twentieth century, Mead was influenced by the then predominant theory of human conduct known as "behaviorism" (Watson 1913). According to behaviorism, human conduct – like that of animals – consists of undelayed and unreflected reactions to exterior stimuli. Psychology should therefore focus on the observable interactions existing between stimuli and reactions, instead of speculating about something that was not available for observation: the meaning people give to a stimulus. Mead also thought of human beings as reacting to a given environment. However, he countered that in contrast to animals, human beings were capable of delaying their responses, of thinking about and reflecting on the stimuli they were exposed to within their everyday life, before they produced a response. Furthermore, he emphasized that humans integrated, and communicated their thoughts and reflections in their (delayed) responses to the stimuli.

A person threatens you, and you knock him down on the spot. There has been no ideal element in the situation. If you count ten and consider what the threat means, you are having an idea, are bringing the situation into an ideal setting. It is that, we have seen, which constitutes what we term mind. (Mead 1934a: 181)

Instead of focusing on quasi automatic, reflex-like human conduct, as advocated by behaviorism, Mead insisted on adopting the principle that he was investigating active mindful subjects who, through a process of reciprocal communication, continuously formed social order, and at the same time integrated society. The (re-)discovery of the active and mindful self, of social communication and interaction as the generic moment of social order, induced Blumer (1966, 1969a, 1973 [1969b]) to elaborate a new sociological approach in the late nineteen sixties that was known under the label of symbolic interactionism. Drawing on Mead, Blumer stressed that it was through the social process of cohabitation and interaction that rules were brought into being and social order was produced (Blumer 1973 [1969b]: 99), clearly contrasting Parsons' view, which argued that a set of commonly held norms and values governed our actions, and thus constituted the origin of social order: "It is the social process in group life that creates and upholds the rules, not the rules that create and uphold group life" (Blumer 1969a: 18). According to Blumer's reading of Mead, instead of examining society's normativity and the structure or roles that shape the conduct of individuals, symbolic interactionism should focus on individuals' capacity to construct the conditions of their actions. This line of investigation rested on the following three key premises (Blumer 1969a: 2-3): First, humans act toward things according to the meaning they attribute to them, wherein 'things' encompasses whatever humans can perceive, be that physical objects, other human beings or social categories, institutions, ideals, social actions, or everyday situations. Second, the meaning attributed to things is derived from or generated through social interactions. Meanings are thus social products. Third, meanings are dealt with and modified through an interpretative process deployed by the person to handle the things he or she encounters.

According to symbolic interactionism, social interaction implies that at least two individuals act together and towards each other, being in a state of reciprocity (Abel & König 2010: 95). Through their use of language and embodied conduct, they are continuously communicating to each other how they understand the situation and how they understand each other. They interpret the other's doings, thus identifying him or her, and through their reactions they express their own identity. The examination of concrete social interaction is

thus key for understanding the working of society. Another key symbolic interactionist, Everest Hughes (1955, 1958), wrote very little of a theoretical or conceptual nature, but he and his distinguished colleagues, such as Becker (1952, 1963; Becker & et al. 1961), Foote Whyte (1967), Goffman (1959, 1961a, 1961b, 1963), Strauss (Becker & Strauss 1956), and Rist (1970, 1977) generated an important number of influential ethnographic studies that mainly concentrated on urban contexts and were also known under the label of the “Chicago school” (see Cuff et al. 1998: 137–141).

With regard to the study of socialization, these ethnographic works were mainly interested in the examination of adults’ socialization;⁵ when entering a new social group, or social milieu, such as the jazz scene, or the street corner society (Becker 1963; Foote Whyte 1967), or a professional, educational setting (Becker et al. 1961; Hughes 1955, 1958; Rist 1970, 1977). Within these studies, the newcomer was not considered a passive subject whose socialization is organized and controlled by significant others (parents, teachers, peers). On the contrary, through his participation in interactions with significant others, the newcomer not only acquires the necessary competences to develop an identity and a career, but also contributes to the constitution, maintenance (or modification) of the here-and-now social order (Becker & Strauss 1956).

Within the same period,⁶ Berger and Luckmann published a very influential book entitled: “The Social Construction of Reality” (1966), in which the authors introduced the notions of *primary* and *secondary socialization* in order to distinguish the socialization process undergone by young children (primary socialization), from the one that refers to already socialized actors (secondary socialization) that are confronted with a new (not-yet-known by them) part of the objective reality, such as a new working environment (1966: 129). By drawing on the work of G. H. Mead (1934 a+b) and on Schütz’s work on social phenomenology (1945), they sought to outline a new way of conceptualizing the socialization process. According to the authors, newcomers (be they children or adults) certainly perceive and understand the social reality they enter as an objective one that (objectively) precedes their own appearance (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 13). From the point of view of society, the

⁵ One exception is found, for example, in Goffman’s reflections on gender socialization (1977), which are briefly invoked in section 2.2.1. above.

⁶ This time indication is true for the Anglo-Saxon context only. In France, ethnographic studies adopting a symbolic interactionist or constructivist approach for studying socialization (primary or secondary) started to appear in the late 1980s, and at the beginning of the 1990s (Dubet 1991, 1994a+b; Haicault 1994; Perrenoud 1988, 1994; Rochex 1995; Sirota 1988; for an overview, see Sirota 1993: 91, 1998; for a discussion concerning the reason for this delay, see Coulon 1988; Sirota 1998).

newcomer has to adapt to this reality, and needs to be socialized in order to participate adequately within this pre-existing social reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 128). For the individual, socialization implies a process of internalization through which the object world is incorporated (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 128), whereas “language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization” (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 133). Every individual is, moreover, born in an objective social structure in which he or she happens to encounter *significant others* who are in charge of his or her socialization (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 131). In primary socialization, the child is presented with a “predefined set of significant others” and has – for evident reasons – no possibility of opting for or choosing other significant others than those that he or she happens to encounter (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 134). Moreover, in primary socialization, the individual comes to identify emotionally with the significant others, takes their roles and even comes to see himself or herself through the eyes of the latter (Berger & Luckman 1966: 131-132). Therefore, the particular way of seeing, understanding the world, and acting in this world, of the significant others is taken over and internalized by the child; the generalized others work thus as a “filter” (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 131).

Since the child has no choice in the selection of his significant others, his identification with them is quasi-automatic. For the same reason, his internalization of their particular reality is quasi-inevitable. The child does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as *the world*, the only existent and only conceivable world, the world *tout court*. (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 134; italics are those of the authors)

In this respect, the way Berger & Luckman conceived of primary socialization is strongly reminiscent of Parsons’ concept of *internalization*, as well as the concept of *habitus*, as promoted by reproduction theory (see sections 2.1.2., 2.1.3.). However, as defined by Mead’s theory, Berger and Luckman (1966: 132) argued that throughout primary socialization, children are active; they take on the role of the other, and at the same time take on their world. Moreover, in primary socialization, children (actively) learn to replace local and personalized rules (those of the significant others) with more general ones. So at the end of primary socialization, instead of identifying with concrete significant others, individuals come to identify with a larger social entity, the *generalized others* (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 143). “Primary socialization ends when the concept of the generalized other (and all that goes with it) has been established in the consciousness of the individual.” (Berger & Luckman 1966: 148)

In a similar way to symbolic interactionism, social constructionism thus insisted on the newcomer's active participation within the socialization process, implying the individual's active learning. He is not simply shaped and formed by the pre-existing reality, or the socializing institutions (family, school, etc.), but his own actions are instead oriented toward and aimed at internalizing the objective reality that surrounds him (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 139). Through his active participation, the newcomer not only collaborates in the construction of social reality but also in the construction of his own socialization. Furthermore, like symbolic interactionism, social constructionism sought to reveal the subjective meaning that newcomers attribute to the social reality they encounter (Sirota 1998: 11). However, whereas for the former, the ethnographic examination of face-to-face interactions – considered to be the generic moment of socialization – was crucial, researchers working within the framework of “social constructionism” would tend – besides ethnographical methods – to use different interview techniques or quantitative surveys in order to investigate how social reality is constructed by social actors and at the same time impacts upon these actors' conduct.

2.2.3. The Vygotskian Impact on Studies of Adult(Parent)–Child Interactions

Within this same period, developmental psychology had also undergone some important changes. The Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1962) became a central figure within studies which thought to examine adult(parent)-child interactions and to investigate its relevance for children's cognitive, linguistic, social, and cultural development. In contrast to Piaget's understanding of child development – in which the child's cognitive development necessarily precedes the child's acquisition of new competences/knowledge – Vygotsky pleads for a conception of development in which social learning precedes development (1962, 1978: 57):

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals.

According to Vygotsky, the infants essentially develop their linguistic and cognitive competences through the interactions with More Knowledgeable Others (MKO), advocating the idea that the way in which language is actually used by the MKOs within a particular activity has an impact on the child's development of higher mental states (Pontecorvo 1993; Wertsch 1985; Wertsch & Sohmer 1995). Furthermore, post-Vygotskian studies on

interactions between Western mothers and their young children provided empirical evidence that mothers significantly change and simplify their way of talking when interacting with their young children (Bruner 1975, 1983; Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-Kernan 1977; Snow & Ferguson 1977; Ochs & Schieffelin 1979). They thus adapt to the presumed state of the linguistic and cognitive development of their children. Indeed, they might treat their children as if they have something to say long before they actually produce their first word (Trevvarthen 1979: 340). Mothers might use a simplified language called *baby-talk* when interacting with their children (Snow 1972); they might greet their 24-hour old babies (Stern 1974) and engage in *proto-conversations* with their young children (Bates, Camaioni & Volterra 1979), by taking the child's communicative roles and by providing the child's responses, for example (Trevvarthen 1979). To borrow the terms of Wood et al. (1976), these adaptations might be part of *scaffolding* practices deployed by caregivers when interacting with young children in order to guide and enhance the child's acquisition of new (linguistic) competences (Rogoff 1990: 93–94).

Drawing on these empirical works generated by post-Vygotskian developmental psychologists (Snow 1972; Snow & Ferguson 1977; Treverthan 1977, 1979, 1982, 1985) and influenced by the linguistic turn, the cultural anthropologists Elinor Ochs⁷ and Bambi Schieffelin elaborated a very influential “model of language socialization” in the early eighties (Ochs 1982, 1983, 1988, 2002, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin (eds.) 1979, (eds.) 1983, 1984, 1995; Schieffelin 1990; Makihara & Schieffelin 2007). Based on recordings of naturally occurring conversations between caregivers (mothers) and children, its aim is to understand “how sociocultural knowledge, linguistic knowledge, and the process of socialization and language acquisition impact each other” (Ochs 1988: 4), wherein socialization is considered to be a general notion that refers to the process by which a newcomer becomes a competent member of society (Schieffelin & Ochs 1983, Ochs & Schieffelin 1984). The authors emphasize that children develop within a social environment that is linguistically and socioculturally structured. According to this view, the way in which caregivers talk to children, or talk in children's presence, for example mothers' use of baby-talk (see above), is structured and organized by cultural expectations relating to the child's incompetence and in relation to the role and status that she/he is attributed. Moreover, since

⁷ Elinor Ochs acquired her PhD degree at the University of Pennsylvania (1974). At that time, the scientific environment there was impregnated by the presence of scholars, such as Goffman, Hymes, and Birdwhistell, who co-founded the *ethnography of communication* briefly outlined above (see section 2.2.1.; Leeds-Hurwitz 2010: 239).

the central medium for the acquisition of sociocultural knowledge or for socialization more generally is talk, it is through their participation in conversation that children acquire their linguistic and sociocultural competences and become competent members of their community. “If language is a meaning-making system and speaking and listening are meaning-making activities, then accounts of these phenomena must at some point draw on accounts of society and culture.” (Ochs 1988: 4). Consequently, the adoption of Ochs & Schieffelin’s analytic approach for studying socialization implies the close examination of naturally occurring everyday verbal interaction between caregivers and children by taking into account its *formal properties* and *functional dimensions* (Ochs & Schieffelin (eds.) 1983: IX-X).

The studies made by Ochs and Schiefflin on mother-child interactions emphasize that the above-mentioned motherly adaptations are by no means observable in all cultures (Ochs 1983: 185; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986).⁸ Quite the contrary, in her studies that compare and contrast Samoan and American household interactions, Ochs shows, for example, that when talking to their young children, Western caregivers (usually mothers) frequently produce an *expansion*, i.e. the “utterance of [a] caregiver that follows an utterance of a child in which the child’s utterance is recouched in more appropriate, that is, adult, grammatical form” – whereas Samoan caregivers make no use of such expansions (Ochs 1982: 86–87). Ochs argues that the recurrent use of these expansions by Western caregivers carries specific cultural assumptions, and manifests a specific attitude toward the child.

The Western caregiver acts as if the child’s utterance is directed towards a social goal. By reformulating the child’s utterance, she provides an interpretation of the child’s intention and by so doing, she adopts the child’s perspective, thus adjusting to her/his egocentrism (Ochs 1982: 88). The author remarks that Samoan caregivers do not share these cultural assumptions. Young children are assumed to be incapable of responding, and so their vocalizations/gestures are not treated as social acts, and their utterances are instead “treated as unalterable through social response” (1982: 91). Moreover, Ochs remarks that Samoan caregivers do not usually guess or propose an interpretation of the young child’s unintelligible talk, but simply treat the child as having “guku”, or “talking Chinese”, that is to say, in a way that is not intelligible to Samoan native adults. The author argues that through their recurrent use of *expansions* the western mothers’ indulge their children toward an “egocentric

⁸ This observation and its implication for the study of children’s linguistic and cognitive development is discussed in detail by developmental psychologists, such as Rogoff (1990, 2003); see also the discussion by Veneziano (2000).

perspective” whereas Samoan children are early socialized to a “sociocentric perspective” whose central aim is to induce the child “to focus on properties and actions of others”, instead of paying too much attention to herself/himself (Ochs 1982: 98).

The “sociocultural model” for studying (language) socialization elaborated by Elinor Ochs and Bamby Schieffelin conceives the acquisition of linguistic knowledge and the acquisition of sociocultural knowledge as a mutually elaborative and interactive process that can be examined and accounted for through the detailed investigation of the actual participation in everyday language interactions of caregivers and children. Since its elaboration in the eighties, an important body of studies on parent-child interactions (Aronsson 2006; Blum-Kulka 1997; Gordon 2009; Pontecorvo & Arcidiacono 2007; Pontecorvo & Fasulo 1999; Pontecorvo, Fasulo & Sterponi 2001; Ochs 2002, 2004; Ochs & Shohet 2006; Ochs, Solomon & Sterponi 2005; Schieffelin 1990; Sterponi 2009), or peer interactions (Aronsson 2011) have been conducted within this framework (for an overview of the settings investigated by researchers working in this framework, see Duranti et al. (eds.) 2011).⁹

Some of these works seek to further elaborate Ochs & Schieffelin’s interactive conception of the socialization process. Indeed, in Ochs’ study (discussed above) comparing Western and Samoan socialization practices, she remarks:

Members’ understandings of family roles are modified through joint activities with infants and children. Despite the asymmetry of their relationship and their competence, children and caregivers may jointly construct these domains of knowledge with each other. In this sense, caregivers may be socialized by the children they are socializing. (Ochs 1988: 224)

Ochs thus argues that adults, like children, might acquire new knowledge through their interaction with children, and might be socialized by their children, while socializing them. In their empirical analysis, however, the authors focus on the competences that children might develop through their interactions with caregivers or other adults. In turn, Pontecorvo et al

⁹ Ochs is the director of the Center on the Everyday Lives of Families (CELf) at the UCLA Department of Anthropology that is one of the six “Sloan Centers on Working Families”. Its research aims are to provide for detailed, ethnographic studies on the home life of middle class working families and the constitution of an archive of video recordings concerning everyday family life (for a list of publications, see: <http://www.celf.ucla.edu/pages/research.php>). The CELf entertains an institutional collaboration with the interdisciplinary Department of Child Studies at Linköping University and the Institute of Psychology “La Sapienza” in Rome. The researchers working in Italy (under the direction of Professor C. Pontecorvo) and Sweden (under the direction of Professor K. Aronsson) base their studies of family life on video-recordings of naturally occurring family life, and adopt the sociocultural research framework elaborated by Ochs & Schieffelin for their empirical studies.

propose conceiving of socialization as a *mutual apprenticeship*, introducing a “bidirectional model of socialization” (2001: 341). This notion emphasizes the fact that it is not only children that develop new sociocultural knowledge through their conversations and interactions with their caregivers (parents) – as is widely acknowledged by developmental psychologists – but the caregivers (parents) also acquire new knowledge and a new identity – that of a caregiver, or parent – through their interactions with the child (Pontecorvo et al. 2001: 341–344). Through their analysis of naturally occurring interactions between children and their parents, Pontecorvo et al. seek to show that children’s and parents’ ways of participating in family interactions might constitute a challenge for either of them and consequently stimulate the acquisition of new competences, or new knowledge on either’s behalf, and provide for the child’s and the parents’ *qua* parents development (Pontecorvo et al. 2001: 347–359). By insisting on children’s participation in the process of acquisition and by demonstrating its implication for the organization of interaction (Ochs 1988; Sterponi & Pontecorvo 1997; Pontecorvo et al. 2001; Sterponi 2009), these works constitute an interesting complement to studies that essentially emphasize parents’ contributions to the child’s development, i.e. by focusing on parental scaffolding (Wood et al. 1976, Rogoff 1990, 2003), and/or by arguing that parents’ natural (biological) inclination is to engage in pedagogical activities when interacting with young children (Gergerly & György 2009).

2.3. Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis As An Approach to the Study of Socialization

The movement outlined above which occurred within the social and human sciences of the nineteen sixties and early seventies, was thus characterized by a particular interest in the examination of the (everyday) interactive momentum of socialization, an emphasis on the language use of “(active!) actors” and the sense they attribute to their actions (cf. Sirota 1998; De Fornel & Léon 2000; Dosse 1995). In the following section, the detailed discussion of EM/CA’s studies of child-child and adult(parent)-child interactions aims to show that while sharing similar interests, this way of studying socialization is in important respects distinct from the approaches outlined thus far. Moreover, the following sections will set the terms and framework for the analytic part of the thesis (Chapter 4 to 7).¹⁰

¹⁰ The discussion focuses once more on studies conducted within the Anglo-Saxon context. To date, the impact of CA/EM in France or Germany remains very limited within the study of socialization; for a discussion concerning possible reasons, see Sirota 1993; Coulon 1988. Indeed, apart from a few exceptions, such as the works of La Valle (2006, 2010a+b, and to be published), Relieu et al. (2007), and the studies

The review that EM and CA brought about regarding the study of socialization draws upon Garfinkel's fundamental critique of the way that the predominant social and human theory of the nineteen sixties tends to construe the "man-in-the-sociologist's-society" as a "cultural dope" who simply "produces the stable features of the society by acting in compliance with pre-established and legitimate alternatives of action that the common culture provides" (Garfinkel 1967: 68). Ordinary members are thus understood as being constrained and manipulated by forces, and having no control upon their environment. According to Garfinkel, treating ordinary members as cultural dopes leads sociology to develop research procedures, which do not provide for members' practical concerns within social situations. Moreover, they do not make it possible to reveal the interpretative methods through which ordinary members render their understanding of something or somebody, observable and intelligible, and through which they competently manage their everyday affairs. He argues that as a consequence, social and human sciences fundamentally neglect what should primarily be investigated (Garfinkel 1967: 68; Button 1991): "What we are interested in is, what is it that people seem to know and use" (Sacks in Proceedings of the Purdue Symposium on Ethnomethodology). The aim is thus to examine members' use of natural language, and the (ethno)methods through which people manage their daily practical business and make their practical reasoning and their common sense knowledge about the (social) world and their orientation¹¹ toward something, somebody, or each other's actions "observable-reportable, i.e. *account-able*" (Garfinkel & Sacks 1986: 163, italics are those of the authors). It was in this context that Sacks developed CA as a method that would allow the investigation and detailed description of the sense in which the mastery of natural language is essential for interacting intelligibly and competently with others (see Lee's introduction in Button & Lee 1987).

focalizing on (in school) language acquisition (Lentin 2009; Mondada 2001; Pekarek-Doehler 2010a), or adolescents' apprenticeship (Fillietaz et al. 2008), French social scientists have thus far mainly used ethnographic methods, based on (participant) observation, and different interviewing techniques, when conducting their studies concerning the socialization of children. For gender socialization, see Cromer 2005; for children's play activities, see Delalande 2001; for a multidimensional socialization, see Lahire 1995; for children's school experiences, see Montandon 1997, 2002; Rayou 1999; for children's games, see: Vincent 2001; for a sequential analysis of parent-child interaction not directly influenced by CA/EM see Bergonnier-Dupuy 2002.

¹¹ To *orient* toward something or somebody, refers to the ways in which participants understand and treat an event, each other's actions, and/or each other's belonging to a social category. The expression *displaying one's orientation* relates to EM/CA's fundamental assumption that participants build their sense into the way they package and produce their actions, and thereby make it intelligible for each other, and the analyst (cf. Watson 1992).

Intrinsically linked to this first critique is a second, which targets social and human science's tendency to discuss the question of social order in very general and theoretical terms. Garfinkel argues that the careful observation of concrete social interactions permits a non-trivial discovery: "there is order in the plenum" (Garfinkel 1967), or in Sacks' terms: "there is order at all points" (Sacks 1984b). This preliminary observation promoted Sacks' collaboration with Schegloff and Jefferson on the organization of turn-taking within ordinary conversations (1974). The 1974 study by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson used the analysis of talk (among other things) to gain an analytical handle on silences, demonstrating how participants in multi-party conversation manage to minimize overlap and the occurrence of overly long pauses between each participant's contribution, and how they organize their conversation in an orderly and fluent way, i.e. turn-by-turn. Instead of discussing general theories concerning the preconditions of social order, the authors propose to examine how participants concretely produce orderliness and intelligibility when they engage in talk-in-interaction (Heritage 1984a). As we will see in the following section, these two general observations/reflections concerning the study of social order and the organization of talk-in-interaction constitute the basis for EM/CA's critique concerning the predominant approaches to the study of socialization that were made in the nineteen fifties, sixties and early seventies, and their proposition to respecify it.

2.3.1. EM/CA's Critique of the Study of Socialization

In their research project entitled "Studies of Kids' Culture and Kids' Talk" (Garfinkel, Girton, Livingston and Sacks, 1982),¹² the authors remark that social and human sciences tend to investigate the processes of socialization by adopting a *developmental scheme*, which emanates from common sense. The authors summarize the *scheme* as follows: "Children are not adults; they are different from adults; they are adults-in-becoming. They are incompetent in the ways of adults. Child training practices are ways of socializing children" (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 2). Its adoption thus consists in observing, analyzing, understanding, and explicating children's participation in social interaction as essentially deficient when compared to the participation of adults (Mackay 1975: 181).

¹² This unpublished research project, signed by Garfinkel, Girton, Livingston and Sacks (hereafter Garfinkel et al. 1982) was elaborated after Sacks' death in 1975. However, it is essentially based on the lectures and oral presentations concerning children's interactions with others that Sacks gave in the sixties, but which were only published much later (1972, 1982, 1985, 1992 I+II; see Garfinkel et al. 1982: 6). For a similarly prominent critique addressed to studies of socialization in the early sixties; see Wrong (1961).

According to this view, the ordinary members' use of the developmental scheme for explicating and understanding children's action in everyday situations seems quite reasonable (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 4). The critique by no means targets this ordinary use by ordinary members. What they criticize, however, is its unexamined application within scientific socialization theory and/or descriptions. The authors argue that its unexamined use by sociologists (psychologists) within scientific theory engenders an a priori view on children's doings as being "naturally, normally, obviously, objectively, really and observably faulted" (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 4). As Jenks remarks, this perspective on children even constitutes developmental psychology's *raison d'être* (2008: 80):

Developmental psychology is wholly predicated on the notion of childhood's 'naturalness' and on the necessity, normality, and desirability of development and constructive change through 'growth'. Children are thus routinely constructed as partially rational, that is, in the process of becoming rational.

First, to conceive of children as incomplete or deficient engenders a view of parents (adults) as the predominant socialization agents of the child. It follows that the socialization process is understood as being "one-way", i.e. from the adult (parent) to the child. This view precludes the researcher from examining what children might competently contribute – from their birth on – to the organization of intelligible and ordered interaction, and insinuates that children's utterances might only be "faulted replicas" of those that emanate from adults (Watson 1992: 264). Second, instead of treating the ordinary use of the developmental scheme as a "topic of investigation", sociologists and psychologists tend to use it as a "glossing resource" for rendering their own (scientific) description coherent and intelligible. However, as Mackay stresses, to confound resource and topic induces studies of socialization to lose sight of the phenomenon they intended to investigate in the first place: "...the confounding of the common-sense world as topic and resource has resulted in the unavailability for sociologists of interaction between adults and children as a phenomenon of study" (Mackay 1975: 182). Finally, it has been remarked that apart from some studies in cultural anthropology, research studies committed to the study of socialization have neglected the examination of children's social life in its own right (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 1). Consequently, children's everyday interactions have not been seriously investigated, nor have the possible competences that children bring to bear when they interact with each other been systematically and rigorously described. The authors thus argue, therefore, that social and human sciences are not in a position to approve or dismiss the fact that children might

socialize themselves amongst each other, and might even produce a specific culture of their own that is inaccessible to adults (Garfinkel et al. 1982; Speier 1971). These critiques concerning the predominant theories of socialization of the sixties/seventies induced EM/CA to the proposition of respecifying the study of socialization.

2.3.2. EM/CA's Respecification of the Study of Socialization

Instead of adopting a conception of children in respect to socialization that comes from notions of 'common sense', EM/CA proposes recording naturally occurring interactions in which children are involved (at home, in school, or in the playground), and using these audio/video recordings as a basis for studying children's competent participation within society, where the notion of *competence* refers to the interactants' ability to produce their actions in such a way that they are intelligible for others for what they are. The aim is to describe in detail how children participate with other children or with adults in the interactive organization and production of social interaction, and to account for the methods that children and adults use, mobilizing language and other multimodal resources, such as gestures, gaze, posture, intonation, etc. in order to produce intelligible actions, and to understand each other's actions (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 35–39). The proposition 'to respecify' the study of socialization is thus consistent with EM/CA's general concern that is: "the analysis of the competences which underlie ordinary social activities. Specifically it is directed at describing and explicating the competences which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversational interaction." (Heritage 1984a: 241)

Furthermore, the respecification implies two concrete working conjectures. The first one is based on Iona and Peter Opie's work in the nineteen fifties and sixties (Opie & Opie 1959, 1969), evidencing how one generation of children orally transmits specific plays, rhymes, and songs to the next generation, without the interference of typical socialization agents, such as parents and teachers, etc. Inspired by their work, Sacks conjectures that children might have specific methods and procedures that they use in order to integrate other children in their social activities, i.e. a specific 'kids' culture' (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 6). Consequently, he proposes to examine and analyze interactions between children in the absence of adults (Sacks 1992 I: 363–369, 489–506; Garfinkel et al. 1982: 1–2). The aim is to account for children's interactive participation in terms of competences (Garfinkel et al. 1982:19), and to describe what they are capable of achieving interactively, when conversing and interacting amongst themselves: "...we are talking throughout, and in a certain way,

about the communicative skills of children. A preliminary description of what those skills would and do consist of [...] is at the heart of our research enterprise” (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 19). By observing/describing children’s deployment of specific procedures in order to organize their activities in the absence of adults, Sacks suggests that children might participate in their own socialization in a non-trivial way. The aim of this first working conjecture is to demonstrate that the procedures deployed by children might (possibly) be different from those of adults, but that they are nevertheless interactively effective and competent.

The second working conjecture seeks to examine the way that ordinary adults (parents, teachers, psychologists, sociologists) use the developmental scheme, when they are confronted with children in their everyday life, and to see how children deal with adults’ use of the scheme. Ordinary adults’ use of the developmental scheme for explaining or understanding children’s doings or for organizing their interactions with them, is indexed in the way that adults (including sociologists and psychologists) “see” children’s actions and “hear” their talk in terms of “deficiency”, produced by a not yet fully developed being. The argument of the second working conjecture runs as follows: as a *member’s phenomenon*, the use of the developmental scheme and its interactive implications have to be taken as seriously as other “interpretative resources and methods of sense-making” that interactants might use for organizing their activities with those of others (Sacks’ oral contribution, cited in Garfinkel et al 1982: 9). By investigating into the ordinary use of the developmental scheme, the aim is to provide sociological explications for children’s other-than-adult behavior (Sidnell 2010a). Indeed, instead of ascribing every particularity of children’s behavior within interaction to their (special) state of (cognitive) development, the idea is to look at them in terms of interactive competences that children deploy in order to deal with the specific social position they have within the society (Sidnell 2010a). Instead of using the developmental scheme as a resource for their own description, its examination as a topic might shed new light on the organization and production of ordinary concrete socialization practices.

As will be shown more concretely in the following sections, for discovering and describing children’s and adults’ competent, i.e. interactively effective, deployment of sense-making procedures when interacting with each other, the respecification implies to work from bottom up (cf. Watson 1992), grounding the analytic work in the examination of (audio and/or audiovisual recordings of) naturally occurring peer-interactions (2.4.) or adult-child interactions (2.5.).

2.4. *Studies of Children's Interactions*

As previously mentioned, EM/CA critiqued structural and reproduction theory of socialization for neglecting to examine children's activities and their use of language in their own right. The central argument of this critique refers to the possibility that social and human science is therefore unable to provide any empirical account elucidating the question of whether or not children might have their own 'kids' culture', and contribute to their own socialization in a non-trivial way. In his lectures, Sacks paid a special attention to children's play-interactions (see Butler's discussion of Sacks' work on play and games 2008: 77–91). He was interested to see if games serve the children as an ideal training ground for coming to terms with some essential requirements of social life. Indeed, as we will see in more detail below, Sacks sought for example to analyze, and to discuss how children, by participating in game/play activities, might get a sense of the *observability* and *accountability* of their actions and come to terms with the fact that they have to behave in such a way that knowing a person's membership category ("teacher", "child", "adolescent", "mother", "butcher") is enough to infer what he or she is up to (Sacks 1985: 18). According to Sacks, acquiring an understanding of the observability of actions and of the implications of incumbency to a specific membership categorization constitute essential requirements for participating in a competent way in social interactions, and thus for being considered a full member of society by others.

2.4.1. **Children's Games as a Training Ground for Grasping the Observability of Actions**

Button Button Who's Got the Button is a game played all over the world, typically by children aged between five and ten years old. It is played in a number of different variations, such as games that use a coin instead of a button, for example, but the basic principle remains the same. In his lecture bearing the same name, Sacks reveals how the game is ideal for analyzing how an apprenticeship in the observability of actions takes place when children are playing amongst each other, i.e. in the absence of adults (Sacks 1992 I: 363–369).

In order to understand Sacks' argument, I need to roughly explain how the game of *Who's Got the Button* works. All the children line up in a row, apart from one child, the "it-player", who conceals a button in his hand and goes from one child to another, and with each of them in turn, he may or may not choose to secretly pass the button on into their hand. Once the round is completed, all children (apart from the "it-player") have the chance to guess to

which of their fellow players the “it-player” actually passed the button. When the guess is made correctly, the play-round is over, and a new one can start. Depending on the version of the game, the child who guessed correctly, or the one that had the button concealed in his hand, or some other child other than the actual “it-player”, then takes their turn to become the “it-player” (Sacks 1992 I: 363).

The aim of the game is thus to detect which player received the button from the “it-player”. However, if the button is correctly passed on by the “it-player”, and skillfully concealed between the hands of the child that received it, the button (or coin) – which has the physical property of being flat – can not be detected. Consequently, the detection can be made in two ways. Either the “non-it-player” seeks to observe and identify changes of appearances in the potential receiving party at the moment of a possible transaction (a short smile, a disappointed look), or immediately afterwards. As becomes clear, the notion of the observability of actions is essential for this game. In both cases the aim is to use identified changes in the outward appearance of others as a basis from which to infer whether it was that player that received the button. The detection thus implies “seeing that they know they have the button”, and refers to the “basic sense of ‘observable’ for social”, or “for moral phenomena” (Sacks 1992 I: 364). In this sense the game constitutes a sort of “training ground” for detecting others’ implication in a specific action, by using their appearances as a ground for inferring these implications. The game also constitutes a good opportunity for testing one’s ability to successfully deceive others by modifying one’s appearances, i.e. to smile at the moment in which the it-player is potentially engaged in passing the button, even if one did not actually receive the button. Playing this game thus not only provides children with the opportunity to acquire an understanding of how our appearances reveal our knowledge and our thoughts, but it also provides them with a sense of how one can deceive others, and “appear as if...” – and how deception might be an effective and successful option when interacting with others (Sacks 1992 I: 366).

Sacks points to certain limits to his own discussion, especially in respect to the relevance of appearances in the participants’ organization of the game. His self-critique is inherent in the fact that his analysis was not grounded in the details of recordings of naturally occurring interaction. He claims to handle the issue “very generally, very abstractly”; saying of how “it’s ever done”, i.e. how children use the appearances of others to detect the whereabouts of the button, or the identity of the deceiver, that he is not “in a position to say” (Sacks 1992 I: 369). Moreover, Sacks points to another issue that his analytic discussion does

not provide: it does not explain in which sense the procedures used by children to accomplish these activities – i.e. to detect a deceiver, or to deceive – might differ from those used by adults. He is thus not in a position to indicate to which extent children possess, and orient towards these procedures as constituting their own culture.

In recent years, very detailed studies based on audiovisual recordings of naturally occurring interactions have taken up Sacks' interrogation concerning the way that the observability of actions is dealt with by (very young) children, and how this can be discussed with regard to children's development of competences considered essential for their adequate participation in social life, and thus for their socialization (Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell 2005, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2006, 2007; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003; Lerner et al. 2007).

Lerner and Zimmerman (2003) begin with the following preliminary observation: "Young children engage in orderly, recognizable conduct with peers before they are able to speak. Early-appearing forms of peer communicative action are carried out through visible body behavior (including the deployment of objects) and nonverbal vocalization" (2003: 441). In order to discuss this observation and its implications for the study of the way very young children deal with the observability of actions, the authors analyze situations in which a very young child (aged around one year and six months), uses the "appearance of an action" (presenting an object) to "accomplish another action" (mocking, teasing another child) (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 441).¹³ Indeed, the authors describe three fragments in detail in which a young child (child 1) presents an object to another child (child 2), as if to give him the object. Usually, this first action – that of giving – makes relevant a second action by the intended recipient – the action of accepting, of taking the object. However, in the moment in which the initial action accomplished by child 1 induces child 2 to engage in grasping and taking the object, child 1 retracts it quickly and thus mocks child 2, the intended recipient (2003: 444–451).

In order to succeed, the mockery requires very precise timing from child 1. It has to present the object long enough for child 2 to be able to recognize the action as a possible "giving", and engage in "taking" it, but at the same time, child 1 has to retract the object quickly enough so that child 2 can not actually take it in time. In line with Sacks' observations (1992 I: 363–369), Lerner & Zimmerman suggest that young children's

¹³ The investigation is based on a large audiovisual corpus (500 hours) of naturally occurring interactions taking place within four different toddler nurseries.

interactions (in the absence of adults' interference) might constitute a training ground for deceiving others and thus for grasping the observability of action. The study presented here demonstrates in detail how child 1 deceives child 2, and how the former might even mark the success of the "mockery" – namely by laughing (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 448; for a more complete discussion of very young children's management of observability, see section 2.5. below). In this sense, the authors show in detail how young children – through their interaction with each other (that is, through play) – acquire an essential competence/knowledge for participating adequately within social life, and thus contribute to their own socialization.

In the following section, I turn to studies that have taken up Sacks' second research question that sought to investigate in which sense the procedures used by children for dealing with the observability of their action might differ from those deployed by adults. By focusing on children's categorization activities and orientation toward membership categories within their play activities, and their implications for children's production of a particular identity qua children, these studies aimed to provide some evidence for the existence of a 'kids' culture' that differs from that of adults.

2.4.2. Children's Games as a Training Ground for the Competent Use of Membership Categories

In his lecture *Button, button...* already outlined in the previous section, Sacks argues that playing the game competently requires the participants to come to terms with another essential condition of everyday social life. Recurrent changes occur in terms "of the category of player you are" ("it-player" or "non-it-player"), i.e. every play-round implies that another child is the "it-player" (Sacks 1992 I: 366). By playing the game, children come to understand the fundamental properties of each category from two perspectives, i.e. as an incumbent and as a non-incumbent of each category, and they learn that a "category is not a person" (Sacks 1992 I: 367). This means on the one hand, that a category is not equivalent to a person, and on the other hand, that a person is not an incumbent of a single category in a definitive way. As Sacks argues, by participating in the game, children are not only confronted with certain instabilities of the category, since category-incumbency regularly changes, but they also come to see that the stability of the category, or the order of the game, resides in the fact that particular activities, rights, and obligations are attached to each category, and not to individual persons. Indeed, the "it-player" is always supposed (obliged) to pass from one child to the

next, independently of whether she/he is Elisabeth, Martin or Rolf, speaks English, French, or German, and is five, six, or ten years-old, etc. Children's understanding and management of this central requirement of the game – instabilities or stabilities concerning the constitutive categories of the game – is highly relevant for their competent participation in everyday social interactions. Through their engagement in play activities, children might thus contribute to their own socialization in a non-trivial way.

Since Sacks' first attempts to examine children's play activity in its own right, by focusing (amongst other things) on children's way of handling membership categories, such as "play categories", or "gender categories", and on the way they accomplish categorization activities, an important number of studies taking up the issues have been published (Butler & Weatherall 2006, 2011; Cromdal 2001a+b; Danby & Baker 1998, 2000; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Evaldsson & Corsaro 1998; Goodwin 1982, 1990, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006).

Very generally speaking, these studies seek to show that through their way of organizing their (play) activities in the absence of adults, children "construct their own ideas of valued behaviors and identities in their peer or kin groups", and treat constitutive membership categories of their play activities accordingly, thus becoming "agents of their own socialization" (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007: 280). However, as we will see in the following paragraphs, the resources children use for accomplishing constitutive membership categories and the way they orient toward them within play activities have a bearing on procedures deployed by and observed within adults' interaction too. As such, these studies do not confirm Sacks' *conjecture* regarding the existence of an exclusive 'kids' culture' (Garfinkel et al. 1982).

Butler examines a children's game that takes place on a primary school playground and to which they give the name "fairy club" (2008). By analyzing their talk-in-interaction in detail, the author describes the methods and the practices children deploy in order to establish constitutive membership categories of the "fairy club", such as "teacher" and "students", and shows how children treat their membership of these categories as relevant, i.e. as having implications on the organization of the "club" activities, and as being consequential for the production of the play (Butler 2008: 1). More particularly, in her examination of assessment activities produced by participants of the "fairy club", Butler analyses in details how a girl, herself a "student" within "the fairy club", addresses her negative assessment about the "club" to another "student-girl", cautiously preventing (by deploying a low voice, etc.) the "teacher" of the "club" (the "authority" of the "club") from hearing it (Butler 2008: 165–169). Butler

thus provides evidence for the fact that when interacting amongst each other, children treat category incumbency as relevant for organizing and achieving their (negative) assessments, i.e. they address their negative assessment concerning the “club” activities to an incumbent of a category belonging to the same hierarchical level as they do, and do not address it overtly to the “authority” of the club. In a similar way to adults, children seem to take into account the kind of object their negative assessment is referring to, its importance, its implications for other categories of the game, and their own relation to these other categories of the game (subordinate vs. superordinate) for organizing and producing their negative assessments or complaints (Sacks 1992 II: 103)

Another way of studying children’s use and treatment of membership categories within their play activities is proposed by Marjorie Goodwin. From as early as the nineteen eighties, Goodwin has provided rigorous empirical analysis throughout her work that is based on girls’ (and boys’) naturally occurring everyday interactions. This analysis shows in detail how children deploy linguistic and multimodal resources (such as posture, gestures, facial expression, and intonation) for organizing their play activities in an orderly way (Goodwin 1982, 1990: 109–137, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006). Goodwin (1992) shows how young children use play activities to establish symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships with each other – the girls used directives to implement symmetry amongst them, while the boys used them to accomplish asymmetric relationships. In this sense, play activities contribute to the production of the children’s group structure that might be “egalitarian” or “hierarchical”. Through her detailed analysis, Goodwin demonstrates that these structures are the product of systematic, and continuous work accomplished interactively by the members constituting the group, implying and displaying their orientation toward categories of “authority” and “subordination” (Goodwin 1990: 46–48).

Goodwin suggests that one of the major contributions of studies examining how children organize their play activities and how they manifest their orientation toward and produce categories, such as “teachers”, “students”, “authority”, “subordination”, etc. has been to challenge some strong assumptions concerning working-class and black children’s (linguistic) incompetences, and to spread doubt concerning prejudices that social and human sciences tend to maintain about these children’s way of being in the world (1990: 287):

It has frequently been assumed that the speech of working-class children, and black children in particular, is deficient, and that talk produced in actual situations of use is too degenerate for systematic analysis (Chomsky 1965: 3–4). The present analysis

demonstrates that, to the contrary, the speech of children at play [...] constitutes a powerful manifestation not only of linguistic competence, but of social and cultural competence as well.

The author notes, for example, that “egalitarian” or “hierarchical” structures are not necessarily bound to girls’ or to boys’ groups, but are observable in both of them (1990: 47). Moreover, her detailed work on preadolescent girls’ talk-in-interaction, and their accomplishment of activities, such as “gossip”, “conflict”, “disputes”, “arguments”, and “exclusion”, has demonstrated that girls are not essentially oriented toward “care, responsibility” and “solidarity”, as it has often been suggested, but might be as effective as boys in taking oppositional stances, in dominating, excluding another child, or in resisting another’s argument, etc. (Goodwin 1990: 141–272, 284; 2002, 2006; Goodwin, Goodwin & Yaeger-Dror 2002). She convincingly shows that through their everyday social interactions, instead of complying with stereotypical adult categorizations regarding children or adolescents, children seem to be competent, making “visible for each other their perspectives on events, categorizing the behaviour of others and displaying their alignments towards events” (2006: 3).

However, Goodwin and Kyratzis also stress that the (linguistic) resources children use for organizing their own social interactions and for producing membership categories, such as “authority”, “subordination”, and social reality in general, are not fundamentally different from those of adults. Quite the contrary, children seem to draw on adults’ sense-making procedures in order to create their own procedures, and consequently to produce different “forms” of interaction (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007: 280; see also section 2.4.5. below):

Our work analyzes how children make use of linguistic resources from the adult culture, for example, control act forms, accounts, person descriptors, assessments, teases, greetings, *palabra* (types of verbal dueling), and forms of parallel language structures to provide their own rendering of these practices, often subverting adult forms.

Although it might be argued that the subversion of adult forms constitutes a form of ‘kids’ culture’ (see also section 2.5.1. below, and Sacks’ lectures on adolescents’ use of the category of “Hotrodders” for designating themselves in Sacks 1992 I: 169-174), the authors clearly decline Sacks conjecture of a ‘kids’ culture’ that might exist independently of the adult one and that might thus be inaccessible to them.

The conjecture provided the impetus for a growing body of empirical studies (Butler 2008; Butler & Weatherall 2006, 2011; Church 2009; Cobb-Moore, Danby & Farrell 2008; Cromdal 2001a+b; Danby & Baker 1998, 2000; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Evaldsson & Corsaro 1998; Goodwin 1982, 1990, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006; Kidwell 2009; Sidnell 2010a; Tholander 2002 (ed.), 2005), further revealing children's communicative competences, and eventually providing evidence for the fact that children might be "agents of their own socialization" (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007: 208). These studies constitute an important contribution to a field of research that has known an important theoretical revitalization in the nineties, and was referred to as the "new paradigm for the study of childhood" (James & Prout 1990: 5; Sirota 1998, 2006), but which still stands in need of rigorous empirical analyses of children's everyday doings (Cromdal 2006: 464).

2.5. Studies of Adult(Parent)–Child Interactions

As outlined earlier, the predominant theories of socialization in the nineteen fifties and sixties emphasized the asymmetric relations that existed between the to-be-socialized child and the adult. The adult was considered to be inculcating and transmitting commonly held norms and rules, and the child was seen as passively, unconsciously incorporating them. In these last sections, I will first offer a deeper discussion of early EM/CA studies on adult(parent)-child interactions that took up the asymmetric relation issue, albeit attacking it from quite a different angle. Indeed, as outlined in 2.3.2., beyond the analysis of concrete adult(parent)-child interactions and the examination of the procedures through which the participants organize and render these interactions intelligible, the respecification implies a second working conjecture. Within the sixties and early seventies, Sacks (1992 I + II), Speier (1971, 1973, 1976) and Wootton (1981) investigated this second conjecture: the examination of adults' use of the developmental scheme for organizing their everyday interactions with (young) children, and/or the investigation of adults' and children's observable orientation toward the developmental scheme and its implications, as they are manifested within their daily interactions. As we will see (sections 2.5.1. and 2.5.2.) their studies showed that adults' uses of categorical resources and their ways of treating young children's participation within interactions might manifest their orientation toward children as inferior, i.e. not yet fully competent actors. Furthermore, it demonstrated that in order to interact with adults, children might use available sequential, temporal, or categorical resources and deploy interactive procedures, which might be similar, but also ingeniously different from those used by adults,

thus showing interactive competences that are adapted to their social position. Parallel to these early studies, developmental psychologists and their examination of mother-child interactions have become increasingly influential in the field. In section 2.5.3., I will therefore discuss the impact that these works undertaken within developmental psychology have had upon more recent EM/CA studies on adult(parent)-interactions.

2.5.1. Sacks' Work on Adult-Child Interactions: the Developmental Scheme as a Members' Phenomenon – Its Use and Its Implications Within Every Day Adult-Child Interactions

In his lectures, Sacks remarks that adults confronted with children within their everyday activities often use the category of “imitation” in order to characterize children’s actions (Sacks 1992 I: 70–71, 503–504). When children are, for example, engaged in playing ‘House’ or ‘Mummies and Daddies’, adults tend to characterize their activities as an imitation of everyday family life, or in French as “faire comme si”; “to do as if” they were fathers or mothers, etc. Adults thus use what Sacks calls an **MIR** device, where **M** refers to *membership*, **I** to *inference-rich*, and **R** to *representative* (Sacks 1992 I: 40–48) when they describe children’s activities.¹⁴ Sacks argues that the use of an MIR procedure is a powerful sense-making method because to categorize a member of society in a certain way, for example as a *mother*, provides for a whole set of inferences concerning:

- A specific way of acting, e.g. a mother picks up her baby when it cries;
- Her rights, i.e. a mother has the right to decide when her children go to bed, what they eat for lunch, which nursery they attend, etc.
- Her obligations, i.e. a mother has to feed her children, provide them with a bed and adequate clothing, etc.
- Other predicates conventionally associated with the category of mother, as specific competences i.e. she takes care of her children’s hygiene in a reasonable way (e.g. by not using hot water with a temperature of 50° C when showering them); she educates them with reasonable methods (e.g. without using physical violence), etc.

¹⁴ In his lecture Sacks does not specify or further discuss the *ontological status* of devices, such as the MIR. Instead he observes their (recurrent) occurrence within naturally occurring interactions, describes their interactive organization, shows what participants produce (in terms of actions) by deploying them, and discusses their interactive implications, i.e. their impact on the further course of action.

To categorize somebody as *mother* therefore makes inferentially relevant an important amount of knowledge concerning the categorized member, which goes far beyond the simple fact that she is considered to be the mother of somebody. Moreover, Sacks underlines that every member to whom an inference rich category is ascribed is considered to be a representative of it. Consequently, the inferences (rights/obligations/competences) associated to the category of mother are made irrespective of the so-categorized member's concrete actions (Sacks 1992 I: 41).

However, by categorizing a child playing 'House' or 'Mummies and Daddies' as an "imitation", adults merely refer to the child's capacity to imitate somebody else's doings with greater or lesser accuracy, since the category of "imitator" does not itself provide for specific rights/obligations, or other competences. For adults to use the category of "imitation" when describing children's play is thus one way of tacitly invoking the *developmental scheme*, since: "imitation seems to involve a way of characterizing some actions which somebody does when they are not entitled to do that class of activities (child imitates adult, etc.)" (Sacks 1992 I: 70). The use of the category "imitation" results in the child being not authorized to accomplish certain activities properly and competently. Instead the child is understood to be doing these activities as mere "imitations of..." Consequently, children are "not found to be 'responsible' for what they do in a non-trivial sense" (Sacks 1992 I: 70). On the one hand, this might protect them from the seriousness of everyday contingences, i.e. children imitating a "mother" do not face the same sanctions as an adult mother does, when they do not treat their "babies" appropriately. On the other hand, not being considered as responsible for one's actions also implies that one is not considered a full member. Indeed, as Sacks notes: "categories like 'imitation', and 'phoney' provide us with something very central, in that they serve as boundary categories around the term member (Sacks 1992 I: 71, 503–504)". In this sense, to categorize children's activities as "imitations" is morally not trivial, since it constitutes one way of denying them the full membership of a given society.

Sacks argues, therefore, that adults' use of categories like "imitation" when describing children's activities has to be taken seriously as a topic of investigation by sociologists. Its analysis brings into light the way adults orient toward children's activities, and the inferences they make relevant concerning children's production of social action/order. However, an uncritical adoption of the "imitation" category for describing children's activities within socialization theory misses the point. As Sacks highlights, its use within social sciences has important consequences when examining children. Indeed, by approaching children's

behavior as “mere” play we miss the point: competences that children bring to bear when engaged in interaction with others remain unnoticed. Instead of examining children’s activities as possibly implying distinctive competences compared to adults’ way of organizing their activities, social science thereby contributes to the rendering of children as incompetent, and thus operates on the same level as ordinary adults do in their everyday life (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 19). In contrast, the observation and study of children’s play house activities in their own right (i.e. not as an imitation of...) allows us to realize that children organize their activities around particular rules, events, and categories which children administrate and negotiate not as simple imitations of the adult world, but as constitutive elements of their play activities, and toward which they orient in order to produce their activities in an intelligible and ordered way (Sacks 1992 I: 503; see also Sacks’ discussion in the lecture: “On some formal properties of children’s games” 1992 I: 489–506). Sacks’ first working proposition to examine adults’ use of interpretative procedures – like the use of the **MIR** device “imitation” – thus induces the researcher to study something which otherwise remains generally unnoticed.

In his lecture “The baby cried. The mommy picked it up”, Sacks aims to show “that starting to talk to adults is, for small children, a rather special matter” (Sacks 1992 I: 263), and that “kids take it that they have restricted rights which consist of a right to begin, to make a first statement and not much more. Thereafter they proceed only if requested to” (Sacks 1974: 231). According to Sacks, children’s “restricted rights to talk” might be best understood as a consequence that children face because of adults’ use of the developmental scheme when interacting with them: children are not considered full members of society with what might be called “full rights”. However, instead of analyzing the way adults implement these restricted rights when interacting with children in everyday life (see section 2.5.2. below; Speier 1976), Sacks discusses children’s deployment of specific procedures that allow them to circumvent these “restricted rights” (Sacks 1992 I: 255; Sacks 1972: 344). He thus invites us to see/consider something, which is usually not noticed, i.e. children’s competence for acquiring an extended “right to talk”. As he remarks, at the age of around three years old, children recurrently begin “any piece of talk they make to adults” by using something like: “You know what daddy? Or “You know something, mommy?” (Sacks 1974: 229).

Child: “you know something mommy?”

This open question constitutes a *first pair part* (FPP) of the question-answer (Q-A) *adjacency pair* (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). As an FPP it makes relevant the *second pair part* (SPP) of the same pair *type*, i.e. question-answer type,¹⁵ from the intended recipient (mommy). In other words, as soon as a question is completed, the intended recipient has the obligation/right to answer.

The normativity of this sequential order lies in the *sequential implications* that a non-response engenders, i.e. if B does not answer the question, this non-response is *noticeably absent*, and A might repeat the question until an answer is given by B (Heritage 1984a: 248), or A might infer reasons for B's non-response, such as: B does not know the answer, etc. Instead of making relevant a simple answer by mommy, the particularity of the child's open question "You know what mommy?" consists in its capacity to make relevant in the next turn another open question from the mother:

Child: "you know what mommy?"

Mommy: "what?"

This open question by the mother then makes an answer by the child relevant in the next turn. The child thus acquires not only the right to talk as long as it takes him to say what he has to say, but the open question produced by the adult obliges him to do so (Sacks 1974: 255). "The child is thereby provided with the opportunity to say whatever it is he wanted to say in the first place" (Sacks 1992 I: 265).

Child: open question, which projects another open question (FPP)

Mommy: produces the projected open question ((SPP) is produced as an FPP)

Child: acquires right/obligation to answer (SPP)

By using an open question (OQ) to begin a conversation with an adult, the child *turns around* the otherwise operative *chaining rule* question-answer: Q-A to OQ-OQ-A, and so acquires a particular right/obligation to speak extendedly (Sacks 1992 I: 264). The child by deploying *sequential resources* thus competently produces an ingenious device for bypassing his restricted right to talk, when interacting with adults.

Within the same lecture, another procedure is discussed which young children use for dealing with their limited rights to talk when participating in conversations with adults. It

¹⁵ Other typical adjacency pairs occur within interactive sequences in which a summons is followed by an answer, a request by either a granting or a refusal, or the invitation engenders an acceptance or refusal by the intended recipient.

consists in the child producing a story beginning which projects a continuation and thus tacitly requests the recipient to leave her/him the floor for as long as it takes her/him to finish the story (Sacks 1992 I: 255). The child's deployment of this procedure implies not only sequential resources, but also resources provided for by the use of social categories. Sacks begins his demonstration by citing the short story of a 3 year old child:

"The baby cried. The mommy picked it up." (Sacks 1992 I: 223–266)

The central aim is to answer the question: how is it that we (any native speaking recipient of the story) come to hear the fragment as we do? While on the one hand, Sacks takes it that we understand the "mommy" as being the "mommy of the baby" and not any accidentally present "mommy" (Sacks 1974: 330), he remarks, on the other hand, that any hearer presumes that the first sentence S1 is heard as reporting a first occurrence O1, and as projecting a second sentence S2, which is understood as the report of the occurrence O2, induced by O1 (Sacks 1974: 330). More specifically, Sacks seeks to show what procedure the child deploys in order to produce a sentence (S1), which is understandably a proper beginning of a story, i.e. projecting a continuation and an end, and whose use by the child constitutes an efficient way of assuring extended speakers rights.

It is through the use of what Sacks calls an **MCD**, or *Membership Categorization Device*, that the child produces the intelligibility of his story, and that the recipient understands it, in the way that is outlined above (Sacks 1972: 332). An **MCD** is composed of a set of *membership categories*, which go together and thus constitute a *collection*, plus *rules of application* (economy, consistency rule) and their corollary, *hearers' and viewers' maxims* (Sacks 1972: 332–333). As a device, the **MCD** provides for ordinary members "doing" intelligible describing and for the correlative activity, which consists in recognizing a description for what it is (Sacks 1972: 329). The *economy rule* states that for referring to somebody, a single reference term, such as "baby" is sufficient: "A single category from any membership categorization device can be referentially adequate." (Sacks 1972: 333). This means that, by using the category "baby", the child proposes a description which is sufficient for the practical task at hand, and that in order to be understandable, there is no need to add references to another category other than "baby", such as "boy", "poor", or "black", etc.

The use of the corollary *viewers maxim* provides for understanding, seeing certain actions like "crying" to be properly bound to a particular category: "baby". "If a member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one can see it being done by a member of a

category to which the activity is bound, see it that way.” (Sacks 1972: 338). We ordinarily expect a “baby” to cry (when hungry or otherwise in trouble). We thus take it that the activity crying is a “typical” activity for a “baby”, and have no troubles in understanding the proposed sentence as being coherent. As Sack mentions, the orientation toward seeing a certain activity (crying) as being bound to certain categories (baby), can for example be observed when an older child’s behavior is degraded: “do not cry like a baby”, or when a young child’s behavior is praised: “bravo! you eat like a big boy” (Sacks 1972: 336). In this sense, the adequate reference “baby” and the invocation of an activity, which is conventionally “seen” as being *bound* to the category “baby” allows the recipient of the story to understand the child’s first sentence S1: “The baby cried” as a coherent and reasonable description of an occurrence O1.

The recipients’ use of *the consistency rule* provides their understanding that the “baby” referred to in S1, and the “mommy” talked about in S2 belong to the same collection “family”:

If the first person has been categorized as ‘baby’, then further persons may be referred to by other categories of a collection of which they are a member, and thus that such categories as ‘mommy’ and ‘daddy’ are relevant given the use of ‘baby’. (Sacks 1972: 333)

However, the consistency rule as defined above in its weak form does not exclude any category from being part of the same collection: any category like “witch” or “lion” can be understood as being relevant in relation to “baby”, and understood as building a collection, such as the fairy-tale collection, with “baby”. Therefore a corollary *hearer’s maxim* is needed for understanding how “baby” and “mommy” are un-problematically assembled within the collection “family”:

If two or more categories are used to categorize two or more members of some population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, then: Hear them that way. (Sacks 1972: 333)

The hearer’s maxim provides a solution for the ambiguity, which the use of a first category like “baby” implies. Indeed, the category “baby” can be attached to several collections: “family”, “lovers”, “stage of life”, etc. However, as soon as the second category “mommy” is invoked, the hearer’s maxim eliminates certain collections, since “mommy” is not a membership categorization that refers to the collection “lovers”, or “stage of life”, but it is associated to the collection “family” (Sacks 1972: 333). Consequently, the “mommy” is

heard as being the “mommy” of the baby (belonging to the same family) and not as any accidentally present adult (Sacks 1974: 330).

However, how do we come to understand the young child’s first sentence (S1): “The baby cried” as a proper beginning of a story, i.e. projecting a continuation and/or an end (S2, S3). Or to come back to our initial concern: in which sense does the child’s first sentence constitute an efficient way of assuring extended speaker’s rights? For adults, a proper way of *beginning* a conversation, when the situation itself does not really provide it – when two strangers are waiting for a bus, for example – consists in using what he calls a *ticket* (Sacks 1992 I: 265). One such prototypical ticket is the announcement of a trouble (ibid: 257), which is “relevant” for the other participant in the situation (ibid: 265), such as: “around this time of the day, the bus is regularly caught up in traffic jams”. Similarly, the child’s first utterance: “The baby cried” announces a trouble, which is relevant for the “mommy” of the “baby”. Indeed, as we have seen within the discussion of the **MIR device**, ordinary members conventionally attribute specific rights/obligations to social categories. On the one hand, the baby is thus not only considered to have the right to cry when something is troubling him, but also to be comforted by his mother when crying. On the other hand, the category of “mother” is understood as being the relevant person to give this comfort, or even as the person obliged to do so. By producing the first sentence (S1), which announces a trouble (crying baby) that is relevant for the baby’s mother, the child constitutes a ticket. As such it projects a second sentence (S2), in which the relevant category “the baby’s mommy” accomplishes the projected action of giving comfort (see also Sacks’ discussion of a viewer’s maxim, which provides the sequential order of reported occurrences and activities in Sacks 1972: 339). The child thus manages to produce a proper beginning of a story, and thus gains the right to continue – to finish the story – despite his restricted rights to talk (Sacks 1992 I: 265).

To summarize: For Sacks, to analyze the recurrent use of the category “imitation”, when confronted with children’s actions, and to discuss how this categorization participates in the production of the child as a “boundary category”, i.e. not being considered a full member of society, constitutes one way of studying ordinary members’ use of the developmental scheme as an interpretative method. Another way of studying adults’ orientation toward children as “inferior” actors (not fully developed) consists in examining the way that children deal with the consequences such an orientation implies for them when participating in a conversation with adults. He begins his analytic argument with an observation – young children’s recurrent use of a phrase, such as “do you know what?” when talking to adults –

then he analyzes what this particular phrase accomplishes in terms of interaction, proposing that it not only gives the child the right to talk, but obliges him to do so, and finally he suggests that through its sequential properties the phrase constitutes a handy ticket for circumventing restricted rights to talk. His argumentation does not thus invoke children's particular inferior state of cognitive, psychological or linguistic development. Instead he remarks that in terms of interactive effectiveness it observably constitutes a competent way of dealing with the particular (social) rights that adults conventionally attribute to (or withhold from) children. The sensitivity and fascination for children's ingenuity accounts for the importance Sacks attributes to what children do (competently) when interacting with others, instead of looking at them essentially in terms of incompetence, and for his proposition to examine what they actively contribute, in a non-trivial way, to the orderly organization of everyday interaction, and thus to their socialization.

2.5.2. Adults' (Parents) Treatment of Their Children's Participation in Social Interaction

Besides Sacks' early work on adult-child interactions, Speier is one of the first researchers to adopt an EM/CA approach in order to examine naturally occurring everyday adult(parent)-child interactions (1971, 1976). On the basis of audio-recordings, Speier describes in detail how children competently use reference terms (Speier 1971: 209-213), and sequential procedures (Speier 1971: 213-216) in order to make themselves understandable to an adult within an everyday encounter. Beyond demonstrating children's deployment of categorical and procedural competences when interacting with adults, Speier also insists on the fact that ordinary adults neither recognize nor take into account these competences when interacting with children: they answer or talk for the child, instead of letting the (demonstrably competent) child talk for himself (Speier 1971: 195). Moreover, in the way that adults treat the child as having restricted rights to talk (to participate in a conversation), adults not only enforce silence upon the child, when they want to talk to another adult, or when the child engages in challenging behavior (Speier 1976: 101), but they also dismiss the child (Speier 1976: 102). By referring to works accomplished in anthropology that describe colonial situations as implying routine contact between two distinct cultures, Speier uses his above presented particular features of adult-child interaction to conjecture the following: children and adults have distinct, separate cultures, wherein children's culture is subordinated to that of adults (Speier 1971: 99ff.). Through the unavoidable contact between the two cultures (culture-contact), and because of adults' domination over children's culture, the latter is, by

and by, condemned to disappear (1971, 1973, 1976). Indeed, according to Speier, adults' attribution of restricted rights to children when participating in conversational activities constitutes one manifestation (amongst others) of how adults seek to override children's culture (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 31).

In my opinion, Speier's use of notions such as "culture-contact" and the "subordination" of one culture to another for describing the organization of adult-child interactions seems problematic. As mentioned above, these notions have been introduced by cultural anthropology – Uriel Weinreich (1953) utilized them for describing the asymmetric relations that exist between colonialists and the indigenous population – and they are theoretically, morally, and historically heavily loaded. Instead of analyzing and describing in detail how interactants' deployments of sense-making procedures locally produce social order, the uses of these normative notions gloss adult-child interaction. As a gloss, these notions collaborate in transforming a locally situated, and interactively produced relation into a naturally given asymmetric one. Hence essential aspects of the interactive event – in what immediate interactive context do parents "dismiss their children", how do they actually accomplish it, and how do children treat their parent's move in turn – are easily overlooked, or pass unnoticed, and one finds oneself readily producing what predominant social and human sciences have been criticized for: i.e. theory-driven studies of socialization (see Watson 1983).

In this respect Wootton's approach concerning parents' treatment of their children's requests is more cautious and allows a more nuanced description of parents' orientation toward their children's participation in social interaction (1981). On the basis of audio tapes recorded "in the homes of four-year-old children" (Wootton 1981: 61), Wootton examines the different ways that addressed parents respond to their children's requests. The author demonstrates that parents' initial *non-granting turns* after children's requests are accomplished in such a way – with a delay, not stating a refusal, or if they do, then using mitigated formats – that they minimize the occurrence of strong refusals, and maximize its granting. This indicates that when confronted with a request, parents generally seem to privilege granting, and avoid stated refusals (1981: 81), as is the case within adult-adult conversations.

So whereas speech act analysis suggests that one can turn down requests by referring to relevant preconditions in an unlimited number of ways, in fact the formats

employed seem to have orderly properties, properties consistent with the view that a major feature governing their selection is a preference for granting.

Contrary to assertions made by speech act studies on requests (Labov & Fanshel 1977), Wootton's study demonstrates that parents interacting with their four-year-old children do not index their superior position toward the child in their way of responding to their requests. Instead they respect the preference for granting a request typical for adults' conversations. Moreover, the author remarks that the studied parents' recourse to a definite array of formats for responding to their children's request, and their general orientation toward preference organization might permit them to use an initial firm rejection (dispreferred format for accomplishing a rejection) in situations in which they want to display unequivocally that there is no margin for negotiation. At the same time, he highlights that children seem to treat parents' different ways of producing their "nongranteeing responses" for discriminating those responses that are more or less negotiable (Wootton 1981: 83). Instead of relating parents' use of a specific format to grant/refuse their children's request to a presumed asymmetric relation between the interactants, Wootton suggests that different formats might serve parents to express different positions: manifesting firmness versus openness for negotiation, etc. In this sense he nuances Speier's account of parent-child interaction and at the same time opens a huge field of investigation whose aim is to discuss possible particularity concerning the organization of adult(parent)-child interactions whose first aim is to discover and analyze interactive patterns within adult(parent)-child interactions, and whose second is to confront them and discuss them in the light of EM/CA findings on adult-adult conversation.

To sum up: In this section I have discussed two early EM/CA studies on parent-child interactions. The first of these (Speier 1971, 1976) seeks to show that the way in which adults (parents) treat their children's active participation within social interaction collaborates in the production of children seen as inferior to adults and as having restricted rights compared to adults. Wootton's study, however, seeks to demonstrate that parents' use of more or less authoritarian methods for granting/refusing a child's request might simply be grounded within different parental tasks and not necessarily index an asymmetric relation between the two categories (Wootton 1981).

Further development of EM/CA studies on adult(parent)-child interactions (including Wootton's own work) took a slightly different tack. From the seventies onwards, experimental investigations, ethnographic studies and/or laboratory observations of

interactions between (young) children (newborns) and their mothers, undertaken by developmental psychologists, increasingly emphasized its relevance for children's development and thus, for the study of socialization. In the last section of this chapter I discuss how these studies emanating from developmental psychology influenced EM/CA studies, generating new ways of conceiving and analyzing socialization in general, and children's cognitive, linguistic, social and cultural development more particularly.

2.5.3. Adult(Parent)-Child Interaction and Its Relevance for Children's Development of Mind (Cognition)

Within the last ten years, theoretical reflections and (empirical) works that focus on children's cognitive abilities underpinning their acquisition of linguistic, social, and cultural competences (Liszkowski 2006; Liszkowski et al. 2006; Tomasello & Farrar 1986; Tomasello, Kruger & Ratner 1999; Tomasello et al. 2005; Tomasello & Carpenter 2007) have become very influential within studies on adult(parent)-interactions. Very generally speaking, these (mostly experimental) studies agree on the fact that children do not develop their beliefs and knowledge about the world in a "social vacuum", at the same time emphasizing the cognitive capacity the child brings to bear on acquiring new competences and knowledge (cf. Clément, König & Harris 2004: 360; König, Clément & Harris 2004).¹⁶ With regard to this line of investigation, one central figure is Michael Tomasello who is director of "The Department of Developmental and Comparative Psychology of the Max Planck Institute" in Leipzig (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/psycho/>).

In their account on children's "cultural learning", Tomasello et al. (1999) draw on Vygotsky's conception of human development that locates the acquisition of culture (language) within human interactions. The authors critique (cultural) developmental psychologists such as Bruner (1971, 1996; Wood et al. 1976), Rogoff (1990, 2003; Rogoff, Ellis & Gardner 1984) and Wertsch (1985), for neglecting "what the individual organism brings to the process of enculturation" (Tomasello et al. 1999: 102). Tomasello and his team emphasize, that instead of merely focusing on the conduct of caregivers and parents when interacting with very young children, and the way that impacts on children's development, the researchers should also examine children's ability to acquire culture, taking into account recent research and theories on children's development of social cognition (1999: 105). The

¹⁶ See also Tomasello & Racoczy (2007) for an account of "what makes human cognition unique" in comparison to other animals.

authors advocate a concept of cultural learning that implies three different types of learning – imitative, instructed and collaborative learning. Each type of learning requires specific cognitive abilities from the child, implying different concepts of persons as being intentional, mental and reflective agents (Tomasello et al. 1999: 116–117). As a consequence, the three types of cultural learning occur in “a highly predictable order in human ontogeny” (Tomasello et al. 1999: 105).

The capacity to learn through imitation implies, for example, the child’s cognitive capacity to “take the other’s perspective”, and to understand the caregiver or parent as an intentional agent in order to engage in joint attention from the age of about nine months upwards (Tomasello et al. 1999: 106–109). The authors argue that the acquisition of culture thanks to the instructions of others (instructed learning), however, requires more complex cognitive abilities from the child. Indeed, instructed learning is distinct from learning “by means of adult task simplification (scaffolding)” (Tomasello et al. 1999: 109). While children might learn practically from birth onwards thanks to adults’ scaffolding, and simply by mimicking adults’ embodied instructions, instructed learning implies that the children self-regulate their own learning behavior, for example through self-oriented speech, and at the same time understand the others as mental agents that can also engage in deception, etc. The children acquire these relatively complex cognitive competences, allowing self-regulation, around their fourth birthday, and consequently it is around this age that the child is ready for instructed learning (Tomasello et al. 1999: 109–113). Age four is usually invoked within discussions focusing on children’s acquisition of a *theory of mind*, TOM (see Frye & Moore 1991; Meltzoff & Gopnik 1993). It is at this age that children are said to be in possession of TOM in reference to their capacity to attribute mental states and knowledge to others, or to infer others’ knowledge of something. However, Tomasello and his collaborators argue that the focus on children’s acquisition of a theory of mind is not a very useful basis for researching their understanding of others, “as it changes from infancy through childhood: goes from no theory of mind to theory of mind around 4 years with perhaps some ‘precursors’ prior to that” (Tomasello et al. 1999: 116–117). In their view, it is children’s development (of social cognition) that enables them to engage from nine months on, and then step-by-step, in more and more complex social and cultural learning activities (Tomasello et al. 1999: 131–134).

Very recent studies on adult(parent)-child interactions (Filipi 2007, 2009; Forrester 2008, 2010; Forrester & Cherington 2009; Kidwell 2005, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2006,

2007; Lerner, Zimmerman & Kidwell 2011; Wootton 1997, 2006a+b, 2007, 2010) explicitly refer to the empirical and conceptional work on children's cognitive development put forward by Tomasello and his team (Tomasello et al. 1999; Tomasello et al. 2005; on children's development of *shared intentionality*, see Tomasello & Carpenter 2007; on children's capacity to engage in *joint attention*, see Tomasello & Farrar 1986).

As outlined above in section 2.4.1., in their article on very young (18 month-old) children's management of the observability of each other's actions, Lerner and Zimmerman showed that very young children already manifest the success of their teasing activity in an embodied way, for example by laughing (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 448). In this way, they render their understanding of how their own activity constitutes a teasing activity, and not a misunderstanding, or a pure coincidence, publicly available for the other participants in the interaction, as well as for the researcher. In contrast to the account offered by Tomasello et al., suggesting children engage in the deception of others around the time of their third birthday, by which time they have acquired the cognitive ability considered necessary to engage in intersubjectivity (1999: 111, 119), Lerner and Zimmerman thus demonstrate how children might engage in deceiving actions in an embodied way when interacting with other children at a much earlier age of around 18 months. Lerner and Zimmerman suggest that engaging in deception is based on children's practical management of the observability of actions and is not, as suggested by Tomasello et al., bound to the possession of relatively complex specific cognitive abilities (1999: 119). Moreover, the authors confirm the conjecture that Sacks put forward in his lecture 'Button, Button...' (see section 2.4.), referring to children's play activities as an important training ground for acquiring essential capacities required for competent participation within society. For a better understanding of children's management of observability Lerner and Zimmerman thus propose to further examine how very young children deal with it when interacting with adults such as, for example, their parents, or caregivers. In this way, the authors seek to answer the following question: "What are the earliest traces and forms of the observability of action?" (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 456).

In her studies on interactions occurring between very young children (12–30 months) and their caregivers, Kidwell (2005) takes up this last point raised by Lerner and Zimmerman (2003). In order to do so, she examines situations in which a very young child looks at the caregiver, when he/she is engaged in a reprehensible action, such as "biting, hitting, pushing, or taking toys away from their peers" (Kidwell 2005: 417). On the basis of a detailed analysis,

Kidwell demonstrates that very young children (of around 18 months) already take into account such details as the direction and length of a gaze, in order to organize their interactions with others. The author distinguishes two ways the caregiver might look at children when they are engaged within a sanctionable action, wherein the distinctive features are: 1) their duration; 2) whether they fix the target or not; and 3) their relation to other activities the caregiver might be involved in when looking at the child (2005: 424). According to Kidwell, “the mere look” is of a shorter duration than “the look”; it “alights briefly on a target” instead of fixing on a target, and finally it is produced “concurrently with other activities that the caregiver is involved in”, whereas “the look” is produced as a “‘new’ activity” (Kidwell 2005: 428–429).

The author demonstrates that the type of “look” the caregiver is deploying when looking at the child influences the further development of the child’s action. The caregiver’s deployment of “the look” is treated as projecting a more serious intervention by the caregiver, and the child ceases the reprehensive activity, whereas the caregiver’s deployment of “the mere look” seems not to be oriented in the same way, and the child might continue to hit, push etc., as soon as the caregiver shifts the gaze away from the child (Kidwell 2005: 442–443). Kidwell argues that her empirical studies evidence children’s early use of the visible and observable features of a “look” and “its occurrence relative to a sequence of ongoing events” for assessing “*what another will do next*” and thus for organizing their own actions accordingly (Kidwell 2005: 443–444; italics are the author’s). Kidwell thus concludes that children’s grasping of others’ intentions – “what they [others] intend *to do*” – should be understood and discussed by analyzing the way children treat others’ observable actions and how their understanding of these actions influences their own actions in turn (Kidwell 2005: 443; italics are the author’s). Along with a number of recent studies that examine very young children’s participation in interactions, Kidwell and Zimmerman suggest that children’s engagement in deception of others (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003), joint attention (Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2007), or their understanding of others’ intentions (Kidwell 2005, 2009; Filipi 2009), is provided for by their understanding of the observability of action or of structures of actions, and its interactive implications (Kidwell & Zimmerman 2007: 609):

Along the lines of Tomasello (1995:107) we have asked, how is it that parties to a joint attention event ‘know’ or ‘see’ that the other is attending to the same selected features of an object (or by extension, a person or event)? As our analysis of cases in

this paper suggests, the practices of achieving mutual attention to an object also project a place for a response. In this way, participants treat the act of being shown an object as not merely a perceptual one, but as one that is socially consequential. Further, the response displays an orientation – or lack of one – by show-recipient to the social action that is intended by the shower. Joint attention to the ‘same’ object, then, is accomplished: (1) through the various practical actions by shower designed to draw show-recipient’s attention to an object, and (2) by the sequential places afforded parties for visibly displaying their alignment to the object, and critically, to the action it is being used to accomplish—what has been termed the proof procedure.

From this point of view, the observability and recognizability of actions or of structures of actions provide the interactants with the fundamental resource for understanding the organization of human sociality and for engaging in predictable actions in turn (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 456).

To sum up: the importance that EM/CA pays to the analysis of the observable and recognizable features of adult(parent)-child interactions allows a respecification of intentionality, not conceived as belonging to the mental domain as suggested by Tomasello et al. (1999), but as “parading around in full public view” (Jones & Zimmerman 2003: 157). As I have discussed above, interactants accomplish its public availability through the way they mobilize observable resources, such as gaze (Kidwell 2005; 2009), pointing (Filipi 2009; Jones & Zimmerman 2003), or a combination of different multimodal resources, such as vocalizations, gestures, body postures, etc. At the same time, intentionality, which is usually referred to in mental terms (Tomasello & Carpenter 2007; Tomasello & Rakoczy 2007) is shown to be intelligible “in interaction between the child and the caregiver as it unfolds in a particular”, orderly structured, interactive and material situation (Jones & Zimmerman 2003: 157). As put forward by experimental works focusing on children’s cognitive and social development (Clément, Bernard & Kaufmann 2011: 1), Lerner and Zimmerman argue that children’s capacity to understand others as intentional, reasoning agents is not necessarily grounded in children’s capacity to engage in “mind reading” (Clément, Bernard & Kaufmann, 2011: 1),¹⁷ i.e. attributing mental states to others, as is usually suggested by developmental psychology. Instead, it seems to be “bound up with the acquisition of commonly held practices for producing and observing action” (Lerner & Zimmerman 2003: 456). Therefore

¹⁷ The experimental findings of Clément et al. (2011) suggest that young children’s “deontic reasoning” about other peoples’ conduct might not necessarily involve “mind reading”, as is often argued by developmental psychologists, but that three year old children might instead use observable rules or publicly available regularities in order to do so. See also Kaufmann & Clément (2003) concerning an account of “naïve theories” that do not imply “mind reading” but nevertheless enable children to acquire social, physical, or other knowledge (see also Clément & Kaufmann 2011 (Eds.); especially Clément & Kaufmann 2011).

the detailed examination of children's observable engagement in such interactive practices should constitute a privileged object of study for research that is interested in children's development of mind.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined how EM/CA studies of naturally occurring everyday talk-in-interactions between children and children, or between children and adults (parents) emerged in the nineteen sixties and early seventies, along with other new sociological approaches to the study of socialization, symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1966, 1969a; Foote Whyte 1967; Goffman 1961a, 1961b), ethnography of communication (Hymes 1980, 1981; Labov 1964; Goffman 1977), constructionism (Berger & Luckmann 1966) and an increasing interest in the study of interaction by developmental psychology (Snow 1972; Snow & Ferguson 1977; Stern 1974; Trevarthan 1977, 1979; Wood et al. 1976). Furthermore, I emphasized that these new approaches to the study of socialization were distinct from the hitherto predominant paradigms of functional structuralism in a number of important aspects (Parsons 1951, 1958; Parsons & Bales 1956) and reproduction theory (Bourdieu 1966, 1967; Bourdieu & Passeron 1970, 1977). As mentioned in section 2.1., the latter authors stressed that the relation between the to-be-socialized child and the adult was by default an asymmetric one: The adult was considered to control the process of socialization by inculcating and transmitting commonly held norms and rules, and the child was seen as incorporating them passively, unconsciously. In section 2.2., I emphasized that although highlighting different aspects and deploying different methods of investigation, these new approaches of the sixties and early seventies insisted that the study of socialization should look at participants (including the to-be-socialized) as (active!) actors, who collaborate in the construction (production) of social reality (order), and thus contribute to their own socialization. These approaches also shared an interest in the (everyday) interactive momentum of socialization, and the sense the interactants attribute to their own doings. Finally, they agreed with EM/CA on the importance of looking at participants' use of language.

Given the discursive turn across disciplines, CA has family resemblances to a number of other approaches. One commonality is a shift away from the search for causes of human conduct and toward the explication of how conduct is produced and recognized as intelligible and sensible. (Pomerantz & Fehr 1997: 65)

I then presented a few early and some more recent EM/CA studies on child-child interactions and adult(parent)-child interactions in more details. The aim was to make their methodological singularities and their specific contributions to the study of socialization concretely available.

Indeed, in section 2.4., I emphasized how early studies in the sixties and seventies addressed the general absence of studies examining children's activities in their own right. I showed that as first attempts, they included some quite speculative conjectures, such as the existence of an exclusive 'kids' culture' to which adults had no access. By basing their investigations on (audio)visual material, this conjecture has not been confirmed by more recent studies on naturally occurring children's interactions (Delalande 2001; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007). At the same time the early studies sought to examine how children, through their interactions in the absence of adults, contribute to their own socialization (and to that of their parents) in a non-trivial way. Meanwhile, an important number of researchers have demonstrated how even very young children actively contribute to their own socialization, and that the close examination of video recorded peer interactions contributes to a better understanding of the socialization process (Jenks 2008; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003).

In section 2.5., I first discussed early EM/CA studies on adult(parent)-child interactions (Speier 1971, 1973, 1976; Wootton 1981), with a special focus on Sacks' work of the early sixties and seventies (1972, 1982, 1985). These analysts sought to abandon the developmental scheme as an explicative resource, instead examining its (tacit) use by ordinary adults – sociologists, psychologists, and parents – and investigating the ways that young children deal with it in an interactively effective and competent way. They demonstrated that adults and children might deploy (particular) categorical resources – adults' recurrent use of the category "imitation" when talking about children's doings, or children's use of a story beginning for entering a conversation with adults – or they might use specific sequential, temporal resources, such as adults' omission of a delay before refusing a request, or children's inversion of the chaining rule provided by the adjacency pair structure, for organizing their interactions with each other. The authors of these studies argued that manifesting their orientation toward the developmental scheme implied participants' display of interactive competences that they used for dealing with the particular social position they have qua parents and qua children. Moreover, I offered an account of more recent EM/CA studies on adult(parent)-child interactions that entertained a generative dialogue with

experimental and ethnographic studies by developmental psychologists who focus on the relationship between children's participation in social interactions and their cognitive, social, linguistic, and cultural development (Rogoff 2003; Tomasello & Carpenter 2007; Tomasello & Rakoczy 2007; Vygotsky 1978). EM/CA respecifies the study of children's pragmatic development by basing their studies on videotapes of naturally occurring everyday interactions between adults (parents) and children and by realizing very detailed (multimodal) descriptions and analysis of naturally occurring parent-child interactions (see amongst others: Filipi 2009; Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell 2005, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin 1984; Wootton 1997, 2006a+b, 2007), thus demonstrating that children's (pragmatic) development of social, interactive, linguistic and cognitive competences is accountable, in the ways that children actively contribute to the organization of meaningful interactions.

I conclude this chapter by stressing that EM/CA's most essential contribution to the study of socialization has been the production of detailed descriptions and (multimodal) analysis of naturally occurring interactions involving children, providing for an endogenous, emic understanding of children's and parents' perspective, and evidencing the local accountable character of their interactive organization and their embeddedness (situatedness) within a praxeological environment (the playground, the home). Throughout this chapter, I have thus tried to explain that by focusing on children's talk-in-interaction with others and by revealing and explaining how the articulation between social organization, talk, and cognition, is recognized and managed by the interactants themselves, EM/CA has contributed to a profound process of rethinking, renewing the study of classical objects of study in social sciences, such as socialization (Pekarek Doehler 2010a: 19).

As we have seen in this last section, rather than proposing a theory of socialization, EM/CA provides a set of research practices and questions for investigating children's talk and embodied interactions with others in detail. Before turning to my own analysis of parent-child interactions, I will therefore give a pragmatic account concerning my fieldwork and the way I organized my own research practices (Chapter 3).

3. Data/Collection/Transcription

As we have seen in the introduction and in the previous Chapter, adopting an ethnomethodologically informed conversation analytic approach (EM/CA) for studying the organization of parent-child interactions implies close observation, detailed description, and examination of their naturally occurring interactions – “interactions that have not been orchestrated by the researcher, which would have taken place even if she would be absent – but which represent people’s ordinary business” (Mondada 2006: 53) . The expectation is to discover and/or to demonstrate the fundamental features of social organization: “It is possible that study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs.” (Sacks 1984a: 24). Consequently, the analytic process is based on the combined use of videotaped, naturally occurring interactions and of detailed transcriptions of the selected fragments (Atkinson & Heritage 1984: 12).

A first group of arguments for using audiovisual data as a base for analysis is related to the object of study, and refers to the fact that the complexity and the diversity of what might actually happen within naturally occurring social interactions largely exceeds our limited and typified imagination (Heritage 1984a: 236–237; Mondada 2006: 53).

I want to argue that, however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical, or hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, and audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable. That might not appear to be a terrible constraint until we come to look at the kinds of things that actually occur. Were I to say about many of the objects we work with ‘Let us suppose that this happened; now I am going to consider it’, then an audience might feel hesitant about what I would make of it by reference to whether such things happen. That is to say, under such a constraint many things that actually occur are debarred from use as a basis for theorizing about conversation. I take it that this debarring affects the character of social sciences very strongly. (Sacks 1984a: 25)

Therefore, traditional scientific methods are not considered adequate. Indeed, the level of complexity of an actual conversation (interaction) that might be recovered on the basis of audiovisual recordings is impossible to recollect from ethnographic notes. Moreover, a participant’s retrospective accounts within a directive or semi-directive interview situation does not provide for a detailed description of what actually happened, but is merely one discursive version of it (Gülich & Mondada 2008: 28). Finally, experimental methods tend to

imply specific settings in which participants have to accomplish particular tasks. The way a task is accomplished is always *context-sensitive* (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 699). That means that its sequential accomplishment manifests participants' orientation toward a specific context and at the same time produces this same context. Consequently, the experimental setting allows us to analyze the interactive organization of a specific task in a particular setting (the experimental one) but does not provide for the organization of that same task within another setting, for example within a family's everyday life at home.

Furthermore, by recording naturally occurring interactions, the aim is to preserve, render observable and available for repeated inspection the complexity of interactions. The preservation, and availability of multimodal details, such as interactants' use of gestures, pauses, gazes, etc., is necessary to examine the "details to which participants orient when they produce and interpret their own and the other's conducts" (Mondada 2006: 54–55), and thus for providing an endogenous analysis of *participants' perspective* (Mondada 2001: 113). Indeed, as we have seen in the previous Chapter in order to account for the participants' perspective, the analyst needs, for example, to show that young children treat the caregiver taking a long look at them – giving them "the look" – in a way that is different from how they would treat a short look – a "mere look" from the caregiver (see Chapter 1; Kidwell 2005).¹⁸ The preservation of details not only constitutes a central argument for the use of recordings, but as we will see throughout this chapter, it is central to all of the practices that go to make up the analytic process.

A second group of arguments is linked to the *data-driven* (Heritage 1984a: 243) way and the *bottom-up* (Sacks 1984a) methodology of conducting an empirical analysis. When Sacks began to examine recordings of actual talk-in-interaction, he considered it as a starting point that might possibly lead to more theoretical and abstract reflections about the organization of interaction:

Our business will be to proceed somewhat differently. We will be using observation as a basis for theorizing. Thus we can start with things that are not currently imaginable, by showing that they happened. We can then come to see that a base for using close looking at the world for theorizing about it is that from close looking at the world we can find things that we could not, by imagination, assert were there. We would not know that they were 'typical' (lecture 1, fall 1971). Indeed, we might not have noticed that they happen. (Sacks 1984a: 25)

¹⁸ That interactants might treat and orient to a detail, such as a short gaze rather than a long gaze, as being important for the organization of their interaction, has to be evidenced by the analysis and not merely stipulated by it (Kidwell 2005).

To base the examination of social interaction on recordings is related to the fact that audio or video-recorded material can be replayed, heard, viewed, and studied repeatedly, again and again: “I started to work with tape-recorded conversations. Such materials had a single virtue, that I could replay them. I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly – however long it might take” (Sacks 1984a: 26; on this issue see also Pomerantz & Fehr 1997: 70). Moreover, the repeated examination can be carried out and shared by every interested researcher. In this sense, these materials (audiovisual corpus/transcriptions) can serve as a basis for the collaborative and critical (re-)examination of an analysis put forward by a researcher (Mondada 2006: 53–54; Sacks 1984a: 26). It is common for EM/CA studies to organize data sessions during which the collected audiovisual material is looked at in combination with the transcripts by a group of interested persons. During these data sessions preliminary observations or analytic propositions are discussed, criticized, agreed upon, or disagreed with. The audiovisual material used for this thesis has been presented in different data sessions, bringing together people from different backgrounds, including linguistics, sociology, and developmental psychology. The discussions taking place during these data sessions have been extremely helpful and enriching for my analytic work.^{19, 20}

In the following a brief account will be given of the way that the video recordings have been carried out. Then the process for making the collections of sequences that constitute the basis for Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis will be described. Finally, it will be explained how the multimodal transcriptions that figure in my thesis (Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) have been produced, and the transcription conventions will be presented. Essential methodological implications corresponding to each of these three analytic practices will briefly be discussed.

3.1. Data Collection

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the audiovisual corpus on which it is based has been acquired within the framework of a larger research project on the socialization of preschoolers. In accordance with the director of the project, Fabrice Clément, the objective

¹⁹ In March 2010, Lorenza Mondada organized a workshop for doctoral students adopting an EM/CA approach for their research project. The workshop took place at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. I presented audiovisual fragments in which the parents responded with a questioning repeat to their children’s evaluative turn. The discussions that took place within this framework were central for the elaboration of Chapter 7.

²⁰ In June of 2010, Fabrice Clément, Laurence Kaufmann, and myself organized a two-day data-session at the University of Lausanne. An important number of the fragments that figure in Chapter 4 have been looked at and collaboratively analyzed with the participants of this workshop.

was to videotape eight French-speaking families, with at least two children per family, one of whom had to be between two and three years old.

3.1.1. Finding Participating Families

The first thing I had to do in order to build the audiovisual corpus was to find eight French-speaking families – with each having at least one child of two-to-three years of age – who were willing and disposed to being videotaped by two camera operators on four different occasions (during the week, or at weekends) for between three to four hours at a time. A first attempt to find these families consisted of contacting families living around Geneva, Switzerland, that had participated in a research project on family relations that was carried out by a research team directed by Eric Widmer (Widmer 2010, 2011). A list containing the phone numbers and addresses of thirteen families fulfilling the decisive criteria for our research project was handed to me by Widmer's team. I contacted the parents by phone in order to explain the research project, and to ask them if I could meet them in order to discuss possible participation. This first attempt was not successful: to be filmed during their everyday activities was perceived as too intrusive, and/or as too constraining. All of the contacted families declined to participate without even agreeing to a meeting.

A second attempt consisted of asking friends if they knew families (not acquainted with me) who were disposed to participate in such a project. These friends either had children themselves that were two to three years old, or they worked professionally with children of that age group. My friends got in touch with them first and I then called the families that had given their authorization to be contacted by me. I contacted twelve French-speaking families by phone in order to explain the research project and disposition in more details.

I outlined the aims of the research project in very general terms: I was seeking to analyze naturally occurring parent-child interaction in order to describe its organization and to investigate young children's emerging communicative, interactive skills. I stressed the fact that my research project was not to assess or otherwise judge the way that the parents or children acted with each other, or their competences. I also expounded the conditions of recording: whereby two camera operators would videotape the family's everyday interactions at home on four different occasions of their own choice, for periods of three to four hours at a time (each of which would include a family meal). Finally, I informed them how the audiovisual material would be used once collected: I promised that the personal names of all family members would be anonymized on every written document (transcriptions/texts based

on the audiovisual material). However, I also emphasized that the audiovisual material might be shown to a larger scientific community within the framework of data sessions or public talks, and that figures taken from these materials and transcripts might be published in scientific publications (books and journals) and online journals, or presented during data sessions and public talks. As compensation for their participation, I offered them a compilation of fragments concerning their own family that would be engraved on a DVD and given to them for their personal use.

This way of proceeding was very successful:²¹ only four families refused to participate after or during this telephone conversation. Three families immediately complied with the presented conditions and agreed to participate in the research project. Five families manifested a very positive attitude toward the project, but wanted some more information. With these families I arranged a meeting during which we discussed the project in a more personal face-to-face encounter. We discussed questions concerning the aims and framework of the project and the use of the audiovisual data in more details. All four families eventually agreed to participate, and were able to organize the dates for recording.

All the recruited families lived in or around the city of Fribourg, in Switzerland and five of the families had two children, and three of the families had three children.²² In order to get informed consent, I talked mainly or only to the parents. In those families in which the children were present for the above-mentioned meeting, I also talked to the children and explained the research project to them, but left it up to the parents to inform their children in more detail once they had agreed to participate. During this meeting, or on the first day of recording, I asked the parents to sign a consent form that gave me a large degree of freedom concerning the utilization of the audiovisual material collected at their home. Orally, however, I also emphasized their right to retract from participation at any moment of the process, and stressed that they could ask me to delete parts or all of the material filmed at their home. I repeated this last point regularly, and once again when I personally handed them the compilation of fragments concerning their own family on DVD and watched it through

²¹ Asking friends of mine to make the first contact with the families was probably the main reason for this success. My friends could inform the families about the central features of the research project, for example, that it implied several hours of videotaping everyday family interactions. When agreeing to be contacted by me, they were already clear about the most intrusive and constraining aspects of the research. Furthermore, the fact that the families were first contacted by a person who was a friend of mine and a friend of the family must have had a bridging effect – building a sentiment of reliability and trustworthiness toward me and my project from the outset.

²² See Appendix A for the composition of each family, the anonymized personal names and the exact age of the children.

with them. All families returned the signed consent form very quickly. On just one occasion – immediately after it had taken place – a mother asked me to delete a single two-minute long interaction between herself and her son.

3.1.2. Filming

When arriving at the family's home we usually took some time to talk with the parents and children. We also prepared the cameras by involving the children if they wished to assist us. We used to repeat the same "ritual" after the shooting session. Personally I found these relatively short moments (10-15 minutes) of personal exchange between the camera operators and the family members beneficial for building up a relation of mutual trust and understanding. Filming with two cameras had the advantage of being able to shoot two complementary views of the same scene. The cover images of my thesis make this advantage visible. While the upper picture shows the interaction between the father and the son, the lower image makes the simultaneously occurring interaction between mother and daughter available for inspection. However, filming with two camera operators made it especially important to handle the equipment very discretely, and to somehow become "invisible" during the whole process of filming. As soon as we (camera operators) put on our headphones, we were no longer available to the family members for interaction. While filming at families' homes, no instructions were given to the family members concerning specific activities to be videotaped, nor were they asked to spend their time in specific rooms during our video recording. Before filming, they were just invited to live their life normally (see extract 1 below), but during filming, we just followed them as discreetly as possible without interfering in any sense in their activities. During mealtimes we installed the cameras on tripods and then left the dining room for the rest of the meal. Apart from that we were present throughout the filming to adjust the cameras according to the various activities of the family members, but avoiding direct interaction with them. By proceeding like this, we managed to record about 200 hours of everyday parent-child interactions, including the filming of four meals in each family.

Before closing this account on the data collection, a single fragment in which the video recording was at the center of an interaction occurring between a mother and her daughter will be analyzed and discussed. As the discussion of this fragment will show, recording participants' interactions and analyzing their organization in detail makes it possible to examine the way in which they orient toward a particular context and at the same

time produce this local context (Mondada 2001: 113). Moreover, this fragment is a case in point for showing how a parent and a child might deploy different methods to deal with the recording situation and so display their belonging to the specific membership categories (see Chapter 3) of parents and children (Relieu et al. 2007).²³ The illustration thus shows how the practices described in this chapter – data collection, the making of collections by selecting particular interactive sequences, and transcription – are an inextricable part of the analytic process, rendering possible the detailed and systematic examination of a particular phenomenon of parent-child interactions, and revealing participants' own perspective regarding the investigated phenomenon. As such, it gives a first flavor and somehow anticipates what the analytic part of the thesis is aiming at.

The following fragment²⁴ was videotaped the first time we filmed at family 3. Before the fragment starts, we video-recorded the mother and Elio (two years, one month) for about one hour. Alma, the older sister of Elio, is just coming home from school. Mother, father, and Elio are on the street in front of the house, awaiting her or walking with her on the last bit of the journey home (figure below: view from CA2).²⁵ The sound quality of this fragment is not very good: it is recorded outside and there is a lot of wind. Furthermore, neither of the cameras was filming the interactions taking place between mother and daughter, instead both camera operators were focused on the father and son. As will become clear throughout the discussion of the fragment, the analysis nevertheless warrants an important degree of detail. Indeed, in respect of the turns at talk that were not perfectly audible, I referred to and used interactants' own understanding, their own analysis of each others' embodied actions that they display in following turn(s), in order to outweigh the deficient sound quality²⁶. Moreover, given the lack of visual data, the transcription and analysis do not mention any gestures or facial expressions produced by the mother or daughter. In the remaining analysis of this thesis, the non-vocal behavior of participants will be taken into account, however, with regard to this fragment, I hope that Heritage's argument concerning the mere use of audio data remains valid. He emphasizes that examinations which had been done exclusively on the base of recorded telephone calls (thus of talk), and focused merely on the details of speech,

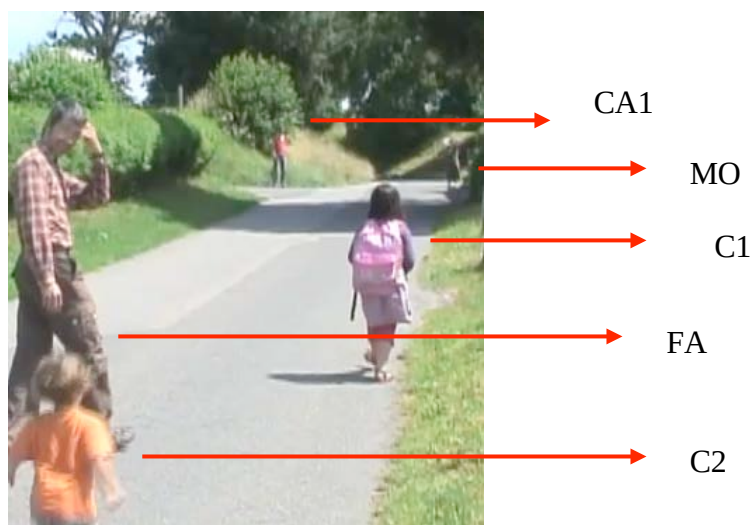
²³ EM/CA analysts have proposed very rich descriptions and analysis of participants' treatment of recording situations (amongst them, see Butler 2008; Mondada 2003; Relieu, Zouinar & La Valle 2007).

²⁴ The transcription conventions are given in the section below (2.3).

²⁵ For reasons of intelligibility, and in order to focus on the conversation involving mother, daughter and camera operator 1, with which this part of the recording is primarily concerned, I have here omitted a few turns produced by father and Elio who are standing at quite a distance and are involved in some exchanges (see figure 1).

²⁶ This way of conducting an analysis – next action analysis (Watson 2011 : 227) – is deployed in order to reveal interactants' own understanding of each others' doings.

“have stood up remarkably well in the face of results from an increasing body of studies focusing on face-to-face interaction” (Heritage 1984a: 240).



Extract (1) (dater3_1a)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Alma (7 years, 11 months); C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 c1 <<-is walking toward her MO->
- 2 MO c'est rigolo hein. c'est sara:: et pis stefan.
that's funny huh. that's sara:: and also stefan.
- 3 (2.2)
- 4 FA ((one turn at talk omitted=))
- 5 MO =faut faire comme s'ils étaient pas là.
=one has to do as if they were not here.
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 CA1 salu:t [Alma, ((laughing))]
hello: [Alma, ((laughing))]
- 8 MO [((laughing heartily))=
- 9 CA1 =tu fais comme si on était pas là [exactement, ((laughs))]=
=you make as if we are not here [exactly. ((laughs))]=
- 10 MO [((laughing heartily))=
- 11 CA1 =[elle a tout compris ta ma]man. ((laughing))=
=[she has understood everything your m]um. ((laughing))=
- 12 MO [((continues laughing heartily))]
- 13 MO =ça fait bizarre mais après, [(0.4)] °après on oublie.°
=that makes strange but then, [(0.4)] °afterwards one forgets.°
- 14 fa ((2 turns at talk and a (0.7) pause omitted))
- 15 C1 =ça c'est quoi?
=that that's what?
- 16 MO (0.5) ça c'est un micro.
(0.5) that that's a micro.
- 17 (0.6)

18 M0 PFFF .h ((laughing heartily)) c'est un peu bizarre, viens=
PFFF .h ((laughing heartily)) it is a little bit strange,
come=
19 C1 =((laugh[ing]))
20 M0 [((laugh)ing))=
21 C1 =xxxx oublier xxx micro::=
=xxxx to forget xxx micro::=

22 M0 =oui, on va oublier.
=yes, we're going to forget.

23 (0.7)
24 C1 (et moi j'en ai pas de micro.=)
(and i, i don't have a micro.=)

25 M0 (=non.)
(=no.)

26 (0.6)
27 M0 j'sais pas, j'crois- j'me rappelle plus c'quelle a dit=,
i don't, i think- i can't remember, what she had said=,

28 M0 =j'crois qu't'en as pas besoin.=
=i think you don't need one.=

29 fa ((one turn at talk [omitted]))
30 M0 [eh!] ça été?
[hey!] was it o.k.?

31 C1 (0.6) ouai:s=
(0.6) yeah:=

32 M0 >=t'as fait quoi? t'as eu quoi?<
>=what have you done? what did you have?<

33 c1 (4.7) ((during this 4.7 seconds wind is audible and very
softly C1's voice, but nothing of what she possibly says is
audible))
34 M0 hein?
huh?

35 C1 (0.3) xxxx (comme ça=)
(0.3) xxxx (like that=)

36 M0 <HA ::h j'te pasch- j'te- pourquoi j'te parle comment?
((laughing))>
<HA ::h i tal- i- why how do i talk to you? ((laughing))>

37 C1 (0.4) xxx=
38 M0 =bizarre?=
=strangely?=

39 C1 =(°°ouais bizarre°°)=
=(°°yeah strangely°°)=

40 ((a car is approaching, closing the talk about the filming))

At the beginning of the fragment, Alma leaves her little brother and her father behind and walks toward her mother (line 1; figure 1). While she is still approaching her mother, the latter describes the situation as: “funny” and introduces the two camera operators to the girl by using their personal names (line 2). The mother thus orients to the fact that Alma has not previously met the camera operators nor seen them in action. Moreover, this way of presenting the situation and the involved persons achieves a rather informal setting in which the camera operators are treated as friends not yet known by the child. According to our audio track, Alma does not respond to this introduction. Following it, there is a silence (line 3), before the mother then instructs her daughter that she should “act as if they [camera operators] were not there” (line 5). Her instruction provides a possible justification for the previously emerging silence. If two persons are introduced to each other by a third, this makes relevant an exchange of greetings (Sacks 1992 I: 308). If an exchange of greetings is *noticeably absent*²⁷, participants might infer or give a justification why this might be so. At the same time, mother’s instruction provides the girl with the necessary knowledge for behaving adequately in a given situation. As mentioned above, before recording, the camera operator usually instructed the members of the family to ignore the camera operators and to go about their everyday activities as normally as possible. The girl was not at home when the camera operator gave this instruction and the mother’s instruction serves to bridge the girl’s knowledge gap.

After a silence of 0.4 seconds (line 6), the camera operator greets Alma (line 7). She thus eventually treats the mother’s introduction in line 2, and her repetition of the camera operator’s instruction in line 5, as making relevant a greeting exchange between her and Alma. In overlap with it, the mother starts laughing heartily (line 8), immediately engendering the camera operator’s laughter that might manifest her alignment with the mother (see Jefferson 2006), but also manifests the interactant’s embarrassment with the situation (line 7). After laughing together a little while, the camera operator takes up the instruction repeated by the mother in line 5 and closes her turn with an upgraded agreement token²⁸: “exactly” (line 9). In overlap with the end of the camera operator’s turn, the mother begins to laugh heartily again (line 10), engendering another roar of laughter from the two adults (line 9, 10). The

²⁷ This notion will be extensively discussed in Chapter 4. For a comprehensive discussion of it, see also Heritage (2008: 11).

²⁸ Within the study of natural language use, interactants’ deployment of tokens has been shown to be a vast and complex phenomenon. In the framework of this thesis it is not possible to deal with it extensively. Nevertheless, parents’ use of agreement tokens, such as “yeah”, or “yes”, (Pomerantz 1975: 82) for responding to their young children’s evaluative turns will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

camera operator then resumes talking, complimenting the mother's understanding of the situation (line 11), while the mother continues to laugh (line 12) and is followed by the camera operator after completion of her turn (line 11). Following this collaborative laughing, the mother remarks that at first the situation might be perceived as being "strange" (line 13), but that "afterwards one forgets" (line 13). Mother's noticing differs from her description of the situation in line 2: instead of being described as "funny," the situation is now categorized as "strange". As such, it manifests mother's practical problem with the situation at hand: how to behave as if Sara and Stefan were not here, when the situation (arrival of Alma) requires a greeting exchange between them and the newcomer? However, then mother deploys a very soft voice and uses the *contrastive conjunction* "but" (Pomerantz 1975: 84), adding a contrast to her previous noticing: "afterwards one forgets" (line 14). Through the deployment of this contrastive statement the mother downgrades her previous noticing, at the same time producing herself as the "expert" that is talking to the "novice" who has not yet had any personal experience with the "strange" situation and cannot know that the "strangeness" might dissolve with time (see Mondada 2001: 113). Interestingly, all parents participating in this research project made a similar statement at one point or another in the filming procedure, but usually they did so off the record (while we were chatting before or after recording). Following mother's contrastive statement, the transcript indicates a silence (line 14). According to the transcript, the girl seems thus not to respond or otherwise comment on her mother's previous turn. After a pause, she instead makes a request for identification by using the indexical "that" to designate the referent (line 15). Since we have no audiovisual material of the situation, we cannot see how the girl manages to identify the referent she designates with the indexical "that" – she might use a pointing or even touch the object she is referring to. As becomes observable in mother's next turn, the mother herself treats Alma's request as unproblematic and responds to it by granting her daughter's request for identification: "that, that's a micro" (microphone; line 17).

After a silence, the mother first snorts with laughter once again and then acknowledges that it is "a little bit strange" (line 19). Mother's response engenders a collaborative laughing (lines 19, 20) between her and the daughter displaying mutual alignment again. After that, the girl seems to recycle mother's previous turn; although not fully audible, Alma seems to adopt mother's previous expert statement: one "forgets" the existence of the "micro" after a while (line 21). Indeed, latching onto Alma's turn, the mother responds with an agreement token, followed with a partial repetition of the girl's turn; in

contrast to her daughter, the mother does not specify the referent (line 22). After a silence (line 23), the girl notices that she does not have any “micro”, pointing to a possible asymmetry between herself and her mother (line 24). The mother responds first with a minimal agreement (line 25), and then accounts for the asymmetry Alma is pointing to by invoking that the researcher did not destine a microphone for her (line 27-28). Mother’s justification for the asymmetry thus refers to something that is exterior to her control. Shortly thereafter, the mother proposes an activity shift: instead of continuing to discuss the “strange” situation, she asks her daughter: “was it okay?” (line 29). Through this question, the mother accomplishes two locally relevant parental duties: when a child is coming home from school, the parent typically informs herself about the child’s well-being. Moreover, mother’s question brings her daughter back to the setting-specific task: “doing being normal,” as if the camera operators including their recording material were not there (Relieu et al. 2007: 9).

Especially during the first recording session, this method – of using a topic or activity shift to bring the children back to the “normal” activity when they were concerned about the recording situation or material – was one that was recurrently used by parents. They mostly succeeded in rapidly “normalizing” the situation. At the same time, they made observable their orientation toward the fact that a parental agreement to participate in a research project engenders specific responsibilities from the parents concerning the children’s behavior. In line 30, the girl merely responds with an agreement token to the mother’s request. This response is treated as insufficient by the mother who requests some more specific information concerning the girl’s morning at school (line 31). However, at this point the girl begins to sabotage the mother’s project. Although one cannot identify the girl’s talk (line 32), mother’s reactions clearly manifest that the girl has started to qualify mother’s previous actions as not being normal, as per the request of the camera operator, but as somehow different from normal, or “strange[ly]” (lines 36, 38). On the one hand, the girl displays her competence to “undermine” her mother’s parental authority. Instead of turning in mother’s attempt to come back to a routine course of action, the girl points to something that brings a return to the previous topic: mother’s embarrassment with the recording situation that is manifested in her non-normal way of behaving. Were there not an approaching car that requires the mother to shift her attention and abandon the issue (line 39), she would have had no other choice but to resume talking about the recording situation and its effects on her behavior. On the other hand, the girl’s sabotage displays her sensitivity toward a “normal” way of doing things, toward a “normal” course of actions, or toward behaving “normally”. When I asked parents if the way

they interacted with their children when we were recording corresponds to their “normal” way of going about everyday activities, the parents usually invoked children’s sensitivity to deviations from “normality”, and explained that if they would not do things normally, this would very quickly lead to remarks like those of Alma above, or to chaotic situations in which daily routine activities, such as eating, washing, etc. were difficult to accomplish.

In this sense, the detailed analysis and discussion of this extract shows how participants’ actions are oriented toward a particular context – here the recording context of naturally occurring interactions – at the same time producing this same context through their respective actions. In order to show how a particular context is *talked into being* (Heritage 1984a: 280), participants’ way of organizing their interaction has to be examined and investigated as a locally, interactively and competently managed accomplishment; as an accountable matter in its own right. With the above analysis I thought thus to underscore Garfinkel’s following recommendation:

Any social setting [should] be viewed as self-organizing with respect to the intelligible character of its own appearances. Any setting organizes its activities to make its properties as an organized environment of practical activities detectable, countable, recordable, tell-a-story-aboutable, analyzable – in short, accountable. (Garfinkel 1967: 33)

Moreover, this analysis demonstrates how participants display their orientation toward specific membership categories, such as “parents”, “children” or “researcher”. After this brief account of the filming process, I will now turn to the working process that leads to the elaboration of the collections, each of which constitutes the basis of one of my analytic chapters.

3.2. *From Preliminary Observations to the Elaboration of Collections*

Within EM/CA studies two analytical procedures are commonly used: the *single case analysis* and the *analysis of a collection* (Schegloff, 1987: 101). As its designation suggests, the single case analysis focuses on one single fragment of talk-in-interaction. The aim is to uncover its interactive complexity and to use existing work on various phenomena and types of interactions as resources in order to explain how they might bear upon its unfolding organization (Schegloff 1987: 101). The analysis of a collection is based on a set of fragments in which a particular phenomenon occurring in a specific sequential position is identified (for

example, a parental agreement, disagreement, or questioning repeat with the child's initial evaluative turn). By analyzing the phenomenon's interactive organization across various occurrences, the aim is to discover, to describe and eventually to explain the interactive implications of systematic organizational features, such as the parental use of immediately produced weak agreements for agreeing with their children's evaluative turn (Chapter 5), or parents' use of delayed strong disagreements for disagreeing with their children's turn (Chapter 6) at this particular phenomenon.²⁹

In the first draft of my research project the phenomena in which I was interested can be broadly described as follows: The aim was to analyze evaluative turns addressed by the parents to the target child, and the child's responses to them, as well as the evaluative turns produced by the target children themselves, and the parental responses to them. As we will see in the following section, throughout the analytic process, this first circumscription of the object of study can undergo quite drastic modifications.

3.2.1. Making Preliminary Observations

Once the audiovisual material was collected, I attentively looked at the whole audiovisual corpus, simultaneously making a synopsis, i.e. systematically noting the maximum number of observations that seemed interesting in relation to the phenomena I intended to examine, i.e., the evaluative turns of parents and children. Adopting this bottom-up methodology to get the analytic process started, requires the researcher to adopt an *unmotivated look* (Gülich & Mondada 2001: 202). This implies on the one hand, that the researchers' observations should not be guided by theoretical assumptions on the interactive organization he is investigating. On the other hand, this means that no detail of the interaction should be a priori dismissed as non-relevant (Gülich & Mondada 2001: 202–203). My initial interest in evaluative turns, and the way I produced the synopsis cannot be qualified as the product of unmotivated looking in this strong sense, since it is grounded on previous work concerning the organization of evaluative sequences and thus influenced by findings and theoretical reflections generated by these studies (Butler 2008; Heritage & Raymond 2005; Mondada 2009a+b; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a, etc.). However, as I will outline below, throughout the practical process involved in the elaboration of collections and the production of transcriptions, I tried to avoid the a priori

²⁹ In Mondada's work (2005, 2011), the making of and examination of multimodal collections is discussed in a very comprehensive way.

exclusion of certain interactive details as being irrelevant for the further process of investigation. From this point of view my look might be qualified as “unmotivated”.

The making of a synopsis permitted me to get a first grasp on my object of study: parents’ and children’s use of evaluative turns and their organization of evaluative sequences. At the same time it helped to organize and systematize my preliminary observations, and constituted the analytic process throughout which my collections emerged. As such, making a synopsis is a crucial step in developing the analysis. Indeed, as we will see in the following description, the synopsis constituted the observational basis upon which I elaborated a first sketch of the collections I was going to examine in more depth.

The synopsis regarding the audiovisual material of families one to four took the form of a word chart (see figure 1 below). Each line of the chart constituted an observation regarding parents’ and children’s productions of evaluative turns, i.e. the first column indicated when it occurred (time-code), the second column designated with an X who produced it, and with an x who responded to it, wherein M stood for mother; V for father; E1 for child 1 and E2 for child 2; in the third column I noted the evaluative turn itself, and the last column indicated if laughing was involved (X) or not.

Figure 1 (reviewing family 1)

S1_01_220508

hh:mm:ss	interactants				évaluations	rire
	M	V	E1	E2		
11 :52 :53		X	x		Ça sent l'accident	
11 :53 :02			X		Ça c'est plus jolie	
11 :53 :16		X	x		Oui c'est juste il faut les accrocher...	
12 :01 :52		x	X		C'est pas rigolo	
12 :03 :52	X		x		Ouais c'est juste, c'est bon, ça suffit	X

The synopsis regarding the audiovisual material of families four to eight, however, took the form of a transcription software program, namely CLAN.³⁰ As shown below in figure 2, in CLAN, instead of listing observations regarding isolated evaluative turns, each observation contained a gross transcription regarding a whole interactive evaluative sequence (including the initial evaluative turn and the response(s) to it). Within this CLAN-

³⁰ CLAN is a transcription software program. It has been developed by researchers who study interactions on the basis of audiovisual data, and adopt a CA (inspired) approach (<http://chilides.psy.cmu.edu/clan/>).

transcription, there are bullets (see red arrow in figure 2 below). One click on the left of one of these bullets suffices for immediate access to the associated audiovisual material. Compared to the word chart, this allows for a very easy replay of the transcribed fragment.

Figure (2) (reviewing family 5)

```

10          CH5_01_201008
11
12  *ME:    Parcq ue tu vas avoir trop trop chaud. Voilà. • Hop.
13  *EN1:   Trop chaud moi.
14  *ME:    Ah ouais j 'pense ehn. •
15
16  *PE:    mmmh des marrons. •
17
18  *EN1:   Pas à côté de moi.(parle de moi)
19  *ME:    Ehn (rigole). •
20  *ME:    On fait comme s'ils étaient pas là. Tu nous fais à manger? •
21
22  *ME:    Des noisettes mmh ça l'air bon, oui alors j'aimerais bien des
23          noisettes. • Seulement des noisettes.
24  *EN1:   Maismais. Tu peux boire .. noisettes.
25  *ME:    Ah ça l'air bon. •
26
27  |*ME:    (à E2) ça c'est chouette. • bullet

```



Moreover, CLAN permits the easy production of transcriptions that represent the interactive organization of the sequences more adequately (aligned) than the word chart. For these reasons, I found that an interactive phenomenon was more easily identifiable in CLAN (figure 2 above) than in the word-chart illustrated in figure 1 above. In this sense, the use of different methods respectively formats for producing the synopsis had an important impact on the development of the analysis. More generally, the making of a synopsis for the totality of the audiovisual material recorded at eight families' homes engendered a drastic limitation of what I was to analyze in more depth for my thesis. Indeed, instead of analyzing evaluative sequences initiated by parents and children, as mentioned above, I decided to focus only on children's productions of initial evaluative turns and on parents' responses to them.

A first reason for opting for this limitation was bound to the richness and the huge amount of observations that the making of the synopsis brought to light. Although the synopsis certainly did not provide for an exhaustive list of evaluative turns produced by the family members, the diversity and the amount of collected observations seemed too extensive to be handled within the scope of a PhD. In my case it was not the lack of exhaustive identification of all occurrences of the phenomenon I intended to analyze that explains why I limited the scope of the investigated phenomena. Indeed, one aim of collection-based research

is the identification of regularly occurring interactive patterns, and consequently it is preferable to identify as many such occurrences as possible. Certain studies have used very basic statistical measurements in order to provide for the robustness of the interactive pattern they identified (Atkinson 1984; Schegloff 1968; for a discussion of quantification in the study of conversation see also Schegloff 1993). When working with statistical means, the exhaustive identification of the phenomenon is necessary otherwise the measures cannot be considered statistically significant and/or representative. Consequently the use of statistics would not make sense anymore. However, another method of collection based research to evidence robustness consists in demonstrating that participants of the situation themselves treat a specific feature or pattern of the investigated phenomenon as being relevant for the organization of their interactions. This method can imply the examination of *deviant cases* (Heritage 1984a: 248-249; Schegloff 1968; Watson 2011), i.e. occurrences of the phenomenon in which the identified feature or pattern is not implemented by the interactants, in order to show that interactants themselves treat the absence of a specific feature or pattern as a noticeable deviation that has an observable impact on the further organization of the interaction (see Chapter 1). Consequently, a particular attention to the sequential (temporal) and local unfolding of interaction is required. Indeed, participants' utterances, or embodied actions are not examined as isolated productions of a single conversationalist, but they are maintained in their natural environment, and the analysis seeks to take into account what happened before and what happened after it (Gülich & Mondada 2001: 206–207). In addition to its focus on the sequential organization of interaction, participants' use of, or their orientation toward and organization of *membership categories* are examined (Bonu et al. 1994; Butler & Fitzgerald 2010; Eglin & Hester 2003; Hester & Eglin 1997; Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1992 I + II; Watson 1978, 1997; Williams 2000). This interest refers to the acknowledgement that in society, social categories constitute objects that ordinary members reflect upon, describe, and orient to as relevant for the organization of their interactions. The study of ordinary members' organization of categorization activities, and/or their orientation toward particular categories, aims to reveal how interactants render their interpretation understandable for each other, how they are displayed and produced, and how specific categories are made relevant (or not) in a situation.

It is thus not the job of the researcher, being exterior to the examined interactive situation, to fix the criteria of relevancy at the beginning of the analytic process and then to identify all occurrences of the investigated phenomenon. Instead the job of the researcher is to

reveal the criteria of relevancy that the participants of the investigated situation use locally for organizing their interactions in an orderly and intelligible way. The features of actions to which interactants might orient as being relevant for their organization can be details, such as the intonation used for a repetition (Curl 2005), the length of a gaze (Kidwell 2005), or the temporal unfolding and format of a pointing (Mondada 2005). These kinds of details are merely noticeable and identifiable through a long analytic process that includes, for example, the making of very detailed, multimodal transcriptions and their meticulous examination. As a single analyst I could not produce such kind of transcriptions and analysis for all identified occurrences of the phenomena I was interested in in the first place. A very important limitation of the sequences that were to transcribe in details and examine in depth was thus inevitable.

Another reason for which analysis was limited to children's initial evaluative turns and to parents' responses to them refers to one of the research project's initial aim. One initial goal was to reveal parents' tacit displays of normative positions, and to see how young children deal with these tacit manifestations, instead of simply looking at parents overt expression of their evaluative stances. As outlined in the introduction, examining in detail how recipients package and organize their responses to evaluative turns, for example, by delaying their response, or by accompanying it with an account, constitutes a privileged moment for studying interactants' tacit displays of their own evaluative position (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a). Like revealing participants' orientations to particular features of the interaction as being relevant, the examination of tacit displays of normative positions requires the researcher to pay attention to details, such as the length of a silence.

Finally, the making of the synopsis also had some practical implications for the further analytic work, i.e. the elaboration of collections. As mentioned above, the transcriptions produced with the CLAN software include bullets that permit a very easy replay of the according audiovisual fragment. I therefore decided to transpose all identified initial evaluative turns produced by the target children and the parental responses to it to a new CLAN file (see figure 3 below). This new CLAN file constituted the new basis for pursuing my work on the collections.

Figure (3) Children's evaluative turns and parents' responses to them

```

10  S1_01_220508
11
12  *EN2:  fort
13  *PE:   fort? ←
14  *EN2:  ouais
15  *PE:   Ah: mais ça va? •
16  *EN2:  ouais.
17
18  *EN2:  ((scents cinnamon)) bon bon.
19  *PE:   c'est pas bon? ←
20  *EN2:  non
21  *ME:   ((laughs))
22  *EN2:  BON
23  *PE:   ahh. •
24
25  S1_08_160608
26
27  *ME:   et pis l'poulet susanne.
28  *EN2:  c'est dur ( ) p'têtre.
29  *ME:   c'est dur? ←
30  *EN2:  ouais. •
--

```

3.2.2. Elaborating Collections

The new CLAN file (see figure 3 above) provided inestimable assistance in identifying “patterns across data samples” (Sidnell 2010b: 30), such as, for example, parents’ recurrent use of a questioning repeat after the child’s evaluative turn (see red arrows in figure 3 above). On the basis of this new CLAN file I then produced a word chart (see figure 4 above) that enlisted all the identified evaluative turns, such as “hot”, “not beautiful car”, and “I like that” that had been produced by one of the eight target children (see column: “initial assessment”). In the column labeled c.r. I marked the child’s evaluative turns that did not immediately engender a parental response. In the column entitled “second assessment” I gave the parents’ responses to the child’s evaluative turn. In contrast to the column that enlisted the child’s “initial assessment”, I did not reproduce the parental response literally. Instead, I gave an appreciation of what the parental response accomplished in terms of actions, such as agreement, disagreement, etc., and/or I indicated what format parents deployed for responding to their children’s evaluative turn, for example, with a questioning repeat, or by making another kind of observation, such as irony.

Figure (4) Classification of parental responses

Agreement
 Disagreement
 Questioning repeat
 No Second assessment
 Conditional relevance
 Questioning

	c.r.	fam/h	line	initial assessment	second assessment	coll.
2		S1_01	12	fort	Repeat/Interrogation	1qr
3			23	pas chaud.	Irony	
4			25	cassé ça	Confirmation/Agreement	1agr
12	1c.r.		92	pas fini	Agreement/Confirmation	6agr
16		S1_04	166	caché	Interrogativ f. Precision	1quest
18	3c.r.	S1_05	205	lourd, lourd	Agreement/Repeat	10agr
20			213	bon, bon	Repeat/Interrogation	4qr
31		S1_06	332	pas belle voiture	Disagreement/ « jolie »	2dagr

The compilation of this word chart rendered visible the existence of recurrently occurring interactive patterns, and/or of recurrent parental responses. As such it constituted a kind of summarization of the analytic part of my thesis (see last column: collections). Indeed, on the basis of this word chart I produced four new CLAN files. In the first one, I regrouped all the roughly transcribed fragments in which the child's initial evaluative turn was not immediately responded to (column c.r.). I examined these occurrences to study children's orientation toward "conditional relevance" (Chapter 4). The second, third and fourth CLAN files comprised all of the grossly transcribed fragments in which the child's evaluative turns were responded to by a parental agreement (Chapter 5), a disagreement (Chapter 6), or a questioning repeat (Chapter 7). These CLAN files regrouping the most frequent parental responses established a good foundation for examining how parents tend to respond when their young children produce an evaluative turn and for seeing how the children in turn treated their parents' responses.

In this section, I have given a personal account of the way I dealt with the large audiovisual corpus in order to assemble four different collections. I tried to show that the practical process of making preliminary observations and elaborating collections had an important impact on the analytic project I intended to pursue within my PhD. Indeed, as mentioned above, the process of establishing a synopsis of parents' and children's evaluative turns made clear that the richness, diversity and quantity of observations were too important and complex to be studied within the framework of this thesis. I thus decided to focus on parents' responses basing my decision to examine parental agreements, disagreements, and

questioning repeats on their frequent occurrence. With regard to the previous discussion on counting and frequency, this might sound contradictory. However, to use frequency of occurrence as a criterion for investigating a phenomenon does not constitute a problem in itself (Sidnell 2010b), but it cannot be used as a relevant criterion for evidencing interactants' orientation toward what counts as relevant features of their interactions. Describing and examining social interactions in this sense thus implies not only the use of audiovisual data of naturally occurring interactions and corresponding detailed transcriptions, but it requires a work of estrangement by the analyst: what is at stake is not the analyst's own comprehension and interpretation of social interaction, but her or his capacity to evidence ordinary members' comprehension and production of each other's activity. After this brief account of the way I elaborated the collections for my thesis, some rather technical information concerning my practice of transcribing now follows. Although this information might seem a little banal at first sight, the discussion shows in which sense the practice of transcribing is the product of a reflexive process in the intertwining of "analytic practices" and "practices of technologically enhanced transcription and annotation" (Mondada 2007b: 810).

3.3 *Transcription Practice*

In order to illustrate how the practice of refining a transcription and the analytic process were mutually elaborating each other, I will describe how I organized my transcribing work of fragments belonging to the questioning repeat collection.

As we have seen in section 2.2.2., for the purpose of elaborating the collections, I used a very crude transcription (see figure 5 below) of the phenomena I was interested in (children's evaluative turns and parents' responses to them) and the corresponding audiovisual fragment, easily accessible by the use of bullets in CLAN.

Figure (5) Provisory transcription of fragment 14 of collection "questioning repeat"

```
414  S2_05_020608
415
416  *EN2:  ((coughs))
417  *ME:   qu'est-ce qu'y a?
418  *EN2:  tiens, c'est pas bon.
419  *ME:   c'est pas bon?
420  *EN2:  non. •
```



However, in order to start to examine the fragments constituting a collection in greater detail, and to find systematic organizational and formal features, or interactive patterns, I first had to enhance these rough transcriptions. A first important step consisted in refining the verbal details. A second crucial step toward a multimodal transcription implied the detailed description of gestures and actions that participants deployed in combination with talk.

For refining the verbal details, the use of the sound software Sound Studio proved to be very helpful, since it makes it possible to focus on the sound (intonation, the silences between turns and within turns, etc.) and comprises some convenient tools with which to work on the audio track (such as for measuring the length of silences, for example). With regard to a provisory description of multimodal resources deployed by interactants, the CLAN alignment software was very convenient since it permits the easy replaying of the audiovisual data and an immediate integration in the existing transcription (see lines 231 and 238 in figure 6):

Figure (6) Refined transcription of fragment 14 of collection “questioning repeat”, and figure of adequate audiovisual data

```

227 14QR
228
229 *ME: vous voulez aller à la balançoire?
230 *EN2: (((coughs)))
231 *ME: (3.0) ((severe look toward C2))
232 *EN2: ((tends the piece of peach she is holding toward M0))
233 *ME: qu'est-c'qu'y a?
234 *EN2: (0.5) tiens, c'est pas bon.
235 *ME: (0.4) c'est pas bon?
236 *EN2: (0.4) non.
237 (11.3)
238 *ME: ((peels the piece of peach))
239 *ME: Anna, (0.2) pis là tu j manges?
240 *ME: ((puts a piece of peach(without skin) on C2's plate))
241 *EN2: (0.5) oui.
242 *ME: (0.2) d'accord.
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257

```

For systematizing these observations, I created another word chart (see figure 7 below) in which I enlisted:

1. The interactive context in which the child produced its initial evaluative turn, and the turn itself.
2. The action accomplished by the child's turn.
3. The length of the silence following the child's evaluative turn.

4. The parents' response to the child's evaluative turn itself and its format ("full or partial repeat").
5. Parents' deployment of gestures and gazes accompanying their "questioning repeat".
6. The length of the emerging silence after the parental response.
7. The child's response to the parental questioning repeat.
8. The further interactive development.

Figure (7) Word-chart systematizing the new observations made on basis of refined transcriptions

Extract	Sequential position + format of initial evaluative turn	Evaluative turn's action	silence	QR format	Simultaneous activities
1.1) 16qr	C2 shows MO the referent (grass blade): C2: « c'est pas bon » Standard construction.	Negative announcement	0.7	Full repeat Uttered fastly « c'est pas bon ? »	Looking at C2, Not taking the grass blade he tends her
2.1) 22qr	MO & C1 are involved in a conversation : C2: « ma chenille (elle) est belle » Left dislocation	Positive noticing	0.5	Repaired repeat. Pronominal format & dislocation to the right. « elle est belle ta chenille ? »	Shifts gaze – Looks at caterpillar
3.1) 44qr	C2 : stops drinking water : C2: « ça pique (SUBJECT) »	Complaining	0.2	Full repeat « ça pique ? »	Looks at C2, holds his cup in position – no drinking
4.1) 14qr	MO & C1 involved in a conversation : C2 : « tiens, c'est pas bon. » Directing peach tow. MO	Requesting not to eat	0.4	Full repeat « C'est pas bon ? »	Inspecting piece of peach

Extract	silence	Sequential Implications of QR : third turn by child	Further interaction
1.1) 16qr	0.6	clear confirmation : « NON » accompanied by a headshake	Interaction goes on with something else
2.1) 22qr	0.5	barely audible confirmation : « (mh) »	(0.9) C1 : realizes an upgraded agreement with his sister's initial evaluative turn
3.1) 44qr	0.2	inbreath – no clear action: « .h »	FA: clear disagreement C2 : clear disagreement FA : weak disagreement.
4.1) 14qr	0.4	clear confirmation : « non. » accompanied by a headshake, facial expression of dislike	MO : takes skin away from peach – invites C2 to eat it without skin (partially grants C2's initial request)

Based on this word chart (figure 7 above), four sub-collections became apparent. The distinct feature of these four sub-collections was a praxeological one: it referred to the different actions that the children accomplished through their use of an initial evaluative turn (see column 3 in figure 7 above). Furthermore, this word chart made clear that transcriptions needed to be further refined for analyzing in detail how interactants' deployed multimodal resources, such as gaze, gestures, postures, etc., for organizing their interactions. For the "questioning repeat collection", ELAN software was used for producing this refined transcription (on 10 fragments: see figure 10), and Quicktime Pro (for another 10 fragments).

Figure (8) ELAN picture of fragment 14 of the collection: "questioning repeat"



In contrast to the CLAN software, in which each transcribed line has a delimited length, and in which the presentation of the interaction resembles that of a play script, ELAN includes a presentation of time that is organized in different tiers: E2 verbal, E2 regard (gaze), etc. Each of these tiers presents an endless line of time, or rather corresponds to the length of the audiovisual data that they represent.³¹ On this timeline every stretch of transcribed gesture or action is delimited by landmarks. This different presentation of the temporal unfolding of interaction has a crucial advantage: it allows the transcriber to relate the occurrence of different gestures or actions to each other in a very precise way without necessarily using talk as the reference tier (Mondada 2007b: 816). This might be useful if one needs to make transcriptions of fragments that include stretches of interactions during which the interactants do not talk.

³¹ For a more thorough discussion concerning the use of different types of transcription software – CLAN versus ELAN – and its impact upon the analysis, see Mondada 2007b.

Extract (2) Final transcription of fragment 14 of the collection: “questioning repeat”

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month); C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months)

- 1 c2 ((coughs))=
 2 (3.0)
 3 mo =[directs her gaze to C2, looks at her sternly]
 4 c2 =[(0.6) directs the piece of peach to MO, facial
 expression of dislike] [maintains facial expression and
 piece of peach oriented to MO->
 5 mo [lh: directs toward piece of
 peach, retracts, rh: directs to piece of peach->



- 6 MO qu'est-c'qu'+y a#?
 what's the matter?
 fig # figure 1
 7 mo +rh: takes the piece of peach, withdraws->
 8 C2→ (0*.4**) t*i_↑ens*, c'est pas* bo*n.
 (0.4) ta_↑ke, that's not good.
 9 c2 *facial expression relaxes*
 10 c2 *shifts her gaze toward her plate*
 11 c2 *lh/rh: direct toward plate*
 12 c2 *lh/rh: start to push
 plate toward MO->
 13 MO⇒ (0.4) c'est pas bon?
 (0.4) that's not good?



- 14 C2→ (0.4) *non#*
 (0.4) no
 15 c2 *mimics disgust, shakes her head, extends plate
 toward MO*
 fig # figure 2

This refined transcription, in combination with the audiovisual material, served as an indispensable basis for developing a praxeological and multimodal analysis of the extract (see Chapter 7, extract 13 (QR14)). However, in order to read and understand these complex

transcriptions one requires at least an understanding of the transcription conventions, and better yet some practice.

3.3.1. Transcription Conventions

The conventions used for transcribing talk-in-interaction are those elaborated by Gail Jefferson (2004: 24–31).

[	A left bracket indicates the beginning of overlapping talk.
]	A right bracket indicates the end of overlapping talk.
(1.0)	Numbers in parentheses indicate a timed pause (measured in tenths of seconds) within or between utterances.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a brief interval (+/- a tenth of a second) within or between utterances.
OUI	Upper case indicates extra loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.
<u>oui</u>	Underscore indicates some stress, via pitch and/or amplitude.
°oui°	Degree signs bracketing an utterance or parts of it indicate that the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk. The more degree signs there are, the softer the sound.
>oui<	Right/left carats bracketing an utterance or utterance part indicate that the bracketed material is speeded up, compared to the surrounding talk.
((smile))	Double parentheses contain transcriber's descriptions.
::	Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The longer the row of colons, the longer the prolongation.
par-	A dash indicates a cut-off.
=	Equal signs indicate no break or gap (latching talk).
.h	A dot-prefixed row of h's indicates an in-breath. Without the dot, the h's indicate an out-breath.
xxxxx	A row of xxx's indicate that the transcriber was unable to grasp what was said. The number of x's reflects the length of the missing talk.
(a little)	Parenthesized words indicate a guess at the talk.
?	The question mark indicates upward intonation.
.	The dot indicates a downward intonation.
,	The comma indicates a continuing intonation.
↓↑	Arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch.

A translation is provided line per line, in order to help in reading the original.

Descriptions of gestures and actions are transcribed according to an adapted version of the conventions elaborated by Mondada (2007a, 2009a).

c2	The participant doing the described gesture or action is identified.
* *	An asterisk signals a described gesture or action by the target child (mostly C2). The '*' indicates the moment in which the action begins in relation to the transcribed talk (or silence). If there is more than one transcribed action, they are listed chronologically. The first asterisk marks the beginning and the second one the ending of the described gesture or action.
+ +	A plus sign signals a described gesture or action by mother (MO). The '+' indicates the moment in which the action begins in relation to the transcribed talk (or silence). If there is more than one transcribed action, they are listed chronologically. The first plus

	sign marks the beginning and the second one the ending of the described gesture or action.
/ /	An oblique signals a described action or gesture by father (FA). The ‘/’ indicates the moment in which the action begins in relation to the transcribed talk (or silence). If there is more than one transcribed action, they are listed chronologically. The first oblique marks the beginning and the second one the ending of the described gesture or action.
%	The percent sign indicates a gesture or action by the sister or the brother of the target child (mostly C1 and/or C3). The ‘%’ indicates the moment in which the action begins in relation to the transcribed talk (or silence). If there is more than one transcribed action, they are listed chronologically. The first percent sign marks the beginning and the second one the ending of the described gesture or action.
rh	‘rh’ stands for a gesture or action accomplished by the participant’s right hand.
lh	‘lh’ stands for a gesture or action accomplished by the participant’s left hand.
-->	Double dashes and a right carat indicate that the described gesture or action continues across subsequent lines.
#	A ‘#’ indicates the exact point within a turn at talk where a figure has been taken.

Adopting an EM/CA approach does not imply the analyst’s adherence to a specific theory of social action, but primarily requires him to adopt a number of specific working practices. In this chapter I have tried to give a very concrete and personal account of the practices related to the data collection, of the practices that constitute the elaboration of collections, and finally of the practices that allow the making of very detailed multimodal transcriptions³². Moreover, I introduced each of these practices by outlining their central methodological implications. The aim of this praxis-oriented account was to show that collecting data, elaborating collections, transcribing fragments, and analyzing small sequences of social interactions constitute practices that are inextricably and reflexively linked with each other. In this sense they are mutually elaborative: to make a data-driven analysis of social interaction it might be necessary to produce all of them with the same seriousness and rigor.

Having presented and discussed the theoretical background of my study (Chapter 2), and its practical and methodological implications, we are now set to attack the analytical part. As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, the analysis aims to investigate children’s evaluative turns and parents’ responses to it. I seek to provide a description of young children’s accomplishment of evaluative turns, and to discuss them in terms of interactive, cognitive and linguistic competences (especially in Chapter 4). In Chapters 5–7, I propose to examine and describe parents’ responses to their young children’s evaluative turns and to compare parents’ way of organizing these responses with those studies that analyze the interactive organization of evaluative sequences within adult-adult interactions (Goodwin &

³² For a more conceptual discussion of these practices and the effects they might have on the analysis see: Mondada 2000, 2009c.

Goodwin 1987; Mondada 2009a, 2009b; Lindström & Heinemann 2009; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a). The aim of the comparison is to discuss how parents' way(s) of organizing responses, and children's way(s) of dealing with them might manifest their orientation to the developmental scheme, i.e. an orientation toward the child being somehow inferior compared to an adult, or to their respective categories, i.e. of parents and children.

4. Young Children's Repetitions of Evaluative Turns and Their Orientation Toward Conditional Relevance

As mentioned in Chapter 1 and 3, one essential aim of Garfinkel, Girton, Livingston and Sacks research project on 'kids' culture' (1982) was to investigate and render visible children's interactive competences. On the basis of a small number of cases, the author remarked that young children (around two and a half years of age), when engaged in a "significant number of interactions", might already use the adjacency pair organization as a resource for coordinating their own activities with those of others, and seem to orient toward the central propriety of adjacency pairs: *conditional relevance* (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 49).³³

Preliminary investigations of our corpus of tapes, indeed shows that for somewhat older children, about two and a half, the conditional relevance of utterances is realized and that adjacency organization is already utilized for what appears to be a significant number of interactions, that is, at least extensively. But, the number of cases in our own corpus upon which these and other observations like them might depend is relatively small. (Garfinkel et al. 1982: 49)

The notion of conditional relevance refers to the fact that a first speaker A can produce an initial utterance – a FPP – that makes a next utterance – a SPP – by the recipient of the FPP unavoidably relevant. Speaker A's production of a FPP is thus sequentially implicative (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 296). This means that when speaker A produces a certain type of action, like a request, its recipient has an obligation to respond to it within the same pair type, i.e. by accepting/refusing the request. The absence of a response will be officially or noticeably absent, and might engender a repetition of the request by the first speaker, objections, or inferences concerning the grounds for its absence (Sacks 1992 II: 17-31; Schegloff 1968; Schegloff & Sacks 1974: 238). As Heritage points out, the detailed analysis of how participants interactively produce adjacency pairs shades into more general issues of how the organization of everyday activities is locally managed and treated by the interactants (2008: 9–10). Firstly and prospectively in time, the adjacency pair organization provides for a mechanism through which one interactant "can get another to do something" (Heritage 2008: 12). It simultaneously constitutes an institutionalized base on the grounds of which a recipient

³³ The concept of "conditional relevance" has been briefly outlined, and notions such as "noticeably absent" and "sequentially implicative" have been introduced to the discussion of children's use of the adjacency pair structure for "starting to talk" to adults (see Chapter 2.5.1., and extract 1 of Chapter 3). The problematic is discussed in more detail here, because of its centrality to the understanding of the main analytic argument of this chapter.

is obliged to respond if she/he wants to avoid sanctions. Secondly and retrospectively in time, it provides a mechanism through which mutual understanding can be constructed and managed, turn-by-turn. Indeed, the SPP always displays the second speaker's understanding of what the prior turn was about. At the same time, it can be inspected by the first speaker for the purpose of determining whether it constitutes an adequate response to what was projected by the FPP. Adjacency pairs, and their central property – conditional relevance – constitute a sequentially organized interactive architecture through which understanding can be displayed, checked and repaired, and through which intersubjectivity, i.e. shared understanding, can be produced (Heritage 1984a: 254ff., Heritage 2008: 10).

Recently, the question of how very young children interacting with others organize (*proto-adjacency pairs*)³⁴ has re-gained increased interest within conversation analysis and ethnomethodology (see: Filipi 2009; Jones & Zimmerman 2003: 178; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003; Forrester 2008; Wootton 1997, 2007). Within these studies, it is well documented that very young children, while not fully mastering natural language, are able to produce recognizable proto-first pair parts and seem to orient toward conditional relevance. When interacting with adults (parents, caregivers), very young children (around 12 months) treat their proto-requests (for an object or a labeling action) as making relevant a particular response from the intended recipient (handing over the object, proffering the label). Indeed, when confronted with the absence of a (satisfactory) response, they might maintain/repeat a pointing and combine it with the repetition of a vocalization, possibly getting a response from the adult (Filipi 2009: 127, 146; Jones & Zimmerman 2003: 178; Wootton 1997: 27–31). These studies demonstrate that young children's and adults' interactive organization of proto-adjacency pairs and their orientation toward its sequential implications stand in need of an analytic approach which does take into account all the multimodal resources (gaze, pointing, vocalization, etc.) that interactants deploy in order to produce a contextual configuration in which their (and the intended recipient's) respective expectations (of what comes next) become observable, intelligible for the interactants themselves, and thus for the analyst (Goodwin C. 2000: 15; 2003: 218). Moreover, Forrester (2008) remarks that young children might treat a non-response to their initial action as an initiation to repair it and they might deploy different multimodal resources (gestures, vocalizations, volume) to produce a repair,

³⁴ The notion *proto-adjacency pair* has been introduced by Jones and Zimmerman (2003 : 178). According to them it might be premature to describe very young children's use of repeated pointing for requesting, for example, as equivalent to a FPP. However, since it has the same interactive consequences as a FPP – it makes relevant a particular next action by the intended recipient (granting/refusing) – they suggest calling it a *proto first pair part*.

eventually getting a response. Young children thus display their emerging capacity to produce a repair, instead of simply repeating the repairs proposed by others. The onset of young children's capacity to self-repair by deploying resources other than natural language is of central importance to all research studies interested in very young children's active acquisition of communicative skills (see also Chapter 7). However, as Forrester points out, young children's emerging capacity to self-repair needs to be further investigated: "Whether a listener has registered receipt of a *first* is likely to have a particular bearing on the likelihood of a self-repair in pursuit of a response, and the details of how and in what ways children begin to utilize such resources await further clarification" (Forrester 2008: 124; italics are the author's).³⁵

The studies referred to above focus on interactions involving children that are younger (or older) than those of our study, and/or they primarily analyze children's productions and (embodied) repetitions of so-called canonical action types.³⁶ As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, Stivers and Rossano argue that canonical action types make relevant a tip-fitted response, whereas non-canonical action types, i.e. announcements, noticings, comments, and assessments, do not have as powerful normative implications (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 9). On the basis of 50 hours of English and Italian everyday conversations, the authors examine the normative implications of canonical and non-canonical actions and provide three different types of supports in order to back up their argument. Their first support refers to frequency distribution: canonical actions routinely and reliably receive a tip-fitted response,³⁷ whereas it is easy to find instances in which a non-canonical action is not responded to. The second and third argument refers to participants' treatment of non-response. Indeed, when producing canonical actions, speakers' treat the intended recipient's omission of a response as a failure and recipients also treat their non-response as a failure (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 5-9). In contrast to canonical actions, the absence of a response to a non-canonical action type – for example an assessment – is not treated as problematic by both speaker and hearer, i.e.

³⁵ A listener can deploy different methods for displaying to the child that she or he has heard a FPP, such as an initial evaluative turn, produced by the child. According to Forrester, the way an intended recipient displays that he or she has registered an FPP might have an impact on the further interactive development. Moreover, he suggests that young children's ability to sustain "mutual gaze" might be an important factor in their capacity for inferring possible reasons for the intended recipient's non-response to their first (pair part). See Forrester 2008: 124.

³⁶ Studies examining children's assessments (Filipi & Wales 2010, Butler 2008, Goodwin 2006) concern children that are older than the ones studied here, and do not focus on children's orientation toward conditional relevance.

³⁷ In regard to the examination of canonical actions, the authors do not provide precise frequency distributions. However, they refer to other studies, such as Stivers et al. 2009, in which requests for information are responded to by a tip-fitted response in 90% of the cases.

speakers do not pursue a response, when the latter is not spontaneously forthcoming, nor otherwise sanction the occurrence of a non-response, recipients do not account for their failure to produce a response (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 10).

In everyday family life, young children recurrently produce evaluative turns. In the overall corpus, around 483 occurrences were identified in which the young child uses evaluative turns, e.g. “yuck”, “that is beautiful”, “[the man] is tall”, “that’s difficult” etc., in order to accomplish non-canonical actions. In a large majority (95%) of the 483 identified occurrences, the child’s evaluative turns are responded to by the intended recipient. This preliminary observation thus counterbalances Stivers’ and Rossano’s first support – frequency distribution – regarding the distinct sequential implications of canonical versus non-canonical action types. However, to base our counter-argument on a frequency distribution alone seems too easy a solution. Furthermore, Stivers’ and Rossano’s central argument for distinguishing canonical from non-canonical action types refers to the fact that a non-response to the former is neither sanctioned, nor treated as a failure by the interactants, whereas it is so treated if it follows a canonical action type (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 9). As Heritage stresses (1984a: 248–249), interactive situations in which the adjacency pair structure is not fully or unproblematically implemented – so-called deviant cases³⁸ – constitute interesting instances of participants making their orientations toward the expectation of a response publicly available to each other, and thus become accountable to each other and to the social analyst. Moreover, Pomerantz (1984b) suggests that confronted with the absence of a response, interactants are in the position to infer what the source of the trouble might be. Accordingly, they organize the evaluative turn’s repetition in such a way that the (inferred) trouble is remedied, and the intended recipient is induced to produce an adequate response, i.e. a type-fitted SPP. Consequently, our multimodal analysis focuses on situations in which the child’s evaluative turn is not immediately responded to (49 identified occurrences). Its aim is to describe how young children treat their parents’ failure to spontaneously respond to their initial evaluative turns, and thus display their orientation toward conditional relevance.

4.1. Children’s Orientation to Recipient’s Lack of Attention in Pursuing a Response

In order to produce an adequate response to an evaluative turn, the intended recipient has to pay attention to it and hear/understand what is being evaluated in the first place. Within

³⁸ Regarding the examination of deviant cases see also discussion in 3.2.1.

everyday family life, children are often confronted with the fact that their parents are busy doing other things rather than conversing with them. Parents might be busy reading the newspaper, cooking dinner, focusing on the drawing they have just been asked to do by the child (extract 1), adjusting the young child's garments (extract 2); they might be preoccupied with feeding a younger sibling (extract 3 and 4) or eating themselves, and/or be involved in an argument with another sibling (extract 4) or a discussion with their spouse. By describing how young children organize their pursuits of a response to their initial evaluative turn when it is not immediately forthcoming, the analysis of extracts 1 to 4 aims to show how children take into account their parents' multiple involvements.

4.1.1. Dealing with Non-Response by Highlighting the Referent

In the following two fragments the child's evaluative turn accomplishes "*environmental* noticings" which involve the noticing of, for example, the passing world (Sacks 1992 II: 89-90). In fragment 1, the child's evaluative turn produces a noticing that concerns "cars", while the intended recipient is about to draw a car. In extract 2, the child's noticing is addressed to her mother and relates to "the man" her mother was just talking about. As Sacks mentions, it is a very common thing for participants to use a noticing to comment on things that exist or are happening around them, and thus to use local resources to induce others into a conversation (see Sacks 1992 II: 87-97; Bergmann 1988). Sacks also mentions that noticings can not be uttered at any moment of a conversation, instead: "The fact that it was talked about last time can set up its being talked about this time (Sacks 1992 II: 93)." Producing a noticing whose referent has been the topic of previous talk might thus be an especially effective way to engage others into a conversation. The analysis of these first two extracts seeks to investigate how young children confronted with a non-response to an environmental noticing – whose referent has already been introduced and talked about by the interlocutors and/or who is at the heart of the action that is just about to be accomplished by the intended recipient – organize their pursuits of a response.

Before the following extract starts, Faffa (two years, seven months) asks his mother to draw a car. While she draws the car, the little boy is closely observing the advancement of his mother's endeavor (see figures 1-5 below). In order to highlight particular turns in transcripts, I used → to indicate the young child's initial evaluative turn, ⇒ to mark the repetition, and ➔ to highlight the parent's response to it.

Extract (1)

Participants: MO: mother; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

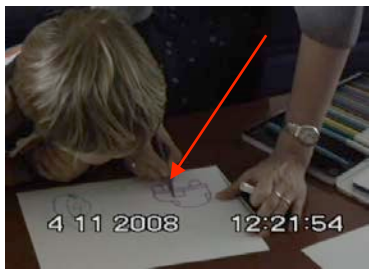
- 

1



2
- 1 (11.1)
- 2 **C3→ très vi##tes les voitures**
very fast the cars
fig # figure 1, 2
- 3 (0.8)
- 4 **MO hein?**
huh?
- 5 **C3⇒ (.) très vites les voitures**
(.) very fast the cars
- 6 (2.1)
- 7 **C3⇒ est très vites les voitures#**
is very fast the cars
- 8 fig # figure 3
(2.2)
- 

3



4
- 9 **C3⇒ tr[ès] vite (0.3) cette voiture=**
ve[ry] fast (0.3) this car=
- 10 **MO [(comme) ça?]**
[(like) that?]
- 11 **MO =j'fais la porte aussi?**
=i make the door also?
- 12 **C3 (#1.0) fais la po(r)te+**
(1.0) make the doo(r)
- 13 **mo** fig # figure 4
+withdraws the pencil, straightens
up again->>
- 14 (0.7)
- 15 **MO voilà**
done

After having observed the advancement of his mother's drawing for roughly 11 seconds (line 1), Faffa (re-)engages turn-by-turn talk by producing a noticing: "very fast the cars" (line 2, figures 1 and 2). After a silence (0.8 seconds), the mother produces an *open-class repair initiator* – "huh?" – at line 4 (Corrin 2010: 23), to which the boy responds immediately with a full repeat of his initial turn (lines 7–8). He treats his mother's "huh?"

(line 4) as expressing a local problem of hearing. However, this first repetition does not engender a response from the mother: after 2.1 seconds of silence (line 6), the boy produces a second repetition and modifies his initial turn by prefixing it with the verb to be in the third singular form (line 7). The absence of a response from his mother in line 6 seems to be interpreted as pointing to a problem in the construction of his noticing; in his pursuit of a response he proposes a candidate self-repair. Nevertheless, his mother does not respond. Following another pause of 2.2 seconds (line 8), during which the mother just continues drawing, the boy repeats his evaluative turn a third time (line 9). This time, he firstly utters the evaluative segment: “very fast”, and after a short pause (0.3 seconds) invokes the referent in a modified form: he replaces the article “the” in plural form, which points to cars in general, with the more specific pronoun “this” plus the “car” in its singular form, and thus points to the very car the mother is about to draw. He thus clarifies the referent (Pomerantz 1984b: 153–156) by shifting it from something general to something specific to which the mother certainly has epistemic access. Moreover, by invoking the referent after a short pause (0.3), the boy renders the referent especially salient.

However, in overlap with his third repetition, the mother produces a general request for confirmation (line 10), and latching with the boy’s repetition (line 9), she requests him to specify whether she should also draw the door: “i make the door also?” (line 11). As figure 4 shows, before the boy responds to her request, the mother begins drawing the door, and when his positive answer is eventually produced (line 12), she has already finished drawing the door, and disengages from the activity of drawing the car by straightening up from the table she had been leaning over (line 13). Finally, she closes the drawing sequence with the *terminal marker* (Mondada 2009a: 354) “done” (line 15). She thus privileges the finishing of the drawing Faffa had asked her to do (Filipi 2009: 216), instead of responding to the boy’s repeated evaluative turns. In this sequence, the boy is not very successful in his pursuit of a response. At no point does Faffa use intonation, volume, gaze or body language to render his pursuit of a response more salient (see figures 1–3; also Stivers & Rossano 2010), and apart from a short hesitation after his mother’s question in line 11, he finally just agrees to go with the line of action proposed by the mother (line 12). In these respects, Faffa’s unsuccessful pursuit of a response stands in contrast to the way Clara, in the next extract, manages to get a response.

The family is about to have dinner. Clara (two years, four months) is standing on her high chair, having a conversation with her mother, who is busy adjusting her daughter's pants and bib.

Extract (2)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 

1



2
- 1 MO ah il f'sait comme ça l'm'sieur tu crois
ah he went like like that the man you think
- 2 (1.1)
- 3 C2→ est# gra*nd#
is tall
- fig # figure 1
- 4 c2 *orients toward mother->
fig # figure 2
- 5 (1.1)
- 6 C2⇒ (le mon) le monsieur, * il est ** gr#and
(the ma) the man, he is tall
- fig # figure 3
- 7 c2 *orients toward 'man', pointing*
- 8 c2 *orients back toward MO->>
- 

3



4
- 9 (0.4)
- 10 MO c'est un# grand monsieur?
that's a tall man?
- fig # figure 4
- 11 C2 (0.2) <mh ((affirmative))>
12 (0.2)
- 13 MO ah d'accord.
ah okay.

At the beginning of the sequence, Clara is standing on her high chair, oriented toward the dining table (figure 1). Her mother is busy adjusting Clara's pants, when the girl notices that something (that she does not name) "is tall" (line 3). At the end of her noticing, Clara orients slightly toward her mother and looks at her (figures 1, 2). As Lerner (2003: 179)

points out, speaker's gaze can be used to select the next speaker, who then has an obligation to respond. Nonetheless, a silence emerges. After 1.1 seconds, Clara repeats her initial turn, repairing it, and prefixing it with the referent: "the man, he" (line 7). She mentions the referent, which has just been evoked by the mother in line 1: she not only provides the referent as was the case in "the man is tall", but she highlights it through the *left dislocation* (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987: 18–19): "the man, he is tall". Simultaneously to this candidate self-repair, she orients toward the direction in which the man has last been seen, and vaguely points toward it, achieving an *embodied identification* (Mondada 2009a: 334) of the referent at line 7, figure 3. At the end of her repetition, she turns back toward her mother, selecting her as the next speaker (line 8; figure 4). After a short silence (line 9), the mother responds with a questioning repeat (see Chapter 7)³⁹. This induces Clara to produce an affirmative "mh" (line 11). This is followed by the mother's display of a new understanding and a minimal agreement with the girl's evaluation: a *change-of-state token* "oh" (Mondada 2009a: 334 the "ah" in French corresponds to the English "oh" Heritage 1984b) and an agreement-token "okay" (line 13). As mentioned before, the examination of interactants' use of tokens is a complex matter that cannot be dealt with extensively in the scope of this thesis. Here, the mother's minimal response, which is composed of two tokens, is treated as closing implicative by the interactants.

4.1.2. Dealing with Non-Response by (Re-)Establishing Mutual Attention

In extract 3, the boy uses an evaluative turn to close a story that has been talked about. In extract 4, the girl deploys an evaluative turn to comment on an immediately preceding event involving herself and her mother. However, the timing of their respective actions is particular, since the intended recipients are respectively oriented to and preoccupied with feeding a younger sibling (extracts 3, 4) and arguing with an older brother (extract 4). The analysis of the following two extracts seeks to understand how children deal with their parents' involvement with another sibling, when no response to their initial turn is immediately forthcoming.

In extract 3, the whole family is having dinner. Martin (two years, six months) is sitting between his mother and father eating soup, while his mother is giving food (little

³⁹ The mother's deployment of a questioning repeat within this fragment will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 7 (extract 5).

pieces of bread) to his younger brother (9 months), who is sitting on her left (see figures 1 and 2, line 3).

Extract (3)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); C2: Antoine (9 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 (0.8)
 2 FA il met dans l'fr+igo
 he puts in the fridge
 3 mo +orienting toward C2, giving him bread->
 4 (*4.9)
 5 c1 *rh:takes some soup, withdraws spoon, lh :lifts fist->



- 6 C1→ #p*as *bien#
 not good
 fig # figure 1
 7 c1 *drops fist, lifts and drops it two more times*
 8 c1 *shifts gaze toward MO->
 fig # figure 2
 9 (0.9)



- 10 C1⇒ *+pas bie/n#
 not good
 11 c1 *lifts fist, drops it twice
 12 mo +takes her glass->
 13 fa /shifts gaze to C1->
 fig # figure 3
 14 (0*.3)
 15 c1 *gazes at FA->



- 16 MO #pas bien *hein↑

```

        not good huh↑
    fig # figure 4
17 c1      *gazes toward M0->
18      (1+.8)
19 mo      +starts drinking, shifts gaze toward C1->
20 C1⇒ *ça va pas bien# mettre
        that goes not well putting
21 c1      *shifts gaze down, directs spoon toward plate->>
    fig # figure 5
22      (0.6)
23 C1      °dans°
        °in°
24      (0.4)
25 FA      pas bien de mettre au frigo
        not good to put in the fridge
26      (4.3)

```

Just before the above sequence, Martin's mother asks him to tell his father what the fictional character Tschuppi does with his freshly baked cake. The little boy grants his mother's request, explaining to his father that Tschuppi puts the cake in the fridge to cool it down. In overlap with Martin's story, the father laughs and then recapitulates what Martin has just said (line 1). Following this, a silence emerges (line 4): everybody is focused on eating or giving food (line 3). Then, Martin withdraws his spoon, lifts his left fist (line 5) and produces a negative comment (line 6). Previously, the father has merely repeated the gist of the story told by Martin (for interactants formulation of the gist see Heritage & Watson 1979: 249); the boy seems however to produce his negative evaluative turn in order to close the story sequence. Contrary to the noticing of extract 1 in which Faffa's turn came somehow out of the blue – in other words, was not tied to a previous turn – Martin orients toward his evaluative turn as being part of a more complex “gestalt” that he seeks to close. Simultaneously with his comment he drops his fist, then lifts/drops it again twice more, and shifts his gaze toward his mother, thereby selecting her as a next speaker (lines 9–10; figures 1, 2). Using gaze as a method for selecting a next speaker is a vulnerable device (Lerner 2003: 179; see also extract 2 above), since the intended recipient must see it. Martin's mother cannot see his gaze, as she is still orienting to his little brother, whom she is feeding (figures 1, 2): a silence emerges. After 0.9 seconds, Martin repeats his evaluative turn with a simple full repeat (line 10), again moving his fist up and down twice (line 11). Since he is still looking at his mother, he might observe that she is not oriented toward him (figure 3), and cannot see that he has selected her as a next speaker once again. In contrast, his father has stopped eating, and does look at him (line 13; figure 3). Martin shifts his gaze toward his father after the completion of his repetition (line 15). He thus changes the intended recipient from a recipient who does not pay

him any attention, to a recipient who is oriented toward him. He seems to identify the trouble source in the current “unavailability of the recipient” to whom he had initially oriented (Goodwin 1997: 91). In his search for an available recipient, he is not only successful in establishing mutual attention, but also in getting a response. Immediately after his gaze shifts away from his mother, the latter confirms his negative comment by simply repeating it, and adding a *tag particle* with rising intonation “which morphologically marks the turn as seeking response” (line 16) (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 11). This brings the boy’s gaze back to her (line 17). On the one hand, he treats his mother’s response as repair implicative (see also Chapter 5; extracts 21 to 25): he starts to reformulate his initial evaluative turn, putting it in relation with the assessed conduct (line 20). On the other hand, he orients toward it as closing implicative: he does abandon his reformulation, and resumes eating (lines 21, 23; figure 5), while his father eventually completes the utterance Martin began (line 25). As we will see in the following sequence, after the absence of a response to her initial positive comment, Clara (two years, four months) deploys more radical devices than a simple shift of gaze to re-establish mutual attention and to induce the intended recipient to respond.

The next extract takes place in the bathroom, where Clara (C2) and her older brother Louis (C1) have just taken a bath and are now about to get ready for dinner. The mother sits on the floor and breast-feeds her little baby, simultaneously helping C1 and C2 to towel themselves off, to apply body lotion etc. Before the fragment starts, Clara (C2) has dropped a round cheese,⁴⁰ and her mother has indicated to her where it is lying so the little girl can get it. Louis (C1) keeps his back turned toward his mother throughout the whole sequence, and makes a lot of noise by hitting an object against the sink, repeatedly engendering mother’s reprehension.

⁴⁰ In this family they have a ritual, which consists of giving the two children (C1 & C2) a small round Babybel cheese when they have finished their bath.

Extract (4)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); C3: baby (1 month);
CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



1 C2 ((**rigole*))* il a roulé:#
((*laughing*))it rolle:d
2 c2 *picks up the cheese->
3 c2 *orients toward mother->>
fig # figure 1
4 +(0.3)
5 mo +looks down at the floor on her left, picks up a towel->
6 MO il a r:oulé.
it r:olled
7 (0.2)
8 MO +louis s'il te plaît tu sais qu'ça n'est=
louis please you know that that is=
9 mo +orienting toward C1->
10 MO =[pas perm+is] d'fai[re ça.]
=[not allowed] to d[o that.]
11 mo +orients toward C3->
12 C3 [wêh-êh ::]
13 c1 [((singing))] [((singing))]
14 C3 [wêh-êh ::]



15 C2→ [c'est rigo↑lo#]
[that's funn↑y]
fig # figure 2
16 (0.2)
17 C2 hein dis?
huh say?
18 (0.3)
19 c1 ((hum[ming]))
20 C2 [maman, il&] roule+. h=
[mom, it] rolls. h=
21 c1 &makes noise by hitting an object on the sink
22 mo +directs lh toward him, grasps him, and
looks at him severely->
23 MO =mh
24 (0.2)
25 C2 mh (0.3) hei::n=

- mh (0.3) hu::h=
26 MO =TU SAIS QU'ÇA N'EST [+PAS PER]MIS=
 =YOU KNOW THAT THAT'S [NOT ALLOWED=
27 mo +gives C1 an angry look->
- 
- 28 C2⇒** [(c'est)rigolo#]
 [(that's)funny]
 fig # figure 3
29 C1 =f m[h :::::] ::::: f xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx f]
- 
- 
- 30 C2⇒** *[MA#↑M+a::n]# (0.3) *[(hein dis)* c'est] rigolo.=
 *[MO↑::m] (0.3) [(huh say) that's] funny.=
31 c2 *directs rh toward MO's chin, and lifts it up ->
 fig # figure 4
32 mo +shifts gaze toward C2->
 fig # figure 5
33 MO =oui::, c'est rigolo comme il a roulé.
 =yeah::, that's funny how it rolled.

At the beginning of the extract, Clara laughs while picking up the cheese, and comments on the rolling of the cheese in a playful voice (lines 1–2). She treats the “rolling cheese” as a humorous event, simultaneously orienting toward her mother and selecting her as the next speaker (lines 2–3; figure 1). Still looking down at her baby (line 5), the mother repeats the comment on the cheese after a brief pause (line 4) and thus confirms it (line 6). But she accomplishes her confirmation in a neutral voice, in contrast to Clara’s displayed pleasure (lines 7–8). Moreover, immediately after her confirmation, the mother shifts her attention toward her son Louis, asking him to stop hitting the object on the sink (lines 9–10). While the mother is preoccupied with her baby and Louis (lines 9–11), Clara produces an evaluative turn: “that’s funny” (line 15), in overlap with her brother’s singing (line 13). And

after a short silence (0.2 seconds), the little girl uses the tag particle “huh say?” to solicit a response (line 17)⁴¹.

Instead of responding, her mother is primarily preoccupied with C1 and the baby (figure 2), inducing the little girl to repeat the cheese-is-rolling utterance, prefixing it with the address term “mom” (line 20). Clara’s pre-positioned address term is designed to establish the availability of her mother where she identified this as being problematic (see Lerner 2003: 187). However, her mother, latching with the girl’s utterance, produces a very weak acknowledgement “mh” (line 23).⁴² It is followed by Clara’s use of another tag particle, before she finally repeats her evaluative turn: “that’s funny” (line 28), in overlap with the mother’s loud reprimanding of Louis’ activities and angry look toward him (lines 26–27; figure 3). Note that Clara uses the indexical “that” to produce her repetition, and thus displays her orientation toward the referent as not standing in need of further clarification. However, for obvious reasons, this first repeat does not get any response from the mother. So, the little girl combines a whole series of interactive ways to ensure the availability of her mother, before she finally repeats her *evaluation segment* (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987: 6-7): Significantly increasing her volume, she prefixes her turn again with the address term “MOM” (line 30). She simultaneously directs her hand toward her mother’s chin and lifts it up, thereby literally forcing her mother to look at her (figures 4 and 5). Through the deployment of an *embodied summons* (line 32; see Schegloff 2007: 49), Clara is successful in bringing her mother’s attention back to her. Moreover, through the addition of a tag particle, inviting her mother to “say” i.e. agree (lines 30–31) before uttering the second full repetition of her evaluation segment, Clara produces three actions⁴³: Firstly, this invitation induces her mother to maintain her attention to her. Secondly, it identifies what is to come, i.e. “that’s funny,” as something about which it is expected that the mother has something to say. Thirdly, it invites the mother to participate in her activity, which consists of commenting on the “cheese-event”. Clara eventually manages to get a response from her mother in the form of an agreement, which is uttered latching with the second repetition of the evaluation segment (line 34) that closes the evaluative sequence.

⁴¹ In the previous extract (3), the girl also uses a tag particle for pursuing a response from the intended recipient.

⁴² Parents’ use of “mh” for responding to their children’s previous turn is examined in more details in Filipi 2007.

⁴³ For a detailed analysis of interactants’ use of summons for achieving different actions see Szymanski 1999: 7.

4.2. Children's Orientation to a Recipient's Epistemic Access in Pursuing a Response

So far, we have seen that young children might locate either the intended recipient's lack of focus on their talk (extracts 1, 2), or the recipient's lack of attention to them (extracts 3, 4) as causing a noticeable absence of a response to their initial action. Evaluative turns not only make a response relevant, but also imply a claim of epistemic access/knowledge regarding the object that is being assessed. Before producing a (satisfactory) response to an evaluative turn, the recipient might require access to the assessed object in order to verify the claim being made by the first speaker (Pomerantz 1984a: 61–63). When children produce an initial evaluative turn, parents are not always in proximity (extracts 5, 6), or the child might be referring to an object to which the parent has no direct access (extracts 7, 8). The analytic description of extracts 5 to 8 seeks to show how, in their ways of organizing their pursuit of a response that is not forthcoming, young children deal with their parents' lack of access to the referent.

4.2.1. Dealing with Non-Response by Ensuring Visual Access to the Referent

In extract 5, the girl's positive evaluative turn achieves a self-praise concerning an activity she has just accomplished. In extract 6, the boy uses an evaluative turn to positively assess a model car he is holding in his hand. In both cases, the child is distant from the other family members when producing her/his initial evaluative turn. Confronted with a non-response, children could infer the intended recipient's lack of hearing and simply repeat their initial turn by shouting. However, the examination of the extracts (5, 6) aims at showing the embodied methods children use in order to get the noticeably absent response.

In fragment 5, Clara (two years, four months) and her father are in the bathroom, where they have just finished putting a card game back into its box. After the completion of this activity, Clara takes the box with the card game in it and walks toward the kitchen, where the mother and Clara's older brother Louis are sitting on the floor. They discuss whether Louis should continue painting or stop.

Extract (5)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); C3: baby (1 month);
CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C2→ on a tout rangé[::#]
2 we have put everything [away::]
3 c2 <<-walking, extending her right hand, in which she holds the box, toward CA1->
fig # figure 1
4 MO [Louis],* est-c'que tu veux=
[Louis], do you want to do=
5 c2 *turning to the right, lowering
her right hand, in which she holds the box->
6 MO =encore faire la peinture?#=
=some more painting?=
fig # figure 1
7 C2⇒ =on a [tout rangé°]
=we have [put everything away°]
8 MO [>autrement on enlève le tablier<
[>otherwise we take off the painting apr]on<
9 *(0.4)
10 c2 *appearing around the corner, visible to MO & C1->
11 MO +hein?=
huh?=((still oriented toward C1))
12 mo +shifts gaze toward C2 ->



- 13 C2⇒ =#on a#* tout rangé=
=we've put everything away=
fig # figure 3
fig # figure 4
14 c2 *speeding up path ->



15 MO =A::#h ça c'était une très bonne idée alors.
 =0::h that was a very good idea then.
 16 (0.6)
 17 C1 moi+ j'veux plus faire la peinture.
 i don't want to paint anymore.
 18 mo +shifts gaze toward C1->>

As one can see in figure 1, Clara is walking toward the other participants when she initially produces her evaluative turn that accomplishes a *self-praise* (Pomerantz 1978: 88; see also extract 9 below) concerning her previous activity: putting a card game back into its box with her father (line 1). While walking, Clara holds the box out toward camerawoman 1: she exhibits it as a trophy incarnating this achievement (line 3; figure 1: see full extension of the arm). The camerawoman is standing at quite a distance from the girl, is oriented toward the other family members, and is wearing headphones (figure 1). Clara seems to infer that she is not available to respond: instead of waiting for or pursuing a response from the camerawoman, the girl turns to the right and walks toward her mother and the other children (line 5). The mother is still discussing the painting issue with C1 (lines 4, 6). Latching with her mother's question (lines 4, 6), Clara repeats her initial utterance in the form of a full repeat, using a lower tone of voice and lowering her right hand, which is holding the box (lines 6–7).

Although Clara accomplishes this first repetition as she walks toward her mother, she is not yet visible to her. Moreover, her mother continues talking with her brother in overlap with Clara's first repetition (lines 8, 11). Clara may have used these available resources to accomplish the first repetition as if she were talking to herself, not expecting any response. However, immediately after Clara comes around the corner (line 10), thereby becoming visible to her mother, the latter shifts her gaze from C1 to her (line 12, figure 3). At this moment, Clara repeats her initial utterance (in the form of a full repeat) a second time (line 13). She simultaneously continues walking toward her mother (and C1 and C3), holding the box out in front of her and increasing her speed⁴⁴ (line 14; figure 4). The way that Clara *sets the stage* (Szymanski 1999: 8) – bringing the box that proves her achievement into the recipient's *field of vision* (Mondada 2009a: 330) – while repeating her self-praise seems to be successful. It not only establishes mutual attention (line 12; figures 3 and 5), but also obtains a change-of-state token: “o::h” latching with the girl's repetition from the mother, which

⁴⁴ Probably she simultaneously extends the box she is holding in her hand, toward the mother and C1/C3. Unfortunately neither of the two cameras has filmed her at this moment of the interaction.

indicates the mother's new understanding. Furthermore, the mother adds a compliment addressed to Clara: "that was a very good idea then..." (line 15). By constructing her compliment in the past tense, the mother indicates that it refers to a completed activity. She thus indicates that visible access to the box (evidencing the completion of the activity) constitutes sufficient grounds for proffering a compliment. The mother's response is closing implicative: it is followed by C1's taking up the painting issue again and the mother's shift of attention back to him (lines 22–23). That children might identify a recipient's lack of visual access as a trouble source and remedy this to organize their pursuit of a response becomes even more evident in the following extract (6).

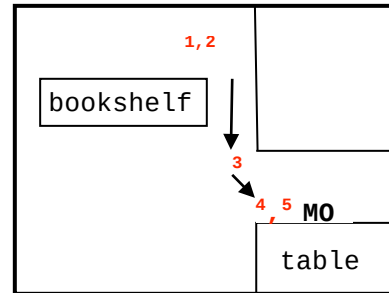
At the beginning of this fragment, Faffa (two years, seven months) is on his own, standing in front of a bookshelf on which his father's model-car collection is displayed. The other members of the family are scattered throughout the apartment. Before the extract below starts, Faffa has taken two model cars (one red and the other black) off the shelf and is inspecting them attentively.

Extract (6)

Participants: MO: mother; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 (3*#.3)
- 2 c3 *looks at red car, starts walking down the corridor->
fig # figure 1
- 3 C3→ ça (t')elle est be#lle
that it is beautiful
fig # figure 2
- 4 (2*.2)
- 5 c3 * looks at black car, still walking toward kitchen->



- 6 C3⇒ (.)**pis ça (t') elle est belle#*
 (.)**and that it is beautiful*
 7 c3 ** looks up and extends his lh, holding the black car->*
 fig # figure 3



- 8 C3⇒ (0.2) **regarde ma+man comme ça *(t') elle est be::lle#.=*
 (0.2) *look mom like that it is beautiful.=*
 9 c3 ** increases his speed-> *stands still->*
 10 mo *+freezes her movement in cutting ham,*
 fig *looking at C2->* # figure 4
 11 MO *=elle est très belle, ouais.*
=it is very beautiful, yeah.
 12. (0.7*)
 13 c3 **withdraws black car, directs red car toward MO->*
 14 C3 *ça (t')elle est rouge?#*
that it is red?
 fig # figure 5
 15 MO (0.2)*elle est rouge ouais.*
 (0.2)*it is red yeah.*

Looking at the red car (figure 1), Faffa starts walking toward the kitchen, producing an initial positive assessment (lines 2–3; figure 2; floorplan). No response is forthcoming; a silence of 2.2 seconds emerges (line 4). The boy does not treat this absence of a response as problematic, and does not repeat his first assessment. Instead, he continues walking, then shifts referents by gazing at the black model car (line 5), assessing it as beautiful “as well” (line 6). While assessing the black car, the boy continues walking toward the kitchen, looks up, and slightly extends his left hand, which is holding the car (line 7). Toward the end of his assessment, he reaches the corner of the kitchen (figure 3; floor plan). Looking toward his mother, who is now visible to him, he shows the black car, holding it out toward her (line 7). By coordinating these different activities with his assessments, the boy displays his awareness

that in order for him to get a response, the stage has to be set (see extract 5 above), and the recipient needs to have epistemic access to the object he is assessing. Moreover, after only 0.2 seconds of silence, the little boy summons his mother: “look mom” (line 8), simultaneously accelerating his steps toward her (line 9). By summoning her in this way, he accomplishes three things (see extract 4 above): firstly, he obtains his mother’s attention, thus inducing her to interrupt the activity in which she was engaged, i.e. preparing a meal⁴⁵ (line 10; see also Filipi 2009: 125–131). Secondly, in combination with his embodied showing of the car, he identifies his following assessment as something that can be visually appreciated.⁴⁶ Thirdly, he invites the mother to participate in his activity, which consists of looking at cars.

He then comes to a halt (line 9) before repeating his positive assessment of the black car he is showing her, in the form of a full repeat (line 8; figure 4). Finally, latching with the boy’s repetition, the mother responds with an *upgraded assessment*⁴⁷ (Pomerantz 1984a: 65–66), by using the intensifier “very” (line 11), and thus achieves a strong agreement with the boy’s initial assessment. The response engenders a silence (line 12) during which the boy withdraws the black car and presents the red car to his mother (line 13). By withdrawing the black car, he displays his interpretation of his mother’s agreement turn (line 11) as a satisfactory closing of the evaluative sequence concerning the black car. Moreover, by showing her the red car, he indicates a shift of referent. By asking his mother to confirm its color, the little boy initiates a new activity (line 14; figure 5), to which his mother adjacently responds with a simple confirmation (line 15).

4.2.2. Dealing with Non-Response by Proposing a Common Experience of the Assessed Object

Having direct access to/experience of an object might increase the obligation to participate in its evaluation (Pomerantz 1975: 12). In extracts 7 and 8, the child produces an assessment of an object he experiences sensorially: he tastes a blade of grass (extract 7) and touches his foot (extract 8). Although the parent is just sitting next to the child, having visual access to the referent, she is lacking direct access to the assessable. The description of extracts 7 and 8 aims

⁴⁵ Unfortunately neither of the two cameras caught the development of the mother’s activity just before/at the moment in which C3 invites her to “look” at the car he is holding in his hand. The exact moment in which mother freezes her motion (cutting ham) and orients toward C3 is thus not identifiable. However, as you can see on figure 4 (taken at the end of the boy’s repetition), the mother is oriented to him and has frozen her cutting motion.

⁴⁶ A similar observation has been made by Marcos & Bernicot within an experimental setting (1997: 790). When no response is forthcoming to their initial assertion, children around two years, six months use the summons “look” in pursuing a response to their initial turn.

⁴⁷ Parents’ use of upgraded assessments will be discussed in more details in Chapter 5.

at demonstrating how the children's embodied pursuits differ significantly from the ones discussed in the previous section (extracts 5, 6).

In fragment 7, Elio (two years, one month) and his mother are sitting on the ground in front of the house. Before the fragment begins, the little boy has a blade of grass in his mouth, and is looking at his mother with a smile.

Extract (7)

Participants: MO: mother; C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



1

- 1 (2.#5)
fig #figure 1
2 C2→ *BEURK*.
YUCK.
3 c2 *throws blade of grass energetically on the ground*
4 (0.*7)
5 c2 *shifts gaze toward blade of grass->
6 MO +beurk.
yuck.
7 mo +shifts gaze toward blade of grass->
8 (0.*4)
9 c2 *bends forward over the blade of grass->
10 C2⇒ ma*man*, (0.2)* c'est* (0.3) pas+ bon.
mom, (0.2) that's (0.3) not good.
11 c2 *picks blade of grass up*
12 c2 *shifts gaze, turns toward MO->
12 c2 *directs blade of grass toward MO->
13 mo +looks seriously at C2->>



2

- 14 MO (0.#7) >c'est pas bon?<
(0.7) >that's not good?<
fig #figure 2
15 c2 (0.6) *pfh.**
16 c2 *shakes head once*
17 c2 *drops blade of grass on the ground->

At the beginning of the extract, Elio takes the blade of grass out of his mouth, holds it out between himself and his mother for 0.7 seconds, who smiles back at him (figure 1), and finally throws it energetically onto the ground (line 3), simultaneously uttering the negative *gustatory evaluation* “YUCK”, at line 2. Following the example of the *gustatory* “mmm” introduced by Wiggins (2002), the term *gustatory evaluation* is used to refer to a sound which is produced during a meal or in a conversation about food and/or drink, and which conveys a positive/negative evaluation, in particular via the emphasis applied to the “mmm” or “yuck”. After a silence of 0.7 seconds (line 4), during which the boy shifts his gaze from his mother to the blade that is now lying on the ground (line 5), the mother simply repeats the boy’s *gustatory evaluation*, likewise shifting her gaze to the ground (lines 6–7). Producing a second assessment in the form of an identical evaluation constitutes a weak agreement (Pomerantz: 1984a: 68). On the one hand, the boy treats his mother’s weak agreement as repair implicative.⁴⁸

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that before repeating his negative assessment of the blade of grass by using more formal language, the little boy takes the time to set the stage for getting a response. Indeed, by picking the blade of grass up again (he had just thrown it on the ground) and continuing to hold it out between himself and his mother, he accomplishes a “showing” or a “giving” addressed to his mother. The mother does not take the grass, thus treating the boy’s action only as a “showing”. However, by “showing/giving” the blade of grass to his mother, Elio ensures his mother’s direct access to it, and gives her the opportunity to take and taste it. Moreover, by combining all of this interactive work, the boy not only accomplishes a repaired repetition of his initial assessment, but also indicates to his mother that a more elaborate response than a simple repeat of his initial *gustatory evaluation* is due. After another pause (0.7 seconds), this response comes forth in the form of a questioning full repeat (see Chapter 7, extract 1)⁴⁹ at line 15, which gives Elio the opportunity to confirm his initial assessment (line 16), underscoring it with a lateral shake of the head (line 17). He thus seems to treat the mother’s questioning full repeat as standing in need of a clear confirmation by him, but at the same time he does not pursue a response any further. The boy seems satisfied with his mother’s questioning repeat. Indeed, after his confirmation (line 16), Elio merely lets the blade of grass drop to the ground, and thus out of the common focus of attention (line 18), discarding the object as something not meriting further attention.

⁴⁸ For a more elaborated discussion of this point, see Chapter 5, extracts 21, 22.

⁴⁹ Parents’ use of questioning repeats will be discussed extensively in Chapter 7 (see also Keel 2011).

He thus disengages from his “showing/giving” of the blade of grass to his mother, and so closes the evaluative sequence concerning the grass.

In this sequence, Elio's initial evaluative turn is not followed by a non-response. However, mother's deployment of a full repeat for responding to Elio's gustatory evaluation is treated as one that is not fully satisfactory by Elio, inducing him to pursue a more satisfactory response. In the way he accomplishes his pursuit (by “showing”/“giving” the blade of grass to his mother), he seems to indicate that he identifies the trouble source for his mother's unsatisfactory response in her lack of direct experience of the referent.

In extract 8, the mother and Martin (two years, six months) are sitting on the sofa, doing a jigsaw puzzle before the boy has to go to bed. The little boy has repeatedly interrupted the puzzle activity with other activities, and thereby markedly delayed the moment he will have to go to bed.

Extract (8)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 (*2.0)
2 c1 *re-adjusting his position on the sofa->



- 3 C1→ a plus pied (f)*roid#
have not anymore cold foot
4 c1 *removes blanket that covers his feet->
fig # figure 1

- 5 (2.*7)
6 c1 *grasps his left foot with rh, and holds it out to MO->



- 7 C1⇒ eh tou#che
hey touch

fig # figure 2
 8 (1+.6)
 9 mo +directs her attention toward C1 and touches his foot->
 10 MO o::h ils sont bon chaud maintenant
 o::h they are nice and warm now
 11 mo +withdraws her hand quickly as if meaning "so hot that I
 cannot touch them"->
 12 (0.5)
 13 MO plus froid
 not cold anymore
 14 (0.7)



15 MO +montre voir l'#autre
 show the other one
 16 mo +directs hand to C1's other foot, grasps it->
 fig # figure 3
 17 (0.4)
 18 MO oh + ils sont tout chaud
 oh they are completely warm
 19 mo +withdraws hand, directs attention toward puzzle->

At the beginning of the above sequence, the boy sits back on the sofa, and re-adjusts his position (line 2). By discontinuing his participation in assembling the puzzle, he makes a place for re-engaging in doing something else visible (Szymanski 1999: 8). He then announces that his foot is not cold anymore (line 3). At the end of the evaluative turn, he grasps the blanket and uncovers his feet (line 4). Although he thus sets the stage for getting a response, he does not engender any reaction from the mother, who continues to assemble the puzzle (figures 1 and 2). The boy then grasps his left foot, holds it out toward his mother (line 6), and after 2.7 seconds of silence (line 5), invites her to "touch" it (line 7; figure 2). His invitation simultaneously accomplishes three things (see also extracts 4 and 6 above). Firstly, it secures his mother's attention; secondly, it identifies the previous evaluative announcement as something that is sensorially accessible and can be appreciated; and thirdly, it explicitly invites the mother to participate in touching his foot. As such, it not only induces his mother to orient her attention toward the boy, and to accept his invitation to touch the presented foot (line 9; figure 3), but it also engenders an agreeing response to his initial assessment, in the form of an (embodied) upgraded second assessment (lines 10–11).

The mother even pursues the sequence: she summons the boy to show her his other foot (line 15), then grasps it (line 16) and assesses it as “completely warm” (line 18). In this sequence, after being confronted with the absence of a response to his initial assessment, the boy does not repeat his initial assessment as in the fragment above. Instead, he merely uses the summon-procedure, simultaneously bringing the assessed object into his mother's field of access and inviting her to participate in the experience of touching it, and thus to access the object in a tactile way. In terms of the pursuit of a response, the boy seems to orient to his mother's lack of tactile access as the trouble source. The use of this shortcut – summoning the mother to touch his foot – not only seems very efficient interactively, but also provides the recipient with the opportunity to verify the correctness of the boy's initial assessment. Martin thus displays his understanding of the relationship between the recipient's first-hand experience of the referent (possibility of verifying) and the recipient's right/obligation to proffer an adequate response to his assessment (Pomerantz 1975: 12).

4.3. Children's Orientation to a Recipient's Position in Pursuing a Response

The production of evaluative turns not only implies claims of access to/knowledge of the referent, but also makes publicly available one's normative position toward the assessed object or activity. As such, the production of evaluative turns constitutes the basis upon which normative positions can be negotiated and modified and “a congruent view of the events that they [interactants] encounter in their phenomenal world” can be interactively built (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992: 181–184). When an evaluative turn is not responded to, its producer can infer that the recipient might not agree with her/his position (Pomerantz 1984b: 153). Research on adults' way of organizing evaluative sequences has demonstrated that participants tend to avoid overt disagreement. One method of achieving overt disagreement consists of changing position (downgrading or upgrading the initial evaluative turn) in order to lessen the distance from the recipient's presumed disagreeing position (Pomerantz 1984b: 153; Schegloff 2007: 151). In the following section, we seek to investigate how children might organize their pursuit of a response, when they seem to identify issues of position and matters of affiliations/disaffiliations as being the grounds for the trouble (non-response from the recipient).

4.3.1. Dealing with Non-Response by Changing Position

In extracts 9 and 10, the child's evaluative turn concerns the very activity in which he is engaged. In the first extract (9), the child is blowing soap bubbles and his positive evaluative turn accomplishes a self-praise concerning this activity. In the second of these extracts (10), the child is just about to displace a wooden rocking horse, and her evaluative turn achieves a "complaint" about its heaviness. From other studies we know that participants tend to treat both types of activities as interactively delicate matters.⁵⁰ Consequently the analysis seeks to elucidate if young children might identify the trouble source – absence of a response – in possible incipient disagreement.

In extract 9, Elio (two years, one month) and his mother are sitting on the ground in front of the house. They are blowing soap bubbles.

Extract (9)

Participants: MO: mother; C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 (2.8)
 2 **C2** *h p*fh.
 3 **c2** *blowing a soap bubble->
 4 **c2** *follows the bubbles with his gaze->
 5 (1.0)
- 
- 6 **C2→** #oh grosse
 oh big
 fig # figure 1
 7 (0.*5)
 8 **c2** *shifts gaze toward MO->
 9 **C2⇒** #↑grosse
 ↑big
 fig # figure 2
 10 (0.5)
 11 **MO** hein*? (.) +elle était grosse ouais.
 huh? (.) it was big yeah.
 12 **c2** *shifts gaze toward the soap-water flask->
 13 **mo** +directing the soap-water flask to C2 ->
 14 (0.9)
 15 **MO** +°vas-y°
 °go on°

⁵⁰ Interactants' orientation toward self-praise (see Pomerantz 1975 : 112 ff.) or complaint (see Butler 2008 : 160) constituting interactively delicate actions will be discussed more extensively in Chapters 5 and 6.

16 mo +holds the soap-water flask in front of C2 ->
17 (1.3)



3



4

18 C2 gosse (e h) gosse#* h pfh.
big (e h) big h pfh.

fig # figure 3

19 c2 *blowing another soap bubble->

20 c2 *orients toward M0->

21 (0.5)

22 C2 GROSS#E*
BIG

fig # figure 4

23 c2 *starts moving his lh toward nose->

24 (0.4)

25 ((the sound of an approaching car can be heard))



5

26 M0 +t'en as une# sur le nez ((laug*hing)) (0.6) là.
you have one on your nose ((laughing)) (0.6) there.

27 mo + directing a pointing toward C2's nose ->

fig # figure 5

28 c2 *wipes the soap-bubble off ->

29mo/c2 ((attention is caught by the passing car))

At the beginning of the extract, the mother is holding a soap-water flask toward Elio and watching him blow soap bubbles (lines 2–3). The little boy follows the bubbles with his gaze (line 4) and produces a *surprise token* (Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006) followed by the evaluative term “big” (line 6; figure 1). By using a surprise token, the boy displays his astonishment and produces the evaluative turn – concerning the large size of the bubble he just blew – as a self-praise (see also extract 5 above). At the end of his turn, Elio shifts his gaze to his mother (line 7) and selects her as a next speaker. After 0.5 seconds (line 8), when his mother has not responded, he repeats his evaluative turn (line 9, figure 2). However, he does not prefix his evaluative turn with a token as he did initially. Instead, he produces it in a lower tone of voice and with a slightly rising intonation, which implies an interrogative dimension. The use of a downgraded format of the initial assessment (no surprise-token,

lower volume, rising intonation) indicates that Elio is dealing with the absence of a response by changing his position, i.e. he is *backing down* (Pomerantz 1984b: 159–161) from his initial self-praise and so lessens the possible difference between his own and the recipient's position. After another pause (0.5 seconds), Elio gets a same evaluation by his mother, who deploys a pronominal structure (see Chapter 7, extracts 3, 4), indicating that the access to the referent is not at stake. The mother's same evaluation does not display any particular astonishment, and thus constitutes a weak agreement with his initial self-praise (lines 13–14). As the further development of the interaction indicates, Elio treats this weak agreement as somehow unsatisfactory. Indeed, at the end of it he shifts his orientation toward the soap-flask the mother is holding in her hand. This induces the mother to invite the boy to continue blowing soap bubbles (line 15) by directing the soap flask toward him (lines 13, 16).

The boy accepts the mother's invitation immediately, but before blowing any more bubbles he repeats his evaluation segment twice (line 18; figure 3). He seems to display an eagerness to exceed his initial performance. After completion, he orients back toward his mother (line 20). While looking at her, he repeats his initial evaluative segment, now using increased volume: "BIG" (line 22 figure 4). This time he *exploits prosody* (Mondada 2009a: 349) to produce an upgraded version of his self-praise, projecting an agreement from his mother in the next turn. By addressing an upgraded self-praise toward his mother, he indicates that in his opinion, the targeted increase in performance has now been achieved, and a stronger agreement with (or even a compliment on) his upgraded self-praise is now due. However, after this repetition, other trouble (soap-bubble on boy's nose, noise of passing car) provides for the interactants' shift of attention to something else (wiping soap bubble off and looking at passing car) (lines 23–29).

The next sequence takes place in a rather complex interactive situation. The father has just come home from work and is taking some time to play with his two children. Susanne (two years, five months) is sitting on a wooden rocking chair, while her older brother Léon is hiding under some blankets.

Extract (10)

Participants: FA: father; C1: Léon (3 years, 6 months); C2: Susanne (2 years, 5 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 FA #*ouhou↑, ((oriented toward C1))
 fig # figure 1
 2 c2 *getting up from rocking chair->
 3 (0.5)
 4 FA eh/ bonhomme?
 hey/ little boy?
 5 fa /extends his rh and gently shakes C1 ->
 6 (0.3)
 7 C2 *po(r)te :r=
 to ca(rr) y=
 8 c2 *lifts up the rocking chair, moves it to the right->



- 9 C1 =xxxxx[(((laughs)))]
 10 C2→ [LOU/:::r*d]
 [HEA::vy]
 11 fa /shifts his attention toward C2->
 fig # figure 2
 12 c2 *chair hits bed, destabilizes C2->
 13 (0.4)
 14 C1 xxxx=



- 15 C2⇒ =*lou[#::rd]
 = hea[:vy]
 16 c2 *lets go of the rocking chair
 fig # figure 3
 17 FA [>/pas sur les livres] (alors)=
 [>/not on the books] (so)=

18 fa /removes a book which is under rocking chair->
 19 FA =pas sur les livres<
 =not on the books<
 20 (0.2)



21 C2⇒ L*OU/↑::*#RD
 HEA/↑::VY ((shrill voice))
 22 c2 *turns toward FA & C1
 23 fa /shifts attention toward C2->
 24 c2 *lifts her arms theatrically into the air->
 fig # figure 3
 25 (0.2)
 26 FA *[bien sûr qu'c'est lourd].
 [of course it's heavy].
 27 C1 [xxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
 28 c2 *lets her arms fall down heavily
 29 (0.4)
 30 C1 Xx[*xxx]=
 31 C2 [mh((weepy))]
 32 c2 *lifts her arms, lets them fall down
 33 FA =tu sais pas par hasard où sont ces pilles
 =you don't know by any chance where the batteries are
 34 (0.3)
 35 C1 non*
 no
 36 c2 *lets herself fall down on the mattress->>

At the beginning of the above sequence, the father is kneeling on the floor and interacting with Léon, while Susanne, her back turned to them, is just about to get up from her rocking chair (lines 1–6; figure 1). She then lifts the rocking chair, hitting another toy, and moves it to her right (line 8). She simultaneously describes her action (line 7) and loudly complains about the heaviness in overlap with Léon's laughing (line 9–10). As she moves the rocking chair to the right, it hits the bed, and this destabilizes Susanne slightly (line 12). As one can determine from the transcript, Susanne's initial complaint induces the father to shift his attention toward her (line 11; figure 2). Susanne is not oriented toward him, and does not see that she already has his attention. She merely seems to realize that no response is forthcoming (line 13). After 0.4 seconds, Léon begins speaking to his father (line 14). Latching with his (unintelligible) talk, Susanne repeats her complaint in the form of a full repeat and in a lower voice, still with her back to her FA and brother, which thus indicates a backing down (line 15; figure 3). However, she simultaneously lets the rocking chair drop on

the floor (line 16), upgrading her complaint in an embodied way: it is not merely heavy, but too heavy for her to carry. On the one hand, she might simply have been asserting the validity of her initial complaint after a disagreement-implicative silence (non-response to her initial turn). On the other hand, she might also have been expressing a request for help (see extracts 11, 12 below).

However, neither of the possibly intended recipients, father and older brother, seem to interpret the little girl's embodied upgrade as such. Indeed, in overlap with Susanne's repetition, the father proffers a protest concerning the fact that the rocking chair dropped on some books lying on the floor (line 17), and immediately removes them (line 18), repeating his protest (line 19). After a short pause (0.2 seconds), the father's disaligning action induces the little girl to repeat her complaint "HEAVY" another time: she does it in a shrill voice, and massively increases the volume (line 21). She simultaneously turns toward her father and brother (line 22). Showing a facial expression of despair, she lifts her arms up theatrically (line 24; figure 4). By exploiting prosody and theatrical enactment, she produces this second repetition as a clear upgrade. As such it finally induces the father to agree immediately about the heaviness of the rocking chair (line 26). On the one hand, he reframes the girl's initial evaluative turn as something obvious: "of course it's...." (line 26), establishing the independence of the position that he asserts by agreeing with Susanne. On the other hand, he responds with a weak agreement. A weak agreement is often treated as disagreement implicative: following it, a speaker might reformulate his initial assessment by backing down (see Chapter 5 and 6 for a more substantial discussion of this phenomenon). In this extract, the father's weak agreement does induce Susanne to do so: first, she utters a weepy acknowledgement (line 31), dropping her arms heavily (line 28) and letting herself fall onto the mattress shortly after (line 36), eventually abandoning⁵¹ the rocking chair issue altogether.⁵²

4.4. The Child's Acknowledging Repetitions of an Evaluative Turn

As we have seen so far, through the use of evaluative turns, interactants can accomplish a whole range of activities. In this final section, we will look at situations in which the child

⁵¹ Through her dramatic fall onto the mattress she also abandons the rocking chair issue metaphorically.

⁵² The way Susanne organizes her complaint might indicate that she is requesting help in order to transport the rocking chair. However, the father's response does not orient to it in this sense, and the little girl does not ultimately treat this as problematic. Below, I will discuss two extracts (11 and 12) in which the recipient orients toward the small child's evaluative turn as implying a request for help.

produces a negative evaluative turn that concerns the activity he/she is engaged in: pulling down sleeves (extract 11) and opening a game box (extract 12). In both cases, the parents treat the child's evaluative turn as accomplishing a request (for help).

The next fragment takes place in the bathroom. In preparation for dinner, Faffa (two years, seven months) and his mother have come into the bathroom in order to wash Faffa's hands (Hester 2007).⁵³ The other family members are already at the table waiting for them.

Extract (11)

Participants: MO: mother; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 MO #+viens chouchou*
come darling
fig # figure 1
2 mo +strokes C3's head, directing C3 to the door ->
3 c3 * starts walking to the door ->
4 (3*. 1)
5 c3 *stands still, starts pulling down his right sleeve->
6 MO vas-y
go on
7 (0.6)
8 C3→ c'est du::r.
that's difficu::lt.
9 (1*.4#)
10 c3 *begins nibbling on his left sleeve->
fig # figure 2



- 11 C3→ mettre la+# manche+#.
to put the sleeve.
12 mo +grasps C3's left sleeve ->

⁵³ As suggested by Hester (2007), requesting children to "wash hands" is one activity in a series that mothers accomplish before family meals. As such, the activity is typically seen and understood as being part of a mother's job.

- fig # figure 3
 13 mo +pulls C3's left sleeve down ->
 fig # figure 4
 14. (0.8*)
 15 c3 *is slightly destabilized by M0's manoeuvre, stumbles
 against the plastic pot on the floor=
 5
 16 C3⇒ =mettre la (ma-)manche c'est dur#
 17 =to put the (my/sl-)sleeve that's difficult
 fig # figure 5
 18 (0.9+)
 19 mo +pulling up C3's sleeve, causes C3's arm to lift ->
 6
 7
 20 M0 voi#là vas-y+#
 done go on
 fig # figure 6
 21 mo +directs C3 to the door->
 fig # figure 7
 22 (0.4)
 8
 23 C3⇒ (mettre la manche)+# c'est dur.
 (to put the sleeve) that's difficult.
 24 mo +“pushes” C3 out the door->>
 fig # figure 8

At the beginning of the extract, the mother invites Faffa to “come” (lines 1–2; figure 1), after he finishes washing his hands. Faffa initially follows the invitation, turns around, and walks toward the door of the bathroom (line 3). However, after a few steps he stops, stands still and starts pulling down his right sleeve (line 5). This halt induces his mother to ask him

to continue making his way to the dining table (line 6). Instead of granting the request and resuming walking, Faffa continues to pull down the sleeve, simultaneously uttering: “that’s difficult” (line 7). Retrospectively, this evaluative turn accounts for the boy’s dispreferred action: he refuses his mother’s request.⁵⁴ Prospectively, it seems to imply a request for help. Following its production, a silence emerges (line 9) during which the boy manages to pull down his right sleeve, and then changes to his left sleeve (line 10; figure 2). After 1.4 seconds, he produces a *repair-like increment* (Wootton 2007: 190):⁵⁵ “to put the sleeve,” and thus specifies the activity he is evaluating as difficult (line 11). As in extracts 10 and 11, Faffa treats the silence after his initial evaluative turn as displaying the mother’s failure to grasp the referent. However, before the boy completes his specification, the mother takes hold of the boy’s left sleeve and pulls it down (line 12; figures 3 and 4). In contrast to the previous extract (10) in which the child’s evaluative turn was treated as a mere complaint about the heaviness of the rocking horse, the mother’s way of responding to the boy’s evaluative turn in this extract (11) manifests her understanding of it as a request for help. Indeed, she responds to it with an embodied granting – pulling down his sleeves – without using natural language. The two distinct interactive developments of extracts 10 and 11 indicate how young children’s evaluative turns are performed in the service of a larger project, such as, for example, a request for help; they are an inextricable part of a larger interaction structure and cannot therefore be analyzed and/or dealt with in general terms.

Mother’s help slightly destabilizes the boy, causing him to stumble against the plastic pot on the floor and end up standing with his back to the camera (line 15; figures 4 and 5). While being pushed around, the boy repeats his evaluative turn, highlighting the referent through a left dislocation (line 16; see also extract 2). The evaluative turn is achieved in one go, and the term “difficult” is produced without vocal elongation. Instead of implementing a request for help, this repetition comments on his mother’s way of granting the request. Again, a silence emerges (line 18) during which the mother continues pulling the boy’s left sleeve, finally using both hands, and pulling the boy’s arm up (line 19; figures 5 and 6). The mother’s way of pulling up the sleeve makes observable some difficulties she is having in

⁵⁴ The production of a dispreferred action is regularly accompanied by an account or justification, see Church 2009 : 43.

⁵⁵ Wootton introduces this notion for referring to an increment that the speaker produces to repair his or her previous talk, i.e. “bits of talk by a speaker that are added by that same speaker after the end of a TCU that has already formed a recognizable turn ending.” (Wootton 2007: 176), Furthermore, in his analysis of a request and an offer sequence initiated by a child aged 2 years and 1 month old toward another child of 2 years and 3 months, Wootton shows that children of this age are capable of using an increment in order to repair their initial turn when no response is spontaneously forthcoming by the intended recipient (see also Wootton’s discussion regarding children’s use of increments 2007: 176–180).

accomplishing the task (lines 15, 19). In this sense, she not only grants the request implied in the boy's initial evaluative turn, but also confirms his evaluation in an embodied way. As soon as she has managed to pull the sleeve down, she closes the activity initiated by the boy by using a terminal marker and by inviting the boy to continue making his way to the kitchen, where the other family members await them (line 20; figures 6 and 7). Although Faffa lets himself be guided to the door, he simultaneously produces a full repeat of his evaluative comment. This repetition, rather than pursuing a response, works as an acknowledgement concerning his mother's help. As such, it does not make a response from the mother relevant, but is closing implicative. Indeed, following it, mother and son simply continue to the dining room (figure 8), and the "sleeve issue" is pursued no further (line 30).

In the following sequence, Clara (two years, four months) is sitting on the sofa, about to open a game box. The other members of the family are spread around the living room and the (open) kitchen, but are not in direct proximity.

Extract (12)

Participants: FA: father; C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

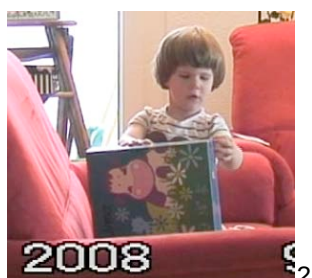
1 (4.9)
2 c2 <<-tries to open a game box->



3 c2→ #il va pa:s le jeux
it does no:t work the game

fig # figure 1
4 (1.4)
5 c2⇒ il va pa::s=
it does no::t work=

6 c1 =clara, clara xxx pa::s.=
=clara, clara xxx no::t.=



7 C2⇒ =le jeu:x#.
=the ga:me

fig # figure 2

8 (2*.2)

9 c2 *(after 0.8) shifts attention toward FA who is approaching
from the left#->

fig # figure 3

10 C2⇒ *il va pas.
it does not work.

11 c2 *shifts gaze to the box->

12 (1./3)



13 fa /directs rh, then lh toward box, bends over it #slightly->
fig # figure 4

14 C2⇒ /cô↑té/.
si↑de.

15 fa /grasps box/
16 (/8*.2)

17 fa /turns box to horizontal position, opens it, and puts the cover
aside->>

18 c2 *takes rules of the game, figurines of the game out of the
box->

19 FA tu veux faire quoi?
what do you want to do?

While trying to open the game box (line 2), Clara makes a negative evaluative turn, using a structure dislocating the referent to the right (see also extract 2 above): “it does not work the game” (line 3). She does not address her utterance to anybody in particular but produces it in a rather loud voice, so that anybody in proximity can potentially hear it. After a silence of 1.4 seconds, she repeats merely the evaluative segment (line 4). Latching with it, her older brother proffers an incomprehensible utterance that is probably addressed to Clara, or otherwise concerns her (C1 begins his utterance by repeating her name twice, at line 5). Whichever might be the case, Clara, latching with it, produces the increment: “the game” at line 6. She seems to interpret her brother’s intervention as indicating some trouble understanding/grasping the referent (see extracts 10, 11). Another silence emerges; after 0.8 seconds, Clara orients toward her father who is approaching from the left (line 9), and then she produces a repetition of her initial evaluative turn (lines 8–10). The way she achieves this

repetition indicates on the one hand that she identifies her father's trouble hearing (or otherwise understanding) her evaluative turn as being the reason for his non-response so far. This is evidenced by her production of a full repeat of her evaluative segment at line 10, which she produces while looking at him (Pomerantz 1984b: 153). Simultaneously with the beginning of her repeat, Clara shifts her gaze back to the box. Through the timing of this gaze switch, she achieves an embodied identification (see also extract 2 above) of the referent: "the box" at line 11, and by proposing an increment she further specifies the referent (line 14) as soon as the father's hands touch the box (line 13). On the other hand, the way Clara treats her father's embodied actions shows that with her second repetition she was primarily seeking his help to open the box and not pursuing another response from him. Indeed, after this repetition, her father opens the game box (line 17), but does not otherwise respond to the girl's evaluative turn. By doing so, he treats her initial turn as implying a request for help and nothing more. The girl, by keeping silent after her second repetition (line 16), makes it clear that she goes along with this interpretation.

4.5 Conclusion

Inspired by the conjecture from Garfinkel et al. (1982: 49), this chapter focuses on situations in which young children (aged between two years, one month and two years, seven months) produce an evaluative turn to which a (satisfactory) response is not immediately forthcoming. The analysis of twelve extracts (1–12) shows that young children within that age span treat a non-response to their evaluative turn – accomplishing non-canonical activities such as noticings, self-praise and assessments (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 5) – as noticeable and problematic: its occurrence induces them to pursue a response from the intended recipient.

First, in extracts 1 to 4, children seem to identify the trouble source (non-response) in the recipient's lack of adequate attention. In the first two extracts (1, 2), the parent is engaged in an activity other than conversing with the young child, when the child actually produces an initial noticing. Although the referent has been introduced previously, the child's noticing is not immediately responded to by the (selected) recipient. The child produces a repaired repetition of the initial evaluative turn, by specifying the referent (extract 1) or by dislocating it to the left (extract 2), using their self-repaired repetitions in order to highlight an expectedly known but not fully established referent, possibly achieving the recipient's increased attentiveness to and participation in the evaluative activity. In both extracts, the children seem to search for the adequate syntactic construction in order to remedy their parents' lack of

attention and get a response. In extract 1, the child does not achieve the pursued goal, whereas in extract 2 the parental response takes the form of a questioning repeat (see Chapter 7) that is treated as satisfactory by the child. In her work about young children's capacity to repair their own talk, Laakso shows that children as young as one year-old use self-repair for initiating "new interactive sequences of joint focus in the interaction" (Laakso 2010: 85). The author also remarks that in Finland, the repairs of older children (aged two and above) display an orientation toward grammatical completeness, in which they add, for example, a previously missing subject, whereas for English-speaking children, syntactic self-repair emerges later, at around 3 years-old and above (Laakso 2010: 93). In these two extracts children also orient toward grammatical completeness. At the same time, the children pursue a response by trying an "interactively easy solution first", such as highlighting, clarifying, or specifying the referent (extracts 10, 11; see also Pomerantz 1984b: 156; Marcos & Bernicot 1997; Svennevig 2008), and elaborating their pursuit through "trial and error" when no response is forthcoming (see especially extract 1).⁵⁶

In extracts 3 and 4, the parents are preoccupied with another sibling (feeding or arguing with the sibling) when the young child produces her/his initial evaluative turn, and do not respond. The child's repeat of the evaluative segment takes the form of a full repeat. However, before/after the repetition is accomplished, the child shifts gaze (extract 3) or deploys an embodied summons (extract 4) in order to secure/mobilize the availability of a recipient and (re-)establish mutual attention, "a prerequisite to the efficacy of any interaction" (Schegloff 2007: 49). They thus eventually manage to get a response from their busy parents, either in the form of an interrogative agreement which makes another response from the child relevant (extract 3), or in the form of an agreement that closes the sequence initiated by the child's evaluative turn (extract 4). It is interesting to note that in terms of timing, the children in extracts 3 and 4 do not wait for a long silence to emerge, as in extracts 1 and 2, before they fully repeat their initial turn and/or deploy other methods, in order to (re-)establish mutual attention. Instead, they seem to view their mothers' observable involvement with their other siblings as constituting sufficient grounds for inferring that a response to their evaluative turn might be difficult to get, and that some particular interactive work needs to be performed by

⁵⁶ In extract 1, the boy's three repetitions (self-repairs) make available an ordered organization of the (repaired) repetition: firstly, he treats his mother's open question "huh?" as indicating her lack of adequate hearing (repetition 1), then as a lack of adequate attention (repetition 2), and finally as a problem of adequate access to the referent (repetition 3). This order confirms what has been observed elsewhere: when confronted with non-response(s) – or open-class repair initiators – interactants might opt for the (interactively) "easy solution first" before producing more complex and interactively more costly ones.

them to get it. Beyond the noticeable absence of a response, children seem to use the whole contextual configuration as a resource for organizing their pursuit of a response and getting it.

Second, another four extracts were examined in which the child identifies the recipient's lack of visual/direct access to the referent as being essential when pursuing a response. In extracts 5 and 6, the child is at a distance from the other family members when accomplishing the initial evaluative turn, holding the object that evidences her achievement (extract 5) or the assessed object (extract 6) in his/her hands. Confronted with a non-response, the child first sets the stage by walking increasingly quickly toward the intended recipient, bringing the referred-to object into the recipient's field of vision, and showing it to her (extracts 5, 6). After setting the stage, the repetition of the initial evaluative turn might take the form of a simple full repeat (extract 5), or it might be combined with a summons inviting the intended recipient to participate in the activity of "looking" at the assessed object (extract 6). In extracts 7 and 8, children assess a sensorially experienced referent: tasting a blade of grass (extract 7) and touching his own foot (extract 8). When the parent does not immediately respond, the child might pursue a response by proposing a repaired repeat in combination with a "showing/giving" of the blade of grass to the mother (extract 7), or simply by summoning the mother to "touch" the foot that he is holding toward her (extract 8). In order to pursue a response, the child ensures the intended recipient's visual access to (extracts 5, 6) and/or direct access to/experience of (extracts 7, 8) the referent, eventually getting a response in the form of a compliment (extract 5), an upgraded second assessment (extracts 6, 8), or a questioning repeat (extract 7). In each case, the parent's response is treated as satisfactory and closes the sequences initiated by the child's evaluative turn. Very young children (of around 1 year, 2 months) might already use the summons "look" to get their parents' attention (Filipi 2009: 127, 135). Slightly older children (1 year, 5 months) use the same summons to "narrow the referent", and to "move on to commenting or conducting some other action" (Filipi 2009: 186).⁵⁷ In contrast to these younger children, whose central goal is to get their parents' attention, the children in this study address a summons to their parents (extracts 4, 6, 8) "to achieve a cause" (Schegloff 2007: 49): getting a response to their evaluative turn.

Thirdly, two extracts are analyzed in which the child produces an evaluative turn concerning his/her own action: blowing soap bubbles (extract 9) and carrying a wooden rocking chair (extract 10). In the first extract, the child deploys an evaluative turn to

⁵⁷ For children's use of summons for getting another participant's attention see also Marcos & Bernicot 1997: 790.

accomplish a self-praise. In the second extract, the child uses an evaluative turn to achieve a complaint. In both cases, the child seems to identify the parent's non-response as indicating incipient disagreement. By exploiting prosody (extracts 9, 10) and theatrical enactment (extract 10), the child's repeat downgrades his initial self-praise (extract 9) or upgrades the complaint in order to lessen/heighten the possible distance between his/her own position and the recipient's presumed disagreeing stance, and thus, to avoid overt disagreement, or to provoke the father to overtly express his position. Through this pursuit of a response, the child eventually gets a weak agreement from the parent. Retrospectively, it might indicate that the previous non-response was indeed disagreement implicative. Prospectively, it engenders the child's pursuit of a stronger agreement or compliment in extract 9, or her backing down in extract 10. Altogether, these ways of pursuing a response and/or repeating an initial evaluative turn not only constitute the grounds for the recipient's understanding of the child's self-praise/complaint, but are also organized in such a way that a negotiation of the respective positions is possible (see Chapter 6; see also Goodwin & Goodwin 1992: 181–184). Moreover, it is striking that children in this study seem not to use qualifiers, such as “very”, or “a little bit” in order to upgrade or downgrade their initial evaluative turn. Instead, they achieve their reviews of position by exploiting prosody and enactment, simultaneously producing a simple full repeat of their initial evaluative turn (for interactants' use of prosody for up- or downgrading their evaluative position see also extracts 26, 27 in Chapter 5, and extracts 9, 10 in Chapter 6).

Finally, two last sequences are examined in which the parent treats the initial evaluative turn of the child as implying a request, granting it in an embodied way: by pulling down the sleeve (extract 11) and by opening a game box (extract 12). In the fragments discussed so far, the child uses repetitions to pursue a response to his/her initial evaluative turn. By contrast, in these extracts the child deploys the repetitions to acknowledge the parent's help (extract 11; see Lindström & Heinemann 2009) or abandons repeating altogether as soon as the parent engages in granting the request by opening the box (extract 12). In contrast to the previous fragments (1–10), the absence of a spoken response to their repetitions is not considered problematic by the children in these last two extracts, 11 and 12; instead, they treat their parents' embodied (silent) granting of their request as a satisfactory response (Filipi 2009: 141). The analysis of these two last fragments seeks to further highlight that children's orientation toward conditional relevance, and their pursuit of a response need to be analyzed in an integrated way, e.g. as inextricable from children's and parents' overall

and embodied engagement in the organization of social interaction (Couper-Kuhlen 2010; Schegloff 2010).

Children's deployment of different methods to pursue a response when a response to their initial turn is not immediately forthcoming, makes available their understanding of the fact that the production of an evaluative turn makes a response from the recipient relevant. Moreover, by taking into account the praxeological context and the multimodal resources children deploy, the analysis of these extracts further clarify how children producing evaluative turns deal with the absence of a (satisfactory) response. It shows that they use the local interactive configuration as an essential resource for identifying a trouble source: distinguishing the intended recipient's multiple involvement in another activity and/or with another sibling (extracts 1–4); orienting toward different types of epistemic access to/knowledge of the assessed object that the recipients require if they are to produce a satisfactory response (extracts 5–8); displaying an awareness concerning contradictory normative positions that might be in play (extracts 9, 10); taking into account the overall action the initial evaluative turn and the parental response accomplish (11, 12) in order to organize their pursuit of a response accordingly. Instead of using evaluative turns to express their individual, private stance toward a person, an object, an experience, or an activity, young children mobilize a whole range of resources and accomplish an important interactive work treating evaluative turns as important tools with which to (re-)engage others in social interactions and to build up a shared understanding concerning the world they are encountering and/or the activities they are engaged in.

5. Parental Agreements with the Child's Initial Evaluative Turn: What About the Preference for Agreement in Everyday Family Life?

In the last chapter, various methods that young children deploy in pursuing a response to their evaluative turn if no response is immediately forthcoming have been described and discussed. In this chapter, fragments will be analyzed in which parents respond to their children's evaluative turns with an agreement. I will first present preliminary observations as to the frequency and the sequential/formal organization of parental agreements and discuss these preliminary observations – the recurrent use of weak and delayed agreements – in the light of the existing literature regarding adults' organization of evaluative sequences, and their orientation toward the preference for agreeing responses over disagreeing ones. The discussion of these preliminary observations makes apparent that parental agreements present structural/formal traits that are different from those observed in research covering the preferred way in which adults produce an agreement following an evaluative turn. In the second part of this chapter, I will therefore investigate the implications that parents' use of different types of agreements have on what follows in the interaction. By taking into account the praxeological context in which the evaluative sequences are produced, and the multimodal resources participants deploy to organize these evaluative sequences, the goal of the second part is to determine the perspective of the participants, which is to say the relevance and meaning that the children and parents themselves attribute to these different types of agreements formulated by the parents.

5.1. Preliminary Observations on Parental Agreements

As mentioned in the introduction, evaluative sequences produced interactively constitute a privileged moment for investigating issues of alignment, solidarity, and for revealing how matters of 'face' are dealt with by the interactants (Heritage & Raymond, 2005: 15-16). Indeed, research involving adults has shown that after an initial assessment produced by A, the intended recipient preferentially responds with an agreement rather than a disagreement (Pomerantz 1975, 1984a). In introducing the concept of preference, Sacks is not referring to a psychological preference (1987: 63, 65). He does not try to determine what participants personally wish to say or do at a given moment (Bilmes 1988: 163). Rather, he shows that the participants' orientation toward preference for one action rather than another is

observable in terms of the sequential and formal organization/production of the adjacency pairs (Sacks 1987; 1992 II: 367–369). On the one hand, it is observable in the frequency: the preferred action is produced much more often than the dispreferred action (Levinson 1983: 341; Sacks 1987: 57). The frequency distribution of parents' responses to an evaluative turn by their child⁵⁸ constitutes an initial indicator of the parents' preference for agreement. On the other hand, this orientation is visible in the temporality of the production and the form that the action takes (inter alia Church 2009; Heritage 1984a, 2008; Levinson 1983; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a; Sacks 1987). Within adults' conversations, after an evaluative turn, agreement is the preferred action: it is produced without delay and in a clear and direct manner, while disagreement is generally produced with an inter- and/or intra-turn delay, takes a mitigated form (containing elements of agreement) and may be accompanied by an account (Pomerantz, 1975, 1984a: 66ff.).

A first investigation of evaluative sequences in which parents' respond with an agreement (indicated by an $\Rightarrow$) to their young children's initial evaluative turns (indicated by a $\rightarrow$), allows a few preliminary observations.

(1) 68agr

- 1 C1 $\rightarrow$ c'est be_↑au:[_↓::]
that's be_↑au:[_↓tiful::]
2 FA $\Rightarrow$ [c'est b]eau: h_↑ein.
[that's b]eau:tiful h_↑uh.

(2) 117agr

- 1 C2 $\rightarrow$ mange moi mm[mh_↑]
eat me mm[mh_↑]
2 M0 $\Rightarrow$ [<m::>]_↑:h. ((affirmative))>
[<m::>]_↑:h. ((affirmative))>

(3) 29agr

- 1 C2 $\rightarrow$ c'est saud les carottes.
that's hot the carrots.
2 (0.1)
3 M0 $\Rightarrow$ oui, c'est aussi chaud.
yes, that's also hot.

(4) 113agr

- 1 C3 $\rightarrow$ t'as des voitures as plein.
you've cars have lots.
2 (0.2)
3 FA $\Rightarrow$ <ouais ((laughing))>
<yeah ((laughing))>

⁵⁸ The parent's response takes the form of an agreement in 134 cases (28%), a disagreement in 60 cases (12%), and in 87 sequences (18%), the parents use a questioning repeat (Keel 2011) to respond to the child.

(5) 127agr

- 1 C2→ >(j') aime aller vite.<
>(i') like going fast.<
2 (0.2)
3 M0⇒ °(t'aimes) aller vite.°
°(you like) going fast.°

(6) 51agr

- 1 C1→ m-[°s-] s- sais-° sais bien faire un puzzle.
m-[°c-] c- can-° can do a puzzle well.
2 FA [°mh°]
3 (0.2)
4 FA⇒ °toi tu sais bien faire ouais.°
°you you can do it well yeah.°

(7) 50 agr

- 1 C2→ grand garçon.
big boy.
2 (0.2)
3 M0⇒ <ouais, t'es un grand garçon, ouais. ((laughing))>
<yeah, you're a big boy, yeah. ((laughing))>

(8) 61agr

- 1 C1→ (voilà/cela) (0.1) petit.
(here/that) (0.1) small.
2 (0.3)
3 M0⇒ ouais.
yeah.

(9) 15agr

- 1 C2→ a pas bon.
a not good.
2 (0.3)
3 M0⇒ non, c'est pas °bon°.°
no, that's not °good°.

(10) 73agr

- 1 C1→ GROS mou::che.
BIG fly::.
2 (0.3)
3 FA⇒ OUI:.
YE:S.

(11) 42agr

- 1 C2→ il va bi↑en
it goes we↑ll
2 (0.3)
3 M0⇒ <oui, il va bien. ((laughing))>
<yes, it goes well. ((laughing))>

First of all, we see that the parental agreement following a child's evaluative turn either overlaps with the child's utterance (extracts 1 and 2) or immediately follows the child's

turn (extracts 3–11).⁵⁹ Moreover, the agreements in extracts 1–11 are produced in a clear and direct way. In terms of their temporality and clearness, the parental agreements present the characteristic traits of a preferred action. Yet it should be noted that the parents' agreements take the form of an *agreement token* (cf. Pomerantz 1975: 82; see extracts 4, 8 and 10); a *same evaluation*, i.e. a repetition of the child's turn (cf. Pomerantz 1975: 21; see extracts 1, 2 and 5), an agreement composed of a combination of these two approaches (extracts 3, 6, 7, 9 and 11), or a *downgraded agreement* (Pomerantz 1984a: 68; extracts 4, 7 and 11) displaying a certain amusement on the part of the parents, although the children show no sign of amusement during the production of their initial turn.⁶⁰ These different forms of response resemble one another in that they produce a *weak agreement*, while an utterance such as “it is very beautiful” in response to “it is beautiful” accomplishes an *upgraded agreement* of the preceding evaluative turn. Of all 134 parental agreements, only two take the form of an upgraded agreement.

Secondly, in an initial inspection of the 134 parental agreements I identified a small number of sequences (N=13) in which the parental agreement occurs with a delay – in other words, after the child has repeated his or her initial evaluative turn (extracts 12 and 13) or after the emergence of a significant silence of one second or longer (extracts 14 and 15; see also Jefferson 1989).

(12) 36agr

1 C2 → (j') aime ça,
 (i) like that,
 (0.3)
 2
 3 C2 → j:' aime ça,
 i: like that,
 (0.3)
 4
 5 M0 ⇒ ouais, (0.1) toi tu aimes ça.
 yeah, (0.1) you you like that.

(13) 43agr

1 FA <loui[s↑, pâtes ou du t]aboulé ? ((to C1))>
 <loui[s↑, pasta or some t]abbouleh ? ((to C1))>
 2 C2 → [c'est chau::d]
 [that's ho::t]
 3 (0.1)
 4 C2 → c'est chaud.=

⁵⁹ Of the 134 total occurrences of parental agreement, 44 sequences were identified in which the agreement is produced immediately (overlapping or latching with the child's evaluative turn (N=14) or after a short pause of between 0.1 and 0.4 seconds (N=30)).

⁶⁰ Of the 134 occurrences of parental agreement, 13 sequences in which the parental agreement displays amusement were identified.

- that's hot.=
- 5 M0 ⇒ =oui, elle est encore un peu chaude la:- la joue Clara.
=yes, it is still a little hot the:- the cheek Clara.
- (14) 130agr
- 1 C3 → mais la verte elle (0.8), elle marche pas la verte.
but the green one it (0.8), it doesn't work the green.
- 2 (1.1)
- 3 M0 ⇒ non
no
- 4 (1.4)
- 5 M0 ⇒ elle marche pas.
it doesn't works.
- (15) 23agr
- 1 C2 → trouvé belles carottes moi.
found beautiful carrots me.
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 mo ((laughs))
- 4 (1.2)
- 5 C1 °°k-°° (0.7) °°to[u xxxxxxx°°]
°°k-°° (0.7) °°fo[u xxxxxxx°°]
- 6 M0 ⇒ [ouais on a tro]uvé des be↑lles carottes h↑ein.
[yeah we fo]und some be↑autiful carrots h↑uh.

Research on the way in which adults organize evaluative turns has shown that a delayed response projects a dispreferred action, which is to say an action – such as a disagreement – that is not aligned with the preceding one. A systematic delay allows speaker A to obtain additional opportunities to take back the floor and therefore to produce a modification of his or her initial turn, downgrading or upgrading his or her evaluative turn to reduce the distance between his or her own position and that of the person addressed. Consequently, the occurrence of a stated disagreement is minimized, while the occurrence of a stated agreement is maximized (Pomerantz 1984a: 78-79; Schegloff 2007: 151).

On the one hand, the preference for an immediate and unequivocal agreement reflect the interactants' tendency to favor supportive actions aligned with each other, which is to say actions reflecting solidarity among the interactants (Heritage 2008: 18-19). On the other hand, the preference for immediate and upgraded approval is always relative to the actions that the participants are accomplishing through their utterances (Church 2009; Atkinson & Drew 1979; Lindström & Heinemann 2009). As has been highlighted in the last chapter, by producing evaluative turns while deploying various multimodal resources such as facial expressions, prosody, handling of an object, gestures and sequential positions, the interactant can accomplish a wide range of social actions: paying a compliment, formulating a request, producing noticings, complaining, closing a story, making an accusation and so on.

Depending on the action achieved in the first turn, the preference for agreement may be modified or even inversed; disagreement then constitutes the preferred action and is produced without delay, takes a clear and direct form and is not accompanied by an account. The inverse is true for an agreement (Pomerantz 1984a: 77). When, for example, a first turn produced by A marks the emergence of a conflict or dispute (Bilmes 1988, Church 2009), produces an accusation (Atkinson & Drew 1979) or constitutes self-deprecation (Pomerantz 1978, 1984a), the preferred action may take the form of a clear and direct disagreement to mark B's opposition to what is being said to him or her (Church 2009).

Agreement is not invariably – across all initial assessments – a preferred next action. What is the preferred next action is structured, in part, by the action performed with the initial assessment. For example, subsequent to a self-deprecation, the usual preference for agreement is nonoperative: An agreement with a prior self-deprecation is dispreferred. (Pomerantz 1984a: 64)

In the literature dedicated to preference organization, much criticism has been leveled at approaches in which analysis is restricted to frequency distributions and numbers of structural and formal markers for the purpose of discussing interactants' orientation toward a preference for agreement (Bilmes 1988: 172, Boyle 2000, Church 2009, Filipi & Wales 2010). The main argument refers to the fact that such an approach would not make it possible to describe the orientations toward preference organization that participants make mutually visible through the way in which they organize their actions.

In order to take into account the fact that preference organization might be altered depending on the interactive context within which the initial evaluative turn is produced and depending on the action it accomplishes, the second part of this chapter adopts a multimodal and praxeological approach. The aim is to account for the action-based context that the interactants recognize (and institute) when they produce evaluative turns and respond to them with an agreement – as well as the multimodal resources they deploy for achieving a particular interactive context. Furthermore, beyond frequency distribution and formal distinctions, Pomerantz has suggested that adults' preference for lexically upgraded agreements over weak agreements is manifested by the fact that the two types of agreement have distinct implications for what follows in the interaction. While an upgraded agreement is generally treated as satisfactory by the speakers and implies closure of the adjacency pair initiated by the initial evaluative turn, a weak agreement prefaces or projects a dispreferred action (the disagreement) and/or engenders a disagreement (Pomerantz 1975: 82; 1984a: 67–

73). In order to provide for participants' perspective, the following analysis also seeks to investigate the implications that different types of agreement – upgraded, weak, delayed – have for what follows in the sequence initiated by the child's evaluative turn. The ways parents and children themselves treat the various types of agreements, teaches us first of all about their orientation toward preference organization within various praxeological contexts. Furthermore, examining how parents and children deal with various forms of agreements manifests how they treat matters of alignment and disalignment and issues of solidarity. Finally, these empirical observations shed light on the relationships between the parents and children, and in particular on the practices of mutual categorization on which they are organized.

5.2. Parental Response in the Form of an Upgraded Agreement

Within adults' conversations it has been demonstrated that unlike the responses which take the form of a weak agreement, upgraded agreements imply closure of the sequence initiated by an initial evaluative turn (extract 2) and/or a series of sequences during which the interactants display their alignment with each other (extract 1; see Pomerantz 1984a: 66, 70).

In extract 1,⁶¹ Faffa is looking at some small model cars on a shelf while his mother prepares dinner. The boy moves closer to his mother, orients to her, shows her a black car and says: “look mom like that it is beau::tiful”.

Extract (16)

Participants: MO: mother; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



1 C3→ *regarde ma+man comme ça *(t') elle est be::lle#.=
look mom like that it is beau::tiful.=

⁶¹ This extract has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (extract 6). In Chapter 4, the analysis sought to reveal how young children deal with non-responses to their initial evaluative turn, and manage to eventually get a response by the intended recipient, whereas in this chapter the focus is on the parental agreement and its implications for the further interactive development.

fig #figure 1

2 e3 *walks toward M0* *stands still in front of M0->

3 mo +freezes in her motion of cutting ham, looking at C2->

4 M0⇒ =elle est très belle, ouais.
=it is very beautiful, yeah.

5 (0.7*)

6 e3 *withdraws black car, holds red car toward M0->



7 C3 ça (t')elle est rouge?#
that it is red?

fig #figure 2

8 M0 (0.2)elle est rouge ouais.
(0.2)it is read yeah.

While moving closer to his mother (line 2), Faffa invites her to look at the black car. He shows her the car (image 1) and evaluates it: “like that it is beautiful” (line 1; see Chapter 4). The boy first obtains his mother’s attention (line 3) and then a response to his evaluation in the form of an upgraded agreement (line 4): unlike Faffa, the mother uses the qualifier “very”. As a silence sets in (line 5), Faffa changes referents (line 6) and asks his mother to confirm the red color of another car that he shows her (line 7; image 2). Retrospectively, the boy thus shows that his mother’s response to his positive evaluation was *satisfactory* (Filipi 2009: 141) and that the conversation about the cars may continue. Prospectively, his question makes relevant a response from his mother (line 8). It thus engenders the continuation of the conversation. The multimodal description of the sequence indicates that Faffa performs significant interactive work (moving closer to his mother, showing her the car, inviting her to look at the car etc.) to obtain her response. I have demonstrated in Chapter 4 (extract 15) that if Faffa had not performed this preliminary work, his mother would probably not have produced any response.

In the following extract, Faffa and his aunt are sitting on his parents’ bed. They have just agreed that she will read to him from a picture book that she holds in front of her.

Extract (17) (106agr)

Participants: AU: aunt; C2: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1



- 1 AU +regarde+, (1.0) depuis *quelques jou[:rs]
look, (1.0) for the past few day[:s]
- 2 au +opens the first page of book+
3 c3 *lh :pointing->
4 C3→ [EST T]R#I::STE=
[IS S]A::D=
- 5 C3→ =(0.1)/#ba(r)bapapa/*=
=(0.1)/#ba(r)bapapa/=
- im #image 1 #image 2
6 c3 *md: pulls hand back from book->
7 au /shakes head/
8 AU⇒ =exactement↓ il est triste.
9 AU⇒ =exactly↓ he is sad.
10 (0.6)
11 AU et pis y'a françois et ses parents qui sont très inquiets.
and then there's françois and his parents who are very
worried.

The child may utter an evaluative turn to produce a noticing of something that (in his view) is worthy of note. By responding to this turn with a strong agreement, the person responding confirms the noteworthy aspect of the utterance's referent. In line 1, the aunt invites Faffa to “look” at the first image in the book. After a silence (1 second), she begins to read the story aloud. Faffa treats his aunt's invitation as an assignment: while the aunt is producing her utterance, Faffa indicates the character Barbapapa (line 3) and then produces the noticing, “IS SA::D (0.1) ba(r)bapapa” (l. 4). As in extract 16, Faffa projects his noticing with an *embodied action*, in particular by *pointing* at the character (Mondada 2007a, 2011). While Faffa produces it, the aunt supports him by nodding her head (line 6). After he has completed his turn, instead of using a simple “yes,” she responds with an agreement token which is upgraded both lexically and in terms of its prosodic production: “exactly↓” followed by a repetition of Faffa's evaluative turn (line 7). As in the preceding extract, the strong agreement concludes the sequence which was initiated by Faffa's noticing. Indeed, after a 0.6

second silence (line 8), the aunt continues reading the story and Faffa listens attentively (line 9). The two extracts above – the only two responses by a parent/aunt that take the form of an upgraded agreement in lexical terms – validate the above mentioned observations of Pomerantz: an upgraded agreement in the second position closes the sequence initiated by the initial evaluative turn. We will now turn to parental responses that take the form of a weak agreement.

5.3. Parental Response in the Form of a Weak Agreement

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, in conversations between adults, a weak agreement implies a continuation of the sequence initiated by an evaluative turn. This continuation often takes the form of a series of disagreements or dispreferred actions. In this sense, the interactants use and treat the weak agreement as a preface announcing a disagreement/disalignment (Pomerantz 1984a: 72). With the exception of particular interactive contexts which are often of an institutional or more formal nature – for example, medical interactions (Lindström & Heinemann 2009), or interactions between a car salesman and his customer (Mondada 2009a) – this implication of the weak agreement seems to be fairly systematic. In sections 5.3.1. to 5.3.4., we will see that this tendency is also observable during interactions taking place among children and parents, but that it presents itself with much greater differentiation. The analysis will focus on extracts within which the parental agreement takes a non-preferential form, such as a delayed agreement (5.3.1.) and/or weak agreement (5.3.2. to 5.3.4.), in order to reveal the different implications these types of agreement have on the further interactions.

5.3.1. Weak and Delayed Agreement by a Parent Serving as a Preface to a Dispreferred Action

In this first section, I will analyze extracts in which the child's initial evaluative turn implies a request addressed to the parent. Within adults' conversation, the preferred response to an initial request is granting the request and the dispreferred response is its refusal (Heritage 1984a: 269). As we will see in the following extracts, the parent's weak (extract 18) and/or delayed agreement (extracts 19, 20) might signal the production of a dispreferred action: in this case, the parent's refusal to grant the child's request.

In the following fragment, the father is putting a puzzle together with Martin before sending him to bed. Martin succeeds in diverting his father's attention several times – by talking about a fly in the room – instead of focusing on the puzzle.

Extract (18) (73agr)

Participants: FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C1→ GROS # mou::che.
BIG fly::.
fig #figure 1
2 (0.3)
3 FA⇒ *OUI::.
YES::.
4 c1 *orients toward FA->
5 (0.3)
6 FA là::/=
here::=
7 fa /brings puzzle box closer->



- 8 C1 =*ma maman dit (0.3) *M: #ECHANT
=my mom says (0.3) N:ASTY
fig #figure 2
9 c1 *walks toward FA*
10 c1 *stands still*
11 (0.2)
12 FA alors on met [où le:s eh-]
so we put [where the: eh-]
13 C1 [(hein)d]is
[(huh)s]ay
14 (0.7)
15 C1 (°dis°) (0.2) c'est méchant/(l)
(°say°) (0.2) that's nasty(t)
16 fa /grasps C1 under his arms,
lifts him up, to place him on the sofa->>
17 (1.0)



18 C1

no:n#

no:

fig

#figure 3

3

In line 1, Martin produces a noticing about the fly being “BIG.” After a short silence (line 2), the father responds with an agreement token (line 3). Simultaneously, Martin orients to him (line 4). As the father produces the agreement token, however, he keeps his gaze on the puzzle and vocally displays a certain annoyance (high volume, falling intonation). The knowledge and/or epistemic access claim implied by environmental noticings (Sacks 1992 II: 90; see also Chapter 4, extract 1 and 2) not only make relevant the recipient’s response, but also require them to look somewhere in order to verify the claim being made (Szymanski 1999: 6). By not complying with this requirement, the father thus indicates that he does not commit himself to the line of action proposed by the boy. The father also follows his weak agreement with a “here” (line 6) which he produces as he moves the puzzle box closer (line 7). The father indicates through embodied action that he aims to involve Martin in the puzzle rather than complying with the boy’s tacit request to turn his attention to the fly. He thus treats Martin’s initial evaluative turn as a request to engage with the fly rather than with the puzzle. By refusing the request, he produces an action in disalignment with what Martin has proposed. Here, the agreement token (line 3) serves as a preface to a disagreement. Indeed, while Martin continues his evaluation of the fly (line 8)⁶² and tries to obtain a response from his father (lines 13, 15), the latter invites him a second time to join in the activity of putting a puzzle together (line 12), but without success. Finally, the father opts for a more radical method: he lifts Martin up and places him on the sofa facing the puzzle (lines 12 and 16; see also Cekaite 2010: 21). In response to his father’s embodied action, Martin expresses his disagreement openly and resists his father’s efforts to continue the puzzle (line 18).

⁶² By invoking mother’s voice, the child might also induce the father to do something about the fly.

In the following extract, the family has just finished the noontime meal, which included a dessert. The mother tries to take Elio to the bathroom to wash his hands (lines 1–4; figure 1; see Hester 2007).⁶³

Extract 19 (36agr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 **MO** **viens on va nettoyer**
come we go to clean

2 (5.3)



3 **mo** ((gets up, [tries to orient C2 toward the kitchen exit#])=

4 **c2** [((frees himself from MO's grasp, orients toward a bar of chocolate lying on the table#))=

fig #figure 1

5 **c2→** =(j') aime* ça,
=(i) like that,

6 (0.3)



7 **c2→** j*: '*aime ça#
i: like that

fig #figure 2

8 **c2** *bends down toward chocolate->

9 **c2** *rh : directs toward chocolate->

10 (0.3)

11 **MO⇒** +ouais, (0.1) toi tu aimes ++ça, *ouais ça c'est le ch#ocolat+
yeah, (0.1) you you like that, yeah that that's the chocolate

fig

#image 3

12 **mo** +rh : directs toward chocolate+

⁶³ As Hester suggests, the members of the family render a meal observable for what it is by accomplishing certain activities in a certain temporal order: before the meal, mothers for example request that their children go to “wash their hands” (see extract 11 in Chapter 4), and in this extract the mother closes the meal in similar fashion, by directing Elio to the bathroom, to take care of “washing hands”.

```

13 mo          +rh: grasps it, pushes it back+
14 c2          *rh : withdraws, rests on table->
15             (0.5)
16 MO  +viens, on l'laisse +là
        come, we leave it here

17 mo  +orients C2 toward the kitchen exit ->>
18      ((the chocolate is not invoked anymore))

```

At the beginning of the sequence, Elio resists his mother's attempts to take him to the bathroom (lines 1–4; image 1). Simultaneously, he orients to a bar of chocolate that is on the table (line 4), producing a positive evaluation of it (line 5). The absence of a response from his mother leads the boy to repeat his evaluation (line 7). At the same time, his upper body leans farther toward the chocolate and his right hand reaches toward it: he thus accomplishes an embodied identification of the referent (lines 8, 9; see also extracts 2 and 12 of Chapter 4). The mother interprets her son's positive evaluation as an implicit request to be allowed to eat a piece of this chocolate (see also Chapter 7, extracts 13-15). Indeed, after Elio's repetition, the mother hastens to respond to him with an agreement composed of two parts, the first an agreement taking the form of an agreement token and a repetition of the evaluative turn (line 11) and the second an agreement token followed by an identification of the referent using the appropriate referent term. She simultaneously moves her right hand toward the bar of chocolate to place it out of her son's reach (lines 12, 13; images 2 and 3). In this extract, the mother uses the weak and delayed agreement as a preface to a dispreferred action concerning the request that the initial turn tacitly conveys: the mother does not grant the child permission to eat a piece of chocolate.

In the following extract, sisters Manon and Anna are playing with a girl neighbor, Séverine.

Extract 20 (140agr)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month); C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months); C3: Séverine: a girl neighbor; CA1: camera 1

```

1  C3  aurevoi ::r (0.8) caca (0.2) >caca<
        goodbye:: (0.8) poop (0.2) >poop<

2      (%1%.6)
3  c3  %hangs up phone%
4  C1  NO&%::[:n]
        NO::[:]

5  c3      %looks at C1 with a crafty smile->

```



6 C2 [c'est] pas beau* caca:#. [that's] not beautiful poop.

7 c2 *bends toward C3-> #image 1

8 (0.*5)

9 c2 *looks at C1, then at C3->

10 C3 ou*ais= yeah=

11 c2 *straightens up->

12 M0 =no:n =no:

13 (1*&.3)

14 c2 *turns, looks at CA1->

15 c1 &looks at M0->

16 M0 >(c'est) pas beau. < >(that's) not beautiful. <

17 (0.7)



18 C2 *c'est# pas beau caca#° °that's not beautiful poop°

fig #figure 2 #figure 3

19 c2 *looks down, walks toward M0->

20 (2*.1)

21 c2 *looks at M0->





22 C2 °c+'est pas beau# ca#ca°=
°that's not beautiful poop°=

fig #figure 4

fig #figure 5

23 mo +bends over toward C2, re-orientes her toward C1, C3->>

24 C3 =ding dong t'salut#
=ding dong hello

fig #figure 6

At the beginning of the sequence, the two sisters are looking at Séverine as she ends an imaginary telephone conversation: “goodbye:: (0.8) poop (0.2) poop” and then hangs up the phone (lines 1–2). After a fairly long pause (line 3), Manon produces a disagreement token (line 4) in a high volume. In overlap with this response, Anna produces a negative evaluation of Séverine’s behavior while leaning in her direction (lines 6–7; image 1). The two reactions of Manon and Anna are disaligned with Séverine’s turn and indicate that the girls are sensitive to what is desirable and undesirable to do or say (Sidnell 2010a). After a 0.5 second pause (line 8), Séverine responds to Anna’s negative comment with a minimal agreement (line 10). It is only after these exchanges between the girls that the mother produces a “no:” with a slightly lengthened vowel (line 12). Her agreement with Anna’s turn thus occurs with a delay. Moreover, it is composed only of an agreement token. As a silence emerges (line 13), Anna turns toward the camera operator and Manon briefly looks at her mother (lines 14–15). After a 1.3 second silence, the mother adds a hurried repetition of her daughter’s evaluative turn, but omitting the word “poop” at the end (line 16). As a delayed (and minimal) production, the mother’s agreement is deemed insufficient by Anna.

Indeed, Anna walks toward her mother, repeating her initial evaluative turn. In contrast to her mother she does not omit the word “poop” and produces the whole turn in an amused manner (lines 18–19; image 2; see facial expression in image 3). In the absence of a response from the mother (line 21), Anna utters her turn a second time (line 22). She is now standing directly in front of her mother (images 4 and 5). Her posture (see image 4) indicates that she is trying to get her mother to somehow collaborate with her in an admonition of Séverine’s provocation, but at the same time her whimsical smile (see facial expression in

image 5) indicates that she is enjoying the repeated enunciation of the word “poop”. Rather than deploring Séverine’s provocation, playing the role of the guardian of the norm, the mother places her hands on Anna’s shoulders and turns her gently toward her sister and friend (line 23; images 4–6). In this sense, first the delayed (and minimal) agreement (line 12), and then the absence of an agreement (line 20), and finally Anna’s embodied reorientation all manifest the mother’s refusal to grant her daughter’s request to reprimand Séverine (for parents’ use of embodied means for orienting their children toward a specific activity see also extract 18 above).

In this section, I have discussed cases in which the initial evaluative turn implies a (tacit) request that the child addresses to the parent. We have seen that when the weak agreement expresses the parent’s annoyance (extract 18) or occurs with a delay (extracts 19 and 20), it is used by the parent to delay the production of a dispreferred action (see Heritage 1984a: 269): the refusal to grant the child’s request. As in the research focused on adults (Pomerantz 1984a: 72), the parent’s production of a weak and delayed agreement in responding to the child’s evaluative turn may signal the emergence of an action which is in disalignment with the initial turn. However, further analysis of the parental responses that are in disagreement with the children’s evaluative turns shows that this use of weak agreement is rare (see Chapter 6). I will now examine some cases in which the production of a weak agreement by the parent may engender a continuation initiated by the child or the parent, yet does not display the emergence of a dispreferred action.

5.3.2. Parental Weak Agreement Leading to a Repair by the Child

In this section, I will focus on cases in which the parent’s weak agreement leads the child to offer a repair of his or her initial turn (extracts 21 and 22), and/or to repeat it (several times) to obtain a more engaged agreement from the parent (extracts 23–25). The examination of these cases seeks to reveal what children’s subsequent actions might teach us regarding their interpretation of their parents’ weak agreement.

In the following extract,⁶⁴ Elio and his mother are sitting on the ground. Before the extract begins, Elio pulls a blade of grass from his mouth.

⁶⁴ This extract has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (extract 9). In Chapter 4 the analysis focused on the way the child treats the mother’s first response “beurk” to his evaluative turn (the repetition of a *gustatory evaluation*) as not satisfactory. It sought to highlight and discuss the embodied resources Elio mobilizes in order to pursue a more elaborated response by the mother, whereas in this chapter the focus is on the

Extract (21) (10c.r.)

Participants: MO: mother; C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 (2.#5)
fig #figure 1
2 C2→ *BEURK*.
YUCK.
3 c2 *throws blade of grass energetically on the ground*
4 (0.*7)
5 c2 *shifts gaze toward blade of grass->
6 MO +beurk.
yuck.
7 mo +shifts gaze toward blade of grass->
8 (0.*4)
9 c2 *bends forward over the blade of grass->
10 C2⇒ ma*man*, (0.2)* c'est* (0.3) pas+ bon.
mom, (0.2) that's (0.3) not good.
11 c2 *picks blade of grass up*
12 c2 *shifts gaze, turns toward MO->
12 c2 *directs blade of grass toward MO->
13 mo +looks seriously at C2->>



- 14 MO (0.#7) >c'est pas bon?<
(0.7) >that's not good?<
fig #figure 2
15 c2 (0.6) *pfh.**
16 c2 *shakes head once*
17 c2 *drops blade of grass on the ground->

In line 2, Elio produces a negative gustatory evaluation: “YUCK.” He simultaneously throws the blade of grass he has just taken out of his mouth to the ground, and follows it with his gaze (lines 3 and 5). After an extended pause (line 4), the mother repeats her son’s evaluative turn in a rather monotone voice (line 6). The mother’s weak agreement leads Elio to pick the blade of grass up from the ground and hold it out to his mother (lines 9, 11, 12). At the same time, the boy addresses a summons to his mother before repeating his evaluative turn, this time using more formal language (line 10). Through this repair of his initial evaluative turn the boy engenders a questioning repeat by his mother (line 14; see Chapter 7). In terms of actions, the mother produces neither an agreement nor a disagreement with Elio’s evaluative turn. Nevertheless, Elio treats her response as sufficient. He produces a strong exhalation, nods his head and lets the blade of grass fall to the ground (lines 15–17), as if to close the evaluative sequence.

The next extract presents a similar structure. The family is at the table having dinner. Luc is seated at the end of the table between his mother and father.

Extract (22) (117agr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C2→ **#mange, (1.4) mange moi mm[mh↑]*
eat, (1.4) eat me mm[mh↑]
- 2 c2 **orients toward MO, makes a circular motion with his fork->*
fig #figure 1
- 3 MO⇒ *<[m::]↑:h.=((affirmative))>*
- 4 C2→ *=c'est bon.=*
=that's good.=
- 5 MO *=<m::↑h. ((affirmative))>*

Making a circular motion with his fork (line 2; image 1), Luc produces a positive gustatory evaluation (line 1), to which the mother responds with a repetition: “mmh” (line 3). However, the mother’s repetition is produced in overlap with Luc’s initial turn and in a fairly

assertive voice. Nevertheless, as in the previous extract (21), Luc treats his mother's response as an *other-initiation of repair* (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977: 364ff.): he repairs his initial turn using more adult-like language (line 4). The mother responds to this with a second repetition of the initial gustatory evaluation, using prosody to give it an affirmative character (line 5). This second agreement is treated as sufficient by both interactants, who complete the evaluative sequence.

In the following extract, Faffa and his father are standing in front of a bookcase in which the father's small model cars are displayed.

Extract (23) (113agr)

Participants: FA: father; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 C3→ t'as des voitures, as plein.
you've cars, have lots.

2 (0.2)

3 FA⇒ <ouais h((amused))>
<yeah h((amused))>

4 (0.4)



5 C3→ t'as plein voitu:res#. 1
you've lots ca:rs.

im #image 1

6 (0.5)

7 FA⇒ PLEIN d'voitures, ouais.
LOTS OF cars, yeah.

8 (0.3)

9 C3 oui:.
ye:s.

10 FA plein.
lots.

In line 1, Faffa produces a noticing: “you’ve got cars, lots of them.” Immediately afterward, the father produces an agreement token with an air of amusement (line 3). The

little boy treats this utterance as unsatisfactory. In fact, he reformulates and repairs his initial turn, emphasizing the evaluative term “lots” and using a syntactical construction underscoring the fact that these cars belong to the father (line 5). After a pause lasting a bit longer than the preceding ones (0.5 seconds), the father responds with an agreement which – compared to the first formulation (line 3) – may be characterized as being upgraded by prosody, with emphasis on the evaluative term “LOTS” and a higher volume (line 7). In response to this upgraded agreement by his father, Faffa produces a simple reaffirmation (line 9), which engenders a series of agreements between father (line 10) and son, gradually accomplishing closure of the sequence.

In extract 24, the father supervises Luc, who is seated beside the coffee maker and is preparing coffee for his mother.

Extract (24) (118agr)

Participants: FA: father; C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 FA #voilà, c'est bon.
done, that's good.
- fig # figure 1
2 (*1*.3*)
- 3 c2 *orients toward coffee maker->
4 c2 *turns coffee maker off*
- 5 FA >bravo[:<=
6 C2→ [beaucoup, beaucoup, beauc[oup=
[plenty, plenty, ple[nty=
- 7 FA⇒ [beaucoup, beaucoup,=
[plenty, plenty,=
- 8 FA⇒ =beaucoup, ouais h=
=plenty, yeah h=
- 9 C2→ =i'y a ↑beaucoup de bulles.
=there are ↑plenty of bubbles.

At the beginning of the sequence, Luc responds to the request implied by his father's utterance (line 1): he turns the coffee maker off (lines 3–4). Immediately afterward, his father compliments him (line 5).⁶⁵ In overlap with this, Luc repeats “plenty” three times, without specifying the referent of this noticing (line 6). In overlap with Luc's third “plenty”, the father repeats his son's turn, adding an agreement token at the end (line 7). He produces this repetition with a flat intonation and accompanies the agreement token with an exhalation conveying a bit of amusement. Luc treats the father's weak agreement as an other-initiation of repair (see also extract 22 above). Indeed, before a silence emerges following the father's agreement, Luc produces a repaired repetition of his initial turn: he utters “plenty” with greater emphasis and includes it in a complete sentence invoking the referent “bubbles” (line 8). Luc underscores the referent, thus indicating that he expects greater participation from his father. Rather than using qualifiers, such as “very” or “extremely” to strengthen an evaluative turn, children tend to use prosody, embodied methods such as facial expressions, or repetition of the evaluative term (see also Chapter 4, extracts 8, 9). In this extract, Luc seems to treat his initial turn as being inadequate in form and therefore impossible for an adult to repeat identically. With the repair of his initial turn, he may be trying to obtain a “more adult” response from his father. Nevertheless, the repair does not engender a response from his parent and Luc does not try to obtain any other responses.

In the final extract of this section, the mother and her two daughters Aurélie and Noëmi are discussing merry-go-rounds. Before the following extract begins, Noëmi affirms that she likes going to merry-go-rounds.

Extract (25) (140agr)

Participants: MO: mother; APG: Au Pair Girl; C1: Aurélie (4 years); C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 **C2→** >(j') aime aller vite.<
 >(i) like going fast.<
- 2 (0.2)

⁶⁵ At the beginning of this extract, we observe a classic pedagogical sequence (Mehan 1979). First, the adult initiates (I) the sequence by requesting the child to perform an action (stopping the coffee maker) (line 1). The child then responds (R) by producing the action projected in the request (lines 3 and 4). Finally, the adult evaluates (E) the action performed by the child (line 5). A positive evaluation from the adult generally closes the pedagogical sequence (Mehan 1978, 1979, 1985).



```

3  M0⇒ °>(t'aimes) aller vi#te<°
      °>(you like) going fast<°

      fig                                #figure 1
4      (0*.3)
5  c2    *jumps#->
      fig                                #figure 2
6  C2→ *BOUM*=
      *BUM*=

7  c2    *touches down*
8  M0    =oup=.
      =oop=.

9  C2    =to+lolo=
      =tololo=

10 mo    +rh : grasps C2's right hand, holds it->
11 M0    =>oh ben dis voi+r<.
      =>oh well say see<.

12 mo    +rh : lets go C2's right hand->
13      (0.2)
14 C2    <huh((amused))>
15      (0.3)
16 M0    <hehehe ((laughing))>

```

In line 1, Noëmi states that she likes “going fast”. Immediately afterward, the mother repeats her positive evaluation in a voice so low it is barely audible (line 3). Noëmi treats this weak agreement as insufficient. Indeed, using her body and voice, she demonstrates what “going fast” implies, and accompanies this demonstration with a facial expression that visually displays great pleasure (lines 6, 9; figures 1 and 2). Finally, the mother responds to this with surprise, using a surprise token (lines 8, 11), and accompanies her response with a body movement underscoring her participation in Noëmi’s story (line 10). This second agreement engenders a laugh initiated by Noëmi (line 14) and accepted by the mother (line 16), displaying their mutual alignment (see Chapter 3, extract 1).

To conclude this section, we note that the child can use an evaluative turn to produce a noticing or a gustatory evaluation (extracts 21-25). When the parent’s response comes in the

form of a weak agreement⁶⁶ and is produced in a monotone voice and without engagement (extracts 21, 22, 24 and 25), or conveys an aspect of disalignment on the parent's part (extract 23), the child orients to the weak agreement being unsatisfactory (Filipi 2009: 141). Indeed, rather than abandoning the evaluative sequence after obtaining the parent's weak agreement, the child treats the parental response as an other-initiation of repair and continues the sequence initiated by his or her initial evaluative turn by offering a repaired repetition of the it – by replacing the negative or positive gustatory evaluation by a complete utterance (extract 21, 22) or by proposing a more adult-like syntax than the one used in the initial turn (extracts 23, 24) – and/or by producing an upgraded repetition of the initial turn by deploying multimodal resources, such as prosody, mimics or gesture (extracts 24, 25). This repaired/upgraded repetition by the child may engender no response from the parent at all (extract 24), or no upgraded response (extracts 21 and 22). In spite of this, in the three cases examined (extracts 21, 22 and 24), the child does not try to obtain a response or upgraded response from the parent.

5.3.3. Weak Agreement Implying a Repair/Continuation Initiated by the Parent

In the following section, we will see that after the production of a weak agreement, the parent may himself or herself speak again (immediately, or after a pause) to add an upgraded agreement (extract 26), to continue the conversation on the topic of the referent invoked by the child (extract 27) or to grant the request that the child's initial evaluative turn may imply (extracts 28–30). They thus indicate in every case that they consider their first weak agreement as an insufficient response to the child's initial turn.

In the following extract, Faffa, his mother and his grandmother are discussing a cartoon - “One Hundred and One Dalmatians” - that Faffa has watched earlier that same afternoon. The father observes the scene from his desk (image 1).

Extract (26) (92agr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; GM: grandmother; E3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

⁶⁶ These are weak agreements that take the form of a repetition of a gustatory evaluation (extracts 21 and 22), an agreement token plus amusement (extract 23), or a repetition of the child's turn (extracts 24, 25).



1 C3→ *est **méch#ant(e) cruenta
is mean cruenta

fig #figure 1
2 c3 *orients toward M0/GM*
3 c3 *looks at M0->
4 (0.2)



5 M0⇒ [+o#uais+]
[yeah]

6 me +nods+
7 GM⇒ [%o#uais%]
[yeah]

fig #figure 2
8 gm %nods%
9 (0.3)
10 GM⇒ très* méchante.
very mean.

11 c3 *looks at GM->
12 (0.4)



13 C3 tr#ès méchant.%
very mean.

fig #figure 3
14 gm %nods%
15 (0.3)
16 FA pis elle roule dans la neige*
and she drives in the snow

17 c3 *looks down->>
 18 (0.1)
 19 C3 ai ai ai
 20 (0.3)
 21 M0 ouais d[ans] la neige
 yeah [in] the snow
 22 C3 [oui]
 [yes]
 23 (2.8)
 24 M0 °(ben/hein) oui, (0.2) elle est très méchante.°
 °(well/huh) yes, (0.2) she is very mean.°
 25 ((stop talking about cruella's meanness))

In line 1, Faffa describes the main character of the film (“Cruella”) as “mean”. He first simultaneously orients to his mother and grandmother (line 2) and then looks at his mother (line 3; image 1). Immediately after the completion of his turn, the mother and grandmother simultaneously produce a simple “yeah” (lines 5, 7), while using prosody and body language indicating agreement (line 6; image 2). Yet, after a brief silence, the grandmother speaks again to produce a repetition of the evaluative turn (line 10), which she upgrades by adding and emphasizing the intensifier “very”. Retrospectively, she thus treats her preceding upgraded agreement token (through prosody and embodied means) as insufficient. Prospectively, it constitutes a bid to enter the interaction, engendering Faffa’s confirmation (line 13). Furthermore, after an inserted sequence initiated by the father (line 16 ff.) and a long silence (line 23), the mother in turn confirms the grandmother’s upgraded agreement (line 10). This confirmation from the mother definitively closes the sequence initiated by Faffa’s evaluative turn.

In the following extract, Faffa is sitting in front of the bookshelf where a large number of collectible model cars are displayed (see extract 23). The father is standing behind him.

Extract (27) (115agr)

Participants: FA: father; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months) CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 c3 ((holds a model car in his hand, looks at it))



- 2 FA celle-ci f(ai)sait des #courses
this one did races
- 3 (0.5) #figure 1
- 4 C3 (elle)f(ai)sait courses
(it)did races
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 FA ouais, (0.1) c'est une voiture de cou°rses.°
yeah, (0.1) that's a °race° car.
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 C3→ elle est ↑BE::[:lle.]
it is ↑BE::[:autiful.]
- 9 FA⇒ [voiture] de rallye ouais elle est be:↑lle,=
[rallye] car yeah it is be:↑autiful,=
- 10 FA⇒ =j'aime bien la couleur aussi.bleu[ciel.
=i'like the color also. sky[blue.
- 11 C3 [*j'ai:me=
[i li:ke=
- 12 c3 *orients toward shelf,
directs car toward shelf->
- 13 C3 =la coul↑eu::r (0.3)*(là)
=the col↑o::r (0.3)*(here)
- 14 c3 *puts the sky blue car on
the self, continues to look at the cars->>

At the beginning of the sequence, Faffa is holding a model car in his hand and is looking at it (line 1). Looking at it over the boy's shoulders (image 1), the father comments that this one "did races" (line 2). After a brief silence (line 3), the boy repeats the comment in a monotone (line 4). This leads the father to confirm and specify that it is a "race car" (line 6). Immediately after the father completes his turn (line 6), with falling intonation and a softer voice, Faffa produces a positive evaluation of the car (line 8). In overlap with this, the father

first uses a term that comes from the English language but is now a part of the French vocabulary – “rallye” – to designate the car (line 9). Next, he produces a weak agreement with Faffa’s positive evaluation. This is composed of an agreement token and a repetition of the evaluative turn (line 8). As shown in the transcription, the father treats his own weak agreement as insufficient. In fact, without any silence taking place, he adds a positive evaluation concerning the color of the same referent (he uses the connector “also”), separating the two actions by intonation alone. Retrospectively, this second evaluation by the father constitutes an elaboration of his preceding weak agreement. Prospectively, it leads Faffa to produce an upgraded agreement using prosody (lines 10, 12) and to close the evaluation of the car in question: he takes it to the bookshelf and places it there (lines 11, 13).

The three extracts that follow differ from the two preceding ones in that the parent treats the child’s evaluative turn as implying a request (extracts 28–31). Unlike the extracts discussed in section 5.3.1., the parents add something to their weak agreement to grant the request implied by the child’s evaluative turn and not to express a refusal.

In the following extract, the mother and two children are on the terrace and seated at the table in preparation for dinner, which has not yet begun. While the mother cuts the pizza for her son, Clara looks around her (image 1).

Extract (28) (47agr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C2→ *oh#, (0.3) il y a beaucoup du vent.
*oh, (0.3) there is a lot of wind.
- fig #figure 1
- 2 c2 *looks toward the yard->
3 (0.1)
- 4 MO⇒ oui.
yes.
- 5 (*2.0)
- 6 c2 *looks at CA1->

7 MO le vent il +souffle.
 the wind it blows.

 8 mo +brief gaze toward C2, continuing cutting pizza->
 9 (0.+4)
 10 mo +looks down at pizza->
 11 MO t'as assez chaud ma fifille↑ t'es [pas trop habillée]=
 are you warm enough darl↑ing you're [not very well covered]=

 12 C2 [no::↑::n↓]=
 [no::↑::↓]=

 13 MO =+toi.
 =you.

 14 mo +looks at C2, continuing cutting pizza->>
 15 (0. 6)
 16 MO j'vais aller t'chercher un pantalon.
 i'll get you a pair of pants.

Just after directing her gaze toward the yard (line 2), where hanging sheets are moving in the breeze, Clara produces a surprise token, thereby announcing something unexpected. After a silence (0.3 seconds), she produces a noticing that “there is a lot of wind” (line 1). In response to this noticing, the mother immediately produces a simple “yes” which she delivers in a very affirmative voice (line 4). She also continues cutting the pizza. Despite this response, Clara continues to look around her and to rest her gaze upon CA1 (line 6). She thus tacitly indicates that the topic has not been exhausted. After a silence (line 5), the mother takes the floor again to produce an addition to her preceding agreement: “the wind is blowing” (line 7). On one hand, this constitutes an *other-repair* of Clara’s initial turn (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977: 363). On the other hand, in this turn, the mother seems to also reinterpret the initial evaluation of her daughter as a possible request, for after the reaffirmation, she worries about her daughter’s “well-being” and announces that she is going to get her “a pair of pants” (lines 11, 13 and 16). In both cases, the mother treats her agreement token in line 4 as insufficient and speaks again to remedy this.

In extract 29, the mother is reading the newspaper when Luc discovers a “booger” in his nose (image 1).

Extract (29) (116agr)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C2 ***#rega+::rde**
loo::k
- 2 c2 ***turns toward M0, walks toward M0 and directs his left index finger toward her->**
fig #image 1
- 3 mo ***looks up from the newspaper, and at C2's finger->**
4 (***2*.7**)
- 5 c2 ***stands still and shows his left finger to his M0->**
6 c2 ***rh : directs to his nose, extracts another booger->**
7 M0 **c'est quoi?**
what is it?
- 8 (**0.3**)



- 9 C2→ ***b#-bêê::↑h[::]**
b- bee::↑h[::]
- fig #figure 2
- 10 c2 ***rh : directs closer toward M0->**
- 11 M0⇒ **[AH]#::: ouais, >ouais alors tu vas chercher un=**
[AH]::: yeah, >yeah so you go get a=
- 12 M0⇒ **=mouchoir.<**
=tissue.<
- fig #figure 3
- 13 (**1.3**)
- 14 M0 **va chercher dans la-, dans la**
go get it in the-, in the
- 15 **((C2 goes to the kitchen and gets a tissue))**

Before the extract begins, Luc is inspecting the “booger” (image 1). By turning toward his mother and moving closer to her (line 2), Luc tells his mother to “look” (line 1). He thus

achieves three actions simultaneously (see also Chapter 4, extracts 4, 6): first, he obtains his mother's attention, interrupting her reading (line 3). Second, he makes it clear that there is something to be visually assessed on the finger he extends toward her (line 2). And finally, he successfully invites her to participate in his activity, which consists of inspecting the dried nasal mucus on his finger. With skepticism, the mother follows his instruction and then asks him for clarification (line 7). Luc responds with a negative evaluation (line 9), lengthening the vowel (see extract 18). In overlap with Luc's turn, the mother first produces a change-of-state token, which extends into an agreement token that she repeats afterward (line 11). We observe that in lexical terms the mother's agreement is minimal: "AH :::yeah, yeah". However, the mother amplifies this with her facial expression (image 3). Furthermore, her response is not limited to the agreement: by adding an order that she addresses to her son (line 11), the mother treats the son's negative evaluation as a request for advice/help (Heritage & Sefi 1992) from her. Luc obeys immediately and heads for the kitchen to get a facial tissue. The response as a whole, composed of an agreement token, enhanced by a facial expression and an order from the mother, is therefore considered sufficient by the interactants for closing the evaluative sequence.

In the final extract in this section, the family is at the table and the mother is serving Noëmi and her older sister (figure 1a). She then leaves the table to bring the meat from the kitchen.

Extract (30) (127agr)

Participants: MO: mother; APG: Au Pair Girl; C1: Aurélie (4 years); C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 (16.5)



2 c2 ((#blows))
 fig #figure 1a+b
 3 mo ((leaves the table, goes to kitchen))
 4 c2 ((lh: takes a piece of pasta, eats it, takes a vegetable#, drops it quickly))
 fig #figure 2



3



4

- 5 C2→ a# *chaud#
is hot
- fig #figure 3
fig #figure 4
- 6 c2 *turns toward M0->
7 (0.3)
- 8 M0⇒ oui, >j'coupe juste la viande et j'arrive.<
8 yes, >i just cut the meat and i come.<
9 (1.5)
- 10 M0⇒ oui, c'est chaud noëmi. j'ai dis qu'c'était chaud la=
yes, that's hot noëmi. I told you that that was hot the=
- 11 M0⇒ =viande *(0.5) pis ehm (0.+4)* hopla (0.3) les légumes.
=meat(0.5) and then hem (0.4) here we go (0.3) the vegetables.
- 12 c2 *turns toward her plate ->
13 m0 +drops a spatula on the floor+
14 c2 *takes a piece of pasta, eats it->

While the mother is placing food on her older sister's plate, Noëmi blows on the food in her own plate (line 2; images 1a and 1b). At the moment when the mother begins walking toward the kitchen (line 3), Noëmi first eats a piece of pasta with her hands (line 4) and then picks up a vegetable, which she drops, complaining "is hot" (line 5; images 2 and 3). She simultaneously turns toward her mother (image 4). After a brief silence (0.3 seconds), the mother produces an agreement token in an affirmative tone of voice (line 8). Moreover, she adds an account of her delayed reaction (line 8). Complaining about something that belongs to the parent's field of responsibility – the mother is responsible for the child's physical safety – is a delicate thing (this question will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 and 7). Indeed, the mother treats Noëmi's complaint as a request to come to her assistance, her minimal agreement therefore being considered as an insufficient response. After a pause of 1.5 seconds (line 9), the mother speaks again to produce a second agreement (line 10). On the one hand, this second agreement is more detailed than the one in line 8. On the other hand, the mother follows it with a reason (line 10) – she had warned Noëmi earlier – thus canceling Noëmi's legitimacy in making a complaint to her mother. At the same time, Noëmi reorients to her

plate to eat another piece of pasta (lines 11, 13). In this extract, mother and daughter treat the first agreement token accompanied by an account as insufficient: they do not continue the activities in which they had been engaged until after a more detailed response is provided.

In conclusion: in the cases discussed above, it is the parents who treat their own weak agreement as insufficient. In the first two extracts, the child uses the evaluative turn to accomplish a noticing or to evaluate something (extracts 27 and 28). The parent and/or grandmother produces first an upgraded agreement token (extract 26), or a repetition plus an agreement token (extract 27) following the child's evaluative turn. Next, the grandmother adds an upgraded second assessment (extract 26), or the father offers a new positive evaluation linked to the same referent (extract 27). Through this second agreement, the parent and/or grandmother thus express their agreement with the child's initial position unequivocally. Moreover, in both cases, the first parental agreement can be designated as weak only in lexical terms. But in terms of prosody (very affirmative tone of voice) and its embodied production (nodding head, facial expression), the parent's response takes on a certain intensity. In this sense, the weak agreement treated as insufficient by the parent is clearly distinguished from what was discussed in the preceding section.

Extracts 28–30 differ from the two preceding occurrences (extracts 26 and 27) in that the parent treats the child's initial turn as an evaluation implying a request addressed to the parent. After producing an agreement token (extracts 28–30), the parent treats it as insufficient and takes a stand on the request implied in the child's initial turn. It would seem that in these cases, the parent prefers to elaborate on the positive response to the child's request rather than giving further emphasis to the agreement. In other words, in this particular interactive context, the response to the requested activity is prioritized over upgraded agreement, as has been observed in other care-interactions (Lindström & Heinemann 2009).

5.3.4. Weak Agreement Treated as Sufficient by the Interactants

In the two preceding sections, either the child, the parent or both of them treat the parent's first weak agreement as being insufficient as a response to the child's initial evaluative turn. In this section, I will focus on extracts (31–36) in which the parent's weak agreement poses no problems for the interactants, which is to say that the parent's weak agreement closes the adjacency pair initiated by the child's evaluative turn. In this sense, they differ appreciably from the extracts analyzed so far. Consequently, the aim of the analysis is to investigate if

these extracts manifest sequential, formal and/or praxeological traits, which are distinct from those we have seen so far.

The first extract takes place while the two sisters, Manon and Anna, are drawing. The mother is not drawing with them, but comes over to them regularly to supervise them.

Extract 31 (23agr)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month); C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

```

1      (*1.8)
2  c2   *points at the cactus with her pen->
      
3  C2→ #°il est à l'en*ver+s°.
      °°it is upside down°.

      fig #figure 1
4  c2   *withdraws the pen->>
5  mo   +looks at C2->
6      (0.6)
7  MO⇒ °+oui++, (.) il est à l'envers.°
      °yes, (.) it is upside down.°

8  mo   +nods+
9  mo   +looks at drawing->>
10 mo/c2 ((continue to discuss other aspects of drawing))

```

In extract 31, Anna produces an evaluative turn about the cactus, which she has just drawn, pointing at it with her pencil (lines 2–3; image 1). She produces her turn in a very low, barely audible voice. Her evaluative turn refers to something about her drawing that is faulty – the cactus is drawn upside down. As such it implies a self-depreciative dimension. At the same time, producing an evaluative turn in first position is a way to claim independent access to the referred-to object and prior rights to evaluate it (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 16). In this sense, Anna's turn manifests her epistemic autonomy. At the end of her utterance, she withdraws her pencil (line 4), which leads the mother to orient her gaze toward Anna (line 5). After a pause (line 6), the mother produces her agreement (line 7): first she produces an agreement token, which she emphasizes and accompanies with a nod of her head which

becomes a reorientation of her gaze to the drawing (lines 8–9). After a micro-pause, the mother adds an identical repetition of Anna’s initial turn (line 7). In terms of prosody, the mother’s agreement is produced in a very low voice, aligned with Anna’s voice (line 10). However, as a whole it constitutes a weak agreement. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, after an initial self-depreciation, agreement is usually dispreferred (Pomerantz 1984a: 64). This might explain why the mother’s agreement – although weak – closes the sequence initiated by the child’s initial evaluative turn.

In the following extract, the father and Martin are in the living room. Before Martin goes to bed, they are working on a puzzle together.

Extract 32 (51agr)

Participants: FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); C2: Antoine (9 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 FA çu-là, (0.2) va où?
this one, (0.2) goes where?

2 (0.2)

3 C1 non moi j’dis.
no me i say.

4 (1.0)



5 C1 #*là**.
here.

fig #image 1

6 c1 *rh : pointing at the jigsaw puzzle*

7 c1 *rh : withdraws to the chest, pointing at himself->

8 c1 *straightens up->

9 (0.3)

10 FA °d’acco/rd°
° o.k. °

11 c1 *moves away from the table->

12 fa /rh: puts puzzle piece where C2 indicated->



- 13 (0.#5)
 fig #figure 2
 14 C1 *dis-moi
 tell me
 15 c1 *approaching his FA->
 16 (0.5)
 17 C1→ m-[*s-] s- sais-° */sais bien faire/ un# *puzzle.
 m-[°c-] c- can-° can do a puzzle well.
 fig #figure 3
 18 FA [°mh°]
 19 c1 *moves slightly away from FA->
 20 c1 *turns toward the sofa->
 21 fa /withdraws rh/lh->
 22 fa /turns toward C1->
 23 c1 *takes new puzzle
 piece->
 24 (0.2)
 25 FA⇒ °toi tu sais bien faire, ouais°
 °you you can do it well, yeah°
 26 c1 ((continues to assemble the puzzle))
 27 fa ((looks at C1))

At the beginning of the extract, the father and Martin are working together to assemble the puzzle (line 1–11; images 1 and 2). After indicating where the father should place the piece that he is holding in his hand (lines 5 and 6), Martin changes his position several times (lines 7, 10, 14 and 18) and addresses a summons to his father (line 13). Martin thus sets the stage before producing the evaluative turn (line 16) through which he produces a self-praise and claims to be able to assemble the puzzle all on his own. Before Martin has properly begun his self-praise,⁶⁷ the father puts his hands into a resting position (line 20; image 3), or *home position* (cf. Sacks & Schegloff 2002), thus indicating that he withdraws from the game in response to Martin's affirmation of his autonomy. Shortly afterward, the father turns again to Martin (line 21). Martin, however, has oriented to the pieces of the puzzle that are scattered

⁶⁷ Moreover, Martin stammers as he begins his turn, which gives his father more time to orient his attention to him.

on the sofa (line 19; image 3). Nevertheless, the father responds with a weak agreement made up of a repetition of the initial turn and an agreement token that is produced in a fairly monotone voice as soon as Martin has completed his utterance after a 0.2 second pause (l. 24). In spite of this, the agreement is treated as satisfactory by the interactants. Indeed, Martin continues to assemble the puzzle (lines 22, 25) while his father watches him (line 26). Self-praise is also treated as dispreferred action, after its occurrence the preference for agreement is usually non-operative (Pomerantz 1975: 112). As in the previous extract, the dispreferred status of the action that the initial evaluative turn accomplishes might explain why the participants treat the father's weak agreement as sufficient.

In extract 33, the mother and children are in the children's room. Clara wants to listen to a tape.

Extract 33 (42agr)

Participants: MO: mother; E1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); E2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 MO voilà clara, viens tu peux mettre en route ton appareil?
here clara, come you can start your tape player?

2 (0.9)

3 C2 <hem ((affirmative))>
<mh ((affirmative))>

4 (1.9)



5 c2 ((pushes the button# to start the tape))

fig #figure 1

6 (3.4)

7 C2→ >il va* bi↑en<#
>it goes we↑ll<#

fig #image 2

8 c2 *orients toward MO->

9 (0.3)



10 M0⇒ ((r*igole)) <oui, il va bien#. ((laughing))>
 ((laughs)) <yes, it goes well. ((laughing))>

fig #image 3
 11 c2 *orients toward tape->>

After pressing the “play” button (line 5; image 1), Clara orients to her mother (line 8) and, with a mischievous smile, produces the positive noticing “it goes well” (line 7; image 2). She thus invokes a cheerful interactive context. Clara uses the correct pronoun, “it” to designate the tape player, which constitutes the referent of her evaluative turn. Through the use of a pronominal structure she ties her positive evaluation to the embodied action she has just performed on the tape player (for interactants’ use of tying-devices see Goodwin M., 1990: 177–188; Chapter 7, extracts 3, 4). Clara rapidly accomplishes her turn, emphasizing the evaluative term and simultaneously using a rising intonation. Immediately after the completion of the turn, the mother first laughs and then produces an agreement which takes the form of an agreement token followed by a repetition of Clara’s initial evaluative turn (line 10). This is quite different from the amusement manifested by the father’s weak agreement in extract 23 in which the boy’s previous evaluative turn, referring to his father’s model cars, did not display any cheerfulness. To the contrary, it follows the amusement previously displayed by Clara (image 2) and constitutes an action in alignment with her (see also extract 25). Furthermore, Clara does not treat her mother’s amusement as an action in disalignment. Indeed, while her mother is laughing (line 10), Clara turns again to her tape player (line 11).

The next two extracts (34 and 35) present a particular form of the type of agreement I am examining in this section. Rather than taking the form of an agreement token plus a repetition of the initial turn, the agreement is in fact composed of a repetition of the initial turn and a *tag question* (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 28).

In extract 34, the family is at the table having dinner. Before the extract begins, the father has gone to get a pastry made by Martin (two years, six months).

Extract 34 (68agr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; E1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); E2: Antoine (6 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 FA +tu vois
you see

2 fa +sitting down and showing the pastry to C1->
3 (0.9)

4 C1 o:h
5 (0.8)



6 C1→ c'est be↑au#:[↓::]
that's bea↑utiful#:[↓:↓]

fig #figure 1
7 FA⇒ [c'est b]eau: h↑[ein.#]
[that's b]eautifu:l h↑[huh.#]

8 MO [((la#]ughs))
fig #figure 2

9 (0.8)

10 C1 coupe.
cut.

11 (0.9)

12 FA tu veux manger?
you want to eat?

13 (0.6)

14 C1 couper un p'tit peu.
to cut a little bit.

15 fa ((puts the cake down on table to cut it))

One way of inciting an interactant to produce an evaluation of an object is to show him or her the object in question while summoning him or her to look at it (cf. Chapter 4, extract 17). The father deploys this procedure successfully (lines 1, 2; image 1): he induces the child to produce a surprise token (line 5). After this first exclamation, there emerges a silence during which the father remains frozen in place (image 2), thereby indicating that he is waiting for a more elaborate action on Martin's part. This tacit invitation incites Martin to positively evaluate the pastry with a significant lengthening of the evaluative term (line 6). Martin himself helped make this pastry; through the use of prosody he therefore accomplishes

a self-praise. In contrast to a previous extract (extract 32), in which the boy spontaneously produced a self-praise regarding the action he was just engaged in (assembling a puzzle), the boy's self-praise in this extract is initiated by the father's invitation. This seems to have an impact on the further development of the sequence. Indeed, in the earlier extract (32) the father used a simple weak agreement, deploying a monotone voice to respond to the boy's self-praise. In this extract, the father repeats the turn identically, before Martin completes his turn, adding a - "huh↑" - at the end (line 7). The addition of such a tag question at the end of a response to an initial evaluative turn produces a request for confirmation from the preceding speaker (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 28). This form of response to an initial evaluative turn may indicate that the speaker grants himself or herself evaluation rights that are greater than those held by the initial speaker. In this extract, the father seems to use it rather as an intensifier of his agreeing response. This is in any case how Martin treats his father's turn: rather than getting into a dispute with his father over questions of epistemic rights to authority, he targets the progress of the meal (line 10), and is followed by his father in this (lines 12–15).

In the following extract, the father and Elio are in the yard. They are taking turns spraying water into a basin with a garden hose.

Extract 35 (133agr)

Participants: FA: father; E2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2




1 (*3.*5)
 2 c2 *(0.5) #sprays water into the basin->
 3 c2 *orients toward FA#->
 fig #figure 1 # figure 2
 4 c2→ *fort
 strong
 5 c2 *stops spraying the water->
 6 (0.4)

- 7 FA⇒ c'est fo[:rt] hein
that's stro[:ng] huh
- 8 C2 [fort]
[strong]
- 9 (2.2)
- 10 c2 (0.4)continues spraying water into the basin->>
- 11 FA y'a ada qui va rentrer maintenant.
there's ada who will come home now.

At the beginning of the sequence, Elio is spraying water into a basin (line 2; image 1). While continuing this activity, he orients to his father (line 3; image 2). Next, he stops and utters an evaluative term: “strong” (lines 4–5). Through his change in orientation, which coincides with the discontinuation of the preceding activity, the child selects his father as next speaker (Lerner 2003: 179). After a short pause (line 6), the father repeats the evaluative term, integrating it into a standard syntactic construction: “it’s strong”, and adding a tag question at the end (line 7). As in the preceding case, the child treats his father’s agreement as implying closure of the adjacency pair initiated by his evaluative turn. After repeating his initial turn in overlap with the agreement by his father, Elio goes back to his previous activity: spraying water (line 10).

In summary, this section has examined extracts in which the interactants treat a weak agreement from a parent following a child’s evaluative turn as satisfactory. In the cases discussed in this section, the children’s evaluative turns are part of a continued and prolonged course of action (eating, putting a puzzle together). More precisely, they refer directly to the action the children are just about to accomplish or that they just accomplished more or less autonomously: drawing a cactus (extract 31), assembling a puzzle (extract 32), putting on the tape (extract 33), baking a cake (extract 34), or handling a garden hose (extract 35). As such, they contrast with the rather isolated instances in which the evaluative turn produces a noticing referring to something exterior to their own actions, as in section 5.3.2., or implies a request by the child as in sections 5.3.1. and 5.3.3. Furthermore, in this section the children used evaluative turns to achieve a self-depreciation (extract 31) or a self-praise (extracts 32 and 33). As mentioned earlier, within adults’ conversation, these types of actions are treated as dispreferred actions after which the preference for agreement is non-operative. However, within the interactive configuration studied here, producing an agreement which takes the form of an agreement token followed by a repetition of the evaluative turn seems satisfactory

for both interactants if the parent accompanies his or her turn with prosody conveying her alignment with the child (extract 31), a body posture displaying the parent's alignment (extract 32), or a laugh of complicity with the child (extract 33). In the last two extracts of this section (extracts 34 and 35), completion of the agreement with a tag question does not engender confirmation on the part of the child. On the contrary, the child seems to treat this form of agreement as a way of highlighting their mutual understanding (for a similar argument see Lerner 1996: 317) and its occurrence leads the child to pursue the activity that was underway prior to the evaluative turn: eating the cake he produced himself (extract 34) or spraying water (extract 35). The organization of these kinds of evaluative sequences within parent-child interactions thus seems to reflect the fact that responding to children's evaluative turns referring to their own actions and/or accomplishing self-depreciation or self-praise might be an especially tricky matter for parents. Indeed, on the one hand, parents might seek to support their children to engage autonomously in different activities and to manifest their own apprehension regarding these actions, by producing evaluative turns in first position. Agreeing with self-praise, or more generally with evaluative turns that refer to these actions, is thus a way to achieve this support. On the other hand, to respond with a weak agreement might manifest parents' orientation toward evaluative turns that accomplish self-praise or imply a self-depreciative dimension as a dispreferred action after which agreement is not preferred.

5.4. Conclusion

Certain studies suggest that the organization of (verbal) interactions between parents and children produces and reflects a fundamentally asymmetric relationship (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Ochs & Taylor 1992), which is to say a power imbalance between the two interactants, to the detriment of the child – parents might interrupt their children much more often than they interrupt other adults, thus displaying their domination of and control over the children (West & Zimmerman 1977: 526-528). Our praxeological and multimodal analysis of parental agreements differs a bit from the findings of these studies:

This chapter has examined interactive sequences through which an initial evaluative turn produced by the child is followed by a parental agreement. In the framework of conversations between adults, an agreement following an evaluative turn is normally produced as a preferred action, which is to say it overlaps with or immediately follows the completion of the evaluative turn; is formulated in a clear and direct way; and is not

accompanied by an account. This preference organization therefore corresponds to a collection of methods in which the immediacy of the agreement is an essential characteristic and favors social solidarity. Furthermore, the preference for aligning actions manifests the interactive work for maintaining each other's interactant 'face' (Lerner 1996: 304).

In this chapter, the parental agreements that I have examined are almost always produced immediately and are clear and direct. From this point of view, the parent seems to respect the preference for agreement when he or she interacts with a small child of between two and three years old (extracts 1–11, 16–18 and 21–35). Contrary to what is seen in conversations between adults, however, the parent does not normally use an upgraded second assessment to produce an unequivocal agreement (exceptions: extracts 16 and 17). On a recurring basis, the parent uses a weak agreement to respond to the child's evaluative turn: an agreement token, a repetition of the child's turn, or an agreement composed of an agreement token and a repetition of the child's turn. Normally, the use of a weak agreement after an evaluative turn indicates an emerging disagreement and/or engenders a series of actions in disalignment with the initial turn (see introduction to this Chapter). Adopting a praxeological approach that takes into account the multimodal resources deployed by the interactants, this analysis draws a slightly different picture.

Firstly, I have shown that the parent's weak agreement may in certain cases signal the emergence of a dispreferred action. In the fragments in which the children's evaluative turn produced a request, parents' weak agreement indicated their refusal to grant it (extracts 18–20). In extract 19, for example, the child is trying to obtain a piece of chocolate by evaluating it positively. Although the weak agreement does manifest the parental refusal, it does not however engender a series of actions in disalignment with each other (extracts 21–35; for a discussion of this same phenomenon in institutional contexts, see also Lindström & Heinemann 2009; Mondada 2009a).

Secondly, children can use an evaluative turn in order to produce a noticing and/or a gustatory evaluation. In this interactive context, children seem to treat their parent's responses that take the form of a weak agreement as an other-initiation of repair if they are produced by the simple repetition of a negative or positive gustatory evaluation, or a syntactically incomplete evaluative turn, and/or if it is produced with a rather monotone voice and/or accompanied by an amused attitude even if the child does not display any amusement (extracts 21–25). Indeed, after their occurrence, children produce a repaired repetition of their initial turn by using a more adult-like language, and/or by repeating their initial turn by

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upgrading it through prosodic or embodied resources, in order to get a more engaged response from their parents.

Thirdly, parents themselves might treat their minimal agreement as an insufficient response to their children's evaluative turns producing a noticing or an assessment, although it is intensified via prosody and/or embodied means, such as facial expression, or a nod of the head (extracts 26 and 27). After a pause, the parent adds an upgraded second assessment or an increment displaying an upgraded agreement which simultaneously encourages the child to continue what he or she is saying (Lerner 1996: 310). If the child's initial turn implies a request which refers to a parental domain of responsibility, such as physical safety, or health (extracts 28–30), parents' response might be composed of *two turn constructional units*, or TCUs (Sacks et al. 1974: 702–3, 720–3). The first one responds to the evaluative dimension of the child's turn with a minimal agreement. The second is used for adding a piece of advice, or an account that refers to the request implied by the child's evaluative turn.

Finally, a child's evaluative turn might refer to an action the child has just accomplished or is about to accomplish more or less autonomously, and achieves a dispreferred action such as self-praise or self-depreciation (extracts 31, 32 and 34; see Pomerantz 1984a: 64). In these praxeological contexts parents' weak agreements might be treated as a satisfying response both by children and by parents. Indeed, when the parent composes his or her weak agreement in the form of an agreement token plus a repetition of the evaluative turn and deploys prosody and other multimodal resources (postures) to underscore his or her alignment (extracts 31, 32 and 33), or if the parent adds a tag question to reinforce their mutual understanding (extracts 34 and 35), the child and the parent treat the weak agreement as unproblematic or sufficient for closing the sequence initiated by the child's evaluative turn. Analyzing preference organization thus implies taking into account the different praxeological contexts that are produced through participants' embodied talk.

I maintain, moreover, that rather than simply reflecting an asymmetric relationship and power imbalance between children and adults, the way in which parents and children organize evaluative sequences and, more specifically, the way they treat the parents' weak agreements, signals the existence of issues that are more complex. Questions of rights and obligations conventionally linked to the social categories involved seem to be at stake: the child has the obligation to correct his or her talk, while at the same time having the right to be encouraged in his or her participation in the conversation – while the parent has obligations and rights related to the management of situations linked to his or her fields of responsibility, such as the

child's meals, physical well-being, and hygiene (Sacks 1992 I: 236–266). Their respective ways of treating the weak agreement – where the children seem to treat the parent's weak agreement as an invitation to repair their initial evaluative turn, while the parents tend to treat it as an insufficient response if the child's initial turn implies a request concerning an area of parental responsibility – suggest that they treat these rights and obligations as being relevant for the organization of evaluative sequences.

6. Parental Disagreement With The Child's Initial Evaluative Turn – What About the Dispreference for Disagreement in Everyday Family Life?

In the previous chapter, I examined sequences in which the parent responds with an agreement to the child's evaluative turn. I showed that with regard to agreements following evaluative turns, parents' and children's preference organization does not seem to be fundamentally different from what we know about adults' ways of dealing with it. Indeed, the preferred action – agreement – was usually achieved through the deployment of a preferred format, i.e., agreement occurred without delay, was direct and expressed the agreement clearly. At the same time it has been highlighted that parents generally used different types of weak agreements for responding to their children's evaluative turns. It has been suggested that parents' recurrent use of weak agreements for responding manifests their sensitivity to the overall action that the child's initial evaluative turn accomplishes and that parents' and children's ways of using and treating weak agreements indicate both interactants' orientation toward specific rights and obligations⁶⁸ conventionally attributed to the categories of "parents" and "children".

Consequently, the way parents and children organize the dispreferred alternative – disagreement – does not necessarily correspond to what we know concerning its organization by interactants considered to have a symmetric relationship, like the one between adults and other adults (Pomerantz 1984a), or between children and other children (Church 2009). In order to get a more complete picture of parents' and children's management of preference organization within evaluative sequences, this chapter thus investigates the ways in which parental responses that disagree with the child's evaluative turn are organized and treated by the participants and how they shape the further interactive development. Before looking into participants' management of disagreement, I will briefly discuss the dispreferred status of disagreeing responses to an evaluative turn, by examining a single instance in which a child's disagreeing response to her younger sister's evaluative turn is at the heart of the interaction.

⁶⁸ As I have discussed in Chapter 5, children readily treat the parents' weak agreement as an other-initiation of repair. I showed for example that young children confronted with a parental weak agreement, replace their initial gustatory evaluation with an evaluative turn that is achieved through the use of a more formal language. I argued that they might so display their orientation toward an obligation associated with their particular membership category, i.e. to repair inaccurate language use (see section 5.3.2.). I made a similar point in regard to the way parents treat children's evaluative turns that imply a request concerning an issue which falls under parental responsibility (see section 5.3.3.).

6.1. Overt Disagreement as a Response to a Young Child's Evaluative Turn

In my corpus I identified one interactive sequence in which the preference for agreement over disagreement for responding to a young child's initial evaluative turn constitutes the topic of an exchange between two sisters and their mother. It is rare for preference issues to be overtly discussed, therefore I am using this extract to introduce the analytic topic discussed within this chapter.

Aurélie and Noëmi (two years, one month) are sitting in the living room and drawing, while the mother is preparing lunch in the kitchen that is open toward the living room.

Extract (1) (60dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Aurélie (4 years); C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 C1 *noëmi:*.°
2 c2 *stops drawing, withdraws her felt pen*
3 c2 *changes felt pen from rh to lh->
4 (0.7)
5 C2 (*là) joli&
6 (here) nice
7 c2 * lh: draws->
8 &looks at C2's drawing->
9 c1→ (1.6)
10 c1 NON& il est pas joli, il est tout=
11 NO it is not nice, it is all=
12 c1 &opens a felt pen, looks down on her drawing->
13 C1 =+noi&*:[:r
14 = bla:[:ck
15 mo +orients toward the children->
16 c1 &starts drawing->
17 c2 *shifts gaze toward C1->
18 c2 *stops drawing, withdraws her felt pen->



16 MO [mais *aurélie tu trouves# qu'=
17 [but aurélie you find that=
18 c2 *bends toward C1->
19 fig # figure 1
20 MO =[c'est symp]a comment tu +fais?
21 =[that's pleasa]nt how you do?
22 mo +orients back to kitchen,
23 continues cooking->
24 C2 [E::*:KH.]
25 c2 *sits back, looks at her drawing ->

22 (0.9)
 23 C1 **ton dessin il est pas *juste.**
 your drawing it is not correct.
 24 c2 *takes drawing, turns it->
 25 (0.3)
 26 C2 **mh-mh non.**
 27 (*1.8)
 28 c2 *starts drawing on other side->
 29 C1 **(tend bien l'oreille) il est joli ton dessin voilà:**
 (listen to what i say) it is nice your drawing do:ne
 30 (0.5)
 31 M0 **ouais mais-**
 yeah but-
 32 (5.2)
 33 M0 **tu dois pas faire comme ça aurélie**
 you should not do like that aurélie
 34 (0.8)
 35 M0 **c'est pas sympa**
 that's not pleasant
 36 (0.3)
 37 M0 **d'lui dire que c'est pas joli [son des]sin.**
 to say her that that's not nice [her dra]wing.
 38 [xxxxx]
 39 (&1.4)
 40 c1 &stops drawing, withdraws felt pen, closes it->
 42 C1 **&mais (0.2) pourquoi &elle elle me dit aussi ça:::=**
 but (0.2) why she she tells me tha::t as well=
 43 c1 &closes felt pen, looks toward felt pen box->
 44 c1 &gets up, bends over table, looks into felt
 pen box ->
 45 M0 **=elle t'as rie:n dit&, moi je crois**
 =she has'nt told you anything, i i think
 46 c1 &orients toward C2's drawing ->
 47 (*0.7)
 48 c2 *stops drawing, withdraws felt pen->
 49 C1 **NO[:N]**
 NO[::]
 50 M0 **[tu sais] noëmi est petite elle=**
 [you know] noëmi is small she=
 51 M0 **=[a encore de la peine]**
 =[has still troubles]



52 C1 **[(C'EST)L'DESSIN D'MA]MA::*&N#**
 [(THAT'S)MUMMY ::'S DRA]WING
 53 c2 *orients toward C1->
 54 c1 &orients toward M0->
 fig # figure 2
 55 (0.5)
 56 M0 **[à'colorie]r**
 [to colour]r
 57 C2 **[*a bo::::n]**
 [is goo::d]
 58 c2 *takes drawing, lifts it up, orients toward M0->



59 C2 #A +B0::N
IS G00::D
fig # figure 3
60 mo +walks toward the girls->
61 (0.7)
62 MO c'est pas gra:ve.
that's not so ba:d.

At the beginning of the extract, Noëmi withdraws the felt-pen (line 2), in order to change hands (line 3). While resuming drawing with her left hand (line 6), she utters a positive evaluation concerning her drawing (line 5) and thus produces a self-praise. She gets her older sister Aurélie's attention: after inspecting Noëmi's drawing for 1.6 seconds (line 7, 8), Aurélie proffers a very direct unequivocal disagreement with Noëmi's self-praise, and accounts for her disagreement (lines 9, 11). Aurélie's disagreement possibly relates to interactants' orientation toward seeing self-praise as an action to be avoided, in line with what they have observed within adult-adult conversations (Pomerantz 1978: 88ff.) At the same time, Aurélie shifts her attention back to her own endeavors (line 10) and resumes drawing at the end of her turn (line 13). Aurélie's disagreement intervenes with a delay (line 8), and is accompanied with an account (lines 9, 11): the two most central features of a dispreferred format are respected. However, in overlap with Aurélie's accounting, the mother first interrupts her work in the kitchen, turns toward the girls (line 12), and then self-selects in order to point to the dispreferred nature of Aurélie's action, by asking the latter: "you find that that's pleasant how you do?" (lines 16, 18), turning back to her kitchen work at the end of her turn (line 19). At the same time Noëmi displays her disapproval with her older sister's disagreement: she firstly shifts gaze toward the latter, then bends toward her and expresses disenchantment by deploying a repudiative vocalization (lines 14, 17, 20; figure 1).

Through its interrogative format, the mother's utterance gives Aurélie a good opportunity to back down or otherwise soften her disagreement. However, the latter doesn't use it. Quite the contrary, in line 23 Aurélie adds another account for her initial response that justifies and at the same time upgrades her initial disagreement. Immediately following it,

Noëmi displays her disapproval again (line 26), and then she goes back to her initial activity of drawing (line 28). However, Aurélie summons Noëmi to listen to her: she now agrees with her little sister's initial self-praise, using the terminal marker "done" to accentuate the completion of her action, as if she has fulfilled a given task (line 29). Moreover, Aurélie's voice manifests petulance. In combination with the terminal marker "done", this indicates that her eventual agreement does not express her personal opinion. Instead she seems to treat mother's previous intervention (lines 16, 19) as a request to achieve something other than an unequivocal disagreement with her little sister's self-praise. By granting the request in a petulant way, Aurélie projects a disagreeing action that is accomplished after a long silence of 5.2 seconds (line 32): instead of acknowledging Aurélie's late agreement, the mother reformulates her disagreement with the latter's disagreeing response to Noëmi's self-praise (lines 33, 35, 37). After Aurélie's protest (line 42), the mother moreover accounts for her reprehension of Aurélie's disagreeing response (dispreferred action) by invoking that Noëmi is "small" (a baby/toddler) and that it is consequently difficult for her to color properly (Keel & Clément submitted). In overlap with mother's account a new conflict between the two girls emerges (line 52, 59). While approaching the scene, the mother manages to downplay it, and the argument is not further pursued (lines 60, 62).

To sum up: Aurélie's disagreeing response to Noëmi's self-praise in line 9 engenders a whole series of reprehending actions by the mother and refusals by Noëmi herself. In this sense, the mother and Noëmi overtly display their orientation toward disagreement and the act of negatively assessing the work of others as dispreferred actions.

6.2. *Parental Disagreement as a Response to Children's Evaluative Turns*

The aim of the following analysis is to further investigate how parents disagree with their young children's evaluative turn and how participants thus display their orientation toward preference organization. As mentioned in Chapter 5, in the overall corpus, I found 60 occurrences of parental disagreement – compared to 134 occurrences in which they agreed. In terms of frequency, the preference for agreement, and the respective dispreference for disagreement are thus affirmed.

A more substantial preliminary observation concerns the actions that the children's evaluative turns achieve. In the last chapter, we have seen that young children's evaluative turns that engender a parental agreement might produce a noticing, or an announcement

(extracts 17, 18, 23, 24, 26, 28, 31). They might positively evaluate food, an object, or an activity (extracts 16, 19, 22, 25, 27, 33, 34). These types of actions usually engender a response that accomplishes an agreement in turn. However, the children's evaluative turns discussed in this chapter nearly all accomplish dispreferred actions: young children might deploy evaluative turns in order to blame a present participant (extracts 2, 3, 7); to complain about a domain which falls under parental responsibility, i.e. food, or the temperature of shower water, etc. (extracts 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10); to achieve a self depreciation (extracts 11, 18); or to make a positive evaluation of their previous action, i.e. a self-praise (extracts 13, 15). In contrast to noticings and announcements, etc. the occurrence of dispreferred actions typically engender a dispreferred/disaffiliative action from the intended recipient in turn (Bilmes 1988; Pomerantz 1984a; Sacks 1992 I: 597–600).

Another observation refers to the format that parental disagreements take. Regarding adult-adult interactions it has been demonstrated that disagreeing is usually accomplished through the deployment of a dispreferred format (Pomerantz 1984a: 70ff.; Levinson 1983: 333); disagreement occurs with inter- and intra-turn delay, takes a mitigated format (includes agreeing elements), and/or is accompanied by an account that might downgrade the disagreement's disaffiliative nature. Adults deploy different devices, such as “no talk, requests for clarification, partial repeats, and other turn prefaces” (for example weak agreements), in order to delay the production of disagreement after an assessment (Pomerantz 1984a: 65, 70, 72). It is striking that within adult-child interactions, parents use essentially one device – request for clarification. They thus mobilize a version of the “misunderstanding machinery” in order to delay their disagreement (Sacks 1987:66). Furthermore it has been demonstrated that adults' disagreements often contain elements of agreement (Pomerantz 1984a: 73). However, when parents eventually disagree, they systematically use a *strong disagreement* that “is directly contrastive with the prior evaluation” and which occurs in “turns containing exclusively disagreement components” (Pomerantz 1984a: 74).

A final preliminary observation refers to the complexity/length of the analyzed fragments. A glance at the transcripts of this chapter is sufficient to realize that compared to the fragments in which the parent responds with an agreement to their children's evaluative turn (Chapter 5), the fragments in which the parent responds with a disagreement are not only much longer, but also manifest a more complex development, often involving all present family members. In her study about conflicts and disputes occurring within peer interactions between young children (aged between 3 years, 11 months and 5 years, 3 months) attending a

daycare center, Church (2009) examines how children resolve their disputes without external intervention by an adult, and what relevance the preference organization has in their management of resolution. One main finding of her study refers to the fact that within disputes, children's use of the preferred format – without delay, with a direct, clear disagreement/objection – engenders the continuation of the dispute, whereas the use of the dispreferred format – delayed occurrence, mitigated and justified disagreement/objection – seems to favor a rapid closing of the dispute (Church 2009: 190): “In the context of children's disputes, the term ‘preferred’ could be replaced with ‘sustaining’. That is, turns produced in preferred turn shapes do provoke and sustain conflict, whilst dispreferred turn shapes are non-sustaining (designed to bring the dispute to a close).”

This brief discussion of our preliminary observations in the light of Pomerantz' and Church's findings concerning adult-adult, or child-child management of disagreements, aims at raising some analytic questions regarding the way that parents and children deal with disagreement. As is the case in child-child interactions (but in contrast to adult-adult interactions), parents seem to use either format (preferred versus dispreferred) to disagree with their children's initial evaluative turn. This begs a number of questions: how does the use of either format shape the development of the interaction? Might the praxeological context in which the child produces the initial evaluative turn provide some elements of explication concerning the question of why parents opt for a preferred rather than a dispreferred format for responding? Beyond issues of alignment/disalignment between the interactants, are there matters of category incumbency at stake? In order to respond and discuss these questions in the conclusion, the first part of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of sequences in which parents deploy the dispreferred format for organizing their disagreement (extracts 2–9). In the second part of this chapter, sequences are examined in which the parental disagreement is produced in the preferred format – occurring immediately after the child's evaluative turn (extracts 10–18).

6.3. Parental Questioning Before Disagreeing with Their Children's Evaluative Turn

Sacks notes: “The ‘persistence of the preference for agreement can be seen in part by the use of the ‘misunderstanding machinery’ to try to resolve disagreements when they occur” (Sacks 1987: 66). Sequentially, interactants' use of the misunderstanding machinery follows the occurrence of disagreement. The following section discusses extracts in which parents deploy

a version of this machinery before disagreeing with their young child's evaluative turn. Instead of immediately responding to their child's evaluative turns, parents point to a trouble concerning the child's turn by producing a *wh-question* (cf. Corrin 2010; Fox & Thompson 2010; Schegloff & Lerner 2010). Moreover, parents might also engage in a verification procedure – attentively, they keep silent and verify the child's claim – before they overtly express disagreement (8, 9). By delaying their disagreeing response, parents give the children additional opportunities to speak (or even oblige them to do so). The analysis of the next fragments will address the following questions: How do children exploit these more or less explicit invitations by their parents to resume talking? Do they revise their initial evaluative position? How does the parental deployment of a dispreferred format shape the further development of interaction? Responding to these questions and uncovering sequential patterns in participants' management of disagreement produced in a dispreferred format will be the substance of the first part of the chapter.

6.3.1. Parents' Use of the *Who-Question* for Delaying Disagreement

In the following two extracts, the children deploy an evaluative turn to blame a co-present person: the older brother (extract 2), or a figure: the lady the mother is just about to draw (extract 3). To blame somebody is usually considered a dispreferred action, engendering disaligning actions by the intended recipient. In extracts 2 and 3, the parents respond with a *specific query* that is composed of a *who-question* and a repetition of the child's evaluative turn, and that might be preceded by a series of *neutral queries* (Corrin 2010: 34), such as “huh?” or “what?” (extract 3). By deploying this compound “*who-question*”, the parent requests that the child clarify the referent of their initial blaming.

In extract 2, Clara (two years, four months) and her older brother are sitting on the floor and playing with a “car garage”. The father is also sitting on the floor, with the little baby (two months old) in his lap. The child's evaluative turn is marked by →, the parental question(s) by ⇒, the child's answer(s) by →, and the parental disagreement by ➔.

Extract (2) (14dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); C3: baby (2 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 C2→ t'es PAS gen#til.
you're NOT kind.
2 c2 <<-stopped playing with car, oriented toward C1->
3 c1 <<-oriented toward cars, playing with them->>
fig # figure 1
4 (*4.1)
5 c2 *shifts gaze down, resumes playing with cars->>
6 FA⇒ qui c'est qui est pas gentil clara?
who that's not being kind clara?
7 (0.4)



- 8 C2→ c'est loui#s
that's louis
fig # figure 2
9 (0.4)
10 FA⇒ mais oui il est gentil, (il l'a défaite).
but he is so gentle (he has taken it apart).

Before the extract begins, Clara does not agree with her brother's way of constructing the garage and stops playing with the little cars. Looking at her older brother (line 2) she blames him by using the pronoun "you" (see figure 1). Instead of countering, the older brother continues playing (line 3), and a silence emerges (line 4). After a moment of silence, Clara shifts her gaze down to the floor, and continues to play too (line 5), indicating that she is not going to pursue a response to her blaming (see Chapter 4). After a long silence (line 4), an *adjacency lapse* (Jefferson 1972: 298) that indicates that the action to come might be problematic, the father eventually produces a who-question that is compound by a "who" and

a repetition of the child's evaluative turn (line 6). As in the previous extract, the parent self-selects to enter into the dispute between the two children. However, in this extract the father does not reprehend Clara for her blaming but simply requests that she *clarify the referent* (Schegloff & Lerner 2010: 103). While continuing to play (figure 2), Clara grants this request immediately: "that's Louis" (line 8). Following this clarification, the father responds after a lapse (line 9) with a clear disagreement to the girl's initial blaming (line 10). The disagreement is introduced by a "but" (line 10) that indicates a *contrastive next [unit]* to come (Pomerantz 1975: 84). The next unit itself is composed of an agreement token and a positive assessment of Louis⁶⁹ that contrasts with Clara's initial negative assessment of him. Moreover, the disagreement is accompanied by an account, but unfortunately its content is not clearly audible. The parental disagreement itself respects the two central features of a dispreferred format, namely delay and account (Church 2009: 42-43). Its occurrence does not imply further disagreeing actions by either of the participants.

In the next extract 3, Faffa (two years, seven months) and his mother are sitting on the sofa. Before the extract starts, Faffa had asked his mother to draw a lady for him, and throughout the whole extract he watches her (figures 1 and 2).

Extract (3) (31dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 (11.1)
2 C3→ (lui ell-) elle (v) est méchant.
(he sh-) she (v) is mean.
fig # figure 1
3 (0.5)
4 MO⇒ hein?
huh?
5 (0.2)
6 C3→ mé-méchant.
me-mean.

⁶⁹ The father uses the appropriate masculine pronoun to refer to Louis and so ties his own disagreement to Clara's previous turn (Goodwin 1990).

7 (1.4+)
 8 mo +withdraws felt-pen (stops drawing)->



9 M0⇒ +quoi#?
 +what?
 fig # figure 2
 10 mo +orients toward C3->
 11 (0.8)
 12 C3→ méchant
 mean
 13 (0.++4)
 14 mo +shifts orientation toward drawing->>
 15 mo +directs felt-pen toward sheet->>
 16 M0⇒ >+qui c'est qui est méchant?<
 >who that's who is being mean?<
 17 (0.4)
 18 C3→ la +da::me
 the +la::dy
 19 mo +resumes drawing->
 20 (.)
 21 M0⇒ elle est méchant?
 she is me↑an?
 22 (0.5)
 23 C3 oui=
 yes=
 24 M0→ =no:::n
 =no:::
 25 (0.5)
 26 C3 non.
 no.

At the beginning of the extract, Faffa just observes how his mother is drawing (line 1; see figure 1). Somehow, out of the blue, he then accomplishes a blaming of the lady the mother is just about to draw, by prefixing it first with the pronoun “he”, then by correcting himself by using the pronoun “she” (line 2). Faffa’s blaming in this specific sequential environment – turn-by-turn talk has lapsed – is interesting. It might indicate the boy’s attempt to initiate a story by invoking a trouble, in order to gain the right to talk for a longer stretch (see Sacks’ discussion for children’s use of a ticket to gain the right to continue talking in Chapter 2.5.1.). While continuing her drawing, the mother first uses an open-class repair-initiator: “huh?” (line 4) that leaves it to Faffa to find the trouble source. He seems to identify

a problem of hearing: indeed as a response to mother's turn he immediately produces a full repetition of his initial evaluative term (line 6). His repair is not successful and after the emergence of a silence (line 7) the mother stops drawing (line 8), shifts her gaze toward Faffa (line 10), and simultaneously produces a second open-class repair initiator: "what?" This way of using gaze brings to mind "the look" (Kidwell 2005) used by caregivers in order to indicate to the child that a dispreferred action (reprehension) will follow if the child does not stop the activity she/he is engaged in (see also Chapter 2.5.3.). However, as above, the boy seems simply to identify a trouble of hearing, and repeats the evaluative term once again (line 12). Following this second repair, the mother re-orientes back to her drawing, and directs her felt-pen toward the sheet, before she proffers a "who-question" that takes the same format as the extract above: "who" and a repetition of the child's evaluative turn, produced with a rising intonation (line 16). As in the previous extract, the child identifies a trouble of understanding the referent, and invokes it: "the la::dy" (line 18; see Chapter 4, extract 2). Immediately after this third repair, the mother produces a questioning repeat, by deploying a marked rising intonation. By doing so, she indicates that the trouble source is not to be located in a trouble of hearing/understanding, but rather in a trouble concerning the acceptability of the boy's action as a whole (see Chapter 7)⁷⁰. Latching with the boy's affirmation of his initial evaluative turn (line 23), the mother unequivocally disagrees with the boy's initial turn by loudly uttering an elongated disagreement token (line 24). By refusing the boy's negative evaluation of the lady, to whom she has no particular relation, since Faffa did not request her to draw a particular lady – but just any, the mother displays the power of dispreference for blamings. Following this lexically minimal but nevertheless very clear disagreement, the boy agrees with his mother, and eventually closes the sequence initiated by his initial negative evaluative turn. As in the last extract, by making a request for the child to clarify the referent, the parent respects a central feature of the dispreferred format, significantly delaying the production of the overt disagreement, at the same time offering the child an additional slot in which to resume talking. This way of proceeding engenders a rapid closing of the disagreement sequence initiated by the child's initial blaming.

6.3.2. Parents' Use of the *What-Question* for Delaying Disagreement

Generally, complaints are a delicate matter: their interactive organization displays participants' orientation toward membership categorization, and toward specific

⁷⁰ Parental deployments of questioning repeats will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 7.

rights/obligations, which are conventionally attributed to them (cf. Sacks 1992 I: 597–600). Depending on a) to whom they are addressed, b) the relationship between the speaker and recipient, and finally c) the recipient’s relationship to the item being complained about, these might be treated as *safe* (engendering alignment), or *unsafe* (see also Chapter 7 extracts 11 and 12; Sacks 1992 I: 597–600; Butler 2008: 160), that is to say, complaints from the child that orient toward engendering disagreement about something that belongs to the parent’s field of responsibility, such as food, the child’s physical safety, etc. In the next three extracts (4–6), parents treat their children’s negative evaluative turns as unsafe complaints, responding by deploying a what-question. The latter is either composed of a “what” and a parental guess at the referent (extract 4), or a “what” and a repetition of the child’s evaluative turn (extracts 5 and 6). As with the who-questions discussed previously, the specified what-questions indicate parents’ trouble concerning the referent of the child’s evaluative turn, and request that the child remedies this trouble.

In extract 4, the family is having a “four o’clock” snack. Luc (two years, ten months) and his mother are having an apple, whereas father and the older sister Lily are eating a pastry.

Extract (4) (40dagr.)

Participants: MO: mother; PE: father; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months)



1 C2→ **ça on peu**# pas+ manger** mama::n.*
that one can not eat mo:m.

```
fig                                # figure 1
2 fa    <<-oriented toward C2->
3 c2    *lh:takes the apple*
4 c2    *lh: holds apple in front of him*
5 c2    *rh: points it*
6 mo    +orients toward C2*
7 c2    *looks at MO->
8 c2    *lh/rh: direct apple down on table->
9        (0.3)
```



10 FA⇒ **quoi, la # peau?**
what, the skin?

fig # figure 2

11 (0*.7)

12 c2 *looks at apple on the table->

13 C2→ °ouai[:s.°
°yeah[:.°

14 FA→ **[oui c'est bon la peau des pommes.**
[yes that's good the skin of the apples.

15 (1.6)

16 C2 **pa:s ça:.=**
no:t tha:t.=

17 FA **=/mais ça c'est tout=**
=but that that's very=

18 FA **=bon [ça °la pomme°]**
=good [that °the apple°]

19 fa /lh: directs to C2's apple, strikes the skin->



20 MO **[/+moi j'ai] presque* tout ma++n*gé (r#°garde)=**
[me i've] almost everything eaten (see)=

fig

figure 3

21 fa /lh: withdraws->

22 mo +directs her apple toward C2+

23 c2 *lh/rh: direct apple to his mouth->

24 mo +holds apple in front of C2->

25 c2 *is about to take another

bite of the apple->

26 FA **=regarde maman elle mange.**
=look mom she is eating.

(2.*8)

27 c2 *takes a bite of the apple, continues eating->>

At the beginning of the extract, Luc takes the apple (line 3), holds it in front of him (line 4), and points at it with his left hand (line 5). At the same time he realizes a negative evaluation that seems to refer to it (line 1), while he is looking at it (figure 1). By post-positioning the address term “mo:m” (line 1), and by shifting his gaze to her (line 7), Luc addresses his negative evaluation explicitly to his mother. This way of selecting the next speaker can be used as a device for demonstrating “a special relationship with the recipient under circumstances where that demonstration is particularly relevant” (Lerner 2003: 185). The mother is the only other family member who – like Luc – is eating an apple and she has prepared the afternoon snack. At the beginning of Luc’s turn, the mother is oriented toward her daughter, shifting her gaze toward Luc in the middle of it (line 6; figure 1). Parents tend to treat negative evaluations concerning something that relates to their domain of responsibility as unsafe complaints (see comment above), and their occurrence easily engenders disalignment/disagreement from them. This is also the case in this extract. Instead of the addressed mother, it is the father who first responds to the boy’s turn, by producing a what-question to which he adds a referent-guess (line 10). The parental what-question seems to work as a challenge to his negative evaluation of food (Wiggins 2004; see also Schegloff & Lerner 2010 for a discussion of wh-questions and their action implementations besides requesting information): the boy’s confirmation of the referent-guess is uttered in a low voice that might indicate a backing down. However, latching with the boy’s confirmation the father then overtly disagrees with the boy (line 14). His disagreement is clear and direct: it is composed of a disagreement token, and is followed by a positive assessment concerning the skin of the apple that contrasts with the boy’s initial complaint.

After a pause (line 12), during which the boy inspects his apple (line 13), the father’s overt disagreement induces the boy to downgrade his disagreement and produce the confirmation of his initial turn in a lower voice (line 16). Furthermore, the boy’s disagreement disintegrates quickly. The mother, who had been selected by the boy as the relevant recipient of his initial complaint, shows her apple to the boy (line 22, 24), and simultaneously argues that she ate “almost everything” (line 20). This induces the boy to direct his apple to his mouth (line 23) and to continue eating it instead of talking further about the issue of the apple’s skin (lines 25, 28; figure 3).

In the next two extracts, the parents also use a what-question to delay their disagreement, but unlike the previous extracts, one of the parents' produces an overt disagreement immediately after its occurrence, before the girl actually answers the what-question. In extracts 5 and 6, the family is having lunch and dinner respectively.

Extract (5) (15dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); C3: baby (2 months) CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 MO **elles sont bonnes ces cre**vettes***
they are good these shrimps
- 2 C2 <<-is chewing*
- 3 C2 *swallows*
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 FA <*mmh ((affirmative))>
- 6 C2 *begins to make a facial expression of dislike->
- 7 (0.6)



- 8 C2 A:#:HH
fig # figure 1
- 9 (0.*7)
- 10 C2 *looks at her mother->
- 11 FA (j'les ai pechés c'matin) qu'il disait=
(i fished them this morning) that he said=
- 12 C2 *looks down on her plate->
- 13 C2→ =ça* pi/que.
=that prickles.
- 14 C2 *lh: puts fingers in her mouth->
- 15 fa /shifts gaze toward C2->
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 FA⇒ >qu'est-ce qui pique (alors).<=
>what is it that prickles (then).<=
- 18 MO⇒ =clara il y a *rien qui pique aujourd'*hui.
=clara there is nothing that prickles today.
- 19 C2 *sticks her tongue out->
- 20 C2 *withdraws lh to the left->
- 21 (0.2)



22 C2 A::#H
fig # figure 2
23 (0.4)
24 M0 vous racontez des *farces.
you are talking nonsense.
25 c2 *withdraws tongue->
26 (0*.+8)
27 c2 *shifts gaze to M0->
28 mo +looks at C2->



29 C2 A::H (.) I::#H↑
fig # figure 3
(%0.4)
30 c1 %lh: directs pointing toward C2's glass of water->
31 C1 (+MAIS)[*BOIS D'L'EAU.]
(BUT) [DRINK SOME WATER.]
32 mo +lh: directs pointing toward C2's glass of water->
33 M0 [*a#lors +bois% un p'tit] peu d'eau.
[so drink a little bit] of water.
34 c2 *shifts gaze to her glass of water->
fig # figure 4
35 mo +lh: withdraws pointing->
36 c2 %lh: withdraws pointing ->
37 (*1.+7)
38 c2 *takes her glass for drinking some water->
39 mo +takes her glass for drinking some water->
40 FA à mon avis c'est des blagues.
according to me these are jokes.
41 (0.7)
42 C1 °à mon ma- à [mon mavi] (.)+ vis=°
°according to a- [to accor] (.)ding=°
43 FA [coucou] ((toward C3))

44 mo +puts glass back on table->
 45 FA =couc[ou] ((toward C3))
 46 C1 [°c'e]st vrai°
 [°that]'s true°
 47 (0.2)
 48 MO non, non, non.=
 no, no, no.=
 49 FA =he, he, he= ((toward C3))
 50 MO =+vous faites les coquins aujourd'hui.
 = you are being naughty today.
 51 mo +puts food on her fork, directs it toward mouth->>

Before extract 5 starts, Clara uses her hand to take some food from her plate and puts it in her mouth. At the beginning of the extract, she chews, swallows, and begins to facially express dislike (lines 2, 3, 6), while the mother evaluates the food positively and the father agrees with the mother (lines 1 and 5). After a short silence at line 7, Clara produces an indefinite vocalization indicating that there is possibly a source of trouble with the food (line 8), by looking down on her plate (see figure 1). In certain circumstances such an outcry, combined with a facial expression of dislike can function as an *attention-getting device* (Schegloff 1972: 357), and engender a parental request for an account (see Chapter 7, extracts 13, 14). In this extract, however, this is not the case and the parents continue their conversation by looking at their food (line 11). Their silence might already project a dispreferred action to come. Clara looks briefly at her mother, seeing that the latter is not paying attention to her (lines 10, 12). She then treats her parents' non-response as a noticeable absence, and pursues a response (see Chapter 4): she repairs her previous vocalization, and expression of dislike by using natural language for negatively evaluating the food (line 13) (see also Chapters 4, extract 7 and Chapter 5, extracts 21, 22), and puts her fingers in the mouth in order to locate and identify the disagreeable prickling in an embodied way (line 14).

This time, she is more successful in getting a response: toward the end of her turn, the father shifts his gaze toward her (line 15), and after a silence of 0.6 seconds (line 16), he produces a what-question, and repeats Clara's evaluative turn (line 17). Its tempo and prosody (fast production, no rising intonation) indicate some irritation. Moreover, immediately after the completion of father's turn, the mother self-selects for disagreeing directly and clearly with her daughter's turn, without looking at her (line 18). While father's what-question gives the girl an extra slot, mother's immediate overt disagreement deprives the child of the chance to actually use this slot, for example in order to back down, thereby engendering a series of

disagreements between Clara – who repeats her complaint by upgrading it in an embodied way (line 19, 22, 29; figures 2, 3, 4) – and her mother who dismisses it (lines 18, 24; figures 2, 3). These disagreements between mother and daughter come to an end when Clara’s older brother aligns with Clara by suggesting she should drink some water (lines 30, 31; figure 4), and he is followed by his mother (lines 32, 33; figure 4). Clara immediately follows their advice (lines 34, 38). Although the father, the mother and the older brother first pursue the issue (lines 40, 48, 50: the parents accuse the children of joking, of being naughty “today”; lines 42, 46: C1 counters his father’s accusation), they eventually drop it in favor of orienting to the baby (lines 42, 43, 47), or just focus on eating and drinking again, and so manage to exit the disagreement (lines 37, 44, 51) repeatedly initiated by Clara’s embodied expressions of dislike (lines 5, 6, 8, 13, 19, 22, 29).

The interactive organization of the next extract is very similar; only a simplified transcript and account of it will be provided.

Extract (6) (17dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 MO on est en train d’mang[er, c’est pas très pratique]=
we are about to ea[t, that’s not very convenient]=



2 C2→ [ça pi::#que.]
[that pri::ckles.]

fig # figure 1

3 MO =de t’porter.
=to carry you.

4 (5.4)

5 C2→ ça pi::que.
that pri::ckles.

6 (0.6)



7 M0⇒ **qu'est-ce qui est#- non, mais clara ça pique pa::s.**
 what is it that- no, but clara that does no::t prickle.

fig # figure 2
 (0.3)

8 C2→ **oui:, ça pique ça::=**
 ye:s, that prickles tha:t.=

9 M0 **=(non) cla[ra, ça pique pas.]**
 =(no) cla[ra, that prickles not.]

10 PE **[ouh, louis t'as t]out man[ger.**
 [ouh, louis you've e]aten all[of it.

11 C2→ **[oui::**
 [ye::s

12 (0.2)

13 C2→ **Oui:: (ça) i(l) pi[::que.]**
 YE::s (that) i(t) pri[::ckles.]

14 M0 **[est-ce que] ça pique louis?=
 [does that] prickle louis?=
 [no↑::n.]**

15 C1 **=non.**
 =no.

16 (0.3)

17 FA **Xx c'qui pique (0.3) la mouche.**
 Xx what prickles (0.3) the fly.

18 M0 **y'a même Louis qui dit qu'ça pi[que pas (non alors).]**
 there's even Louis that says that it does [not prickle (no then).]

19 C2 **[no↑::n.]**
 [no↑::.]

20 (0.9)

21 FA **la pizza qui pi- qui pique?**
 the pizza that pri- that prickles?

22 (0.3)

23 C2 **oui::..**
 ye::s.

- 24 (0.5)
- 25 FA **non, il y'a rien qui pique,**=
no, there is nothing that prickles,=
- 26 FA **=j'ai mi:s eh:: [ni anchoi]:s,**=
=i have not pu:t eh:: [neither anchovie]:s,=
- 27 C2
[[oui]:::↑]
[[ye:]::s↑]
- 28 M0
[alors]
[then]
- 29 M0 **=alors mange le jambon.**
=then eat the ham.
- ((everybody eats))

Before the extract starts, Clara is eating a piece of pizza. The mother is focused on the little baby (figure 1). In overlap with her mother's talk (addressed to the baby), Clara produces the same complaint as in the previous extract, by strongly elongating the evaluative term: "pri::ckles::" (line 2). This first production does not engender any response from her parents (line 3). This induces the girl to infer a trouble of hearing, and consequently to produce a full repetition (line 4; see Chapter 4, extract 1 and Chapter 6, extract 3), during which the mother comes back to the table (figure 2). Clara's repetition is successful in generating a parental response: the mother begins formulating a what-question, while inspecting Clara's plate (fig. 2), then interrupts herself and produces a clear and direct disagreement with the daughter (line 7). As in the previous extract, the mother does not give the little girl a real opportunity to revise her initial turn, engendering the girl's repeated disagreement (lines 11, 13). However, in contrast to the previous extract in which the brother self-selected to support his little sister, in this extract it is the mother who recruits his opinion in order to preempt Clara's position, and possibly challenge her initial evaluation of the food (lines 14, 15; see also extract 4 above),⁷¹ engendering the continuation of disagreement and involving the father (lines 18–28). Eventually, the mother treats Clara's complaint as a request for permission not to have to eat everything, but only the ham (line 29; see Chapter 7, extracts 13, 14). By granting this request, she is successful in dissolving the disagreement that

⁷¹ Wiggins (2004) describes how children's evaluations of food are often challenged by their parents in next turns. By challenging their children's initial evaluation, parent might thus contribute to their children's socialization concerning food, tasting food, and/or meals in general.

emerged between Clara and the other members of the family, and in bringing all participants back to eat at line 30.⁷²

In extract 4, the parental question engendered the child's repair action and further resulted in a rapid closing of the disagreement sequence. However, in extracts 5 and 6, the what-question was merely used as a delaying device, and was not meant to give the child a real opportunity for revising its initial turn, and possibly to minimize the occurrence of further disagreement. In contrast to extract 4, this way of using the what-question engendered a long series of disagreements that involved all the family members. This series eventually came to an end, when the parent made a concession toward the child.

6.3.3. Parents' Use of the *Why-Question* for Delaying Disagreement

In the next two extracts, the mother uses a why-question in order to respond to the child's negative evaluation of her brother (extract 7). As with the other wh-questions discussed so far, the parent can use the why-question to delay the overt expression of disagreement. However, whereas the parental who- or what-question combined with the repetition of the child's evaluative turn indicates the parents' trouble in grasping the referent of the child's evaluative turn, and a request for the child to clarify it, the why-question requests that the child justifies, explains, or provides an account for its previous action.

Before extract 7 starts, Susanne (two years, five months) and her older brother Léon are in their room under a blanket, scuffling with each other, while the mother is in the kitchen preparing dinner. At one point, Susanne moans a little bit, and shortly afterwards, the brother appears from under the blanket and walks to the kitchen. Susanne follows him a little bit later, carrying two bottles of water.

Extract (7) (5quest)

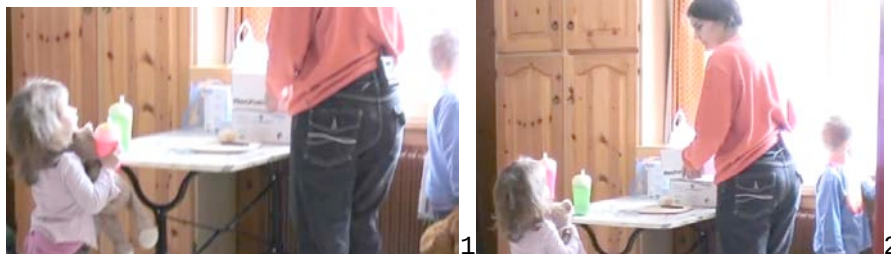
Participants: MO: mother; C1: Léon (3 years, 6 months); C2: Susanne (2 years, 5 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

1 (2*.*6)
2 c2 <<-walks into the kitchen->
3 c2 *stands still in front of table->
4 c2 *puts a bottle on table->
5 C1 (°ouais [mais°])

⁷² In her analysis of a family meal, Hester (2007) describes different devices that the mother deploys in order to organize the temporality of the meal and to keep the participants "on the set agenda". In this extract, the mother partially grants her daughter's request and thereby manages to ensure that all family members resume eating (see also Chapter 4, extract 11 and Chapter 5, extract 19).

(°yeah [but°])

6 C2→ [méss]ant léon
[me]an léon



7 (0*#.8)

8 c2 *shifts gaze toward M0->
fig # figure 1

9 M0⇒ comme[nt#?]
pard[on?]

10 C2 [mé-](.)*+ch+a::nt.
[me-](.)a::n.

fig # figure 2

11 c2 *shifts gaze to bottle in her lh->
12 mo +directs box toward table->
13 mo +shifts gaze toward her hands->
14 (*0*.6)

15 c2 *puts the second bottle on table*
16 M0⇒ pourquoi il est méch+ant+?
why is he mean?

17 c2 *removes from table->
18 mo +puts box on table+
19 (*1*.5)

20 c2 *puts her thumb in her mouth*
21 C1 (j')a faim maman.
(i)am hungry mom.

22 (0.4)



23 M0 t'as # faim?
you're hungry?

fig # figure 3

24 C1 oui.
yes.

At the beginning of the extract, Susanne walks into the kitchen, stands still in front of the table, and puts a bottle on it (lines 2–4). In overlap with her brother's barely audible utterance that is probably addressed to his mother (line 5), Susanne produces a negative evaluation that accuses him (line 6). After completion, she shifts her gaze to her mother (line 8; figure 1). By combining the accusation of her brother, with a gaze shift toward her mother, the girl projects an action by the latter (for children's use of gaze shift to select a next speaker see also Chapter 4, extracts 2, 3, 4). The mother responds with an open-class repair-initiator: "pardon?" that is produced by looking at her daughter at the end⁷³ of her interrogative turn (figure 2). In overlap with mother's repair-initiator, Susanne repeats the evaluative term "me::an" (line 10), and directs her attention back to the second bottle that she puts on the table at the end of her repetition (lines 11, 15). She seems to infer that the mother does not need any additional information concerning the referent for understanding her initial accusation. Mother's following turn sustains this interpretation: after directing the box toward the table, and shifting her gaze in this same direction (lines 12, 13), the mother requests that Susanne provides an explanation/account for her blaming (line 16). Instead of using the boy's personal name as Susanne did, the mother refers to him with the personal pronoun "he". By doing so (replacing the boy's personal name with the appropriate pronoun), the mother deploys a *tying-device*, i.e. she ties her own utterance strongly to the one of her daughter (see the discussion of extracts 3, 4 in Chapter 7; see also Goodwin 1990: 177–188; Watson 1997: 59).

However, simultaneous with her mother's utterance, Susanne retreats from the table (line 17). Right after her mother's completion, while a silence emerges (line 19), Susan puts her thumb in her mouth (line 20) and eventually stands still at a slight distance away from her mother (figure 3). She seems thus to indicate in an embodied way, that she is not in a position to respond to her mother's request, abandoning her initial accusation of her brother. Her older brother then complains of "being hungry" (line 21) and thus initiates a new topic that is immediately picked up by the mother (line 23). In contrast to those fragments in which parents use of *wh*-questions engendered the child's production of a repair, and the rapid closing of the disagreement (extracts 2–4), or the child's repetitions and the continuation of disagreement (extracts 5, 6), the mother's *why*-question in this fragment seems to cause the child some difficulties, and to abandon her initial accusation of her brother.

⁷³ We cannot determine from the audiovisual material at hand exactly when the mother comes to look at Susanne.

6.3.4. Parents' Use of the *Verification Procedure* for Delaying Disagreement

In the next two extracts from this section (extracts 8 and 9), the parents do not use a wh-question before overtly disagreeing with the child's initial evaluative turn. Instead, after completion of the child's evaluative turn, a silence emerges during which the parents can verify the child's claim (marked by $\Rightarrow$ in the transcription), by inspecting the cleanliness of a q-tip (extract 8), or the temperature of the water (extract 9), before they eventually disagree by providing an account (extract 8), or by simultaneously granting the request implied by the child's complaint (extract 9).

In extract 8, Susanne (two years, five months) is sitting on the changing table, and her mother is standing in front of her. The mother had just invited Susanne to clean her ear with a Q-tip that Susanne is holding in her right hand. Before Susanne grants her mother's request, she inspects the Q-tip (figure 1).

Extract (8) (3dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; C2: Susanne (2 years, 5 months); CA1: camera 1



1 C2 → *****tout sale,**
all dirty

fig # figure 1

2 c2 *shifts gaze, looks at MO->

3 c2 *rh: directs Q-tip toward MO's eyes->

4 (0.3)

5 C2→ **tout s#ale,**
all dirty,

fig # figure 2

6 $\Rightarrow$ (1.2)

7 MO→ **non+, c'*est l'autre +bout qui est sale=**
no, that's the other end that is dirty=

8 mo +rh/lh: direct toward Q-tip->

9 c2 *rh: withdraws the Q-tip from MO's approaching hands->

10 mo +rh: directs toward C2's right ear ->

11 MO **=c+e*lui-là il est tout +propre.**
=this-one is all clean.

12 mo +rh: vaguely points C2's right ear, holds C2's head->

13 c2 *rh: directs Q-tip toward her own right ear->

14 mo +lh: grasps softly C2's rh,

15 endorsing C2's movement->
(0.3)



16 MO vas-y#.
go-on.

fig # figure 3

At the beginning of the extract, Susanne shifts her gaze toward her mother (line 2), and directs the Q-tip (line 3) into her mother's field of vision, complaining that the Q-tip she is invited to use is: "all dirty" (line 1). She displays her understanding of the fact, that if the intended recipient is to respond to her complaint, the latter requires visual access to the assessed object (see Chapter 4, extracts 5, 6). However, no response by the mother is immediately forthcoming (line 4), engendering the girl to repeat her complaint (line 5), by bringing the Q-tip even closer to mother's eyes (figure 2). Susanne maintains her position (figure 2), while a silence emerges (line 6), and the mother is (apparently) verifying her claim concerning the Q-tip. The mother produces a disagreement-token and then negates Susanne's claim (lines 7, 11). Interestingly, she achieves her negation by accounting for it, admitting that the other end of the Q-tip is indeed dirty, but that the one Susanne is showing her is "all clean" (lines 7, 11). Simultaneously, the mother directs her hands toward the girl's right hand that is holding the Q-tip (line 8). The girl withdraws her right hand from her mother's approaching hands (line 9), and then starts to direct it toward her right ear exactly in the moment in which her mother vaguely points toward it (line 12). Shortly after, the mother softly grasps her daughter's right hand, physically endorsing her daughter's movement in order to clean her right ear with the Q-tip in a collaborative way (line 16; see Keel & Clément; submitted), inviting her to go-on. Apart from withdrawing her right hand (line 9), the mother's disagreement does not engender any disaligning action from Susanne. Instead, the girl keeps silent and seems attentive to her mother's argument, agreeing with her in an embodied way, eventually engaging in cleaning the ear with the Q-tip (figures 2, 3).

In extract 9, the three children are sitting in the bathtub, and the father is going from one child to the next in order to clean their hair. He just finished rinsing Camille's hair, and Faffa (two years, seven months) is next in line.

Extract (9) (39dagr)

Participants: FA: father; C1: Raymond (8 years, 1 month); C2: Camille (6 years, 1 month); C3: Faffa (2 years, 7 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 FA **faffa la tête en arr//iè:re.=**
faffa the head backwa: rds.=
- 2 fa <<-showering C2's hair/
3 fa /directing shower to C3's head->
- 4 C3 **=NON, NON**
=NO, NO
- 5 (0.8)
- 6 FA **(so)**
(so)
- 7 (0.8)
- 8 C3 **/NO:::**
/NO:::
- 9 fa /starts showering C3's head->
- 10 FA **la tê[te en- en arrière. en arrière.] (.)**en arrière.**
the he[ad ba- backwards., backwards.] (.)backwards.
- 11 C3→ **[*c'est, (c'est, c'est) chau::d]**
[that's, (that's, that's) ho::t]
- 12 c3 *turns head away to the left*
- 13 c3 *turns head back to
centre->
- 14 (.)
- 15 C3 **EH,**
EH,
- 16 (0.2)
- 17 C3 **/EH,**



- /EH,
- 18 fa /rh: withdraws the shower from C2's head, directs it to his
lh->
- 
- 19 (0.3#)
- fig # figure 2
- 20 C3→ C'[EST] CHAU::D.=
THAT['S] HO::T.=
- 21 FA⇒ [xx]
- 22 FA⇒ =/'c'e[st chau:d.°]
=/'tha[t's ho:t.°]
- 23 fa⇒ /lh: tests the temperature of the water->
- 24 C2 [non, c'est] /froï::d.]
[no, that's] co::ld.]
- 25 fa /lh: directs to water tap->
- 26 FA→ [c'est] pas/ chau::d.
[that's] not/ ho::t.
- 27 fa /lh: manipulates water tap->
- 28 >
(0.2)
- 29 C2 °°c'est°° fr[oï:::d.]
°°that's°° co:::ld.]
- 30 FA [/(voilà) j'ai //baissé, c'est b//on.]
[(done) i've turned it down, that's fine.]
- 31 fa /lh: withdraws from water-tap/
- 32 fa /lh: tests temperature//
- 33 fa /rh: directs
shower toward C3's head->
- 34 (0.3)
- 35 C2 °°c'est /froï:d.°
°°that's co:ld.°
- 33 fa /rh: starts showering C3's head again->
- 36 (.)
- 37 FA mets la tête en arrière.
put your head backwards.

At the beginning of the extract, father requests Faffa to hold his head “backwards” (line 1). At the end of his turn, he directs the shower toward the boy’s head (lines 2–3). This request indicates that Faffa is about to be showered in an instant. Faffa responds with a strong disagreement to his father’s request, by screaming “NO::” several times (lines 4, 8). The father starts showering while the boy is still screaming (line 9), repeating his initial request a second time (line 10). In overlap with father’s repetition, the boy complains about the “heat” of the water, turning his head back and forth as if to escape father’s showering – without success (lines 12, 13). In this fragment, the boy’s initial refusal is thus transformed to a negative evaluation concerning the temperature of the water. By expressing his distress through vocal (lines 15, 17) and embodied means (lines 12, 13; figure 2), the boy induces the father to interrupt the showering of his head (line 18). Moreover, Faffa repeats his complaint by upgrading it through prosody (line 20), in order to get a response from his father (see section 4.3.1., extracts 18 and 19). Latching with the boy’s complaint, the father first repeats it in a way that vehicles slight amusement and disbelief, and then clearly disagrees with the boy’s initial evaluative turn (lines 22, 26). Between father’s two turns, Faffa’s older sister evaluates the water’s temperature as being cold, thus aligning with her father against her little brother (line 24). Simultaneously, the father verifies the boy’s claim (line 23) and eventually directs his hand to the water tap (line 25), in order to turn down the heat of the water (lines 27, 30). Combining his clear disagreement with an action that grants the request implied by Faffa’s initial complaint, i.e. turning down the hot water, is very effective at closing the disagreement. Indeed, Faffa neither disagrees in turn, nor does he show any sign of resistance, when the father takes up showering his head once again (line 33).

To summarize: in this first part of the chapter I have discussed fragments in which the children’s evaluative turns accomplish dispreferred actions, such as blamings, complaints, etc., to which the parents either respond with a wh-question, such as a who-question (extracts 2 and 3), a what-question (extracts 4–6), or a why-question (extract 7). I also looked at fragments in which the parent uses an embodied verification (extracts 8, 9) before they overtly disagree. In cases in which the “what?” comes alone, it achieves a *neutral query* (Corrin 2010: 23, 34)⁷⁴ and typically induces the speaker of the trouble turn to simply produce

⁷⁴ Both terms, open-class repair initiator and neutral query point to the fact that the repair initiating turn does not locate the source of the trouble in the previous speaker’s prior turn (Corrin 2010; Drew 1997). Corrin (2010) uses them as synonyms for the same phenomenon. The qualifier neutral refers to the fact that a

a “phonetically upgraded repetition” of his initial turn (see extract 3 above; Corrin 2010: 23, 34). Within the fragments discussed in this section, the parent does not produce a neutral but a *specific query* (Corrin 2010: 34). The wh-questions in fragments 2, 3, 4, and 7 constitute specific queries requesting the child to either clarify the referent (extracts 2, 3, 4), or to account for their initial turn (extract 7). Through its use for responding, parents transform their second pair part (response to the child's evaluative turn) into a first pair part (request for clarification) to which the child has an obligation to respond. Parents in this way gain talk control, as it is the case when they respond with a questioning repeat to their children's evaluative turn (see Chapter 7). As mentioned earlier (see Chapter 5, discussion of extracts 12 to 15), adults use these extra opportunities for softening their initial action in order to minimize the occurrence of overt disagreement, displaying an orientation toward solidarity and toward each other's maintenance of ‘face’. Immediately thereafter, the child invokes (or confirms) the referent, engendering the parents' overt and direct expression of disagreement with the child's initial action. The parental use of a wh-question to delay overt disagreement seems a handy device for avoiding a long series of disagreements between the interactants. Interestingly, however, it does not induce the young children to respond by reviewing or softening their initial evaluative position (a part in extract 4). Indeed, according to the fragments analyzed in this section, children seem not to use the extra opportunity provided by their parents' wh-question for backing down from or justifying their initial turn. On the contrary, young children tend to use this extra slot for confirming their initial evaluative turn (see also Chapter 7). However, in Chapter 4 we have seen that young children might downgrade/upgrade an initial evaluative turn, when the parent does not respond at all (see section 4.3.1.).

An overt parental disagreement that occurs after a verification of the child's claim (extracts 8, 9) does not engender a long series of disagreements, except when the parent's wh-question does not provide the child with a real opportunity to respond (extracts 5, 6), when a long and complex series of disagreements between the interactants then ensues.

neutral query usually engenders merely a phonetically upgraded repetition from the initial speaker, while *specific queries* elicit revisions by the previous speaker (Corrin 2010: 34).

6.4. The Parental Disagreement Occurs Immediately After Completion of the Child's Evaluative Turn

In the previous part of the chapter I have highlighted how parents' use of a dispreferred format for disagreeing to their children's evaluative turn engenders a fast closing of the evaluative sequence. In this second part of the chapter, the evaluative turns discussed engender a parental disagreement that is produced in the preferred format: they occur without any delay – in slight overlap with the child's turn (extracts 13, 18), latching with it (extracts 10, 11), or immediately after its completion (extracts 12, 14, 15, 16, 17) – they are not accompanied by an account, and are direct and clear (extracts 10–18; see also Pomerantz 1975: 87–102; Church 2009: 42–43). Furthermore, the parental immediate disagreement generally constitutes a strong response to the child's previous evaluative turn; a “same-referent contrastive evaluation construction” (Pomerantz 1984a: 74). By taking into account the praxeological particularity of these extracts, the analysis seeks thus to reveal the implications that parents' use of the preferred format for disagreeing might have on the further development of the interaction.

6.4.1. The Context of Disagreement is Established by the Child's Refusal of a Parental Request

In this first section, I analyze fragments in which the context of disagreement is established by the child's refusal to grant a parental request or suggestion - to eat lunch (extract 10), to tidy up a puzzle (extract 11), to use a toy-spatula as suggested by the mother (extract 12) - before the child actually produces the evaluative turn to which the parent responds immediately with a strong disagreement.⁷⁵

Before extract 10 starts, Martin refuses categorically to eat spinach and carrots, as repeatedly requested by his parents. Without finishing his lunch, he leaves the table, before coming back to sit on his father's lap shortly after, and agreeing that he will continue eating. The boy thus establishes at the same a context of disalignment (refuses to eat the things on his plate) and a context of negotiation (I leave the table, I come back to table).

⁷⁵ In the previous section (extract 9), the child's evaluative turn also occurs within a context of disagreement that is established by the child's refusal to a parental request. However, in this particular case it was not met by an immediate and strong parental disagreement.

Extract 10 (28dagr)

Participants: ME: mother; FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); C2: Antoine (9 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2;



- 1 C2 EH::::↑#:.....[:.....]
 2 fa <<-lh: directs C1's plate toward him->
 3 c2 <<-looks at the plate FA is handing him->
 fig # figure 1
 4 C1→ [j'aime pas # ja][mbon,]
 [i don't like h][am,]
 fig # figure 2
 5 MO <[ouai↑]::s.= ((toward C2))>
 <[ouai↑]::s.= ((toward C2))>
 6 C1→ =j'aime pa:s/ //jambon.=
 =i do:n't like ham.=
 7 fa /lh: puts down C1's plate in front of C1/
 8 fa /lh: directs toward C1 original place->
 9 FA =mais martin c'est bo::n l'jambo::n.
 =but martin that's good (the) ha::m.
 10 (1.1)
 11 C1 °non°
 °no°
 12 (/2.1)
 13 fa /lh: grasps C1's fork, directs it to C1's plate->
 FA r'garde voir /là//,
 look (once) here,
 14 fa /lh: lances piece of ham/
 15 fa /lh: directs it toward C1's mouth->
 16 (#1.2)



- fig # figure 3, 4
 17 C1 <m*m#h↓ ((repudiative))>
 18 c1 *moves apruptly backwards with his head->
 fig # figure 5
 (/0.6)

19 fa /lh: retracts->



20 FA no#n/?
no?

fig # figure 6

21 fa /lh: freezing its movement->
(/0.6)

22 fa /looks down->>

23 MO (mais si) tu aimes le jambon marti::n.
(but yes) you like the ham marti::n.

At the beginning of the extract, the father is just about to put Martin's plate in front of him (line 2–3; figures 1, 2), indicating that he wants him to eat some more. While looking at his (approaching) plate (line 3), and in overlap with his little brother's loud exclamation (line 1), Martin negatively evaluates "ham" (line 4). After coming back to the table and displaying a kind of readiness to continue eating (see introduction to this extract), his negative evaluation projects the contrary. Occurring in overlap with his initial evaluative turn, the mother responds to her baby's cry with an accentuated agreement token (line 5). Latching with this response, and by deploying a continuing intonation, the boy's repetition (line 6) sounds like a continuation of his initial evaluative turn. Simultaneously, the father puts Martin's plate down in front of him (line 7), and just after its completion, he evaluates the ham positively (line 9), by using the contrastive conjunction "but" to introduce it. Father's embodied actions disagree immediately and unequivocally with the boy's negative evaluation (line 9). After the emergence of a silence (line 10), Martin's disagreement, in turn, is produced in a low voice (line 11). He seems thus to back down from his initial negative evaluation. The father, however, continues in his attempt to "make Martin eat": after getting Martin's fork, he picks up some ham from his plate and directs it toward Martin's mouth, provoking the latter's clear disagreement (lines 8, 13, 14, 15; figure 3, 4). As soon as he reaches his son's mouth, Martin deploys prosody to produce a repudiative "mmh↓" (line 17) and moves his head backwards, successfully escaping the approaching piece of ham (line 18). He upgrades his initial evaluative turn, by employing embodied and prosodic means (see section 4.3.1). The father eventually abandons his attempt to feed Martin. He retracts the fork (line 19), and produces a

“no” by deploying an interrogative intonation (line 20). Martin does not respond to father’s question, instead his mother responds to father’s question by disagreeing with Martin’s initial negative evaluation, in turn (line 23). The series of disaffiliative actions engendered by father’s immediate disagreement continues, involving another member of the family (the mother), as was the case for extracts 5 and 6 above.

In the next extract (11), Luc counters the course of action projected by his mother and so establishes a context of disagreement, before he produces an evaluative turn that accomplishes a self-deprecation. Luc and his mother are sitting on the floor, and they have just finished assembling a jigsaw puzzle. The mother has agreed with him (and the father) that Luc is going to put it back in the cupboard.

Extract (11) (44dagr.)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months)



- 1 C2⇒ ***+tu veux (ch#r)anger (0.3) *ça↑#.**
you want (tidy) up (0.3) that↑.
- 2 c2 ***getting up, directing the puzzle toward MO***
3 mo **+getting up->**
fig # figure 1 # figure 2
4 c2 ***stands in front of MO->**
- 5 MO **no:n↑ (.) toi.**
no:↑ (.) you.
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 C2→ ***j'arrive pa↑::s.=**
i can no↑::t do it=
- 8 c2 ***starts to walk toward the corridor/cupboard->>**
9 MO⇒ **=oui t'arrives.**
=yes you can.
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 fa **((rig[ole]))**
12 C2 **[°eh↑:::n°**
13 **((C2 brings the jigsaw puzzle to the cupboard, puts it away))**

While getting up (line 2; figure 1), Luc directs the jigsaw puzzle toward his mother (line 2) and invites her to put it away (line 1; figure 2), even though they have just agreed that he was going to do so. Without hesitation, the mother refuses the invitation, and instead requests once again for him to do it (line 4). Immediately following his mother's refusal, Martin invokes that he is not able to do it: "i can no↑::t do it" (line 7). Simultaneously, he starts walking toward the corridor (cupboard), indicating that he is going to put the puzzle away (line 8), and thus contradicting what he says. On the one hand, his evaluative turn accomplishes a self-deprecation. Following a self-deprecation, disagreement constitutes the preferred action. As a response to a self-deprecation, mother's latching and clear disagreement constitutes the preferred action and does not engender any further disaffiliative action (see the discussion of the extracts 12 to 15 in Chapter 5; Pomerantz 1975: 91ff., 1984a: 64). On the other hand, the boy's embodied action (walking toward the cupboard) seems to indicate that the self-deprecation is not to be taken too seriously. In contrast to the mother, the father aligns with this interpretation: he laughs a little bit, treating the boy's turn as a laughable instead of treating it as a self-deprecation (line 11). Following it, the boy continues walking to the cupboard merely moaning very softly (line 12), and eventually puts the puzzle away without further comment.

In the next extract, the mother and Martin are playing preparing a meal with play dough; they are making pizzas. Before the extract starts, Martin is walking around his toy-kitchen looking for a convenient instrument for putting the pizza he just finished into the oven. The mother is sitting at some distance, observing the boy.

Extract (12) (24dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); C2: Antoine (9 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 MO tu peux pr'ndre la p'tite spatule.
you can take the little spatula.
2 (0.6)
3 C1⇒ *non.
no.
4 c1 *rh: stands still, orienting toward toy-kitchen->
5 (1.0)
6 C1→ (va) pas bien la *spatule.
(does) not work well the spatula.
7 c1 *rh: directs to his toy kitchen-tools->



- 8 M0→ mais# oui↑ ça va bien.
but yes↑ that works wellline
fig # figure 1
9 (0.1)
10 C1 no:n **(.) * xx # (0.4) *t'ili::se
no: (.) xx (0.4) u::se
fig # figure 2
11 c1 *rh: grasps spatula*
12 c1 *shifts gaze to M0->
13 c1 *starts walking toward M0->
14 (0.7)
15 M0 [ouai:s ça ça] va bien.
[yea:h that that] works well.
16 C1 [t'ili::se]
[y'u::se]
17 (0.2)



- 18 C1 **no::n, (.) non-non t'ili::se bien # moi.=
no::, (.) no-no u::se well me.=
fig # figure 3
19 c1 *stands still->
20 c1 *showing spatula to M0, waving with it->
21 M0 =ouai:s justement↑ ça va bien pour les pizzas.=
=yea:h exactly↑ that works well for the pizzas.=
22 C1 =*non-non-non-non (.) no:n,
= no-no-no-no (.) no:,
23 c1 *withdraws spatula->
24 (*0.4)
25 c1 *resumes walking toward M0->
26 C1 no[:n]=
no[:]=
27 M0 [si]=
[yes]=
28 (0.5)
29 C1 =*non-non (.) *non *xx, (0.3) prend a xxxx.=
= no-no (.) no xx, (0.3) take a xxxx.=

30 c1 *changes spatula from the rh to lh*
 31 c1 *stands still->
 32 c1 *lh: makes the movement of taking the
 pizza with the spatula in an amplified way->
 33 MO =ouais, regarde*,(0.2) +*ça va bien là.
 =yeah, look,(0.2) that works well here.
 34 c1 *lh: directs spatula to rh, holding it with both
 hands->
 35 mo +rh: grasps pizza lifts it up->
 36 c1 *resumes walking toward MO->
 (0.7)
 37 MO *pour me[ttre d']ssus.
 to p[ut on]it.
 38 c1 *rh: directs spatula toward pizza->
 39 C1 [non]
 [no]
 40 *(0.2)
 41 c1 *rh: holds spatula under the pizza->



42 MO tu vois (0.1) +ho#p↑
 you see (0.1) hop↑
 fig # figure 4
 43 mo +rh: puts pizza upon spatula->
 44 (0.3)
 45 C1 non
 no
 46 (1.3*)
 47 c1 *rh: inclines spatula to put pizza down on table->
 48 C1 #<mhm: ((weepy tone, refusing))>
 fig # figure 5
 49 (0.1)
 50 MO *t'aimerais (l'autre)
 you'd'd'like (the other)
 51 c1 *lh: grasps pizza, puts it down on table->
 52 (0.2)
 53 MO j'sais la quelle tu veux xx qu'on aille# la chercher dans la
 cuisine.
 i know which one you want xx we've to get it in the kitchen.
 fig # figure 6

In line 1, the mother suggests that Martin uses his (toy) spatula. After a silence of 0.6 seconds (line 2), the boy opts for the dispreferred action, accomplishing it in the preferred format: he straightforwardly refuses this advice (line 3), and stands still in front of his toy-kitchen at the end of his turn. As in the two previous extracts (10, 11), the context of disagreement is established by the child: to refuse an advice is interactively a very delicate matter (Heritage & Sefi 1992). After a one second silence (line 5), Martin accounts for his

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refusal by negatively evaluating the usefulness of the spatula (line 6). At the same time, he orients his right hand to the spatula (line 7; figure 1). The mother responds immediately, however, making a clear and direct disagreement with the boy's evaluative turn (line 8), which engenders a long series of disagreements between the boy (lines 10, 18, 22, 26, 29, 39) and herself (lines 15, 21, 27, 33, 37, 42). At the same time, however, despite being involved in this long series, the boy also grants his mother's initial advice, by grasping the spatula (figure 2) and walking with it toward her (lines 11, 12, 13).

Although he delays his arrival by interrupting his walk (line 19), thereby stressing his disagreement by simply showing the spatula to his mother (line 20; figure 3), and then mimicking how one might use a spatula correctly to lift up the pizza (line 32), he does finally collaborate with his mother (lines 35, 43) by putting the pizza on the spatula (lines 38, 41). According to mother, that collaboration proves how well the spatula works for lifting a pizza (lines 33, 37, 42; figure 4). However, the boy seems not to agree (lines 45, 48): according to him, this way of lifting does "not count" (lines 47, 51; figures 5, 6). Eventually, the mother agrees to get another spatula – a real one – from the kitchen (lines 50–53). In this extract, mother's retraction from her initial suggestion closes the long series of disagreements between mother and son.

6.4.2. The Context of Disagreement is Established by the Parent

In the following section, I discuss fragments in which the parents establish a context of disagreement before the child produces an evaluative turn. The parents might establish this context of disagreement by requesting the child clean his hands instead of granting his prior request to leave the table (extract 13); by sanctioning/reprehending the child's behavior toward his little brother and requesting that he be nice to his little brother, instead of being mean (extract 14); by requesting that the child accomplishes a task in order to help prepare a meal, instead of just enjoying eating the food that needs to be prepared (extract 15); or by refusing the child's request to get another pencil.

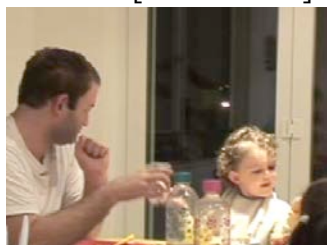
In extract 13, the family is sitting at the table and is just about to finish dinner.

Extract (13) (47dagr.)

Participants: MO: mother; PE: father; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months)

- 1 FA⇒ >et pis pour l'instant on a pas dit qu'vous pouvez descendre=
>and for the moment being we have not permitted you to leave=

2 FA⇒ =de table- a- /t'as pas t'as essuyé ta main.=<
 =dinner- a- you've not, you've cleaned your hand.=<
 3 fa /lh: points C2's lh->
 4 FA =>*elle est encore /plein d'sauce à salade celle-//ci.<
 =>*it is still /full of salad sauce that one-he//re.<
 5 c2 *looking at his lh->
 6 fa /lh: withdraws pointing/->
 (0.1)
 7 C1 m[*a::s↑ on peu:*]:::*:::t
 b[u::t↑ we ca:]:::n ((toward M0; demanding tone))
 8 FA [>/l'autre aus//si r'garde.<]
 [>the other also look.<]
 9 c2 *lh: directs to bib, wipes it up->
 10 fa /lh: points C2's rh/
 11 c2 *looking at his rh->
 12 fa /lh: withdraws pointing/
 13 c2 *rh: directs to bib, wipes off->
 14 (0.6)
 15 C1 °xxxxxxx[xxxxxxxxx°]



16 C2→ [PA#PA e#*lles sont ↑pl#us] (sa[les]).
 [DADDY they are ↑no more] (di[rty]).
 17 fa <-oriented toward C2->
 18 c2 <-inspects his hands
 fig # figure 1
 19 c2 *clapping his hands*
 fig # figure 2
 20 c2 *stretches hands out toward father->
 fig # figure 3
 21 FA⇒ [/O :]H, non=
 [O :]H, no=
 22 fa /shaking head->
 23 FA⇒ =elles sont pas encore p/ropres.
 =they are not yet properly clean.
 24 fa /turns head toward glass, drinks->
 25 (*1.7)
 26 c2 *retracts hands slowly, while looking at them->
 27 C2 oui/ *pour le boire
 yes/ *for the drinking
 28 fa /stops drinking, lowers glass->
 29 c2 *looks in front of him->
 30 M0 ben y'a des desserts pour personnes.=
 well there's dessert for nobody.=
 31 C2 <=OUI::((weepy))>
 <=YE::S((weepy))>
 32 FA ben non vous avez pas fini vos assiettes.=
 well no you have not yet finished your plates.=
 33 C2 <=moi je veu:::x. ((weepy))>
 <=i i want. ((weepy))>

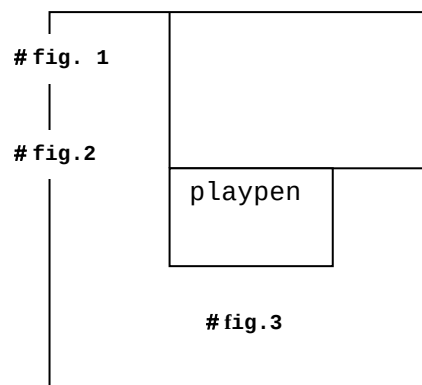
At the beginning of the extract, the father establishes a context of disagreement between himself and his son. He does not permit Luc to leave the table, as the latter intended (lines 1, 2); instead he requests that he clean his hands, by pointing first to the boy's left hand and then to his right (lines 3, 10), and by arguing that his hands are "full of salad sauce" (lines 4, 8). On one level, Luc treats the father's actions as a request to clean his hands: he first looks at his left, and then at his right hand (lines 5, 11), bringing first the former and then the latter up to his bib (lines 9, 10) in order to wipe them off (lines 9, 13). At the same time, however, he treats the granting of father's request as the condition for getting permission to leave the table: having wiped his hands, he first inspects them (line 18), then claps them together as if to show that he is pleased with the result (line 19; figure 2), before finally he shows them to his father (line 20; figure 3). Simultaneously, he loudly summons his father (line 16), and positively evaluates the cleanliness of his hands (line 16). However, in overlap with Luc's self-praise, the father disagrees clearly with him (lines 21, 23). He emphasizes his disagreement by shaking his head (line 22), inducing the boy to inspect his hands once more (line 26), before he again disagrees with his father in turn (line 27). Immediately following the boy's disagreement, the mother intervenes and announces: "there's dessert for nobody" (line 30). That this announcement is meant to be a sanction rests on the fact that in this family, "no dessert" is routinely used for sanctioning certain eating behaviors – such as not finishing one's plate, refusing to eat a particular item of food, etc. Moreover, Luc's objection (line 31) to his mother's announcement is immediately countered by his father who adds the justification "no you have not yet finished your plates" (line 32). The mother's intervention brings to an abrupt end the disagreement between father and son concerning the cleanliness of the boy's hands. Unlike the last extract, however, instead of accomplishing an action signaling a compromise that might close the conflictual situation between the child and the parent, the mother's intervention (line 30) regenerates the disaffiliation/disalignment between parents and children, and engenders another series of disagreements (lines 31–33, etc.).

In the next extract, the mother has just sanctioned Martin (two years, six months); he has been given a timeout for his behavior toward his little brother Adrien.

Extract (14) (26dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; FA: father; C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months); C2: Adrien (9 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

⇒



- 1 C1 <j'veux pas rester eheh dans le #°petit *coin° pas rester
petit coin=((weepy))>
<i don't want to stay in the °small corner°, not stay small
corner=((weepy voice))>
- 2 mo <<--opens the window-->
- 3 c1 <<--walks away from the "little corner"-->
- 4 c1 *turns toward MO,
stands still in front of playpen ->
fig # figure 2
- 5 MO =a:lors si- si tu veux *pas rester au p'tit coin tu es=
=a:lso if-, if you don't want to stay in the little=
6 MO =gentil avec adrien et pis c'est tout.
=corner, you're kind with adrien, and that's it.
7 c1 *turns away from MO->
8 (+1.0)
9 mo +walks toward C1->
10 MO c'est simple.
that's simple.
11 (1.1)
12 MO c'est tout +simple.
that's very simple.
13 mo +lh: directs toward C1's head->
14 (0.3)



- 15 C1→ <non +(.) #pas tout simple+. ((voix tendue))>
<no (.) not very simple. ((tensed voice))>
- 16 mo +lh: caresses C1's head+
fig # figure 3
- 17 MO→ mais oui, c'est tout simple.
but yes, that's very simple.
18 (3.0)

19 c1 *walks toward M0/C2->>
20 C1 m[mh::xxx ((wheepy))]xxxxx lo::l
21 M0 [adrien il est là tout genti:l]
 [adrien he is here very kindly:]
22 (0.5)
23 M0 mais on va toute suite manger, martin tu sais dès qu'papa
 sera là....
 but we're going to eat very soon, martin you know as soon as
 daddy is here...
24 ((series of disagreements continues))

Before the extract begins, mother's sanction establishes a context of disagreement: as one can see in figure 1, the boy resists mother's attempt to send him to the corner, and she deploys embodied means (for parents' use of embodied means for re-orienting their children see extracts 18, 20 in Chapter 5) to overcome his resistance. Still standing in front of her son, she then loosens her grasp of Martin, and opens the window in order to throw something out of it (line 2). Martin seizes the opportunity to walk away from the little corner, by explaining: "I don't want to stay" (lines 1, 2; figure 2); turning back toward the mother, and standing still in the end of his turn, as if to observe her reaction (line 4). The boy is escaping and the account he provides for his action induces the mother to back down from her initial position: instead of insisting on her sanction, she tells Martin the condition for not getting sanctions (lines 5, 6). While his mother is talking, Martin turns away from her, keeping silent after she has finished (lines 7, 8). His silence at this point might project a dispreferred action. While approaching her son (line 9),⁷⁶ the mother – after a one second silence (line 8) – adds that what she expects Martin to do to avoid getting sanctioned is "simple" to fulfill (line 10). Martin does not respond to his mother's turn (line 11), engendering mother's upgraded repetition of her evaluative turn (line 12). Simultaneously, she placably caresses the boy's head, and continues to walk past him toward the kitchen (lines 13, 16).

To the mother's upgraded repetition, the boy responds immediately, by producing a negation of her evaluative turn, engendering a strong disagreement from his mother in turn (lines 14, 15). As in the previous extract, the child's negative evaluative turn constitutes an account regarding the negation of mother's prior action (request: extract 13, or sanction: extract 14). Thereafter, a long silence emerges (line 18). During this silence, the boy walks toward his mother and addresses her (line 20). In overlap with her son's weepy incomprehensible turn, the mother invokes the kindness of Martin's little brother Adrien (line

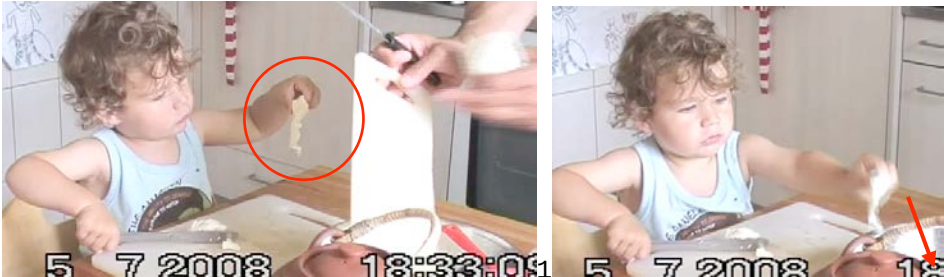
⁷⁶ The precise moment is not identifiable, since neither of the two cameras has filmed the mother. However, since she appears shortly after the moment indicated here, one can presume that she started walking at approximately this moment.

21), adding fuel to the fire. Martin does not respond to the mother's provocation (line 22). After a silence of 0.5 seconds (line 22), the mother resumes talking and seems to refuse a request implied by Martin's prior weepy turn (line 23), engendering the continuation of disagreements/dispreferred actions. In a similar way to the previous extract, instead of attenuating the situation, the mother twice insists on the existing disaffiliation between her and her son.

In extract 15, the father and Elio (two years, one month) are making pizza for dinner. The father requests that Elio cut the mozzarella into small pieces, instead of repeatedly eating little pieces of it. He overtly mentions that there is some disagreement concerning the sequential unfolding of the activity at hand.

Extract (15) (11dagr.)

Participants: FA: father; C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 (*9*. **//4)
 2 c2 *cuts mozzarella in two halves, takes one*
 3 c2 *lh: directs one half of mozzarella toward FA ->
 4 fa /lh: grasps cut pieces of mozzarella, puts them in bowl->
 5 fa /monitors C2->
 6 C2→ */BON.
 GOOD.
 7 c2 *lh: holds cut piece of mozzarella between himself and FA->
 8 fa /rh: directs chopping board toward bowl, puts remaining pieces
 into bowl->
 9 (0.2)
- 
- 10 FA→ non, ça c'est trop/ gros#. fait encore des *p'tits=
 no, that's too big. make some more small=
 11 fa /monitors what C2 is doing->
 # figure 1
 12 c2 *lh: directs half of mozzarella
 toward bowl->
 13 FA =bouîts /avec le couteau.
 =pieces with the knife.
 14 fa /lh/rh: withdraw from bowl->
 15 (#1*. **5)
 # figure 2
 16 c2 *lh: puts half of mozzarella in bowl *
 17 c2 *lh: withdraws->
 18 FA /fais des*- ben j'fais/- /Elio, fait des *p'tits bouîts.*
 make some- well i make- Elio, make some little pieces.
 19 fa /rh: takes half of mozzarella out of bowl, puts it back on C2's

- chopping board/
- 20 fa /rh: points mozzarella on C2's chopping board/
- 21 c2 *lh: grasps remaining half piece of mozzarella*
- 22 (*0.7)
- 23 c2 *lh: lets go of half piece of mozzarella->
- 24 FA */essaie de faire des tous petits **boûts.
try to make some very little pieces.
- 25 c2 *takes small pieces of mozzarella*
- 26 fa /rh/lh: continue cutting mozzarella->
- 27 c2 *directs small pieces toward mouth->
-
- 3a
-
- 3b
- 28 (1.#/*6)
fig # figure 3a+b
- 29 fa /looks at C2->
- 30 c2 *eats small pieces->
- 31 FA mh t'es un coquin hein elio.
mh you're a rascal huh elio.
- 32 (1.0)
- 33 FA d'abord couper, après tu pourras goûter.
first cut, then you can taste.

At the beginning of this extract, the boy is just about to grant his father's prior request: he cuts the mozzarella into (two) pieces (line 2). Then, at lines 3 and 7, he takes one half and brings it into his father's field of vision (see section 4.2.1.) evaluating it at the same time both positively and loudly (line 6). As in extract 13, the boy thus achieves a self-praise regarding the action he had been requested to do by his father just before. The father, who monitors Elio's actions (line 5), responds immediately with a strong disagreement (line 10), requesting that Elio "use the knife" for making "smaller pieces" (line 13). Father's immediate and strong disagreement induces Elio into producing a dispreferred action in response: instead of granting father's request (making the piece smaller), he directs the half piece of mozzarella toward the bowl (line 12), and drops it there (line 16). The father responds with an embodied disagreement, taking Elio's piece of mozzarella out of the bowl and putting it back on his chopping board (line 19), while simultaneously repeating his request to make "smaller pieces" (line 24). He refuses to accept his son's positive evaluation, inducing him to hark back to the ultimate provoking action: that of eating instead of cutting the mozzarella (lines 25, 27, 30). While Elio is eating, father and son are looking at each other (figure 3). The father treats his

son's look as an invitation to say something; he first blames Elio for eating (line 31), and then he formulates the relevant rule for the activity at hand (line 33). Eventually, Elio continues cutting the cheese, and thus complies with his father's initial request. In this extract, father's use of a strong immediate disagreement with his son's self-praise induces the latter to disagree in turn, by putting the piece of mozzarella in the bowl, engendering a series of disaffiliative actions, instead of immediately granting father's initial request.

In the last extract of this section, the two sisters, Manon (four years, one month) and Anna (two years, six months) are drawing. The mother does not draw with them, but comes back regularly to check on what they are doing.

Extract 16 (5dagr)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month); C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 (+0.6+)
- 2 mo +sits down next to C2+
- 
- 3 C2→ *°ça c'est- il est +tout p**eti#t.°°
°°that that's- it is very small.°°
- 4 c2 *hands coloring pencil from lh to rh*
- 5 mo +looks at the coloring pencil->
- 6 c2 *holding pencil toward MO->
- fig #figure 1
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 MO⇒ +°oui°, (0.3) il est tout peti#t. +
°yes°, (0.3) it is very small.
- 9 mo +rh: directs to pencil, grasps it, looks at it->
- fig #figure 2
- 10 (0.4)
- 11 C2→ °°il *est ca**ssé::*°°.
°°it is broke::n°°.
- 12 c2 *hands coloring pencil from rh to lh*
- 13 c2 *rh: directs to pencil point*
- 14 (*0.3)
- 15 c2 *rh: grasps pencil point->



- 16 M0→ #non, c'est pas cassé.
no, that's not broken.
- fig #figure 3
17 (0.3)
18 C2→ °oui°=
°yes°=
- 19 M0 =c'e%st *saumon tu vois*%.
=that's salmon you see.
- 20 c1 %beats upon the colour box with a pencil%
21 c2 *looks at M0->
22 (0.4)
23 C2→ ++°(r'garde)* il est cassé[:°°]
°(look) it is broke:[n°°]
- 24 mo +looks at C1->
25 mo +rh: lets go of pencil, comes to home-position->
26 c2 *looks at pencil->
27 M0 [c']est joli ma↑no:n.
[t]hat's nice ma↑no:n.
- 28 (0.2)
29 C2→ °est cas[sé:°°=
°is bro[ke:n°°=
- 30 C1 [xxxx]++
31 mo <-looks at C1-++looks at C2->
32 mo +rh: directs toward her head,
scratches->
33 (1.4)
34 C2→ +°(t'as vu il)+ est+ ca[(ssé.)°°]
°(you've seen it) is bro[(ken.)°°]
- 35 mo +rh: directs toward pencil, grasps it->
36 mo +looks at C1 +looks at pencil->
37 mo +rh: pulls pencil toward her->
38 M0 *[no]n, regarde j'vais=
[no], look i gonna=
- 39 c2 *rh: takes pencil from M0's hand->
40 M0 =+t'montrer c'est pas++ cassé.
= show you that's not broken.
- 41 mo +rh: follows C2's hand movement+
42 mo +rh: takes pencil from C2's hand,
directs it to sheet->
43 (+0.3)
44 mo +shifts gaze down->
45 M0 tu vois↑

you see↑



46 (+3#. *6)
 47 mo +rh: draws->
 Fig #figure 4
 48 c2 *rh: directs toward pencil->
 49 C2 °°(pas) [cassé°°]
 °°(not) [cassé°°]

 50 MO [+*voilà↑]
 [done↑]

 51 mo +rh: withdraws from sheet->>
 52 c2 *rh: grasps pencil, takes it from mother, starts
 drawing->>

At the beginning of the extract, mother sits down next to Anna (line 2). By bringing the pencil into mother's field of vision (lines 4, 6; figure 1; see section 4.2.1.), Anna produces a complaint concerning the smallness of the pencil (line 3), indicating that she requests another pencil for drawing. Inspecting the pencil that Anna is showing her (lines 5, 9; figure 2), the mother responds with a weak agreement, composed of an agreement token and a repetition of Anna's turn (line 8; see Chapter 5.3). After a short silence (line 10), Anna utters another negative evaluative turn concerning the pencil: "it is broken", by grasping its point with her right hand (lines 11, 12, 13; figure 3). After mother's rejection of the request implied by her first evaluative turn (line 3), establishing a context of disalignment, this second negative evaluative turn might constitute another attempt to request a new pencil. The mother rejects this second attempt immediately; by responding with a strong disagreement (line 16). Mother's strong disagreement engenders first a disagreement token from Anna (line 18). Latching with it, the mother then makes a noticing concerning the color of the pencil, so as to distract Anna from her request for another pencil (line 19). Furthermore, the mother treats Manon's loud behavior as an attention-getting device: she lets go of the pencil that Anna is tending her, looks at Manon, and compliments her (lines 24, 27). While the mother is involved with Manon, Anna repeats her initial evaluative turn several times (lines 23, 29, 34).

Anna's third repetition (line 34) that is prefaced with a barely audible summons addressed to her mother (see section 4.2.1.) is eventually successful in bringing mother's attention back to the pencil (lines 35, 36, 37) and to Anna's initial negative evaluative turn concerning it (line 38). The mother's disagreeing response occurs in overlap with Anna's third repetition (line 38), and is achieved through a disagreement token, followed by the announcement that she will evidence her disagreement, and by a negation of Anna's turn (line 38). While she disagrees, the mother takes the pencil from Anna's hand, directs it toward the sheet (lines 37, 41, 42), thereby ignoring Anna's resistance (line 39), and eventually exhibits by means of drawing that the pencil is not broken (line 47). Anna follows her mother's actions attentively (figure 4). Before her mother indicates the closing of the prove-procedure through the use of a terminal marker (line 50), and by stopping to draw, the little girl seems to revise her initial complaint in a barely audible voice (line 50), and directs her right hand toward the pencil (line 49) in order to take it from her mother and resume drawing with it (line 52). In this extract, the series of disagreements concerning the child's initial evaluative turn is met by mother's strong disagreement in line 16. This engenders a long series of disagreements which comes to an end as soon as the mother uses the prove-procedure (see extracts 8, 9 above) to show that the girl's initial complaint involves a claim that is observably wrong. The child seems to distinguish between warranted disagreements and unwarranted ones. She treats the first authoritative disagreement as unacceptable, and the proven disagreement as legitimate.

6.4.3. The Child's Evaluative Turn Occurs Within a Context of Alignment, but is Immediately Met by a Strong Parental Disagreement

In the last two fragments of this chapter, the child's evaluative turn does not occur within a context of disagreement (extracts 17, 18). Nevertheless, following it, the parent immediately produces a strong disagreement.

In extract 17, the mother and Noëmi are sitting on the floor, playing a board game. Each of them has two gaming boards in front of them, and they have to match images printed on gaming pieces with the images on their respective gaming boards.

Extract (17) (57dagr)

Participants: ME: mother; C1: Aurélie (4 years); C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 MO +à moi+
my turn
- 2 mo +rh: directs toward the gaming pieces+
3 (+1++*.7)
- 4 mo +rh: takes a gaming piece, directs it toward herself,
+holds it in front of her#->
5 mo +examines it#->
6 c2 *rh: slight movement toward gaming piece->
fig #figure 1
- 7 MO ++*là ça c'est à moi↑::
here that that's for me↑::
- 8 mo +shifts gaze toward her gaming board->
9 mo +rh: directs gaming piece toward her gaming board->
10 c2 *rh: freezes->
11 (+0.4+)
- 12 mo +rh: puts gaming piece down on her gaming board->
- 13 C2→ ouais=
yeah=
- 14 M0⇒ +>=à toi noëmi.<+
>=your turn noëmi.<
- 15 mo +rh: withdraws her hand to home position+
16 (0.4)
- 17 C2→ *à moi:°,
my tu:rn°,
- 18 c2 *rh: directs toward gaming pieces->



1



- 19 (#0.2)
fig #figure 2
- 20 C2→ >(tu l'as)* pas ju**:+st#e<**
>(you're) not corre:ct<
- 21 c2 *rh: withdraws from gaming pieces*
- 22 c2 *leans toward her right*
- 23 c2 *rh: puts it on floor*


```

24 mo                                +rh: makes a circular movement
    in front of her+
    fig                                #figure 3
25    (0.2)
26 MO→ >oui c'est **ju+ste+.<
    >yes that's correct.<
27 c2                                *rh: directs toward gaming pieces->>
28 c2                                *straightens up again->>
29 mo                                +rh: back to home position+

```

At the beginning of the extract, mother takes a gaming piece (lines 2, 4) and inspects it (line 5), before shifting her gaze and directing the gaming piece toward one of her gaming boards (lines 8, 9), announcing: “here that, that’s mine.” (line 7; figure 1). Noëmi observes her mother’s doings attentively, and while her mother is inspecting the gaming piece (line 4), Noëmi makes a slight move toward it with her right hand, as if she were going to take it (line 6; figure 1). However, as mother directs the gaming piece toward her gaming board (line 7), and puts it down (line 12), Noëmi merely follows mother’s actions with her gaze, freezing the movement of her right hand (line 10), and agreeing with mother’s announcement in line 7 (line 13). Moreover, when mother invites Noëmi to take her turn (line 14), by retracting her own hand to home position (see also extract 32 in Chapter 5) – thereby indicating that she has completed her turn – Noëmi immediately directs her right hand toward the gaming pieces (line 19), while she repeats mother’s invitation (line 18).

Noëmi’s acceptance of mother’s invitation is accomplished in a mitigated format: Noëmi responds with a weak agreement that she produces in a very low voice (line 18). Although her hand at first directs toward the remaining gaming pieces, her gaze continues to inspect the spot on which the mother had just put her gaming piece (figure 3). This way of accepting might indicate Noëmi’s dispreferred next action: she evaluates mother’s move negatively (line 20).

At the same time, she withdraws her right hand from the remaining gaming pieces, puts it on the floor next to her and leans toward her side, as if to inspect mother’s previous move from another (more adequate) angle (lines 21, 22, 23; figure 3). This induces mother to make a circular movement with her right hand (line 24), as if to wipe away Noëmi’s skepticism. Moreover, mother responds immediately with a strong disagreement that she utters rapidly and in an assertive tone. Mother’s way of producing her disagreement induces Noëmi to accept it immediately. Indeed, before the mother has even completed her disagreement, the girl directs her right hand toward the remaining gaming pieces, and straightens up once again (lines 27, 28) in order to resume playing. In this extract, the child’s

initial negative evaluative turn occurs within a context of alignment. The mother does not revert to a proof procedure (see extracts 8, 9, 16 above) in order to divert Noëmi's doubts, but instead produces her disagreement in a preferred format in order to underscore her opposition, and succeeds in imposing her point of view.

In the last extract of this chapter, mother and Luc (two years, ten months) are assembling a jigsaw puzzle together. The boy is actually doing the assembling and the mother is giving him advice on how to do it.⁷⁷

Extract (18) (42dagr.)

Participants: MO: mother; PE: father; C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months); C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months)



- 1 (1#.7)
 1 fig # figure 1
 2 c2 <-rh: is trying to place a jigsaw puzzle piece->
 3 MO (il) veut pas mettre son bonnet he[in↑
 (he)wants not put on his bonnet hu[h↑
 4 C2 [êhêhên
 5 (*1.**1*)
 6 c2 *lh: directs toward jigsaw puzzle*
 7 c2 *rh: withdraws from puzzle piece that needs to be put in->
 8 c2 *lh: touches the puzzle piece that needs to be put in*

⁷⁷ Next to the mother and son, the older sister and the father are also assembling a jigsaw puzzle, and are talking together. I did not transcribe their talk, since the boy and his mother do not seem to treat it as relevant to their interactive organization.



- 9 C2 *j'ai pas *(a)#rri::[ves]
i've not (c)a::[:n]
- 10 c2 *rh: directs toward the floor*
- 11 c2 *leans toward his right side->
- 12 c2 *rh: props on floor*
- fig # figure 2
- 13 M0 [*mai]s c'est juste,(0.2) mais toi tu=
[but] that's correct,(0.2) but you you=
- 14 c2 *shifts gaze toward CA1*
- 15 M0=> +=arrives, ess++aie *un+ p'tit peu+,=
=can, try a little bit,=
- 16 mo +lh: directs toward C2's lh+
- 17 mo +lh: touches C2's lh, pushes it very softly to the right+
- 18 c2 *shifts gaze toward jigsaw puzzle->
- 19 mo +shifts gaze toward C2+
- 20 mo +lh: withdraws from C2's lh,
transforms into a pointing->
- 21 M0=> +=regarde un peu#c'que *tu fais avec tes++ *doigts.
=look a bit what you're doing with your fingers.
- 22 c2 *lh: withdraws from jigsaw puzzle, directs toward floor->
- 23 mo +shifts gaze jigsaw puzzle+
- fig #figure 3
- 24 c2 *straightens up->
- 25 mo +lh: withdraws, directs to her nose->
- 26 c2 *rh: directs toward jigsaw
puzzle, manipulates jigsaw puzzle->
- 27 (+0.6)
- 28 mo +lh: scratches her nose->
- 29 C2 *mh°*
- 30 c2 *rh: pushes the jigsaw puzzle slightly down*
- 31 (0.2)
- 32 mo +lh: directs toward jigsaw puzzle->
- 33 C2 mh[:↑
- 34 M0 [+regarde. tu vas doucement.
[look. you go carefully.
- 35 mo +lh: holds jigsaw puzzle->
- 36 (1.4)
- 37 M0=> ti↑c.
- 38 (0.*9)
- 39 c2 *rh: withdraws from jigsaw puzzle*
- 40 M0=> *ti↑c. appui dessus il*** est pas tout à fait rentré=
ti↑c. press upon it it is not yet properly pushed in=

41 c2 *lh: directs toward remaining jigsaw puzzle pieces*
42 c2 *lh: comes back*
43 c2 *rh: thumb directs to puzzle piece, pushes
 it in->
44 M0⇒ =voi↑là *cette fois-ci elle est mise.
 =do↑ne *this time it is in.

45 c2 *rh: withdraws from jigsaw puzzle->

At the beginning of the extract, Luc is trying to fit a piece of the puzzle (line 2; figure 1). The mother is observing him (figure 1), and comments on his difficulty in fitting the piece (line 3). At the end of her comment, the mother deploys a confirmation token. In overlap with it, the boy signals his despair with a vocalization: “êhêhên” (line 4). He then changes hands from right to left in order to manipulate the piece of jigsaw puzzle (lines 6, 7, 8). While uttering an evaluative turn that achieves a self-deprecation, he directs his right hand toward the floor, and leans with his body toward the side, using his right hand to eventually prop himself up on the floor (lines 10, 11, 12; figure 2). As mentioned before (extract 11 above), following a self-deprecation, disagreement constitutes the preferred alternative. Mother’s response occurs in overlap with Luc’s self-deprecation, and is composed of two TCUs. Both TCUs are introduced with the contrastive conjunction “but” and disagree clearly with the boy’s previous evaluative turn (lines 13, 15). Furthermore, the mother accompanies her second TCU (line 15) with a movement of her left hand (lines 16, 17, 20), bringing the boy back to the puzzle activity after he had briefly been distracted by the cameraman (lines 14, 18). In this extract, the mother deploys an immediate strong disagreement with the boy’s self-deprecation within an activity in which her competence is undeniable. Its occurrence engenders no more disagreement or disaffiliative action from the boy. Instead, he immediately grants the request that his mother accomplishes through several (embodied) actions of support (lines 16, 17, 20, 21, 32, 34, 35, 40). Indeed, he first straightens up again (line 24) and then continues to manipulate the puzzle piece (lines 26, 30, 39, 42, 43) until his mother’s positive evaluation indicates the success of his endeavors (lines 44, 45). Furthermore, in contrast to the previous fragments (10–16), the parental use of the preferred format for disagreeing in a context of alignment does not engender a long series of disagreements or disaffiliative actions, but seems to be treated as the parents’ non-availability for long negotiations.

To sum up: usually, *contiguity* (Sacks 1987) is associated with the preferred (and not with the dispreferred) next action. However, in this second part of the chapter, I have discussed fragments in which children’s evaluative turns are immediately responded to with a

dispreferred action: parental strong disagreement (extracts 10–18). Interestingly, the examination of these extracts has shown that apart from a few exceptions (extracts 17 and 18), parents' disagreements occur immediately when the child's initial turn, in addition to the dispreferred action it accomplishes, is proffered in a praxeological context of disagreement (extracts 10–16). This context of disagreement can be established by the child's refusal to grant a parental request or suggestion (extracts 10–12), or by a parental request that contrasts the child's actual behavior (extracts 13–15). Following the child's evaluative turn, parents seem to privilege the immediate and clear expression of their disaffiliative position, instead of respecting central features of the dispreferred format: delay and mitigation. Apart from one exception (extract 11) in which the child's evaluative turn accomplishes a self-depreciation (Pomerantz 1984a: 64), the immediate parental disagreement tends to engender a long series of disagreements/dispreferred actions (10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16).

Furthermore, the analysis has shown that if the preceding context of disagreement is established by the parent, then their immediate and strong disagreeing response might imply the rapid closing of the disagreement concerning the child's turn, but engenders a long series of disaffiliative actions concerning the preceding context of disagreement, or some other matter (extracts 13–15). In a context of disagreement established by the children themselves, the immediate and strong disagreement tends to imply a long series of disagreements concerning the child's initial evaluative turn itself (extracts 10, 12). However, if the child's initial evaluative turn occurs in a context of alignment (extracts 17, 18) and/or if it accomplishes a self-depreciation (extracts 11, 18) to which an immediate, strong disagreement constitutes the preferred response action, the immediate parental disagreement does not have these same implications. Instead, its use engenders a rapid closing of the evaluative sequence.

6.5. Conclusion

In order to deepen our understanding of parents' and children's handling of agreement/disagreement and their orientation toward preference organization within evaluative sequences, I have in this chapter analyzed fragments in which the child's initial evaluative turn is responded to by a parental disagreement. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, studies concerned with adults' handling of evaluative sequences have demonstrated that adults tend to use the dispreferred format for disagreeing with a prior assessment in order to delay and/or to minimize the occurrence of disagreement, thereby

sustaining solidarity and maintaining ‘face’ (Heritage 1984a: 265, 2008: 18–19). Moreover, Church’s study (2009) about conflictual peer interactions has demonstrated that within disputes of young children, their uses of the dispreferred format for objecting/disagreeing with a prior turn are designed to bring the dispute to a rapid resolution whereas the interactants’ deployment of the preferred format tends to engender the continuation of the dispute (2009: 191). Regarding parent-child interactions, this chapter has shown that parents do not systematically use the dispreferred format for disagreeing with their young children’s initial evaluative turn, instead they also quite regularly deploy the preferred format (extracts 10–18). The analysis of extracts 2–18 sought to reveal distinct interactive patterns that might be engendered by parents’ use of either format and to provide some element of explication for their use of distinct formats.

A first dimension that needs to be highlighted refers to the fact that parents’ disagreeing responses manifest great sensitivity to the praxeological context in which their children’s initial evaluative turn is produced. In general, parents seem to opt for disagreement principally when their children’s previous turn accomplishes a dispreferred action.⁷⁸ More particularly, strong parental disagreement (preferred format) seems to occur mainly when the children’s evaluative turn, beyond accomplishing a dispreferred action, occurs in a context of disalignment between parents and children (extracts 10–16): when the child refuses to comply with a previous parental request (extracts 10, 11, 12) or when the parent refuses a child’s earlier request (extracts 13, 15, 16) or sanctions the child’s behavior toward his little brother (extract 14). Confronted with a situation of disagreement/disalignment, it might be important for parents to deploy the preferred format for manifesting and defending their oppositional position unequivocally (see extracts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16).

As mentioned in section 2.5.1., belonging to a membership category such as parent or child implies some moral dimensions: “category incumbency” can be “transformed into a moral matter” (Jayyusi 1984: 63) if the incumbent of a particular category does not live up to “a set of category-relevant competences” and to “the sets of duties and rights that are oriented to as bound to specific social slots” (Jayyusi 1984: 43). Indeed, to choose one example, parents not having a clear position with respect to their children’s nutrition and a certain control over what their children eat might easily be seen as incompetent, or even as acting in a

⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier, children might use their evaluative turn to accomplish dispreferred actions, such as a complaint concerning a parental domain of responsibility (extracts 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10); a negative evaluation of an object for which the parent is somehow responsible (extracts 12, 16, 17); a self-deprecation (extracts 11, 18); a self-praise (extracts 13, 15); or a blaming of a (co-present) person (extracts 2, 3, 7)

morally reprehensible way, since having no clear line of action regarding food can have negative implications for children's health. In this sense, rather than treating the preference organization as an omnirelevant device, parents might in certain praxeological contexts be oriented toward the management of moral or practical concerns that they have qua parents, as having priority. Or put in other words, instead of indexing a disrespect of preference organization when interacting with their children, parents' use of the preferred format for disagreeing with their children's evaluative turns might thus manifest their inclination to take their responsibilities qua parents seriously, even if this implies immediate and clear resistance toward their children's normative position (for a similar argument concerning parents use of the preferred format for refusing their children's requests, see the presentation of Wootton's work (1981) in section 2.5.2. of this thesis). More generally, through disagreement (produced in either format) with their children's evaluative turns that accomplish dispreferred actions, such as self-depreciation (extracts 11 and 18), a complaint concerning something which belongs to the parental field of responsibility (extracts 4, 5, 6, 9 and 16), etc., beyond manifesting their parental authority and responsibility, parents might just display their particular entitlement and legitimacy in controlling certain domains of everyday family life (Goffman 1977). As we have seen in this chapter, however, implementing parental disagreement is a trickier matter. In a context in which the children negatively evaluated food, for example, thereby indicating that they might refuse to eat it, parents who delayed their disagreement with a wh-question (extracts 4, 5, 6) and gave the child a real opportunity to respond to their request for clarification (extract 4), managed to come to a rapid closing of the incipient disagreement. In contrast, parents who withdrew this extra opportunity to speak easily found themselves in endless discussions (see extracts 5 and 6), to the point of eventually accepting that the child merely eats what she pleases (see extract 6, in which the child is allowed to only eat the ham). Finally, a strong immediate disagreement with the child's negative evaluative turn concerning an item of food also engendered a long series of disaffiliative turns (see extract 10). As we will further discuss below, the question of how parents should package their disagreeing stance regarding food issues in order to implement their position, is thus a rather complex matter.

Secondly, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, parents' disagreements all took the form of a strong disagreement (extracts 2–18) – directly contrastive with the prior evaluation, only containing disagreement components – which is characteristic of the preferred format. Instead of being the expression of an authoritative stance toward their

children, parents' systematic use of a strong disagreement might display their inclination to ensure their children's understanding of their disagreeing position. Indeed, whereas a mitigated format (characteristic of the dispreferred format) implies some ambivalence concerning the action it accomplishes (see Chapter 7), the strong disagreement does not leave any room for misunderstanding. That mutual understanding might be the participants' privileged concern is further sustained by children's way of dealing with their parents' use of either format for disagreeing with their initial evaluative turn. Parents' deployment of a wh-question which requests the child to clarify the referent (extracts 2, 3, 4, 7), or a proof procedure (extracts 8, 9) before disagreeing with the child's evaluative turn engendered the child's immediate granting of the request and/or a rapid closing of the disagreement initiated by the child's initial evaluative turn. However, in extracts 5 and 6, the parents' wh-question did not provide the child with a real opportunity to remedy a possible lack of parental understanding since the question was immediately followed by a strong parental disagreement. In contrast to the other extracts (2, 3, 4, 7), this parental way of deploying a wh-question generated a long series of disagreements between the child and the parents. Delaying the overt expression of disagreement and at the same time providing the child with another opportunity to speak or warranting understanding of his or her initial claim through the use of a verification procedure seemed beneficial to the child's rapid giving in.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, in contrast to adults, children never used the extra opportunities to speak provided by their parents' wh-question (extracts 2, 3, 4, 7) or silence (extracts 8, 9) for reviewing⁷⁹ their initial evaluative position, or for moving towards a compromise with their parents. Instead children granted the parental request for clarification immediately (extracts 2, 3, 4, 7), or verified its claim (extracts 8, 9), eventually disagreeing with it, by deploying a preferred format. However, although parents eventually used a strong disagreement, the children in this study did not further oppose, or otherwise comment on their parents' disagreeing position, but simply accepted it. In those cases in which the extra opportunity to make their own position clear was eventually withdrawn by a parent (extracts 5, 6), or in situations in which the parents responded immediately with a strong disagreement with the child's initial turn (extracts 10-16), the children resisted their parents' disagreement and deployed different embodied means in order to render their own position unmistakably clear until the parents deployed the verification procedure (extracts 16, 17), or proposed a

⁷⁹ The question why children might not use extra opportunities to speak for backing down from their initial position will be further discussed in the next chapter, in which the analysis focuses on parental responses that take the form of a questioning repeat.

compromise (extract 5, 6, 12). Parental immediate disagreement (preferred format) thereby triggered a whole series of disagreeing/disaffiliative actions, apart from when the child's initial evaluative turn accomplished a self-depreciation (extracts 11, 18), and/or when it occurred within a context of clear alignment between the interactants (extracts 17, 18). The child seemed to distinguish between warranted disagreements that manifested some respect or at least interest in the child's different evaluative position, and those disagreements that were not warranted in this way. Instead of treating their parents' disagreements as the simple expression of a more or less authoritarian position, the children seemed very sensitive to their parents' manifestation of understanding and comprehension for their point of view.

As was already outlined in the conclusion to the last chapter, examining parents' and children's preference management by taking into account the praxeological context in which children deploy evaluative turns, and the actions that children accomplish with their turns, renders issues bound to category incumbency available for inspection. It becomes clear that in everyday activities, such as eating meals and making a pizza, parents' first order relevance is not the transmission of abstract norms and principles to the younger generation, the adherence to some preference organization, or their invariable display of a superior authority. Instead, the management of very banal practical concerns is privileged, in order to avoid being involved in a never-ending to and fro regarding such issues, for example, as food, or the handling of everyday tasks, such as the putting away of a puzzle.

7. Parents' Questioning Repeats in Response to Young Children's Evaluative Turns

In the two previous chapters we have looked at the way that parents' agreeing or disagreeing responses to their young children's evaluative turn are interactively organized, and we have related our findings to the existing literature concerned with preference organization. Another activity in which preference organization is treated as a relevant issue by the interactants is repair. In their fundamental work about the organization of repair, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) argue that repair practices constitute the main means of solving problems in speaking, hearing and understanding, and are thus central to producing and maintaining intersubjectivity. Regarding the organization of repair (practices) within adult-child interaction, the authors note that adults seem to repair children's talk more readily and more frequently than they repair the talk of other adults. In ordinary adult conversations, the recipient of problematic talk does not usually other-repair, i.e. repair a previous speaker's talk, but she or he tends instead to other-initiate repair – by requesting a clarification, for example – thereby leaving it to the speaker of the problematic talk to actually fix it, thus displaying an orientation toward the preference for self-repair over other-repair. Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks suggest that when adults are interacting with (young) children they do not respect this preference organization, instead of avoiding other-repair, they might use it as a “vehicle for socialization” and as a “device for dealing with those who are still learning” (1977: 381).

Within the EM/CA literature about adult(parent)-child interactions of the last ten years, special attention is paid to the way repair is organized (Corrin 2010; Filipi 2009; Forrester 2008; Forrester & Cherington 2009; Laakso 2010; Laakso & Soininen 2010; Wootton 1994, 2007, 2010). From a pragmatic point of view, the examination of the organization of repair within everyday adult-child interaction is important, since it sheds some new light on the (language) socialization process (Forrester & Cherington 2009: 167). For example, Corrin shows that adults frequently use open devices to initiate repair – such as “what?” or “huh?” – and so induce the child to find the trouble item and accomplish the actual repair himself/herself (Corrin 2010: 23-24).⁸⁰ Moreover, Forrester demonstrates that within parent-child interaction, one can observe a statistically significant preference, i.e. in terms of

⁸⁰ For the deployment of open-class repair initiators within child-adult interaction, see also Drew 1997, Ochs 1988.

frequency, for children's self-repair over other-repair. The findings of Corrin (2010), Forrester (2008) and others (cf. Golinkoff 1986; Wootton 1994) provide evidence that in everyday situations, adults only initiate repair, and leave it to the child to actually produce the repair. Instead of producing the repair themselves as it is suggested by Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson, these more recent studies show that adults seem to respect the preference for self-repair when interacting with young children, and thus stimulate children's own engagement in learning-by-doing repair.

The subsequent study takes a slightly different tack. A first examination of our corpus has shown that in 87 (18%) of the 483 identified occurrences in which the child produces an evaluative turn, the parents respond with a *questioning (full) repeat* (Q(F)R), i.e. the use of partial or full, final-rising-intoned repeats of a prior turn (Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010: 232). As a number of studies have established, this response format is usually used for implementing other-initiation of repair (Jefferson 1972; Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010: 236; Sidnell 2010a). Beyond initiating repair, however, the use of typical repair initiators can achieve a whole range of social actions, such as adumbrating dispreferred/disaffiliative responses like disagreements, rejections, and declinations (Drew 1997; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a; Rost-Roth 2006; Schegloff 2007; Svennevig 2008, Sidnell 2010a); entering/exiting a conversation (Egbert 1997; Lerner 1993); implementing/adumbrating surprise/disbelief (Wilkinson & Kitinger 2006); or establishing a common focus of attention (Rost-Roth 2006). I therefore propose a praxeological and multimodal analysis of parents' uses of Q(F)Rs and their interactive organizations. The aim is to examine if, instead of simply being in the service of the repair, the parental Q(F)R and the child's response to it might be deployed in order to achieve other social actions.

7.1. The Emergence of an Adjacency Lapse After a Young Child's Evaluative Turn

As will be seen throughout the whole chapter, before parents produce a Q(F)R following their young children's evaluative turn, an *adjacency lapse*, i.e. a silence after a first speaker has completed an action, which projects a next action by the intended recipient (Jefferson 1972: 298). In this section, I will briefly outline the interactive and sequential implications of this consistent feature.

The adjacency lapse in a two party situation:

In the following sequence, the mother and Elio (two years, one month) are sitting on the pavement in front of the house and are waiting for the boy's older sister to come home from school. In order to highlight particular turns in transcripts, I used → to indicate the small child's evaluative turn, ⇒ to mark the parent's Q(F)R, and → to highlight the child's response to the parent's Q(F)R.

Extract (1)⁸¹

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 C2→ ma*man*, (0.2) c'est* (0.3) pas+ bon.
mom, (0.2) that's* (0.3) not good.
2 c2 *picks grass blade up, directs it toward MO
3 c2 *shifts gaze, then body toward MO
4 c2 *maintains gaze, body, grass blade
toward MO->
5 mo +looks seriously at C2->>



- 6 MO⇒ (0.7) >c'est pas bon?<
(0.7) >that's not good?<
fig # figure 1
7 C2→ (0.6) *(non.)*
(0.6) (no.)
8 c2 *one lateral head shake*
9 c2 *drops grass blade on the floor

In the beginning of this sequence, Elio orients toward a blade of grass lying on the floor, which he previously had in his mouth, and had then thrown onto the floor. When he picks it up and holds it out toward his mother (lines 2–3), he negatively evaluates the blade of grass: “mom, that’s not good” (line 1). By pre-positioning his evaluative TCU with the

⁸¹ This extract has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (extract 7) and Chapter 5 (extract 21). In Chapter 4 (extract 7) the analysis focused on the way the child treated the mother's first response (not printed here) to his evaluative turn (the repetition of a gustatory evaluation) as less than satisfactory, and sought to highlight and discuss the embodied resources that Elio mobilized in order to pursue a more elaborated response. In Chapter 5 (extract 21), I pointed out that the mother's first minimal response, expressing a weak agreement (not printed here), induced the child to repair his initial turn by using more adult-like language. In this chapter I use the fragment in order to point to the adjacency lapse occurring before the mother's production of a questioning repeat (line 6).

address term “mom”, while shifting his body orientation and gaze towards mother (line 3), Elio explicitly selects his mother to produce this next turn (see also the discussion of this same extract in Chapter 4, extract 4)⁸². By explicitly selecting a next speaker in a context in which only one possible person is available for responding, Elio is insisting on getting a response from his mother. However, the above transcription shows the emergence of a silence of 0.7 seconds before the mother produces a QFR (line 6; figure 1).

The emergence of such a silence after the young child's evaluative turn is a consistent feature of the 87 occurrences composing the collection. It constitutes an adjacency lapse and indicates that the action to come might be problematic. Jefferson argues that by withholding her (re-)action to the initial turn, the selected speaker (the mother) gives the previous speaker an extra opportunity to resume talking, in order to review, adjust, reformulate, or otherwise repair his previous action (Jefferson 1972: 297–298). However, Elio does not use this extra opportunity, for example to review or otherwise repair his previous turn, instead he leaves the floor to his mother, who then produces a QFR (see also the discussion of the extracts 12 to 15 in Chapter 5). As Forrester showed, at this age (two years, one month) children can identify an adjacency lapse as an other-initiation of repair without problem, and propose self-repair (Forrester 2008: 104). Elio, by not treating it in such a way, seems to display his understanding of the situation as not being repair implicative.

In this first extract, Elio is alone with his mother, and he is consequently the only one who might use the emerging silence to resume talking. Nevertheless, in 36 occurrences, or in 31% of the whole collection of parental Q(F)Rs, an older sister/brother is co-present at the moment of the young child's evaluative turn, and it is such a situation that is analyzed next.

The adjacency lapse in a multi-party situation:

In the following sequence, the two children Manon (four years, one month) and Anna (two years, six months) are sitting at the table facing each other and drinking juice with their afternoon snack. The mother stands a bit further away and is preoccupied with pouring herself a glass of water, engendering Manon's comment concerning the fact that the mother drinks sparkling water, which is followed with mother's agreement.

⁸² As Lerner notes, participants often use a combination of different explicit methods, such as gaze shifting or a personal address term, to select a next speaker (Lerner 2003: 196 note 2).

Extract (2)

Participants: MO: mother; C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month); C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months); CA1: camera 1

- 1 (3*.8)
 2 c2 *stops drinking, lowers glass of juice-->
- 
- 3 C2→ +*#j'aime h. (0.3) mieux+ ça h.
 i like h. (0.3) that better h.
 4 mo +grasps a plate with peaches on her left+
 5 c2 *pulls juice bottle toward her, looking at it-->
 fig # figure 1
 6 mo +shifts gaze, body toward C2-->
 7 (0.5)
 8 MO⇒ +toi tu aimes ça?
 you, you like that?
 9 C2→ (0.7) oui.
 (0.7) yes.

In the beginning of the extract, Anna puts down her glass of juice, grasps the bottle in front of her, looks at it saying: “I like that better h.” (line 3). She thus makes an evaluative comparison between the sparkling water that her mother has just finished pouring and the juice that Anna herself is drinking. Simultaneously, the mother, who is oriented toward the kitchen (figure 1), takes a plate with peaches and directs it toward the table (lines 4, 6). At the end of her daughter’s comparison, the mother shifts her gaze and orients her body toward Anna, puts the plate with peaches on the table and utters: “you, you like that?” (lines 6, 8). In contrast to the previous extract, the mother is not explicitly addressed. After a short adjacency lapse, the mother self-selects to produce a QR, leaving out the comparative dimension of her daughter’s initial turn. As Sacks et al. point out in their article of 1974, when the current speaker selects the next speaker, as was the case in the former sequence, the selected participant has the obligation and right to produce the projected action. In the above case, by starting first after completion of the prior turn, the mother uses the basic self-selection technique and thus self-acquires this right/obligation to respond to her young daughter’s positive announcement (see Sacks et al. 1974: 718).

The adjacency lapse of 0.5 seconds (line 7) that emerges after completion of the evaluative turn (line 3) is thus not used by Anna herself in order to resume talking, nor by the

co-present older sister Manon for responding to her sister's evaluative turn. The latter's silence is especially interesting, since the two sisters are oriented toward each other and engaged in the same activity (drinking juice). Nevertheless, Manon stays silent. By staying silent at this point, the two girls (tacitly) display their orientation toward the co-present mother being the relevant next speaker. In all of the 36 occurrences in which sisters/brothers are present, the participants display this same orientation, i.e. the orientation toward the parent as the relevant next speaker. They do this independent of: a) whether the parent has been explicitly selected by the young child as next speaker (17/36); b) whether the parent used self-selection in order to produce the next action (12/36); or c) the ongoing interaction provided for the parent to be the relevant next speaker (7/36). It seems that the way participants deal with the adjacency lapse displays their orientation toward different category-incumbency (parent-child; older sister/brother, etc.) as having non-equivalent authority (rights/obligations) to respond to a small child's evaluative turn. Moreover, in cases of parents' self-selection, the silence might also indicate that parents do not rush into the *turn generated category* (Sacks 1992 II: 360–366; Watson 1997: 66) of being responder to their child's initial evaluative turn, and so withhold their display of a stance toward it. In this section, I have briefly outlined three aspects concerning the occurrence of an adjacency lapse preceding the parents' QR. First, all participants collaborate in the emergence of adjacency lapse; secondly, the adjacency lapse indicates that a next action might be problematic; and finally, both children and adults alike orient toward the parent, as the relevant participant to produce a next action, after the occurrence of a young child's evaluative turn. These three aspects are important and I will refer to them in the following analytic section, especially when I point to interactants' display of specific orientations toward each other's contribution to the course of action.

7.2. *What Does the Parent's Questioning Repeat After a Child's Evaluative Turn Accomplish in Terms of Interaction?*

In terms of action, a parental Q(F)R after their children's evaluative turn neither agrees nor disagrees with the previous action. As mentioned above, Q(F)Rs, constitute a genuine practice of other-initiation of repair, or OIR (Jefferson 1972: 300, 305): retrospectively they point toward a trouble in the previous turn/action, and prospectively they invite the speaker of the trouble to produce a repair. As their designation indicates, they confront the trouble speaker with a challenge concerning the correctness or adequacy of her/his previous turn/action

(Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010; Sidnell 2010a). Sequentially, its deployment engenders a (momentary) halt in the prior activity, whatever this activity was, and generates a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972: 298). The aim of the subsequent analysis consists in showing that participants not only deploy a Q(F)R to initiate repair, but like *exposed corrections* (Jefferson 1987: 95) use it to accomplish attendant activities.

7.2.1. Questioning Repeats After a Child's Noticing

In the following section, I will discuss parents' QRs following children's environmental noticings. As mentioned before (see Chapter 4, extracts 1 and 2), not every place in conversation is convenient for producing a noticing, and therefore their timing constitutes "one integral part of their occurrence" (Sacks 1992 II: 90; 93).

Parents QR following a child's noticing that pursues talk about an already relevant referent

As Sacks mentions, noticings are often produced as interruptions of somebody else (Sacks 1992 II: 91). The following sequences show situations in which the child's evaluative turn does not properly interrupt an actual speaker. However, the child, by producing it, re-engages turn-by-turn talk with the parent, when she/he had not been considered to be an active part of the conversation (extract 3), or when it has lapsed (extract 4).

In extract 3 below, the mother and the children, Louis and Clara, are in the living room assembling wooden caterpillars (figure 1).

Extract (3)

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months); CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2



- 1 (#3*.+5)
 fig # figure 1
 2 c2 *(0.9)looks at the wooden caterpillar ->
 3 mo +(0.5)looks toward C2 -->



4 C2→ **ma chenille elle est* belle#.**
 my caterpillar it is beautiful
 5 c2 *rh: directs wooden caterpillar
 slightly up, maintains it-->>
 fig # figure 2
 6 (0.5)
 7 M0⇒ **+elle est belle ta chenille?**
 it is beautiful your caterpillar?
 8 mo +looks at wooden caterpillar in C2's hand-->>
 9 C2→ (0.5) (°mh°°)
 10 (0.9)
 11 C1 **elle est très belle ta chenille *xx.***
 it is very beautiful your caterpillar xx.
 12 c2 *step toward M0*
 13 (0.4)
 14 C2 **EH: elle est *comme u:n (0.4)**
 EH: it is like a: (0.4)
 15 c2 *looks at M0-->>
 16 C1 **T'AS VU MAMAN LA MIENNE...**
 MUMMY HAVE YOU SEEN MINE...

Clara's noticing concerning the caterpillar (line 4), which she is holding in her hands, is not addressed to a particular participant, i.e. she does not use an address term or exploit gaze to select the next speaker (line 2; figure 2). However, after an adjacency lapse of 0.5 seconds, the mother self-selects to produce a QR: "it is beautiful your caterpillar?" (line 7). The mother thus reproduces both referent terms of the child's turn, even though one would be *referentially adequate* (Watson 1997: 59) for tying the QR to the child's utterance, and sufficient to make clear that she is talking about the same thing. In addition, the mother produces the QR by exploiting a pronominal construction, i.e. she begins her utterance with the pronoun that the girl had placed at the end. She thus makes the tying of the two utterances especially salient (for parents' use of tying techniques see also Chapter 6, extract 7). That this use of a QR above all ratifies Clara's attempt to re-enter an ongoing conversation, and does not indicate mother's trouble in hearing, understanding or accepting the girl's noticing as adequate, is demonstrated in the further development of the interaction. Indeed, by responding to it with a barely audible confirmation, "(°mh°°)" in line 9, Clara treats her mother's QR as a satisfactory response, which does not make relevant a repair-action by her. Moreover, by keeping silent after her daughter's confirmation, the mother treats it as closing implicative.

After another silence (of 0.9 seconds), Clara's older brother Louis self-selects and produces an up-graded agreement with Clara's initial assessment by adding the qualifier "very" (line 11). Like his mother, the boy dislocates the pronominal reference to the assessed subject to the right, and so ties his utterance to that of his mother. Its upgraded affirmative character, by otherwise maintaining the same syntactical construction⁸³ as his mother's, displays the boy's competitive orientation toward the latter's utterance. Louis so challenges his mother's epistemic authority, and displays his right to propose his own position. With this he demonstrates clearly what "doing, being" (Sacks 1984b) an older brother might imply concerning epistemic rights to assess a co-present object.

Clara does not pay any further attention to her brother. Instead, she makes a step toward her mother (line 12), directs the caterpillar into her field of vision, and shifts her gaze to her, simultaneously beginning another noticing: "EH:, she is like a (0.4)", which she interrupts after "a". Her brother uses the emerging silence for commenting loudly upon his own caterpillar (line 16). In contrast to his upgraded assessment in line 11, which was aligned to his sister's initial noticing, the boy's way of taking the floor at this point indicates his competitive stance toward his sister concerning the attention of their mother. Clara ignores her brother's attempt to take the floor, and keeps on orienting to her mother (line 15). She thus not only acknowledges her mother as being the proper recipient of her new noticing (line 14), but by beginning a new noticing Clara also displays her understanding of her mother's previous QR, as constituting an adequate response to her initial one (line 4).

In the following sequence, the mother and Susanne (two years, four months) are looking out of the window (figure 1).

Extract (4)

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Susanne (2 years, 4 months), CA1: camera 1

		
1	(6.0)((MO lifts C2 up, turns toward window))	
2	mo/c2	+*look out of window#->
	fig	# figure 1

⁸³ M. Goodwin remarks that within disputes „the reuse of elements of prior talk of one's opponent can have the character of a karate move, by using one's opponent's own actions against them.“ (Goodwin 2006: 191)

3 mo *shifts gaze toward C2#-->
 fig # figure 2
 4 C2→ ~~ça c'est be::lle~~
 that that's beau::tiful
 5 M0⇒ (0.3) elle est + belle?
 (0.3) it is beautiful?
 6 mo +shifts gaze toward car parking->>
 7 C2→ (0.3) oui
 (0.3) yes
 8 (0.9)
 9 M0 une toute vieille?
 a really old one?
 10 C2 (0.4) ouais.
 (0.4) yeah.((conversation about the car continues))

At the beginning of the above sequence, turn-by-turn talk has lapsed (line 1). The mother lifts Susanne up from the changing table and carrying her, she turns toward the window (line 1). First, both of them look out of the window, which looks onto a car park (line 2, figure 1). Then the mother orients her gaze toward Susanne without saying anything (line 3, figure 2). 1.3 seconds later, the young child notices: “that that’s beau::tiful” (line 4). The little girl identifies a referent with the indexical “that” in first position of her turn within a left dislocation. By producing a noticing at this point, Susanne displays her understanding of mother’s gaze as summoning her as a next speaker (Lerner 2003: 180). According to Schegloff, one major property of a summons–response sequence is its *nonterminality*, i.e. a summons makes relevant another action by the summoner after the completion of the summoning turn (Schegloff 1972: 359). In the above case, after a short silence (0.3 seconds), the summoner (mother) produces the QR, “it is beautiful?” (line 5). The mother exploits thus sequential and format resources to tie her utterance to her daughter’s. Indeed, the QR is tied to her girl’s noticing in a number of ways. Firstly, because it fulfills her obligation as a summoner to resume talking after her daughter’s turn. Secondly, it is tied to it because it constitutes the response, which is made relevant by her daughter’s noticing. Finally, the mother, as in the previous sequence, exploits format tying, by producing a repeat with a pronominal construction, which places the pronoun “it” in first position.

Note that the little girl’s use of an indexical for referring to the assessable – a car – seems unproblematic, since the mother simply uses the adequate pronoun in order to refer to it.⁸⁴ In this family, the children regularly go to the window, which looks onto a car park in front of the house, and in interaction with the parents, the children mainly produce noticings

⁸⁴ In French, the car is a feminine noun, so the mother’s use of the feminine pronoun is thus appropriate.

on the cars parked there. The routine dimension of this activity might explain why, in this situation, it is sufficient for Susanne to use an indexical to refer to the assessable. As Goode suggests, routine is a very powerful “intersubjectively shared resource” (Goode 1990: 17) for the orderly accomplishment of daily life activities.

However, by using the questioning format, the mother displays her orientation toward the re-engaged talk not yet being finished, since it makes a response by Susanne relevant. Interestingly, the girl responds with a simple confirmation of her initial turn (line 7). As Jefferson points out, the simple confirmation of an initial claim, as a response to a QR, might be interpreted as challenging the former’s questioning character (Jefferson 1972: 312). Instead of treating the confirmation as challenging, the mother produces a new noticing concerning the same referent by exploiting an uprising intonation in the end (line 9). This rising intonation gives the new noticing a questioning format through which the mother thus downgrades her epistemic claim (see Heritage & Raymond 2005: 19-20). Instead of competing with her daughter’s stance, as the older brother did in the last sequence, she merely makes relevant another confirmation by her daughter, which Susanne produces in line 10. Thus, the mother further displays that her previous QR follows a collaborative logic concerning the elaboration of the initial noticing. In this sense, the QR accomplishes a first move and the noticing produced with a rising intonation produces a second move, which both display a pursuit of the exchange initiated by the young child as constituting the priority of the interaction (encouraging their young children’s pursuit of turn-by-turn talk constitutes a typical parental activity; see Filipi 2009: 84).

In both extracts 3 and 4, the parents exploit a particular tying technique, i.e. they produce a QR by modifying the syntactical structure, and placing the pronoun in the first position of the turn. In so doing, they indicate to their young child that they are tying their own utterance to the child’s noticing. Furthermore, by exploiting a questioning format, they provide the child with another slot to talk. Other studies have demonstrated that the production of an other-initiation of repair might (above all) serve the speaker to re-enter an ongoing conversation (cf. Lerner 1993; Egbert 1997). In the previous two sequences, the questioning repeat enables the parent to ratify the young child’s attempt to re-engage turn-by-turn talk.

Parents' QR following a child's noticing that occurs in a busy environment

As mentioned earlier, one way of giving a noticing a particular relevance is to refer to something that has been talked about before (see Chapter 4, extract 1 and 2). As has become clear in previous fragments (for example in Chapter 4, extracts 1 to 4), in order to be able to organize and manage the everyday family routine, parents have to engage in what is commonly known as multiple tasking. Young children might thus be recurrently confronted with the fact that parents are preoccupied with something other than just having a conversation with them. The two following sequences indicate that young children use noticings about a referent that was the subject of previous talk to require the parent to attend to their frame of referent and to keep conversing with them, even though she or he is at the same time occupied with something else. In turn, the parent uses the QR to acknowledge the child's attempt, even though they are preoccupied with something else.

In the extract below, Clara (two years, four months) and her brother are waiting for dinner to start, while the mother is preoccupied with arranging the little girl's clothes and adjusting her position on the high chair.

Extract (5)⁸⁵

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Louis (4, 3 years), C2: Clara (2,4 years), CA1: camera 1; CA2: camera 2

- 1 MO **ah il f'sait comme ça l'm'sieur tu crois**
 ah he did it like that the man you think
 2 (1.1)



- 3 C2→ **est# gra*nd#**
 is tall
 fig # figure 1
 4 c2 *turns toward MO->
 fig # figure 2
 5 (1.1)

⁸⁵ This extract has already been examined in Chapter 4, extract 2. The analysis focused on the child's ability to pursue a response, when it was not spontaneously produced by the addressed parent.



6 C2→ (le mo) le monsieur, * il est *gr#and
 (the ma) the man, he is tall
 7 c2 *orienting toward 'man', pointing*
 8 c2 *orienting back toward MO->
 fig # figure 3
 9 (0.4)
 10 MO⇒ c'est # un grand monsieur ?
 that's a tall man?
 fig # figure 4
 11 C2 (0.2) mh ((affirmative))
 12 (0.2)
 13 MO +ah d'accord.
 ah okay.
 14 mo +invites C2 to sit down on her high-chair, moves the
 chair toward the table->>

In the beginning of the above extract, Louis is sitting at the table, Clara is standing on her high chair, and the two children are oriented toward each other (figure 1). While her mother is preoccupied with adjusting Clara's pants, the latter notices "is tall", without invoking any referent (line 3; figure 1). By shifting her gaze toward her mother (figure 2) at the end of the noticing, Clara tacitly addresses her turn to her mother, and thus selects her as a next speaker (see discussion of this same extract in Chapter 4, extract 2). Nonetheless, a silence emerges (line 5), during which the mother does not respond to her daughter's turn, i.e. there is the absence of a response by the recipient. Clara treats this silence as a noticeable absence of the required response and after 1.1 seconds she repeats her initial evaluative turn by prefixing it with the referent that was missing, i.e. "the man". Simultaneously, Clara proposes an embodied identification of the referent, which she accomplishes by orienting her body and a vague pointing (line 7; figure 3) toward the direction in which the man was last seen .

After a short silence the mother produces a QR. Instead of simply repeating Clara's left dislocated format, the mother deploys the format: "that's a x?" – and so indicates that the referent does not cause any problem of understanding (Sacks 1992 I: 378). The QR, which neither agrees nor disagrees with the previous claim, allows the mother to produce a response which does not clearly display her stance toward Clara's claim. As in extracts 3 and 4, Clara responds with a minimal affirmation (line 10), and does not further challenge the QR. Her

confirmation is adjacently followed by a turn from her mother (line 13), which begins with a change-of-knowledge token, followed by a terminal marker: “okay”, which “indicates satisfactory termination of the action it follows” (Jefferson 1972: 317). It is interesting to note that up to this point, the mother is busy putting on Clara’s bib, and adjusting the little girl’s position on the high chair (figures 1–4). The mother is therefore preoccupied with something other than verifying Clara’s claim, which could induce a change of knowledge (line 12). In this sense, the use of a QR allows the mother to keep the conversation with her daughter going while simultaneously handling these other activities, and then finally to indicate a change of knowledge and to agree with her daughter’s claim – despite the fact that she has neither checked it any further, nor received new information from Clara since her QR.

In the next sequence, Aurélie, Noëmi, and their mother are making biscuits for Christmas. The two girls are sitting at the table and the mother stands behind them. Noëmi (two years, one month) and her mother use a biscuit cutter to cut a biscuit together (figure 1).

Extract (6)

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Aurélie (4 years), C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month), CA: camera 1, CA: camera 2



- 1 (0.5)
- 2 C2→ +ça#, jolie* ç*a+.
that, cute that.
- 3 mo +takes biscuit out of cutter+
fig # figure 2
- 4 c2 *grasps biscuit cutter*
- 5 c2 *directs cutter toward dough->
- 6 mo +directs bisc. toward baking tray->
- 7 MO⇒ (0.2) *c'est jolie ça?
(0.2) that's cute that?
- 8 c2 *puts form on pastry->
- 9 (1.1)
- 10 C2→ **khh.+°
- 11 c2 *pushes the form into the pastry->>
- 12 mo +puts biscuit on baking tray->>
13. (2.3)

At the beginning of the above sequence, MO finishes cutting a biscuit, while Noëmi directs her hand toward another metal cutter, and produces a positive evaluation (line 2), by

simultaneously grasping the cutter, and directing it toward the biscuit dough (figure 2; lines 4–5). At the end of Noëmi’s turn, the mother begins directing the biscuit that she has just finished cutting toward the baking tray (line 6); after a short silence (0.2 seconds), she produces a QR in the same syntactical format as in the previous extract: “that’s x?” (line 7). This ties her utterance to the little girl’s. Like her daughter, the mother merely uses the indexical “that” to refer to the assessable. Since both use a biscuit cutter, no further clarification seems necessary to identify the referent. As in the other occurrences, the daughter does not seem to treat the mother’s QR as questioning the adequacy of her noticing. On the contrary, in this sequence Noëmi does not even respond with a minimal confirmation, as was the case in the previous sequence (line 10). This might be explained by the fact that in the previous extract, Clara was mainly preoccupied with pursuing a response to her initial noticing (cf. Chapter 4, extract 2), whereas in this sequence, we observe a reversal of roles and it is the young child, Noëmi, who is preoccupied with something else, i.e. cutting biscuits. Indeed, after her mother’s QR, Noëmi pursues her activity of putting the cutter on the dough and pushing it in (lines 8, 11). This way of dealing with the potentially challenging QR of her mother rapidly closes the side sequence initiated with it.

In both sequences (extracts 5 and 6), the parent’s QR exploits a specific syntactical construction, which ties it to the child’s previous turn and so ratifies the child’s noticing/positive evaluation as an attempt to continue the conversation, even though the parent is actually preoccupied with something else, e.g. putting on the young child’s bib, or cutting biscuits.

To summarize: in the above extracts (3–6), the young children produce a noticing and thus achieve either the re-engagement of turn-by-turn talk when it had lapsed/when the young child was not considered an active participant (extracts 3 and 4), or the continuation of talk about an already talked about/acted upon referent, even though the interactive context does not favor it, i.e. the intended parent is preoccupied with something other than conversing (extracts 5 and 6). A noticing might be vulnerable to the recipient’s taking up of a challenging stance when the producer stands in an asymmetric relationship to him/her (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005; Stivers 2005). Primarily, however, the parent’s QRs seem not to challenge the child’s noticing. On the contrary, by exploiting a QR with a particular syntactical format (pronominal format for extract 3 and 4, and a “that’s x”-format for extracts 5 and 6), the parents are strongly tying their utterance to their child’s noticing. I argue therefore, that in this particular praxeological context, instead of using a QR to challenge their children’s previous

turn, parents deploy it to ratify their young children's previous interactional achievements – entering an ongoing conversation,⁸⁶ the re-engagement of turn-by-turn talk, etc. (for interactants' use of noticings for re-engaging turn-by-turn talk see Szymansky 1999: 5) – and at the same time to provide the child with another opportunity to talk. That this might be so is further shown by the child's minimal confirmation following their parents' QRs, which are not oriented to (by either children or parents) with the aim of accomplishing a self-repair, but rather to (pre-)close the side sequence initiated by the QR. Moreover, note that in extracts 3 and 6, the mother self-selects to produce a QR; in extract 4, the mother is the only possible next speaker; and in extract 5, the little girl selects the mother as next speaker. All participants, parents and children, might thus display their orientation toward the membership category "parent" having a particular right/obligation to encourage their young children's active participation in conversation. In this way it can be challenged by an older brother (extract 3), who overtly competes with his little sister in order to regain the floor.

7.2.2. Questioning Repeats After a Child's Announcement

In this section I discuss sequences in which the child's evaluative turn is accomplishing an announcement (cf. Sacks 1992 II: 87–90), highlighting an action as noteworthy. Like a noticing, an announcement requires the intended recipient to look, touch or otherwise check what is being claimed to be noteworthy in order to produce an adequate response. Contrary to the environmental noticings of the previous section, the announcements in this section are related to the child's engagement in an activity (extracts 7–9), or refer to his personal taste concerning food (extract 10). Thus they imply a *speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry* (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 13), which is displayed in the way the parents organize their QR.

Parental QR which adumbrates positive surprise and/or acknowledgement

In extract 7, Noëmi (two years, one month) is alone in the bathroom, sitting on the potty, while the mother is standing in front of the closed door (see figure 1).

⁸⁶ As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, for a discussion of participants' use of repair initiators as a means by which to enter/exit a conversation, see Egbert 1997; Lerner 1993.

Extract (7)

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month)

- 1 MO c'est bon?
it's o.k.?



1

- 2 C2 (0.2)NON#
(0.2)NO

fig # figure 1

- 3 MO (0.2) (°oh+ mais°,)
(0.2) (°oh but°,)

- 4 mo +turns around, starts walking away from the
bathroom, then returns to the door->

- 5 (2.0)

- 6 MO dépeche toi un p'tit peu*=
hurry up a little bit=

- 7 c2 *lh: opens slightly the door->

- 8 C2→ =a bon
=is okay



2

- 9 MO⇒ (0.5) c'est bo#n?
(0.5) it's okay?

fig # figure 2

- 10 C2→ (0.4) oui*, r'garde+
(0.4) yes, look

- 11 c2 *gets up from the potty->

- 12 mo +bends over, looks into potty->>

- 13 MO (0.4) AH:: ben bravo, ouais
(0.4) AH:: well bravo, yeah

At the beginning of the extract, the mother asks her daughter: “it’s okay?” (line 1). The young child responds with a simple disagreement (line 2). This engenders mother’s use of a surprise token (line 3), which indicates that the daughter’s response is somehow unexpected. It is followed by the contrast conjunction “but” at line 3. However, before the mother utters this, she turns around, walks away from the bathroom, then instantly returns

back to the door in order to request her daughter to: “hurry up” (line 6). Latching with this request, the little girl slightly opens the door of the bathroom (line 7) and announces: “is okay” (line 8). This positive announcement constitutes a sudden change to the “no-statement” in line 2, and engenders an adjacency lapse (0.5 seconds), followed by mother’s QR (line 9).

As Wilkinson and Kitzinger show, an emerging silence can adumbrate surprise or disbelief (2006: 165). Contrary to the occurrences of the last section, this parental QR takes the form of a full repeat (QFR). As Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman point out, the use of this format for initiating repair rules out problems of hearing, or of understanding either the referent or the claim that has been made as being the source of the trouble to which the QR might be pointing to. Consequently, the full repeat targets an *action-as-a-whole* as the repairable item (Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010: 232–234). As such, the mother’s QFR resembles an open-class repair initiator, i.e. it does not point out a particular trouble-item in the previous turn, and so stimulates the trouble speaker to locate the trouble source herself (see Chapter 6, extracts 2 to 7 and Drew 1997: 73).⁸⁷ Noëmi immediately seems to understand what is causing her mother trouble. Indeed, as a response to the Q(F)R, she simply confirms her announcement (“yes”) and summons her mother to “look” (line 10) while she gets up from her potty (line 11). She not only gives her mother epistemic access in order to check the correctness of her claim, but also requests her to do so. Note that by summoning her mother, Noëmi transforms her second pair part (response to her mother’s Q(F)R) into a first pair part (FPP: invitation to verify correctness of initial assessment), which makes relevant a next action by her mother; she thus regains the talk control that her mother had taken over by producing a Q(F)R.

Leaning over, the mother looks into the potty (line 12) and immediately produces the positive acknowledgement: “well bravo, yeah” (line 13). By prefacing it with the French change-of-state token: “AH::”, the mother does not merely display surprise, but also acknowledges that the girl’s previous summoning for her to look into the potty produces a change in her state of knowledge. This in turn makes relevant mother’s acknowledgement of the girl’s initial claim, which she produces in the form of a compliment. As we have seen in this extract, Q(F)R might be used to achieve an other-initiation of repair, and induce the child to propose a candidate repair (giving epistemic access). However, in this particular

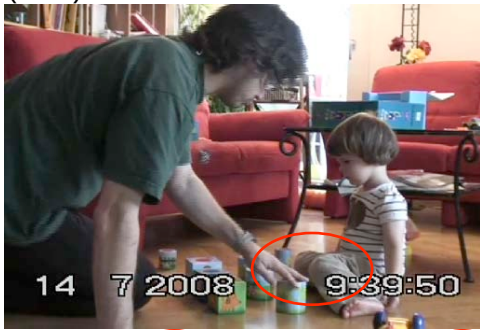
⁸⁷ According to Drew, within parent-child interaction an open-class device is used, for example, by the parent to initiate self-repair, when the young child in its prior turn does not conform with expected standards of politeness. As an example, the author mentions situations in which the young child utters a request without adding “please” (Drew 1997: 95, see also Wootton 2006a).

At the beginning of the extract below, Clara (two years, four months) is sitting on the floor in the living room; the other family members are in proximity, but are not interacting with her. The girl is hiding little plastic animals in order to prepare a game that she has agreed to play with her father.

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months), C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months), CA: camera

9 FA alo/rs,

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- so,
- 10 fa /approaches scene, looks at cardboard boxes->
11 (0.6)
- 
- 12 FA ou:h/, moi je sais pas# où tu les a mis /hein↑
ou:h, me i don't know where you have put them huh↑
- 13 fa /lh: checks over cardboard boxes one at a time/
fig # figure 2
- 14 fa /lh: grabs the die,
hands it over to C2, they start playing->>

After hiding the last item under a cardboard-box, Clara utters her positive announcement (line 2) and lifts her head to look around (line 3). Her announcement is composed of the terminal marker “done”, which indicates that something is completed, and implies a claim referring to a collaborative action: “we have hidden it all”. Following her announcement, there is a silence (1.1 seconds), which induces the little girl to repeat it and thus pursuing a response (see Chapter 4). Compared to the first utterance, her repetition “have hidden it all” (line 5) is produced by deploying a simplified syntactical construction, in a lower voice, and accompanied by a gaze shift down to the referents (line 6). I argue that this less intensive repetition indicates that Clara has seen her father approaching. After a short silence of 0.2 seconds, the father produces a QR: “have hidden it all?”, which he prefixes with the pronoun “you” (line 7). He thus deploys a pronominal syntax – as in the extracts of the first section – and ties his utterance to Clara’s. However, his use of “you” stands in contrast to Clara’s “we” in her initial announcement, which stresses Clara’s solitary accomplishment of the hiding activity and tacitly points to his lack of epistemic access concerning his daughter’s claim. He declines to agree or disagree with his daughter’s announcement by using a common device: he displays a lack of knowledge (see Pomerantz 1984a: 57–58).

By deploying a questioning format, the father prospectively makes relevant a response from Clara, which is not forthcoming. Instead a silence emerges (line 8), and the young girl continues to look down on the boxes. As Jefferson points out, the absence of a response de-

legitimizes the QR's status as an other-initiation of repair (see Jefferson 1972: 310). Clara, by keeping silent instead of responding, displays her interpretation of her father's utterance as not challenging her own claim, but as adumbrating something to come. Nor does the father treat his daughter's non-response as problematic. Indeed, instead of pursuing a response to his QR, the father produces the continuer: "so" (line 9) while approaching Clara (line 12).⁸⁹ Running his left hand over the boxes (line 13; figure 2) to check his daughter's claim, the father displays his surprise by beginning a next utterance with the surprise token "ouh". In so doing he retrospectively indicates that the previous QR was adumbrating surprise. Following the surprise token, the father utters "me, I don't know where you have put them huh↑" (line 12). Contrary to his QR, he contrasts his lack of knowledge with Clara's privileged knowledge concerning the placement of the hidden animals since she hid these by herself. Furthermore, he asks Clara to confirm this contrast, by using a tag question ("huh↑") at the end. However, as he produces the tag question, the father simultaneously grabs the die (line 14) and directs it toward Clara. By handing her the die, the father displays his orientation toward the game-preparation activity done by Clara as having been properly done, and indicates that he does not expect any further explicit confirmation from her (for parents' use of tag questions see also Chapter 5, extracts 34 and 35). In this sequence, the father's QR points toward the interplay between participating in an activity ("you have hidden it all"), and the right/obligation to confirm evaluative claims concerning the activity (cf. Pomerantz 1984a: 57-59). However, by assuring his own epistemic access (inspecting the cardboard boxes), and treating his daughter's non-response as unproblematic (he simply hands her the die in order to start playing, and thereby acknowledges that everything is prepared for playing), the father himself collaborates in the undercutting of the repair dimension of his QR. This indicates that the father's QR was more about "giving him time to approach the scene" than about "initiating repair".

In the next sequence, Noëmi deploys methods to assure her mother's epistemic access to the assessable before she produces her positive announcement. In response, the little girl does not get a QR adumbrating surprise but one that displays surprise, which therefore points to a problem concerning the adequacy of the claim made by the little girl.

⁸⁹ Unfortunately the other camera doesn't capture the father's exact whereabouts before he enters the view of camera 2.

Parental QR which displays disbelief with their child's initial announcement

In the sequence below, Noëmi (two years, one month) and her mother are sitting on the floor doing a jigsaw.

Extract (9)

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Aurélie (4 years), C2: Noëmi (2 years, 1 month)



- 1 C2→ **voilà + là# (0.2) r'garde (*0.5)# ça just*e**
done here (0.2) look (0.5) that correct
- 2 mo +shifts gaze toward jigsaw pieces indicated by C2 ->
fig # figure 1
- 3 c2 *lh: pointing at jigsaw piece*
- 4 c2 *shifts gaze toward MO->
fig # figure 2
- 5 MO⇒ **(0.2)AH↑:: c'est juste ça*?=-**
(0.2)AH↑:: that's correct that?=-
- 6 c2 *shifts gaze down on jigsaw->
- 7 C2→ **=ouais=**
=yeah=
- 8 MO **=ouai::s, tu crois (0.2)on va voir on verra après hein↑**
=yea::h, you think (0.2)we will see we will see later huh↑

While the mother is sorting out some jigsaw pieces, Noëmi puts two pieces of the puzzle together, and then announces: “done, here (0.2) look (0.5) that correct” (lines 1). With this, the girl induces the mother to shift her gaze toward the jigsaw piece that she is pointing at (lines 2, 3; figure 1). By using the terminal marker “done”, Noëmi announces that she has finished something. By summoning her mother to “look” (line 1; figure 2) Noëmi indicates that what she is referring to can be visually checked, and explicitly asks her mother to do so. Only after this preparation (see Mondada 2009a: 357-358), which provides for her mother's attention, the girl makes her positive announcement by shifting her gaze toward mother. Noëmi thus makes relevant a confirmation by the recipient (MO). After a short silence, the mother produces a QR prefaced with a loudly pronounced: “AH::” (line 5), which indicates her skepticism concerning the girl's claim. The mother's QR does not induce the little girl to revise, adjust her previous claim (see also Chapter 6, extracts 2 to 6): latching with her mother's QR, the little girl simply confirms her initial announcement “=yeah=” (line 7). This

engenders the mother's disagreement, which she produces in the dispreferred format: with a weak agreement "yea::h", which prefaces a disagreement, downgrading the little girl's confirmation with a proposition to check later (line 8) (see Chapter 6, extracts 8, 9). The mother achieves this downgrading first by using "you think", which rather than referring to a verifiable fact, instead indicates a private or personal opinion (Raymond & Heritage 2006: 68ff.). Secondly, by projecting that they will verify later ("we will see later"), the mother postpones the collaborative check and so projects a negative outcome for the verification. The mother thus seems to suggest to Noëmi that a claim which engenders disbelief from the recipient might be checked, and if necessary repaired, by its producer. In this sequence, the mother's deployment of a QR has a pedagogic dimension, since it tacitly instructs the child to re-consider the adequacy of her initial claim. At the same time, it leaves it up to the child to adjust her initial claim, and thus to produce the repair.

In the last sequence of this section, the father's QR – which responds to Elio's announcement concerning his dislike of ice cream – entails an argument between the mother and father concerning the validity of the boy's claim. It exemplifies how evaluative turns and their responses open a space for affiliating and disaffiliating actions by the participants. Additionally, we see how participants orient toward the relevance of their relationships with each other through the organization of the affiliation or disaffiliation (see Butler 2008: 159ff.). As such, the sequence indicates some dimensions of QR, which I will discuss in more detail in the next section.

In extract 10 below, the family has just finished lunch, and Alba asks for an ice cream for dessert. The father (Alain), carrying Elio (two years, one month), gets the ice cream from the fridge, hands it to Elio and asks him to give it to his sister.

Extract (10)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Alba (7 years, 11 months), C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month)



1 C2→ j'aime# pas=

- i don't like=
 fig  # figure 1
- 2 FA⇒ =T'AIMES PAS?
 =YOU DON'T LIKE?
- 3 C2→ (0.4) (moi/aime pas[(°aime°)])
 (0.4) (I/like not[(°like°)])
- 4 FA [ben j'suis] sûr qu'si tu goûtes, tu aimes
 [well I'm] sure that if you taste, you like
- 5 MO (0.3) non, il aime pas j't'assure Alain
 (0.3) no, he does not like I assure you Alain

At the beginning of this sequence, Elio has just handed his sister the ice cream; his father is walking back toward the fridge, with Elio in his arms, when the boy announces: “i don't like” (line 1; figure 1). Latching with his son's negative assessment (no adjacency lapse), the father produces a full repeat with a rising intonation at the end, using a louder voice. Thus he exploits prosody to display his disbelief concerning his son's announcement, and also to challenge it (Curl 2005: 15–18; Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006: 152). As such, the father's QFR induces the boy to reply, and gives him the opportunity to adjust his initial announcement. Although Elio treats the father's turn as an action of disaffiliation, and responds to it by downgrading his initial announcement (line 3), that is to say, it occurs after some delay and is produced in a lower, barely audible voice, his father does not treat it as being more acceptable – quite the contrary. That this is so is evidenced in the father's assertion, which overlaps with his son's reformulation: “I'm sure that if you taste, you like” (line 4). Indeed, by using sequential positioning (overlap), and invoking lack of experience, the father explicitly rejects his son's reformulation.

Immediately following the father's assertion, the mother disagrees with him – “no, he does not like I assure you Alain” – affiliating with Elio's claim (line 5). Note that in comparison to the father's “I'm sure”, the mother's post-final expansion “I assure you Alain” upgrades the certainty of her claim, and so insists upon the validity of her son's initial announcement. On the one hand, she displays her understanding of her husband's assertion as one that rejects Elio's claim. On the other hand, by so clearly disagreeing with her husband, she upgrades her son's initial assessment to a “fact”, thus undermining the father's right to compete with her son's assessment on the grounds of the stipulated lack of experience. The use of questioning formats or full modified repeats in response to evaluative turns constitutes

a method for undercutting the previous speaker's right to assess, and might be deployed by speakers with greater socio-epistemic rights to evaluate (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005: 34; Stivers 2005: 143–144). This sequence clearly shows this interplay between different speaker's rights to assess or challenge assessments. Indeed Elio's attempt to counter his father's Q(F)R merely induces the father to reject the boy's claim, and it is the mother who is successful in backing up Elio's initial assessment and in countering the father's disbelief.

To summarize, in this section I have analyzed sequences wherein a child's evaluative turn accomplishes an announcement referring to an activity in which the child is engaged (extracts 7–9), or concerning his personal taste in food (extract 10), and thus imply a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. I have shown that beyond initiating repair in this sequential position, parents' QRs are either adumbrating disbelief, as seen in extracts 7 and 8, or displaying disbelief, as seen in extracts 9 and 10. On the one hand, the deployment of a QR gives the parent some time to gain access to the assessable or to enter the scene (extracts 7 and 8). On the other hand, they display parents' orientation toward the child's claim not corresponding to their expectations, and thus challenge the child's previous turn (extracts 9 and 10). However, children might deploy different interactive resources in order to respond to the parental challenging move, and so display different interpretations of it (cf. Sidnell 2010a). Indeed, as we have seen in extract 7, the child might interpret it as being grounded in the parent's lack of epistemic access, and thus propose to remedy it by simultaneously inducing the latter to produce the adumbrated surprise and the compliment projected by the initial announcement. In extract 8, Clara does not respond at all to her father's turn, and so undercuts its repair-dimension. In extract 9, the mother's display of disbelief induces the little girl to immediately confirm her initial claim, and thus leads the mother to propose a pedagogical action, i.e. a collaborative verification of the claim at a later moment. Finally, in extract 10, the father's display of disbelief engenders the boy's downgraded reformulation, which in turn induces the father to disagree overtly with his boy's initial announcement by invoking the boy's presumed lack of epistemic access to the assessable. These four extracts thus demonstrate that although parents might also use QRs to stimulate children to repair, i.e. revise and adjust their initial claim, children might resist this move through their responses, by re-affirming their initial claim, or by keeping silent, etc. and thereby get the initially projected surprise and compliment from their parents. Additionally, extracts 9 and 10 show instances in which the occurrence of a parental QR delays the overt expression of the parents'

disagreement with the child's announcement, a case that I will discuss further in the following section.

7.2.3. Questioning Repeats After a Child's Complaint

In the following examples, the parental QR follows a young child's negative evaluation. As we have seen in the previous extracts and in Chapter 6, extracts 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, in everyday family life, children's use of negative evaluations concerning issues that fall under their parents' responsibility, i.e. feeding the children, protecting them from danger, etc. might easily be understood by the intended parent as complaints referring to their way of assuming their responsibilities. Subsequently, children can use complaints to challenge parenthood.

In extract 11, it is dinnertime. The father and the two children are sitting at the table, and Luc (two years, ten months), is drinking sparkling water in big gulps.

Extract (11)

Participants: FA: father, C1: Lily (4 years, 3 months), C2: Luc (2 years, 10 months)

- 1 (6.1)
- 
- 2 FA t'aimes bien boire hein_↑#
you like drinking huh_↑
fig # figure 1
- 3 (1.0)
- 4 C1 *moi aussi
me too
- 5 c2 *lowers cup and looks into it->
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 c2→ ça * pique
that prickles
- 8 c2 *shifts gaze toward father->
- 9 FA⇒ (0.2) ça pique?
(0.2) that prickles?
- 10 c2→ (0.2) h=
- 11 FA =no::n.=
=no::.=
- 12 C2 =oui: ça pi[que.]
=ye:s that pri[ckles.]
- 13 FA [(un p'tit)] tout p'tit peu*:
[(a little)] very little bi:t
- 14 c2 *resumes
drinking sparkling water->>

At the beginning of extract 11, the father observes Luc, and notices: “you like drinking huh↑” (line 2). By using a confirmation token at the end of his turn, the father requests that Luc confirm it. However, before Luc has the opportunity to respond to his father’s request, his older sister Lily self-selects and invokes that she also likes drinking, and so aligns with the father’s observation (line 4). At the same time as his sister’s utterance, Luc stops drinking and lowers his cup while looking into it (line 5). He then assesses the water negatively by shifting his gaze toward his father: “that prickles” (line 7). By simultaneously shifting his gaze toward his father (line 8), the boy thus responds to him, and instead of producing the projected confirmation, accomplishes disalignment with him. The boy seems sensitive to his older sister’s overly quick alignment with the father, and opts for “doing being the rebellious brother” (cf. Sacks 1984b), potentially engendering disagreement. At least, this is how the father treats Luc’s turn. After a short silence (0.2 seconds), the father produces a QFR: “that prickles?” (line 9), which is followed by the boy’s audible in-breath: “.hh” (line 10). Latching with this, the father then produces a disagreement: “=no::=” with his son’s initial assessment (line 11).

Young children might use QRs to respond to previous assessments or assertions in order to challenge the claim implied by them, and so delay the overt expression of disagreement (see Sidnell 2010a: 112–115). As discussed in Chapter 6, by delaying the disagreement, the father gives his son the opportunity (by using questioning intonation) to reconsider and eventually re-adjust his initial assessment, in order to make an agreement more probable. However, in absence of reconsideration (line 10), it is the father who adjusts his disagreement, by producing the qualifier “a little bit” (line 13) in overlap with the boy’s confirmation of his initial assessment (line 12). The father thus passes from a weak disagreement: “no::” (weak, since it is delayed through the previous use of a Q(F)R), to a qualified agreement (line 13). In this sense, it is the father who initiates the negotiation, which then leads toward an agreement and to the closing of the side sequence, initiated by the Q(F)R. The father thus displays his orientation to his obligation, as the initiator of the side sequence, to lead Luc to the resumption of his initial activity at line 14, i.e. drinking sparkling water.

In the next extract, Martin (two years, six months) and his father are standing in front of an oven that has a transparent door in order to watch the baking of the apple pie. The mother is standing a few meters away, but is oriented toward them (figure 2). Before the

extract below begins, Martin is standing very close to the oven. The mother warns the boy to be careful since the oven is hot, and she encourages him to back away from the oven. However, the father downplays her summons. Thus before the extract starts, there is a disagreement between the parents “about the heat of the oven” and the level of danger it presents to Martin.

Extract (12)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Martin (2 years, 6 months), CA1: camera 1, CA2: camera 2



- 1 (#2*.5)
fig # figure 1
- 2 c1 *leans toward, and then backs away from the oven,
turns around, while touching his trousers->
- 3 c1→ o:h, tout chaud pan-pantalon à* moi
o:h, very hot trou-trouser of mine
- 4 c1 *re-orientes toward FA->
- 5 (0.5)
- 6 MO <mmh= ((amused))>



- 7 FA⇒ =pantalons sont tout chaud?#
=trousers are very hot?
- fig # figure 1
- 8 (2*.1)
- 9 c1 *orients his legs toward oven->
- 10 FA no:: [n.
no:: [.
- 11 c1→ [*tout chaud
[very hot

12 c1 *quickly backing away from the oven ->
13 (1.0)
14 FA **<mmh ((affirmative))>*
15 fa **slightly nodding->>*

At the beginning of the sequence, Martin slightly leans against the oven, then backs away from it, turns around on the spot while touching his trousers, and uttering the assessment: “oh, very hot trou-trouser of mine” (line 2–3). By using a surprise token to preface his assessment, the boy indicates that what is to come is surprising and noteworthy. Moreover his initial evaluation, addressed to his father, points to a potentially dangerous situation, which has already been pointed to by the mother. By aligning with his mother, the boy indirectly disagrees with his father. His evaluation first engenders a minimal acknowledgement from the mother who pronounces the barely audible token: “mmh” (line 6), and looks amused. Contrary to the mother, the father produces a QR as a response to his son’s initial assessment: “trousers are very hot?” (line 7), thus questioning its adequacy instead of aligning with it. In contrast to the mother, the father might so seek to socialize his son to be more daring. While a silence of 2.1 seconds emerges, the boy orients his legs toward the oven, as if to further highlight the connection between the temperature of his trousers and the temperature of the oven (line 9). This induces the father to simply disagree with the boy’s initial assessment: “no::” (line 10). As in the previous sequence, the QR is thus used as a delaying device for the disagreement. Additionally, the disagreement is challenged by Martin’s backing away from the oven, as if it was dangerously hot (line 12), and his repetition of the initial assessment: “very hot” (line 11). As in extract 11, it is the father’s move, i.e. use of an acknowledgement token accompanied by an affirmative nodding (lines 14, 15) that produces a weak agreement with the boy’s previous turn, and thus brings the evaluative sequence to a close (for parents’ use of acknowledgement tokens see Filipi 2007).

To summarize, in studies concerned with repair organization it has been suggested that there is a preference for treating devices implementing other-initiation of repair, such as Q(F)Rs, as indicating (local) problems of hearing, rather than (global) problems of understanding and/or acceptance (cf. Selting 1987; Svennevig 2008). It has been argued that the interactants thus display their orientation toward a trouble being grounded in the recipients’ lack of hearing, as being socially less costly, and less face-threatening for the producer of the trouble source turn, and consequently easier to fix for the trouble source speaker, than it would be to point to the unacceptability of the action-as-a-whole.⁹⁰ However,

⁹⁰ Concerning this argument see also (Schegloff 1992).

Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman argue that the deployment of QFR seems to indicate the speaker's trouble with the acceptability of the previous action-as-a-whole, and might thus foreshadow the overt expression of disagreement (Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010: 232–234). Given the praxeological context in which the Q(F)Rs are deployed, these last three extracts (10–12) support this second interpretation. Indeed, although the boy in extract 10 reformulates his initial evaluative turn after his father's QFR, he does it in a barely audible voice;⁹¹ and in extracts 11 and 12, the parents' Q(F)Rs do induce the boys to inhale (extract 11), or to keep silent for 2.1 seconds (extract 12). All these actions can scarcely be interpreted as serving to remedy the recipient's hearing trouble, but like their parents' Q(F)Rs, these project a dispreferred action to come, i.e. disagreement. Indeed, after their children's response to their Q(F)Rs, the fathers overtly and directly disagree with the child's initial complaint. This overt parental expression of disagreement is immediately followed by the child's counter-reply, i.e. direct disagreement (in extract 10, this action is produced by the mother for the child; see Church 2009: 63–72). As Church points out, interactants might deploy the preferred format (no delay, directness) for disagreeing (extracts 11 and 12) in order to display their orientation toward the ongoing interaction as a dispute or conflict (Church 2009: 62). This analysis is further substantiated by the children's treatment of the father's next turn – a downgrading of his previous disagreement – as closing implicative.

As a whole, the interactive organization of these sequences indicate that the interactants treat the child's initial action, that is to say, the child's complaint, as initiating a sequence of disagreement. Thus, parents' QRs retrospectively display their orientation toward the child's complaint being unsafe, i.e. disagreement-implicative, when addressed to a parent (see Chapter 6.3.2.). Prospectively, deploying a Q(F)R before overtly stating their disagreement gives the children the opportunity to adjust their initial turn and thus to make their action-as-a-whole more acceptable. However, instead of backing down, the children opt for confrontation.⁹² Why it might be important for children to exit a disagreement sequence that was initiated by their complaint without backing down, leaving it to their fathers to do so instead, will become clearer in the next two sequences (extracts 13 and 14).

⁹¹ This gave rise to the uncertainty in the transcription (see extract 10, line 3).

⁹² In the last extract of this section (extract 12), the child, by opposing his father's stance, aligns with his mother's diverging attitude.

7.2.4. Questioning Repeats After a Child's Request

In this section I discuss situations in which the child's negative evaluation of some food (extracts 13 and 14) implies a request addressed to the parent to be excused from having to eat it (extract 13), or for the parent to remedy the trouble that the negatively-assessed food-item causes (extract 14). I will also examine a situation in which the child's evaluative turn implies a request to handle a dangerous domestic tool autonomously, i.e. a knife (extract 15). As mentioned earlier, in adult interactions, a request is preferably met by a granting that occurs without any delay (see discussion of extracts 18 to 19 in Chapter 5). The following analysis will seek to explain what parents' deployment of a Q(F)R after their child's request accomplishes in terms of interaction.

In the next extract, Anna (two years, six months), her sister Manon and their mother are sitting at the table eating an afternoon snack.

Extract (13)

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Manon (4 years, 1 month), C2: Anna (2 years, 6 months)

1 c2 ((coughs))=
2 (3.0)
3 mo =[directs her gaze to C2, looking at her sternly]
4 c2 =[(0.6) directs the piece of peach to MO, facial
expression of dislike] [maintains facial expression and
piece of peach oriented to MO->
5 mo [directs lh toward piece of peach,
retracts lh, then directs rh to piece of peach->



6 MO qu'est-c'qu'+y a#?
what's the matter?
fig # figure 1
7 mo +rh: takes the piece of peach, withdraws->
8 C2→ (0*.4**) t*i₁ens*, c'est pas* bo*n.
(0.4) ta₁ke, that's not good.
9 c2 *facial expression relaxes*
10 c2 *shifts her gaze toward her plate*
11 c2 *lh/rh: direct toward plate*
12 c2 *lh/rh: start to push
plate toward MO->
13 MO⇒ (0.4) c'est pas bon?
(0.4) that's not good?



- 10 C2→ (0.4) *non#
(0.4) no
- 11 c2 *mimics disgust, shakes her head, extends plate toward M0*
fig # figure 2
- 12 (11.4)
((M0 immediately grasps the knife. Then she is caught in an interaction initiated by C1. After its completion (9.2), M0 takes away the skin from the piece of peach she got from C2))
- 13 M0 Anna, (0.2) *pis ça+ tu manges?*
Anna, (0.2) and that, you eat?
- 14 mo +lh: directs piece of peach without skin toward C2, and puts it on C2's plate->
- 15 C2 (0.*5) *oui*
(0.5) yes
- 16 c2 *rh : directs toward piece of peach, takes it, and eats it->>
- 17 (0.2)
- 18 M0 *d'accord*
okay

At the beginning of the sequence the mother and Manon are oriented toward each other, engaged in a conversation. Anna is nibbling a peach, and then coughs loudly and shifts her gaze toward her mother, who immediately looks back at her sternly⁹³ (lines 1–2). Anna's cough works like a summons or, in other words, as an attention-getting device. As a summons, it makes relevant another action by the summoner after completion of the recipient's response (see extract 4 above). Anna produces this next action by proffering the piece of peach toward her mother and making a grimace of dislike (line 3). Moving the peach back to her mother, combined with the display of a negative evaluative stance, implies a double request addressed to her mother: to take the piece of peach from her, and to have permission not to have to eat any more of it. In this sense, it projects a granting or refusal of the request by the recipient, i.e. the mother. When Anna's tending movement toward the mother comes to a halt, the latter first directs her left hand toward the piece of peach, as if she

⁹³ The fact that the mother deploys a stern look shows that she does not interpret the young child's coughing as indicating choking, but rather treats it as something that it is inappropriate to do.

has accepted Anna's request without further comment (line 4). However, half way through the movement, she withdraws her hand and lets it rest on the table, as if refusing to grant the request (line 4). Interestingly, she then directs her right hand toward the piece of peach that Anna is still proffering her, and utters: "what's the matter?" (line 5), taking the piece of peach from Anna's hand at the end of her utterance (line 6). The mother thus produces an embodied granting of the first part of Anna's request i.e. to take the piece of peach from her (see extracts 11, 12 in Chapter 4).

At the same time, however, the mother's request for an account (line 5) makes relevant a response by Anna, which is interesting in several ways. The first TCU of Anna's response constitutes a request to "take" (line 7). The second TCU, the negative assessment "that's not good" (line 7), is uttered with a neutral facial expression and voice, does not indicate what it is about the peach she does not like, and is produced with a simultaneous shift of orientation away from the object being assessed – a piece of peach – toward the remaining pieces on the plate that she then starts to push toward the mother (line 8). In its embodied accomplishment, the girl's turn is thus a request for permission not to eat the remaining pieces of peach.

Following Anna's turn, the mother questions her daughter's negative assessment by fully repeating it with a rising intonation (line 9). However, Anna merely produces a confirmation of her previous assessment, the "no" at line 10, and tacitly repeats her request not to have to eat these pieces of peach by simultaneously mimicking disgust, shaking her head, and pushing the plate with the remaining pieces toward her mother (line 11, figure 2). Immediately after Anna's confirmation, the mother takes the knife, which is lying on her plate, but is then caught in a short interaction⁹⁴ summoned by her other daughter, which has nothing to do with the peaches (line 12). After completion of this interaction, the mother starts peeling the skin from the piece of peach that Anna gave her (line 12). She then puts the piece of peach without skin on Anna's plate and asks her: "Anna, and that, you eat?" (lines 13, 14).

The mother's QR (line 9) neither grants nor refuses Anna's request; this not only delays a clear-cut response, but also projects a dispreferred next action – a partial granting of a request. Moreover, it allows the mother to take the skin away from the peach and provides for a next action by her (see Jefferson 1972: 323–324). This next action, an invitation to Anna to eat the peach without the skin (line 13), constitutes a dispreferred response to the child's

⁹⁴ This short sequence of interaction between the mother and C1 (Manon) is omitted for reasons of intelligibility of the transcription.

initial request, since it merely accomplishes a partial granting of permission. Indeed, by removing the skin of the peach, the mother grants her daughter's request not to eat THIS peach, that is to say, this peach with its skin on. However, the invitation constitutes a rejection of her daughter's request not to eat the pieces of peach at all. Interestingly, the little girl immediately accepts her mother's invitation to eat the peach without the skin (lines 15, 16).

In extract 14, the whole family is sitting at the table having dinner. Clara (two years, four months) sits between her mother and father (figure 1). The mother is breast-feeding her baby.

Extract (14)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Louis (4 years, 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years, 4 months), C3: Elise (2 months)

1 C2 [AE*AE]↑HH:+/

2 c2 *putting her fingers in her mouth, showing dislike, by
looking down at the table->

3 mo/fa +/shift gaze toward C2->

4 (1*.1)

5 c2 *shifting her gaze toward her mother->

6 MO qu'[est-c'qu'y a] cla+ra?
wh[at's the matter] clara?

7 mo +shifts gaze back toward C3->

8 FA [tu t'es mordue?]
[have you bitten yourself?]



9 C2 (1.0) *ça pi::+que#
(1.0) that pri::ckles ((weepy voice))

10 c2 *shifting gaze toward C1->

11 mo +shifting gaze toward C2->
fig # figure 2

12 (0.6)

13 MO ça pi*que+?
that prickles?

14 c2 *shifting gaze toward her mother->

15 mo +shifting gaze toward C3, arranging the
latter's position in order to breastfeed-->

16 C2 (0.4) e-hein=
(0.4) y-eah=

17 MO =mais
=but

18 (6.3)
((MO is preoccupied with breast-feeding))

19 MO mais bois un p'tit peu d'eau Cloé alors=
but drink a sip of water Cloé then=

20 c2 *oui::: * m:hh.
 =ye::s m:hh.
21 c2 *rh: directs toward glass->



22 c2 *takes her glass, #starts drinking water->>
fig # figure 2



At the beginning of this extract, the mother is breastfeeding her baby and is involved in a conversation with her son, when Clara starts moaning (line 1). However, Clara's moaning works as an attention-getting device (line 3), and at the same time it points to a trouble she is having. As in the previous sequence, it engenders a request for an account, uttered by the mother: "what's the matter Clara?" (line 6), who orients her attention back to the baby at the end of her request (line 7), and so displays a limited availability for troubles at that moment. Furthermore Clara's father responds to her moaning by producing a candidate account uttered in a questioning format: "have you bitten yourself?" (line 8). After a silence of a second (line 9), which projects a dispreferred next action, the young child replies to her parents' turns with a negative assessment, uttered in a weepy tone: "that prickles" (line 9). She thus makes clear that the trouble source concerns the prickling effects of something she is eating, and thus implicitly requests her parents' permission not to have to eat it anymore. Note that while producing this assessment, the girl shifts her gaze toward her brother (line 10) as if to get some support from him. The mother turns her attention to Clara following the girl's evaluative turn (line 11), and at line 13, she produces a Q(F)R of her daughter's previous turn in a very surprised tone. By exploiting prosody, the mother simultaneously challenges her daughter's action-as-a-whole and displays availability to negotiate the evaluation and its implications. However, at the end of her Q(F)R, the mother shifts her attention back to the baby in order to continue breastfeeding, and again displays a limited availability (line 15). As in the previous sequence, the mother's repeat postpones a clear-cut response and thus projects a dispreferred next action, which simultaneously gives the mother time to take care of the baby. The mother's action merely induces Clara to confirm her initial action in a weepy tone (line 16). Latching with her daughter's confirmation, the mother produces a contrast marker in the form of "but" (line 17), which projects (partial) disalignment as a next action. Indeed,

after a short back and forth between Clara and her mother – omitted for reasons of space – the mother partially grants her daughter's request to stop eating. The mother suggests that she drink some water in order to appease the prickling effects of the food-item (line 19). As in extract 13, this partial permission, which is produced in the form of an invitation to eat something other than the complained about food item, is immediately agreed to by the young child ("ye:::s"; lines 20–22; figure 2). As we will see in the next sequence, a QR might also be used to withhold permission in a situation in which the child's evaluative turn implies a request for autonomously handling a dangerous tool.

In this sequence, Elio (two years, one month) and his father are making pizza together. The little boy is sitting on his high chair at the table and the father is standing behind him, guiding the boy's handling of a knife in order to cut ham (figure 1).

Extract (15)

Participants: FA: father, C2: Elio (2 years, 1 month)

- 1 (3.9)
2 C2 *arrive/, (0.4) eh (.) arrive.
can, (0.4) eh (.) can.
3 c2 *rh: draws back slightly, as if to escape FA's grasp->
4 fa /rh: continues guiding the boy's rh-->
- 
- 5 FA (*0.5/) to[i#, t]u a/rrives*?
(0.5) yo[u, yo]u can?
fig # figure 1
6 fa /lh: withdraws his grasp from C2's lh->
7 c2 *rh: lifts the knife, as if to get rid of fathers rh*
8 C2 ['oui°]
['yes°]
9 (0.6)
10 C2 oui/* moi.
yes I.
11 fa /lh: comes back toward C2's lh->
12 fa/c2 *rh: continues to handle the knife->
13 FA va*s-/y/.
go for it.
14 fa /lh: withdraws->>



15 fa /rh : let's go C2's rh#-->>
fig # figure 2

After nearly 4 seconds, throughout which Elio silently accepts his father's guidance, the boy evaluates his competence to handle the knife positively by saying “can, (0.4) can” (line 2), while slightly withdrawing his right hand as if to escape his father's grasp (line 3). The boy's positive evaluation of his competence, in combination with his bodily resistance toward his father's guidance, clearly implies a request for autonomy. However, after an adjacency lapse of 0.5 seconds, the father utters a QR – “can?” – by prefacing it with the repeated personal pronoun “you, you” (line 5). By stressing the “you”, the father highlights a contrast between the boy's positive assessment of his own competence and the actual situation in which the handling is accomplished in a highly collaborative way. Furthermore, by continuing to guide him, the father is producing an embodied rejection of the boy's request. The embodied organization of father's QR is visible as a negative response to the boy's initial request. However, by withdrawing his grasp of Elio's left hand at the end of the QR (line 6), the father partially grants the boy's request. In overlap with father's QR, the boy confirms his initial assessment (line 8), and then produces another tactile resistance (line 7). Although Elio re-confirms his initial assessment (line 10) after a short silence, the father's left hand comes in again. He thus displays readiness to intervene (lines 11, 12). Finally, father explicitly invites Elio to handle the knife autonomously, by simultaneously uttering “go for it” (line 13) and withdrawing his hands (lines 14, 15, figure 2). In this sequence, the father thus uses the QR to delay a clear-cut response to his son's request. Delaying causes the boy to display his physical resistance to the guiding, and to re-iterate his request. However, delaying also allows the father to progressively loosen his grasp and stay in a position that enables him to intervene rapidly if necessary, before he grants the boy's request to handle the knife by himself. The progressively achieved permission allows a gradual adaptation to the boy's autonomous accomplishment of the potentially dangerous activity, i.e. handling a knife.

In summary, in extracts 13 and 14, the young children use a negative assessment of a food-item to request permission from their parents not to eat it. Instead of simply refusing to eat it, the young children produce a series of actions to make their request intelligible for their parents, i.e. getting the attention of the parents, producing a negative evaluation of the food-item by exploiting facial expression, etc. This not only indicates that children orient toward requests as potentially problematic, but it also shows why they might need a parental response that agrees with their negative evaluation in the first place (see also extracts 10 and 12).

Moreover, these sequences and sequence 15 display a particular organization of the adjacency pair: request-granting/rejection. The preferred outcome, of granting a request, usually occurs without any delay. Within these sequences the granting is achieved interactively and progressively, i.e. step by step, and includes parental withholdings. Additionally, I have pointed out that parents' final granting of permission might comprise elements of refusing the child's initial request (extracts 13 and 14), and thus constitutes a partial granting of permission. Altogether, sequences 10, 12, 13, and 14 suggest that parents' responses to children's initial negative evaluative turns concerning food orient toward seeing these as potential refusals to drink or eat it any further. In this sense, parents' use of Q(F)Rs, and children's treatment of their use are not only highly contingent on the immediate interactive context, but also display a mutual and enacted orientation toward the relevance of their respective membership categories, "child" and "parent". Indeed, parents and children's particular organization of children's requests concerning food or danger can be understood as an accomplishment of category-bound activities (see the discussion of Sacks work on adult(parent)-child interactions in 2.5.1.), by which the parents display their responsibility toward their children, i.e. they have the obligation to feed their children properly, care about their security, and at the same time they have the right to intervene and control what the child is eating, how she/he is dealing with dangerous situations, or handling dangerous tools. At the same time, by moving from not backing down from their initial negative evaluative turn to finally accepting the parent's partial granting, children validate this orientation toward the parent having particular rights/obligations regarding the organization of granting a request.

7.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed the interactive organization of parents' use of a typical repair initiator – questioning (full) repeat (Q(F)R) – following their young children's evaluative turns, as well as children's responses to the Q(F)R. By taking into account the praxeological

context and the multimodal organization of the interactions, the analysis explicated what the parental use of Q(F)Rs might accomplish and engender in terms of social actions.

Various next actions might follow a young child's noticing (7.2.1.), which re-engages turn-by-turn talk, or pursues it (extracts 3–6). Although the interactive context does not properly provide for its continuation (extracts 3, 5 and 6), parents produce QRs by exploiting particular syntactical formats, such as a left dislocation, and thus strongly tie their QR to the young child's previous turn. In so doing, they retrospectively ratify the young child's interactional achievement and prospectively contribute to the continuation of conversation, even though they might be preoccupied with something other than conversing (extracts 5 and 6). Thus they accomplish a seemingly typical parental activity for interacting with young children, i.e. they encourage the young child's attempts to converse (cf. Filipi 2009: 84–85). When the child's evaluative turn expresses a positive announcement in relation to their own engagement in an activity (7.2.2.), the parents use the Q(F)R format to adumbrate positive surprise (extracts 7 and 8), or to display disbelief. On the one hand, this use of Q(F)Rs implies epistemic skepticism, and/or a dimension of defiance, which challenges the child's initial announcement. On the other hand, by either initiating the verification procedure (extract 7) or by simply confirming the initial claim after their parent's Q(F)R in an assertive way (extracts 8 and 9), the children seem to successfully de-legitimize its challenging dimension (Jefferson 1972: 312). In section (7.2.3.), I discussed situations in which a child's initial complaint refers to something that is conventionally considered to belong to the parents' domain of responsibility, such as food, or the handling of dangerous situations. In these sequential environments, the parent's QR delays their overt expression of disagreement with the child's initial turn. Retrospectively, the QR thus casts the child's previous turn as an unsafe complaint. Prospectively, it gives the child the opportunity to revise and adjust his/her position in order to make it more acceptable for the parent (see also Chapter 6.3.2.). However, in the absence of the child's revision, which is the case in both extracts 11 and 12, it is the parent who backs down. This not only provides for a weak agreement, but also engenders the closing of the evaluative sequence. In the last section (7.2.4.), I have examined extracts in which the child's evaluative turns imply a request concerning an issue, which (again) falls under their parents' domain of responsibility, such as food (extracts 13 and 14), and the handling of a dangerous tool (extract 15). Instead of opting for the usually preferred response, i.e. granting the request without delay, in this praxeological context, parents withhold a clear-cut response by deploying a Q(F)R and, at the same time, involve the child in the stepwise

negotiation of it. I have argued that this particular organization of a request-granting/refusing sequence displays interactants' orientation toward each other as having special rights/obligations, concerning the control of food and dealing with unsafe situations.

This study suggests that parents' frequent use of Q(F)Rs might be grounded in their usefulness for achieving different courses of interaction,⁹⁵ rather than (merely) in its capacity to initiate repair and to stimulate the child's learning process. Moreover, it has been argued that parents' and children's interactive organization of a typical repair initiator not only shades into matters of alignment/disalignment between the interactants, as suggested by a whole range of studies (*inter alia*, Drew 1997; Rost-Roth 2006; Svennevig 2008), but also indicates participants' tacit orientation toward membership categorization, i.e. toward specific activities/rights/obligations conventionally attributed to them, making issues of categories-in-action observable and available for inspection (*cf.* Butler & Fitzgerald 2010; Hester & Eglin 1997; Mondada 2009a; Watson 1978; 1997). As such, the descriptions of these pragmatic uses are not unique to parent-child interaction, but are nevertheless typical of it, especially those uses discussed in sections 7.2.1. and 7.2.4.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Interestingly, Robinson and Kevoe identified only 22 occurrences of questioning full repeats within 80 hours of everyday interactions amongst adults, whereas 20/22 were produced after a question, and 2/22 after an announcement (Robinson & Kevoe 2010: 257). However, in relation to small children's interactions, Sidnell shows that four-year-old children use the QR format significantly more often (twice as often) as five-year-olds (Sidnell 2010: 106). The author does not explain this difference by referring to the younger children's state of "development", but "by reference to the special concerns of children of this age: a pervasive concern with the conduct of others and specifically the degree to which it meets invocable standards of pronunciation (Sidnell 2010: 123)".

⁹⁶ I asked a friend who is unacquainted with EM/CA to check this chapter's general comprehensibility. After reading it she commented "Although your text is quite technical, as an expert, i.e. a regular user of Q(F)Rs when dealing with my two sons, I understood its sense and (generally) agree with its analysis."

8. Concluding Comments

The notion of socialization refers to the process through which children acquire a status as competent members in the eyes of their social environment. Within socialization theory and studies, it is widely acknowledged that children's participation in social interaction constitutes a generic moment of this process. Over the last 40 years, an important number of studies have examined interactions occurring between (very young) children and their parents, other adults (their caregivers and teachers), and/or other children. As outlined in the second chapter, depending on the interactions that these studies have focused on, e.g. peer or adult(parent)-child interactions, they have – in both everyday and laboratory settings – examined and contributed to varying questions regarding children's socialization. Within the vast field of socialization studies, most studies concerned with parent-child interactions have either sought to show how parents adapt their conduct to the child's state of development, and thus scaffold (Rogoff 2003) young children's acquisition of (new) social, cultural, linguistic, and cognitive competences and knowledge (Bruner 1983; Ochs & Schieffelin 1983; Pontecorvo, Fasulo & Sterponi 2001; Rogoff 2003; Tomasello & Farrar 1986; Veneziano 2000; Vygotsky 1978; Wood et al. 1976), or they have aimed to uncover the cognitive abilities children draw upon in order to develop the competences necessary for their participation in social interactions (Tomasello et al. 1999; Tomasello & Carpenter 2007). One question central to these studies concerns the impact that different social, interactive, cognitive, and cultural parameters have on (young) children's development of communicative skills.

This study has analyzed parents' and young children's organization and accomplishment of naturally occurring everyday activities. It has by no means sought to examine the organization regarding the myriad activities that parents and children routinely share in as part of their day-to-day family life. Quite the contrary, though based on a large audiovisual corpus (see Chapter 3), the analytic part of the thesis (Chapters 4 to 7) has focused on interactive situations in which the young child produces an evaluative turn and on the three most frequent (next) actions produced by parents as responses to the child's initial turn: agreement (Chapter 5), disagreement (Chapter 6), and questioning repeats (Chapter 7). The primary aim was to describe and examine in detail what children and parents do – turn-by-turn, taking into account the multimodal resources deployed by the interactants – when they produce evaluative sequences. It sought to explain how, that is to say, in which ways they display their understanding and interpretation of each other's actions in their next turn,

and thus come to a shared understanding (cf. Pomerantz & Fehr 1997: 65). As a corollary, the descriptive analysis provides accounts of what children (already) know and of what they are (already) capable of doing in order to produce actions that are intelligible (for what they are) when they interact with their parents. Furthermore, it reveals participants' orientation to issues of alignment and disalignment and matters related to their incumbency of the social categories of parent and child.

Children's production of evaluative turns and their initiation of evaluative sequences

By taking into account the praxeological and sequential context in which the children produced their initial evaluative turns and the multimodal resources they deployed, I have demonstrated throughout the analytic chapters that young children used evaluative turns in order to accomplish a whole range of social actions, and to engage their parents in a communicative exchange. Indeed, children recurrently deployed an evaluative turn to accomplish environmental noticings, referring to something which is available in the immediate context, like the car, for example, which stands in front of the house (Chapter 7, extract 4), and/or taking up a topic that had been discussed shortly before – like the man who had just passed in front of the house (Chapter 4, extract 2). Interestingly, children produced these noticings in particular sequential positions – when turn-by-turn talk had lapsed, and/or in specific praxeological contexts – when their parents were involved with their siblings, or busy doing something other than conversing with their young child. Besides using environmental, and sequential resources available in the immediate (interactive) context, they also deployed other multimodal resources such as: pointing to the referent (Chapter 5, extract 17); highlighting the referent through talk (Chapter 4, extract 2); and summoning the intended recipient through embodied means (Chapter 7, extract 4). They thereby managed to use the noticings for getting their parents' attention and for re-engaging in talk with them.

Sometimes children used an evaluative turn to accomplish a positive noticing (Chapter 7; extract 3) or announcement (Chapter 7, extracts 7, 8 and 9), referring to an activity they had just previously accomplished on their own. Instead of overtly producing a self-praise regarding their ability to handle certain things autonomously, they thus opted for an action that “strongly invited” (Mondada 2009a: 352) the production of a compliment or a positive assessment from the intended recipient, thereby “fishing for a compliment” (cf. Pomerantz

1980).⁹⁷ By circumventing overt self-praise, children (like adults) seemed to orient toward this type of action as constituting a dispreferred action, i.e. an action that is socially delicate and that is usually avoided (cf. Pomerantz 1975: 112ff.). In three fragments, children deployed a negative evaluative turn referring to an activity they were engaged in, to achieve self-depreciation (Chapter 5, extract 31; Chapter 6, extracts 11, 18). In two of the three identified cases, the child had previously been asked to do something by the parent, e.g. to finish assembling a puzzle, or to tidy away a puzzle. By using a self-depreciation, the child clearly signaled incipient refusal regarding the parental request, while avoiding, however, the overt expression of this dispreferred response. As we will later see (in the second part of these concluding comments), while this method might seem quite ingenious, its deployment was not very successful for circumventing a parental request.

Complaining constitutes another action that children accomplished recurrently through the deployment of an evaluative turn. Indeed, in Chapters 6 and 7 I have analyzed and discussed an important number of extracts in which the children negatively evaluated a food item (for example in extracts 4, 5, 6, and 10 of Chapter 6, or in extract 11 of Chapter 7), the heat of the water in the shower (Chapter 6, extract 9), or something else which belonged to their parents' domain of responsibility (Chapter 6, extracts 8 and 12 or Chapter 7, extract 12). Before uttering their complaint – for example about a food item – children used attention-getting devices, indicating that something problematic might be coming, and/or they expressed their negative stance in an embodied way, thereby delaying its overt expression. They thus produced this interactively delicate action, i.e. easily engendering a series of disaffiliative actions, by deploying a dispreferred format. A similar observation relates to children's use of a negative evaluative turn concerning a food item, or a pencil, in order to achieve a request for permission not to eat the food item (Chapter 7, extracts 13, 14), or for getting a new replacement pencil (Chapter 6, extract 16). Indeed, in these situations young children also tended to use attention-getting devices, such as coughing or weepy vocalization, and embodied means, such as the facial expression of dislike, before uttering the negative evaluative turn that implied the sensitive request. In this sense, the young children of this study accomplished an important amount of interactive work when they produced subversive actions that aimed at challenging parenting. Furthermore, in two extracts (11, 12) of Chapter 4, the child addressed a request for help to the parent – in pulling down a sleeve, or in opening a game box – by using a negative evaluative turn, instead of overtly requesting help. Finally,

⁹⁷ There is one exception in which the child unequivocally achieves a self-praise: "...can do a puzzle well." and which thus confirms the above observation (see Chapter 5, extract 32).

the child might also use a positive evaluative turn, such as “(i) like that” in order to request permission to eat some chocolate (Chapter 5, extract 19). In contrast to the fragments discussed above, however, the child did not deploy as much preliminary interactive work in order to accomplish it. Nevertheless, children’s recurrent use of evaluative turns for (indirectly) requesting something from their parents might display their orientation toward this type of action being a delicate matter that is preferably accomplished through the deployment of an indirect format (with regard to first mothers’ use of indirect formats for requesting advice, see Heritage & Sefi 1992).

A last observation that I want to comment on very briefly is related to the person that the young children (tactilely) addressed when producing their evaluative turn. Within socialization theories, the debate concerned with the question: “What importance do different actors, such as parents, children, teachers, etc. have for the child’s development?” has been freshly revived by the publication of a book by J.R. Harris (1998). According to the author, it is peers – not parents – that have a real and sustained influence on children’s development, thereby countering those socialization theories which have argued that although family structures have undergone considerable change, engendering a multiplication of socialization actors (nursery workers, day nannies, etc.), parents have maintained their privileged role within primary socialization. As mentioned in Chapter 7, however, and this is true throughout the fragments examined within this thesis, whilst all families we examined had two or more children – and so the target child thus always had at least one older or younger sibling – young children generally addressed their initial evaluative turn to their parents. Indeed, for every fragment, I described – sometimes at length – how the children went through considerable interactive work, i.e. deploying gaze, body posture, sequential position, and talk, in order to make a response by a parent (not a sister or a brother) relevant. Moreover, it struck me that whenever a young child from this study used an explicit address term within his or her initial evaluative turn, he or she opted for “mom” (Chapter 4, extracts 4, 6, 7; Chapter 6, extract 4.), and on one single occasion for “daddy” (Chapter 6, extract 13). I cannot recollect one single instance in which a young child addressed a sibling in this way, i.e. by using an explicit address term, selecting the sibling as the relevant person for responding to his or her initial evaluative turn. By no means do I argue that this observation indicates that parents have a greater impact on young children’s socialization than their siblings, nor that mothers have a greater influence on their children’s development of interactive competences than their fathers, but my analysis shows that young children tend to orient toward the parents as being

especially relevant for responding to their evaluative turns. From their point of view, parents thus seem to be the privileged interactants in terms of exchanging, verifying, and building up a normative position of the surrounding world. Overall, children's production of self-praise, noticings, announcements, complaints, or requests displays their orientation toward participants' membership categories, toward the responsibilities and rights, etc. that are bound to them, and toward the larger praxeological context, adapting their way of packaging their initial evaluative turn, mobilizing different resources accordingly.

Children's pursuits of a response to their evaluative turns: their relevance for the study of children's pragmatic development of linguistic and cognitive competences

Studies focusing on very young children's initiation and pursuit of action sequences have demonstrated that even before fully mastering talk, children use the observability of actions and/or of the structures of routine actions as the fundamental resource for rendering their own action intelligible for others, and for understanding what others might intend to do (Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003; Lerner, Zimmerman & Kidwell 2011). The studies argue that young children's grasp of the concept of observability is thus of central importance for the competent engagement in joint attention and in social interaction, and consequently for becoming a competent member of society. By empirically evidencing (young) children's practical competence for dealing with others' observable "intentions" (Jones & Zimmerman 2003; Lerner & Zimmerman 2003), and "desires" and "beliefs" (Wootton 1997: 188), these studies demonstrate in which sense children's competences are publicly available (for inspection). Wootton's work and the other studies mentioned above thus provide a crucial argument regarding the relevancy of detailed descriptions⁹⁸ of very young children's participation within concrete interactions for the study of children's development of mind. Indeed, in his studies on younger children's management of requests, Wootton showed, for example, that they are able to make inferences about other peoples' desires when they are around two-and-a-half years old and about other peoples' beliefs at around three years old (Wootton 1997: 188-190). He suggested moreover that these emerging competences rest on children's capacity to use local and public understanding:

Around that time (aged two years old) the child develops the skill to identify and draw on local knowledge which has been made apparent within prior interaction. Because this knowledge is contingent and local I have chosen to use the term 'understanding' to

⁹⁸ Descriptions that take into account such details as the length of a pause in order to provide for children's emic understanding of the ongoing course of action.

describe it rather than a term like 'representation', the latter indexing forms of knowledge which have a more enduring status within the mind. (Wootton 1997: 192-193)

According to Wootton, these local understandings are distinct from context-independent knowledge and representations, in that they refer for example to previously made overt agreements between the child and parent. Tomasello et al. advocate another view on the issue, remarking that young children's engagement in instructed learning occurs when children reach approximately four years of age and essentially rests on their cognitive ability to attribute mental states (perception, knowledge, and understanding) to others (Tomasello et al. 1999: 111). Around the child's third birthday, she or he might use words that refer to the thoughts and knowledge (states) of others, however, Tomasello et al. specify that a closer look at this language use reveals evidence that, at this age, children do not really use these terms for referring to "mental states", but use them instead merely like "rote formulae" (Tomasello et al. 1999: 111). According to the authors, it is thus only around their fourth birthday that children are capable of attributing mental states to others. They argue that this new capacity is reflected in children's production of language that refers explicitly to "mental states" and in their successful prediction of what another child will do when the information given to him or her is known to be false, i.e. when children pass the "false belief" task with success (Tomasello et al. 1999: 111–112). Paradoxically, the authors themselves stress that the use of "theory of mind" – a framework in which the child's capacity to pass the "false belief task" constitutes a central piece of evidence – does not provide an appropriate concept for research on children's cognitive basis of cultural learning, arguing that it:

[...] does not have strong developmental basis in children's understanding of other persons as it changes from infancy through childhood: goes from no theory of mind to theory of mind around 4 years with perhaps some 'precursors' prior to that (Metzoff & Gopnik 1993, Wellman in press). This view of development is simply too restrictive for current purposes, placing altogether too much emphasis on the transition at age 4. (Tomasello et al. 1999: 117)

As discussed in Chapter 4, the children of this study accomplished a whole range of so-called non-canonical actions (noticings, announcements, and assessments), which are said to be less constraining for the intended recipient to produce a response to, than canonical actions (invitations, requests, and offers), which make a type-fitted response from the intended recipient more likely, or more relevant (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 5). Another feature that distinguishes evaluative actions from other type of actions refers to the fact that

interactants orient towards them as implying a claim of epistemic knowledge and/or epistemic access. This claim can be made in a more or less asserted way. Opting for the latter creates a situation of *recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry*, making a response by the intended recipient more likely to occur (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 23). The young children of this study, however, rarely produced their initial evaluative turns by deploying an interrogative intonation, or structure – whose *response mobilizing* effects have been demonstrated by a number of different studies (on this argument see Stivers & Rossano 2010: 8). Moreover, they did not exhibit downgraded epistemic access or right to assess to a particular state of affairs through the addition of *evidentials*, such as “it seems”, “it looks”, “I think”, etc. (Raymond & Heritage 2006: 68ff.), thus producing a situation of recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. Instead, the young children of this study usually produced their evaluative turns by using short declarative formats, such as “is nice”, “I like chocolate”, or “that’s beautiful”, and uttered them in a straightforward intonation, tacitly asserting their epistemic access and right to assess (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 21ff.). In general, the young children did not thus deploy specific turn design features – interrogative format versus declarative format, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry versus speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry – in order to heighten the pressure placed on recipients to respond.

Drawing upon deviant case analysis, I focused on situations in which parental responses were not immediately forthcoming (see Chapter 4). Confronted with the noticeable absence of a response, young children’s ways of packaging and organizing their pursuits of a response not only evidenced children’s sensitivity to the immediate, local interactive context, but also displayed their orientation toward the intended recipient’s lack of knowledge of the referent, and/or their visual or sensory access to it (for a similar argument, see Wootton 2006a: 191). Children’s pursuit of a response also manifested their understanding of the fact that this knowledge and/or access is required by the recipients if they are to accomplish an appropriate response. Indeed, when their initial evaluative turn occurred in a situation in which the parent was busy doing something other than conversing (with the child), the child pursued the response – by highlighting the assessed referent through talk and/or embodied means (i.e. pointing; see extracts 1 and 2). When parents were involved in an argument with another sibling or preoccupied with feeding another sibling, the child ensured the recipient’s availability: summoning her “to look” and simultaneously deploying bodily means for orienting the intended recipient’s look to the evaluated event, eventually getting a response (extracts 3 and 4). When children produced their initial evaluative turn when they were alone,

or when the evaluative turn implied sensual access, children brought the assessed referent into the intended recipient's field of vision, before repeating their initial evaluative turn (extracts 5, 6), or provided the intended recipient with the possibility of visually and sensually accessing the referent (extracts 7, 8). Moreover, children have attributed a noticeably absent response from the intended recipient to incipient disagreement (Chapter 4, extracts 9, 10). In these cases, they upgraded or downgraded their initial evaluative turn in order to move their own position, possibly towards that of the intended recipient(s), thereby maximizing the occurrence of agreement. To achieve this kind of changing of position, they did not use qualifiers, such as "very", "enormously", etc., but instead deployed merely embodied and prosodic means, eventually getting a weak agreement. On the grounds of their understanding of the intended recipient's tacitly displayed normative position – through their silence – the children thus changed their own position accordingly.

By focusing on children's embodied work, my analysis of young children's pursuit of responses provides some demonstrations of how – in their embodied actions – children display the distinctions and attributions that they make regarding epistemic knowledge or access, the lack of such knowledge or access, and agreement and/or disagreement, long before they reach their fourth birthday (at the age of around two to three). In this sense, looking at what children actually do and how they do it when they engage in naturally occurring social interactions with others might provide some empirically grounded pieces of evidence relating to children's (embodied) competences for dealing with each other's knowledge and understanding – as something which is publicly available – despite the fact that these competences are neither reflected in the ways that children use language that explicitly refers to mental states, nor in their capacity to pass a "false belief task".

Furthermore, previous studies looking at children's pursuits of a response have remarked that during their 2nd year of life, children discover various turn formats and actions through which they can repair their initial turn at talk, and pursue a response. Wootton shows, for example, that between the ages of 2 years, 1 month through to 2 years, 3 months, children might pursue a response by giving some additional information taking the form of an incremental addition to their prior turn (Wootton 2007: 181). However, according to Wootton, this developmental trajectory needs still to be fully uncovered (Wootton 2007: 181). As mentioned above, in Chapter 4, I examined fragments in which the young children interpreted a parental non-response as implying repair of their talk (extracts 1, 2, 11, 12). They treated the intended recipient as having some problems in comprehending or grasping the referent of

their initial turn: with the young children not only adding the referent that was missing in their initial evaluative turn, but further highlighting it by a dislocation to the left (extract 2), in combination with a pointing to the referent, or by using an incremental structure (see extracts 11 and 12).

As mentioned earlier, children usually used embodied means (pointing, posture, gaze) in order to point out the referent, and combined them with a pronominal structure, such as “it is upside down” (Chapter 5, extract 31), or with a summon “to look” addressed to the mother (Chapter 7, extract 9), and/or with the use of an indexical – “that correct” – in the first or final position of their turn (Chapter 5, extract 19; Chapter 7, extracts 6, 9). The children thus deployed different turn and sequential formats to provide the intended recipient with the referent, and to render him or her attentive to the referent of their initial evaluative turn, combining them with embodied means in a very effective way. These findings indicate that in order to draw a trajectory, with respect to children’s emerging competences to repair their own talk and to their capacity to make a referent salient for the intended recipient, it is necessary to pay as much attention to their embodied actions as to their talk, as well as to the combination of both. Therefore, I join the plea of other researchers, such as Wootton (2006a), Lerner, Zimmerman and Kidwell (2011), who argue that:

Whatever cognitive capacities are found to underwrite the interaction order, the specification of the elements of the interaction order requires a close and systematic examination and independent analysis of naturally occurring interaction addressed to the manifold contingencies of everyday life. (Lerner, Zimmerman & Kidwell 2011: 56)

Moreover, the importance children attribute to the public availability of the referent of their evaluative turn indicates that children pursuing a response from the intended recipient do not merely seek their parents’ attention, as is often suggested, but they also aim to provide their parents with the required information, epistemic access, etc. for really understanding what they are evaluating and talking about. While not fully mastering natural language, the children of this study deployed evaluative turns in order to produce a large range of social actions, successfully engaging their parents in interactively organized courses of evaluative interactions, and thereby treating evaluative actions as belonging to the publicly available social world – as local products of interactive negotiation and discussion – instead of orienting towards them as elements belonging to their own private, mental domain which is inaccessible to others.

The second part of these concluding comments focuses on participants' actions following the young children's initial evaluative turns. By systematically examining parents' responses to their children's initial turn, children's ways of dealing with these responses, and their implications for the further course of interaction, my analysis also allows a revelation of the ways in which parents treat their children's active participation in evaluating and commenting on the world they inhabit together and shows what children make of their parents' orientations toward them in turn.

Parents' most frequent responses: their implications for the further development of the evaluative sequence and their relevance for the study of socialization

As mentioned previously, the focus on children's and parents' interactive organization of evaluative sequences aimed to show how they manage to achieve mutual understanding regarding the common world they inhabit. The close examination of children's production of initial evaluative turns sought to reveal how they manage to render their actions and normative positions intelligible to their parents, whereas the detailed examination of parents' responses aimed to investigate how parents treated their children's accomplishment of evaluative actions. By examining parents' "own common sense analysis" (Watson 2011: 228) of their children's active participation, I sought to investigate whether parents possibly orient toward the developmental scheme that implies them seeing and treating their children's doings as inferior when compared to those of adults. The focus on parents' responses to their children's evaluative turns and their implications for the further course of interaction produces two phenomena that are especially interesting for investigating interactants' management of issues of 'face' and solidarity, and hence of superiority and inferiority (see Heritage & Raymond 2005: 15-16): interactants' handling of preference organization; and the way that interactants deal with each other's epistemic access and rights to assess. Finally, my decision to focus on interactively produced evaluative sequences rested on the availability of some very inspiring studies. Some works give a descriptive analysis of the ways in which adults display an orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement when producing evaluative sequences (inter alia Pomerantz 1975, 1978, 1984a), or examine and discuss interactants' (adult-adult or child-child) orientation toward a preference for agreement over disagreement within diverse praxeological contexts (inter alia Bilmes 1988; Boyle 2000; Church 2009; Levinson 1983; Heritage 1984b, 2008; Sacks 1987). Other investigations concentrate on repair practices and demonstrate adults' preference for self-initiated self-repair over other-initiated other-repair when interacting with their young children (Corrin 2010;

Drew 1997; Forrester 2008, 2009; Laakso 2010; Laakso & Soininen 2010; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977).

By taking into account the multimodal resources that interactants deploy, and by looking at the larger praxeological context within which they produce evaluative sequences, my work aimed furthermore to discuss – in the light of the above-mentioned literature – the findings regarding the ways that young children and their parents handle epistemic rights and display an orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement (Chapters 5 and 6), and toward the preference for self-repair over other-repair within their accomplishment of evaluative sequences (Chapter 7). Moreover, the goal was to relate the relevance of these findings to the study of socialization.

The most basic evidence for interactants' handling of preference organization refers to frequency distribution (Heritage 1984a: 247). In 95 per cent of the identified occurrences, parents responded to their children's initial evaluative turn, thereby using agreement (on 134/483 occasions) and questioning repeat⁹⁹ (on 87/483 occasions), far more often than disagreement (60/483 occasions). This frequency distribution indicates that parents orient toward the preference for agreement over disagreement. Moreover, questioning repeats (QRs) constitute a typical practice of other-initiation of repair: their deployment by the parents potentially induces the child to do the repair as a self-repair. In this sense, parents' frequent use of a typical repair initiator to respond to their children's evaluative turn manifests their orientation toward the preference for self-repair over other-repair when they interact with their children.

Another piece of evidence supporting interactants' orientation toward preference organization relates to the formal and sequential structure that responses take (Levinson 1983: 333). I have stressed that parents' agreements were generally produced in a preferred format: they occurred immediately after the child had completed the initial evaluative turn, and the agreement was expressed clearly and directly, whereas the parental disagreeing response or the questioning repeat displayed a central feature of the dispreferred format, i.e. they were produced after some delay. I pointed out that, as is also the case in conversations between adults (cf. Pomerantz 1984a: 79; Schegloff 2007: 151), parents recurrently used a delaying device, such as silence, the *wh*-question or a verification procedure, before overtly disagreeing with their children's initial evaluative turn, thereby giving the latter an extra slot

⁹⁹ In addition, I identified 42 fragments in which the parent used another questioning format in order to respond to her/his children, but these have not been examined within this thesis.

or opportunity for possibly reviewing their initial evaluative turn, in order to minimize the occurrence of overt disagreement. I also emphasized that parents only uttered a QR after the occurrence of an adjacency lapse. Parents' recurrent deployment of a delay indicates their orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement – and in the case of the QR, for self-initiation of repair over other-initiation of repair (Sidnell 2010b: 110). Participants' orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement has been further fostered through the examination of a rare occurrence: a fragment in which a mother and a young child overtly expressed and discussed the preference for agreement. At the beginning of this fragment, an older sister disagreed unequivocally with her younger sister's positive assessment of her own drawing (see Chapter 6, extract 1). Following the disagreement, the mother reprehended the older sister for disagreeing, even inducing the latter to eventually agree with her younger sister's initial positive evaluative turn, whereas the younger sister manifested her refusal of her older sister's disagreement in an embodied way and through the use of vocalizations.

In order to deepen our understanding of parents' and children's management of preference organization, I looked in more detail at the format taken by the three examined types of parental responses. With regard to agreeing responses, apart from two identified exceptions, all parental agreements took the form of different types of weak agreements – i.e. same evaluations and agreement tokens, and not the preferred upgraded agreement. In adult-adult interactions, the use of weak agreements in second position is usually brought into play to preface a disagreement or a dispreferred action, and/or their deployment might engender a series of disagreements. As we will see below, my analysis did not systematically confirm these interactive implications of weak agreements within parent-child interactions. So far as disagreeing responses are concerned, the more detailed examination moreover revealed that in terms of format, parents did not generally employ the preferred weak disagreement, but rather its dispreferred alternative of strong disagreements.

One possible explanation for parents' systematic use of weak agreements, and/or strong disagreements might lie in these formats' unequivocal expression of their respective actions. Indeed, upgraded agreements might imply the use of upgrading qualifiers, such as “very” or “immensely”, or the deployment of evaluative terms other than those used in the young child's initial turn: instead of “beautiful”, for example, the second speaker might use the stronger evaluative term of “gorgeous”. In contrast, parental weak agreements took the form of a simple agreement token, often combined with a repeat of the child's initial

evaluative turn. These formats might thus express the action they accomplish – agreement with the child’s initial turn – more straightforwardly than upgraded agreements. Similarly, strong disagreements mostly included a disagreement token in combination with a directly contrastive evaluation. As such, they expressed disagreement more clearly than their weak alternative that is characterized by its mitigated format, i.e. one that includes elements of both agreement and disagreement. At this point it might be important to recall that children in this study never deployed upgrading or downgrading qualifiers, but merely used embodied and prosodic resources for upgrading or downgrading their initial evaluative turns (see Chapter 4, extracts 9 and 10; Chapter 5, extracts 25, 26; Chapter 6, extracts 9, 10). Therefore, parents’ use of lexically and/or prosodically unequivocal formats is especially well suited for preventing misunderstanding between the interactants. Instead of essentially orientating toward preference organization, parents might thus orient toward shared understanding being the privileged aim of their responses.

This conjecture is sustained by another observation that refers to the way epistemic access to the referent and rights to assess were indexed in parents’ responses. Heritage and Raymond suggest that responses to those evaluative turns that are uttered by a person with greater socio-epistemic rights than the person who produced the initial turn commonly exhibit upgraded epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 23ff.). In my study, parents did not usually deploy particular resources to upgrade and display greater epistemic rights to assess in their responses, and if they did use response formats that possibly indexed superior epistemic authority and/or competition, children did not treat them as such. Indeed, in fragments in which parents’ agreeing responses were composed of a confirmation, i.e. same evaluation and an agreement token (Chapter 5, extracts 23, 24), thus possibly indexing “epistemic independency and priority relative to a first assessment” (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 26), or in which parental agreements were constituted by a confirmation and a tag question, thus possibly “usurping a previous speaker’s first positioned assessment with a new one that now commands the terms of agreement” (Heritage & Raymond 2005: 28), children did not orient toward their parents’ responses as epistemically competitive. Instead, they either treated them as implying a repair action by them, i.e. that they should use more adult-like language (extracts 23 and 24), or as being a way of asserting the agreement that parents accomplished with their response (extracts 34 and 35). Furthermore, the young children of this study did not generally deploy resources that indexed epistemic subordination when they addressed their initial evaluative turn toward their parents, as has been suggested by Heritage and Raymond

(2005: 34). Instead, they mostly used an “epistemically unmarked” declarative format. Collectively, these observations indicate that the parents and children of this study seemed to privilege the achievement of shared understandings, instead of primarily orienting toward preference organization and issues of epistemic authority and/or control. Beyond aiming at shared understanding, “members are faced with the problem of having to produce on each and every occasion of interaction their actual talk and activities in such a way as to make it witnessable by others as the talk and conduct of a member of whatever social category they are intending themselves to appear as” (Atkinson 1980: 34).

As mentioned in section 2.4., an essential requirement of social life consists in getting a sense of the observability and accountability of actions and in coming to terms with the fact that being considered a competent member implies behaving in such a way that others’ knowledge of one’s membership category is enough to infer what one is up to (Sacks 1985: 18). Consequently, it is essential for children to learn the phenomenon of the *programmatic relevance* of social categories, i.e. the competences, rights and duties one is expected to have as an incumbent of a particular category, and the activities one is typically considered to engage in qua “parent”, “child”, “sister” or “grand-mother”. As Sacks put it: “For children to come to learn the phenomenon of relevance, its uses, and its import for the formulation of their own and the grasp of others’ activities, is utterly core to their socialization.” (Sacks 1992 I: 494)

In order to show how parents and children display their orientation toward issues of membership categories, I took into account the overall action in which the young child’s evaluative turn and the parental responses were part of, and looked at the implications that the most frequent parental responses (agreement, disagreement and questioning repeats) had on the further interactive development. This praxeological view on the investigated sequences further nuanced the outlined findings that indicated parents’ unrestrained orientation toward the preference for agreement over disagreement, and for self-repair over other-repair when responding to their young children’s evaluative turns. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the atypicalities regarding preference organization – recurrent use of weak agreement, and/or strong immediate disagreement – exhibited in parents’ agreeing, disagreeing or questioning responses and in children’s treatment of their parents’ responses evidenced that the interactants were not simply oriented toward the preference for agreement over disagreement, or for self-repair over other-repair, but that their organization of evaluative sequences manifested more complex issues related to their respective membership categories, and to a

set of activities, competences, rights and duties bound to them (see also section 2.5.1. of this thesis; and Jayyusi 1984: 43).

Indeed, after children's evaluative turns that accomplished a positive noticing, and through which they managed to re-engage in turn-by-turn talk with their parents when it had lapsed, or when the latter were busy doing things other than conversing, parents' responses tended to produce supportive actions in turn. These supportive actions took the form of a weak agreement immediately followed by an upgraded agreement (Chapter 5, extracts 26, 27), or were constituted by a questioning repeat which was strongly tied to the child's initial turn (Chapter 7, extracts 3, 4, 5, 6). By so doing, parents encouraged young children to verbally express their normative position and their affective implication with respect to the surrounding world, and in the case of questioning repeats, even provided the young child with another slot and so further stimulated their resumption of turn-by-turn talk. When the child's initial (positive) assessment took a form that was not very adult-like, such as "mmh" for assessing a item of food (Chapter 5, extracts 21, 22), or when their noticing was composed of the repeated production of an evaluative term, "plenty, plenty, plenty" (Chapter 5, extract 24), parents' weak agreement (taking the form of a simple repetition, produced in a monotone voice) was treated as repair implicative, inducing the young child to repair their initial action by deploying a complete sentence, such as for example, "that's good", or "there are plenty of bubbles". Instead of engendering disalignment, these parental responses also included a supportive dimension: they encouraged young children's more complex and sophisticated linguistic productions. These fragments thus showed instances in which young children used the evaluative sequence as a locus of language acquisition.

In other situations, the children produced a positive or negative evaluative turn that referred to something, or an activity they had just previously completed more or less autonomously, thereby achieving an action that implied a self-praising or self-depreciating dimension. As mentioned before, in adult-adult interaction, self-depreciation or self-praise are usually treated as dispreferred actions: they engender disagreement and/or they are simply avoided (Pomerantz 1975, 1984a). In this study, the child's self-depreciation was met by a parental weak agreement (Chapter 5, extract 31), or a strong disagreement (Chapter 6, extracts 11 and 18). With regard to self-depreciation, children treated either response by their parents as satisfactory, i.e. none of them generated further disaligning actions (Chapter 5, extract 31; Chapter 6, extracts 11, 18). To disagree immediately and firmly with self-depreciation constitutes a strong supportive act. However, in cases in which the young child's self-praise

refers to an autonomously accomplished action, the matter is more complex. Indeed, in everyday family life, young children's autonomously accomplished actions easily engender parental encouragement, and at the same time, self-praise is a type of action that is conventionally avoided.

This ambiguity with respect to self-praising actions was indexed in parents' responses: they tended to respond with a weak agreement (Chapter 5, extracts 32, 34), or a questioning repeat manifesting surprise or disbelief (Chapter 7, extracts 7, 8, 9) to meet their children's self-praise, rather than dismissing it with a strong immediate disagreement (Chapter 6, extracts 13, 15). Moreover, the ambiguity was reflected in the way that children treated their parents' responses. Indeed, parental strong disagreement was treated as not satisfactory, engendering a complex series of dispreferred actions (see Chapter 6, extracts 13, 15). In contrast, when a child's self-praise was met by a parental weak agreement whose aligning character was emphasized by embodied means, or by the deployment of a tag question after the repetition of the initial evaluative turn (Chapter 5, extracts 32, 34), or a questioning repeat displaying or adumbrating surprise or disbelief (Chapter 7, extracts 7, 8, 9), these parental responses were treated as acceptable, and children did not pursue an upgraded agreement, as was the case, for example, when their noticing or positive assessment was merely responded to by a parental weak agreement which took the form of an amused agreement token, or a simple, barely audible repetition of the child's initial turn (Chapter 5, extracts 23, 25).¹⁰⁰

In other fragments, the young child's evaluative turn implied a request regarding a parental domain of responsibility, such as food, or the physical safety of the child, etc.; a request for help, in pulling down a sleeve, or in closing a game box; or a request for permission to eat (chocolate), or not to have to eat (ham). After requests for help and/or advice, parents either granted the child's request without using talk (Chapter 4, extracts 11, 12), or they treated their own initial weak agreement (a simple agreement token) as constituting an insufficient response, thereby immediately adding an account concerning their delay in granting the request (Chapter 5, extracts 28, 29, 30). Parents thus gave privilege to responding to their children's request for help and/or advice more thoroughly, instead of emphasizing their agreement with the evaluative turn itself, as was the case with fragments in which the child's evaluative turn accomplished an environmental noticing (see above). In situations in which the child's negative evaluative turn implied a request for permission to eat

¹⁰⁰ Fragment 7 of Chapter 7 constitutes an exception to this: after the parents' questioning repeat, the girl produces an embodied summons "to look" that she addresses to her mother, thereby "fishing for a compliment" from the latter.

or not to eat an item of food, or a request for engaging the parent in another course of action other than the one proposed by the latter, parents used a weak agreement, or a questioning repeat indicating incipient refusal of their children's request and delaying the production of the dispreferred action (Chapter 5, extracts 18, 19, 20). Besides weak agreements, parents deployed questioning repeats (Chapter 7, extracts 13, 14, 15) in order to delay the dispreferred response – a partial granting – to their children's request for permission not to eat a particular item of food, or to use a knife without any parental guidance. Apart from fragment 18 of Chapter 5, in which the parental weak agreement was followed by an escalation of the disalignment between father and son, the use of a dispreferred format for refusing the child's request lead to a rapid closing of the disalignment (see extracts 19 and 20 of Chapter 5, and extracts 13, 14 and 15 of Chapter 7). In extract 16 of Chapter 6, however, the child's negative evaluative turn regarding a pencil achieved a request for permission to use another one to continue her drawing, and the parent disagreed immediately and strongly with the child's initial turn, engendering a long series of disaffiliative actions that were only closed by the parent's use of a proof procedure that demonstrated the pencil's good quality (extract 16).

Similar observations were made with respect to situations in which young children produced negative evaluative turns for complaining about food, a beverage, the water temperature of the shower, or the heat of the oven, or an object belonging to the household; that is to say, about a domain for which the parent is usually considered responsible. I showed that in these cases parents easily treated their children's turn as an unsafe complaint, engendering disalignment in turn (Chapter 6, extracts 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; Chapter 7, extracts 11, 12). As with refusals to requests, parents tended to delay disagreeing responses to their children's complaints, by using a *wh*-question (Chapter 6, extracts 4, 5, 6), by deploying a verification procedure (Chapter 6, extracts 8, 9), or a questioning repeat (Chapter 7, extracts 11, 12); thereby giving their children an extra opportunity to soften their initial complaint. As with refusals, so long as parents' disagreeing responses exhibited the most characteristic feature of the dispreferred format, i.e. delayed production, they did not engender a long series of contesting actions. Instead, children either responded to their parents' *wh*-question (Chapter 6, extract 2, 3, 4), or they took into account the parents' verification procedure (Chapter 6, extract 8), eventually backing down from their initial position after their parents' overt expression of disagreement. However, in fragments in which children merely confirmed their initial evaluative claim after their parents' production of a questioning repeat (Chapter 7, extracts 11, 12), parents eventually backed down from their initial position in order to achieve

alignment. Moreover, if parental disagreement was produced immediately after the child had completed her or his initial evaluative turn, or if an extra opportunity to speak provided by a parental wh-question was eventually taken by one of the parents (Chapter 6, extracts 5, 6), it generated a series of disaffiliative actions (Chapter 6, extracts 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16). Apart from one exception, in which the parents' strong and immediate disagreement responded to a child's initial evaluative turn that had been uttered in a context of alignment (Chapter 6, extract 17), no further disaffiliative actions were observed and interactants came rapidly to a closing of the evaluative sequence.

By insisting on the praxeological implications of parents' and children's organization of evaluative sequences, this analysis thus clearly demonstrates that parental (epistemic) authority in and control of certain everyday domains and/or the parental scaffolding of children's acquisition of communicative competences constituted a practical matter that had to be locally accomplished. Parents' success in imposing or controlling a way of seeing, understanding, or evaluating an item (such as food, or the temperature of the water), an action (accomplished by the child or by the parent), or a person (real or imagined) rested on the fact that their epistemic authority was recognized by their children in turn (for a similar argument, see Butler 2008: 197; Macbeth 1991). Indeed, when children – following their parents' questioning response or strong disagreement – simply confirmed or even clearly asserted their initially held position, the parents' (epistemic) authority or superiority was not recognized, but it was successfully challenged or even undermined by their children (see also Chapter 6, extracts 5, 6, 10). I also stressed that when the child's initial evaluative turn implied a request relative to a domain of parental responsibility, the real time negotiation of epistemic authority had very practical implications: when children successfully resisted their parents' questioning of their initial evaluative turn, by simply confirming their initial evaluative turn (see for example Chapter 7, extracts 11, 13, 14), parents in turn had to come up with a compromise – such as a partial granting with regard to the child's initial request, e.g. to drink some water instead of continuing to eat the negatively evaluated food item – if they wanted to continue the meal more or less peacefully.

Interestingly, Wootton (1997: 206) mentions that (four year old) children do not usually withdraw an initial request. However, Wootton is shading my own account regarding the ways that children's requests are dealt with in everyday parent-child interactions: he remarks that in the rare occasions in which children do withdraw their initial request, such withdrawals seem to be prompted simply on the basis of the firmness of the parental rejection,

i.e. on the basis of the child forming a judgment as to whether or not the parent is likely to accede to the request. As mentioned above, in the fragments analyzed here, parents' firm disagreement with the child's initial evaluative turn seems to have exactly the opposite implications, engendering a long series of disaffiliative actions (see Chapter 6, extract 16). However, when the parent delayed the refusal to the child's request (by a weak agreement or a questioning repeat), children seemed to be more inclined to give in (see Chapter 5, extracts 19, 20; Chapter 7, extracts 13, 14, 15). My analytic descriptions of young children's enacted and often successful subversion of their parents' authority also differs from Montandon's study that focuses on children's own perspectives and expectations regarding their parental authority (cf. Montandon 2002). The study reports that when children are encouraged to talk about their expectations toward their parents, they most frequently mention that they want them to perform control and authority when they (the children) consider themselves to have a specific problem (Montandon 2002: 109). In the examples I discussed above, the children's negative evaluation of a food item indicates a specific – very concrete – problem that they have with eating the evaluated food item. Although young children systematically turned toward their parents with these types of problems, their way of implementing their parents' disagreeing stance in the further course of action – insisting on their own view subverting the one manifested by their parents, instead of simply recognizing their authority in the matter – does indicate, however, that children's orientation toward parental authority and/or control is a more ambiguous and contradictory issue than the study by Montandon seems to suggest. In a similar way, my analysis demonstrated that parents' deployment of questioning repeats that typically aim at encouraging the child's use of talk and stimulate the child's acquisition of interactive, linguistic, social or cognitive competences, needed to be recognized and treated as such by the child in order to be effective. Indeed, in Chapter 7, I discussed at length how young children's appreciation of others' previous actions as being, or not being repair implicative always remains an interactive and praxeologically situated matter. Following their parents' questioning repeat, children did not systematically produce a "proper" repair action. Instead, they simply confirmed their initial evaluative turn (Chapter 7, extracts 1, 2, (3),¹⁰¹ 4, (5), 9, 10, 13, 14, 15), or kept silent (Chapter 7, extracts 6, 8, 11, 12). They thus invalidated or de-legitimized the QR's repair implicative dimension, and subverted their parents' deployment of a typical repair-initiator.

¹⁰¹ Sometimes the child's confirmation of his or her initial evaluative turn is produced in a very low voice, or through the deployment of a minimal agreement token, and so I therefore put the identification number for these fragments within brackets.

In this sense, the praxeological examination presented here of parents' and children's organization of evaluative sequences uncovers how, through their (active!) participation in everyday family activities, young children might be confronted almost simultaneously with parental control and displays of authority, and the encouraging support and stimulating expectations of the latter. At a very early age, young children might thus acquire a sense of certain ambiguities and contradictions that are inherent in the programmatic relevance of social categories and come to grasp that if category-bound activities, rights, duties and competences are not effectively accomplished, they do not have any impact on the real time interaction, and are vulnerable for subversion.

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APPENDIX A

*Number of children per family – names and ages of the children*¹⁰²

Family	Children		Years	Months
Family 1	2 children			
	Léon	C1	3	6
	<i>Susanne</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>
Family 2	2 children			
	Manon	C1	4	1
	<i>Anna</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6</i>
Family 3	2 children			
	Alma	C1	7	11
	<i>Elio</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>
Family 4	3 children			
	Louis	C1	4	3
	<i>Clara</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>
	Elise	C3	0	2
Family 5	3 children			
	<i>Martin</i>	<i>C1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6</i>
	Adrien	C2	0	9
Family 6	3 children			
	Raymond	C1	8	1
	Camille	C2	6	1
	<i>Faffa</i>	<i>C3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>7</i>
Family 7	3 children			
	Lily	C1	4	3
	<i>Luc</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>10</i>
	Laurent	C3	0	2
Family 8	2 children			
	Aurélie	C1	4	0
	<i>Noëmi</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>

¹⁰² All personal names have been anonymized. The name and age of the target child in each family is written in bold and italics.