The parents' questioning repeats in response to young children's evaluative turns[1][2]

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English abstract

Based on a large audiovisual corpus of naturally occurring everyday parent-child interactions, this paper analyses the parents' uses of a typical other-repair-initiator, i.e. the questioning (full) repeat (Q(F)R), after a young child's evaluative turn. By taking into account the immediate praxeological context, the aim of the paper is to demonstrate that beyond initiating repair, parents' deployment of Q(F)Rs and children's responses to it, accomplish other social (inter)actions. Firstly, I discuss occurrences in which the child's evaluative turn accomplishes a noticing, which re-engages turn-by-turn talk, and I show how the parental questioning repeat (QR) primarily ratifies the child's previous action. Secondly, I analyse sequences in which the child's evaluative turn implements an announcement, after which the parent's Q(F)R adumbrates or displays surprise/disbelief, and thus challenges the child's initial claim. Thirdly, I examine situations in which young children's evaluative turns do complaints, and the parents' Q(F)Rs at the one hand project, and at the other hand delay disagreement with the child's previous complaint. Finally, I analyse sequences in which the children's evaluative turns imply requests, and show how parents' Q(F)Rs not only delay the (partial) granting of their children's requests, but also engender a step-wise negotiation of them. Thus, the paper explicates how parents' and children's interactional organization of a typical other-repair-initiator, such as the Q(F)R, is grounded in the immediate course of (inter) action; and how Q(F)Rs realize (particular, typical) matters of alignment/disalignment between the interactants and issues of membership categorization.

Keywords: parent-child interaction, questioning repeat, conversation analysis

German abstract

Anhand audiovisueller Daten analysiert dieser Beitrag solche familiären Alltagssituationen, in denen auf einen bewertenden Redebeitrag des Kindes eine fragende Wiederholung der Eltern folgt. Bisherige Studien gesprächsbasierter Interaktion stellen bei der fragenden Wiederholung vor allem ein zentrales Merkmal heraus: deren Kapazität, Reparaturen zu initiieren. Unter Berücksichtigung des unmittelbaren, situationalen Kontexts der Eltern-Kind-Interaktion, schlägt dieser Beitrag eine praxeologische Richtung ein und argumentiert kontextspezifisch: 1. In Situationen, in denen sich das Kind mit einer bewertenden Beobachtung in ein laufendes Gespräch einbringt, stellt die syntaktische Konstruktion der fragenden Wiederholung eine starke Verbindung mit dem vorherigen Redebeitrag her, und be-

stätigt so das Kind als engagierten Gesprächsteilnehmer. 2. Nach bewertenden Äußerungen des Kindes, welche die direkte Beschäftigung mit etwas, beziehungsweise Vertiefung in etwas betreffen, scheint die fragende Wiederholung vor allem Überraschung bzw. Ungläubigkeit seitens der Eltern auszudrücken. 3. Wenn sich Kinder mithilfe einer negativen Bewertung über etwas beschweren, erlaubt es die fragende Wiederholung der Eltern, eine offene Nichtübereinstimmung zu verzögern. 4. In Situationen, in denen der bewertende Redebeitrag der Kinder eine Forderung impliziert, zögert die interrogative Wiederholung die Gewährung der Forderung seitens der Eltern hinaus.

Indem die Analyse also situationsspezifische Kontexte differenziert, zeigt sie, daß die fragende Wiederholung der Eltern nicht ausschließlich Reparaturen initiiert, sondern darüber hinaus ganz unterschiedliche soziale Aktivitäten verwirklicht. Damit veranschaulicht die Studie erstens, wie die interaktive Organisation der Sequenzen durch die laufende Aktivität mitbestimmt wird, und argumentiert zweitens, daß bei der Analyse von Interaktionen nicht nur die Übereinstimmung/ Nichtübereinstimmung der Gesprächsteilnehmer berücksichtigt werden muss, sondern darüber hinaus auch deren Zugehörigkeit zu den Teilnehmerkategorien Kind-Eltern.

Keywords: Eltern-Kind Interaktionen, fragende Wiederholung, Konversationsanalyse

1. Introduction

In their fundamental work about the organization of repair, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) make a preliminary observation about the organization of repair within adult-child interaction. The authors note that, compared to conversations amongst adults, adults deployment of *other-repair* seems to be more frequent within adult-child interactions. They suggest that, instead of avoiding *other-repair,* adults might use it as a device to organize the child's learning, as a *socialization process* (Schegloff et al. 1977:381).

Over the last ten years, an increasing number of detailed analyses on naturally occurring interaction involving young children have been conducted within conversation analysis (CA) and ethnomethodology (EM) (Butler 2008; Butler/Fitzgerald 2010; Filipi 2009; Jones/Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell 2005, Kidwell/Zimmerman, 2006, 2007; Lerner/Zimmerman 2003; Wootton 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Zimmerman et al. 2007). Special attention is paid to the way repair is organized within adult-child interactions (Corrin 2010; Forrester 2008, 2009; Wootton 2007, 2010). As Forrester points out, 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 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 to accomplish the actual *repair self* (Corrin 2010[3]). Moreover, Forrester demonstrates that within parent-child interaction, one can observe a statistically significant preference, i.e. in terms of frequency, for children's *self-repair* over *other-repair* (Forrester 2008, 2009). Corrin's and Forrester's findings both 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 (see Schegloff et al. 1977:381), adults seem to respect the *preference for self-repair* when interacting with young children[4], and thus stimulate the child's engagement in learning-by-doing repair (her/himself) (Corrin 2010; Forrester 2009).

This study takes a slightly different tack in showing that within everyday parent-child interactions, parents might deploy typical *other-repair-initiators* to accomplish other activities than initiating repair, *and/or* their use might induce children to do something other than producing *repair*. In order to demonstrate this, I focus on interactive situations in which small children's production of an *evaluative turn* engenders the parent to deploy a *questioning (full) repeat* (Q(F)R), i.e. partial or full final-rising-intoned repeats of a prior turn (Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010:232). Within adults' conversations, evaluative turns have been shown to make a response by the recipient relevant in a next turn. In terms of activity, this response is typically in agreement or disagreement with the previous assessment (Pomerantz 1975, 1984a[5]). In the overall corpus (see data below), I identified roughly 483 occurrences in which the young child produces evaluative turns, e.g. "x is nice", "y is tall", "I like z", etc., which *accomplish* a whole range of activities, i.e. announcement, noticing, complaint, self-praise, etc. (Pomerantz 1984a:63). In 87 occurrences out of these 483 (18%), the child's evaluative turn is responded to by a parent's Q(F)R. According to studies carried out within CA/EM, Q(F)Rs constitute a typical *other-repair-initiator* (ORI) (Jefferson 1972; Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010; Sidnell 2010). As studies in CA/EM have established, beyond initiating repair the use of typical ORIs can achieve a whole range

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[3] For the deployment of *open-class-other-repair-initiator* within child-adult interaction see also Drew (1997), Ochs (1988).

[4] Studies concerned with repair organization have demonstrated that one characteristic feature within adult's conversations is the preference for self-repair (Schegloff et al. 1977).

[5] I only refer to Pomerantz's work, since it was the first to describe this aspect in a systematic way. However, since then it has been taken up and discussed in a large number of publications concerning the interactive organization of assessments (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987; Mondada 2009a, 2009b; Butler 2008; Heritage/Raymond 2005; Stivers 2005).

of social actions, such as adumbrating dispreferred/disaffiliative responses (disagreements, rejections, declinations) (Drew 1997; Pomerantz 1975, 1984a; Rost-Roth 2006; Schegloff 2007; Svennevig 2008, Sidnell 2010), entering/exiting a conversation (Egbert 1997; Lerner 1993), implementing/adumbrating surprise/disbelief (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 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 its interactive organizations. The aim is to show that depending on the action the child's evaluative turn accomplishes (noticing (3.1), announcing (3.2), complaining (3.3), requesting (3.4)), that the parental Q(F)R *and* the child's response to it achieve a range of attendant activities, such as ratifying the child's previous interactional achievement (3.1), adumbrating/displaying surprise or disbelief (3.2), delaying disagreement (3.3), and delaying the granting of a request (3.4). By showing what the parental use of a Q(F)R implies in terms of interaction, I endorse one of Sacks' analytic methods regarding talk in interaction. This consists of asking what an utterance is interactively accomplishing, when produced in a particular format (questioning repeat) and in a specific sequential position (after a young child's evaluative turn) (Sacks 1992 I:378).

Data
This analysis is based on a large audiovisual corpus. Naturally occurring interactions between young children (2,1 to 2,10 years), their parents and siblings were videotaped in eight different families, living in the surroundings of Fribourg, Switzerland (5 families with 2 children, and 3 families with 3 children). Each family was filmed with two cameras[6] on four different occasions for 3-4 hours at their home. The corpus of audiovisual material encompasses 2 times 12-16 hours per family, which amounts to a total of around 2 times 120 hours.

No instructions were given to the families concerning specific activities to be videotaped, nor were they asked to spend their time in specific rooms during our video recording. They were invited to live their life as normally as possible, while we followed them as discreetly as possible. 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 ongoing activities of the family members, but avoiding direct interaction with them.

2. The emergence of an *adjacency lapse* after a young child's evaluative turn

As will be seen throughout the whole article, before parents produce a Q(F)R following their young children's evaluative turn, an *adjacency lapse,* i.e. a silence emerges (Jefferson 1972:298). In this section, I will briefly outline the interactive and sequential implications of this consistent feature. It seems that the way participants deal with the adjacency lapse displays their orientation towards different category-incumbency (parent–child, older sister/brother) as having non-equivalent authority (rights/obligations) to respond to a small child's evaluative turn.

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6   I thank Stefan Weber (camera 2) for filming with me (camera 1) in families 1-4, and Christine Wuillemin (camera 2) for doing this work in the families 5-8.
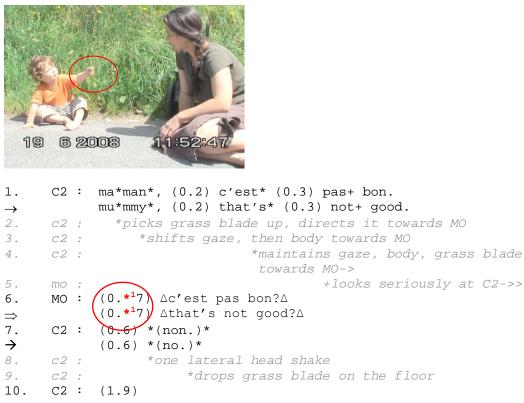
2.1. The adjacency lapse in a two party situation

In the following sequence, the mother and Elio (2,1 years) 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.[7]

Extract (1)

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Elio[8] (2 years 1 month);

*[1] (camera 2)


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1.    C2 :  ma*man*, (0.2) c'est* (0.3) pas+ bon.
→           mu*mmy*, (0.2) that's* (0.3) not+ good.
2.    c2 :     *picks grass blade up, directs it towards MO
3.    c2 :        *shifts gaze, then body towards MO
4.    c2 :                      *maintains gaze, body, grass blade
                                  towards MO->
5.    mo :                      +looks seriously at C2->>
6.    MO :  (0.*¹7) Δc'est pas bon?Δ
⇒           (0.*¹7) Δthat's not good?Δ
7.    C2 :  (0.6) *(non.)*
→           (0.6) *(no.)*
8.    c2 :        *one lateral head shake
9.    c2 :           *drops grass blade on the floor
10.   C2 :  (1.9)
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In the beginning of this sequence, Elio orients towards a blade of grass lying on the floor, which he previously had in his mouth, and then had thrown on the floor. When he picks it up and holds it towards his mother (lines 2-3), he negatively assesses the grass blade: "mummy, that's not good" (line 1). As Pomerantz has shown, the production of an assessment is *sequentially implicative* (Schegloff/ Sacks 1973:296), i.e. when the first speaker has completed his assessment, a response by its recipient is adjacently due (Pomerantz 1975, 1984a, 1984b). By *pre-positioning* his evaluative *turn constructional unit* (TCU) (Sacks et al. 1974:702f., 720ff.), with the *address term* "mummy", Elio *explicitly selects* his mother to

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[7] For transcription conventions see appendix A.
[8] For reasons of confidentiality, all names have been changed.

produce this next turn (Sacks et al. 1974, Lerner 2003:179, 184).[9] The prepositioning of an address term indicates a problematic turn (Lerner 2003:179). Moreover, 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 by his mother. However, the above transcription shows the emergence of a 0.7 seconds silence before the mother produces a QFR (line 6; screenshot *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 what Jefferson calls an *adjacency lapse,* i.e. a silence emerges after a first speaker has completed an action, e.g. an assessment, which projects a next action by the intended recipient (Jefferson 1972:298, Sacks et al. 1974). According to Jefferson, the emergence of an *adjacency lapse* after an initial action indicates that the action to come might be problematic (Jefferson 1972:298). She argues that by withholding her action, the selected speaker (the mother) permits the previous speaker (Elio) to do an unsolicited *remedy*, i.e. she gives him an extra opportunity to resume talking, for adjusting, reformulating, and thus repairing his previous action (Jefferson 1972:297f.). By delaying a response, the mother might indicate her orientation towards the preference for *self-repair* (Schegloff et al. 1977). However, Elio does not treat the *adjacency lapse* as an *other-repair-initiator*, and does not resume talking. Instead he leaves the floor to his mother, who then produces a QFR. As Forrester showed, at this age (2,1 years) children can identify an adjacency lapse as an other-repair-initiator 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 excerpt, 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 (31%) out 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 analysed next.

2.2. The adjacency lapse in a multi-party situation

In the following sequence, the two children Manon (4,1 years) and Anna (2,6 years) 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.

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[9]   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);

*1 (camera 1)


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1.              (3*.8)
2.    c2 :      *stops drinking, lowers glass of juice-->
3.    C2 :   +*¹j'aime h. (0.3) mieux+ ça h..
→            +*¹I like h. (0.3) that+ better h..
4.    mo :   +grasps a plate with peaches on her left+
5.    c2 :    *pulls the juice bottle towards her by looking at
                it-->>
6.    mo :                       +puts the plate down on the
               table, shifts gaze + body to C2 -->>
7.              (0.5)
8.    MO :   +toi tu aimes ça?
⇒            +you, you like that?
9.    C2 :   (0.7) oui.
→            (0.7) yes.
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In the beginning of the excerpt, Anna puts down her glass of juice, grasps the bottle in front of her, looks at it and announces: "I like (better) that." (lines 1-3). Simultaneously, the mother, who is oriented towards the kitchen (screenshot *1), takes a plate with peaches and directs it towards the table (lines 4, 6). At the end of her daughter's announcement, the mother shifts her gaze and orients her body towards Anna, puts the plate with peaches on the table and utters: "you, you like that?" (lines 6, 8). After a short *adjacency lapse*, the mother thus *self-selects* to produce a QR (Sacks et al. 1974). As Sacks (et al. 1974) point out in their article, when the current speaker selects the next speaker, as it 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 (Sacks et al. 1974).

In this second sequence, the parent has not been selected, neither explicitly nor tacitly, to do the next action (Sacks et al. 1974; Lerner 2003). However, the *adjacency lapse* (0.5 seconds) (line 7) that emerges after completion of the young child's evaluative turn (line 3), is not used by Anna in order to resume talking, nor by the co-present older sister Manon for responding to her sister's announcement.

The latter's silence is especially interesting, since the two sisters are oriented towards each other and engaged in the same activity (drinking juice), which constitutes the basis (direct experience) for Anna's assessment. A potential recipient's participation in an assessed activity makes a response by her especially relevant (Pomerantz 1984a). Nevertheless, Manon stays silent. By staying silent at this point, the two girls display their orientation towards the co-present mother as 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 towards the parent as the relevant next speaker. They do this independent of the fact whether a) the parent has been explicitly selected by the young child as next speaker (17/36); b) 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). Moreover, in cases of parents' *self-selection* the silence might also indicate that they do not rush into the *turn generated category* of the responder to the initial assessment, and so withhold their display of a stance towards their child's evaluative turn (Sacks 1992 II:360-366; Watson 1997:66). 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 children and adults alike *orient towards the parent*, as the relevant participant to produce a next action, after 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 towards each others' contribution to the course of action.

3. What does the parent's *questioning repeat* after a child's evaluative turn accomplish in terms of interaction?

As we have seen in the previous section, the QR – systematically produced by a parent – occurs after an adjacency lapse. On one hand, an adjacency lapse indicates that there might be a problem in the previous turn. On the other hand, I have pointed out that if the initial speaker A has not selected a particular next speaker B, or the selected speaker does not take up talk adjacently after the previous turn's completion, this emergent silence constitutes an equal opportunity for all present participants to take up talk, including speaker A (Sacks et al. 1974). This section offers an analysis of situations in which the parent resumes talking, and produces a Q(F)R after an adjacency lapse.

In terms of action a Q(F)R neither agrees nor disagrees with the previous action (Pomerantz 1984a). As Jefferson points out, Q(F)Rs retrospectively point towards a *trouble* in the previous turn/action, and prospectively invite the speaker of the *trouble* to produce a *repair,* and thus constitute an *other-repair-initiator* (OIR) (Jefferson 1972:300, 305). As their designation indicates, OIRs usually imply a correction, and thus confront the trouble speaker with a challenge concerning the correctness or adequacy of her/his previous turn/action (Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010; Sidnell 2010). Sequentially its deployment engenders a (momentary) halt in the prior activity, whatever this activity was, and generates a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972:298). However, as we will see below, a Q(F)R not only

initiates repair, but like *exposed corrections* (Jefferson 1987:95) also accomplishes attendant activities (Sidnell 2010).

In 3.1 I will examine sequences (extracts 3-6) in which the child's evaluative turn accomplishes what Sacks calls a "*noticing",* which re-engages turn-by-turn talk or pursues a conversation (Sacks 1992 II:87-97). I will demonstrate that in these interactive environments the parental QR constitutes a modified repeat of the initial turn, and I will show that it is primarily implementing a tying device, ratifying the child's previous interactional achievement. In the second section (3.2), I will discuss sequences (extracts 7-10) in which the small child's evaluative turn accomplishes an *announcement* (Sacks 1992 II:87-97). As I will show, in this particular context, parents' Q(F)Rs are used and treated by themselves and the children alike as displaying or adumbrating surprise/disbelief, and thus as questioning the epistemic adequacy of the initial evaluative turn. In the third section (3.3), I examine two occurrences in which the small child's negative evaluative turn referring to a food-item is understood as a *complaint* (Pomerantz 1984a:63). I will describe how the parents deploy a Q(F)R in order to delay their disagreement with the child's complaint. In the last paragraph (3.4), I examine four sequences in which the children's evaluative turns imply a *request* (Mondada 2009a). The analysis of these sequences demonstrates that in this particular environment, parents use the Q(F)R as a device to delay the granting of permission for the child's request.

3.1. Questioning repeats after a child's noticing

In the following section, I will discuss parents' QRs following children's "…'environmental' noticings…which involve the noticing, of e.g., the passing world" (Sacks 1992 II:90). 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 (Sacks 1992 II:87-97). However, these "'environmental' noticings" imply a knowledge and/or an epistemic access claim (ibid:90). As claims concerning the world, they 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). According to Sacks, not every place in conversation is convenient to produce a noticing, and therefore their *timing* constitutes "one integral part of their occurr[ence]" (Sacks 1992 II:90; 93). First I will discuss parents' deployment of a QR after a noticing, which the child produces in a moment in which she/he is not considered an active part of the conversation by the other participants (extract 3), or in which *turn-by-turn talk* has lapsed (extract 4) (Szymanski 1999:5). Secondly, I will examine two instances in which the parent is clearly oriented towards another activity at the moment the child notices something (extracts 5+6). I will show how in all of these situations parents deploy the QR in a way that syntactically ties it strongly to the child's previous evaluative noticing, and thus ratifies its interactional achievement.

3.1.1. 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 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 (screenshot *1).

Extract (3)

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

*1 (camera 1)   *2 (camera 1)


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1.                (*¹3*.+5)
2.  c2 :       *(0.9)looks at the wooden caterpillar that she is
                  holding in her hands (rh: tail, lh: head)->
3.  mo :        +(0.5)looks towards C2 -->
4.  C2 :    ma chenille elle est* belle*².
→           my caterpillar it is* beautiful*².
5.  c2 :                        *rh: holding tail, directs wooden
            caterpillar slightly up, maintains it-->>
6.          (0.5)
7.  MO :    +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°°)
→           (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 towards MO*
13.         (0.4)
14. C2 :    EH: elle est *comme u:n (0.4)
            EH: it is *like a: (0.4)
15. c2 :            *looks at MO->>
16. C1 :    T'AS VU MAMAN LA MIENNE…
            MUMMY HAVE YOU SEEN MINE...
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Clara's evaluative 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 (Lerner 2003) (line 2; screenshot *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). On the one hand, the mother treats her daughter's noticing as requiring a response, and the girl is thus successful in bringing herself back into the ongoing interaction. On the other hand, by deploying a questioning format to produce her repeat, the mother uses a typical other-repair initiator (Jefferson 1972; Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010). However, it is interesting that the mother re-produces both referent terms of the child's turn, even though one would be *referentially adequate* in order to tie the QR to the child's utterance, and sufficient to make clear that she is talking about the same thing (Watson 1997:59). The mother's re-use of both referent terms, i.e. "it" + "your caterpillar" constitutes a *tying technique* (Goodwin 1990:177-188), which produces the mother's utterance as a response to her daughter's turn. 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, instead of accentuating its questioning format, which would upgrade its second position *undercutting the firstness* of her daughter's turn, and which would thus point to competitive epistemic stances (Heritage/Raymond 2005; Stivers 2005). 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 to hear, understand or accept 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, the mother, by keeping silent after her daughter's confirmation, treats it as closing implicative.

After another silence (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 his mother's. Its upgraded affirmative character, by otherwise maintaining the same syntactical construction as his mother's, displays the boy's competitive orientation towards the latter's utterance (Goodwin 2006:191). Louis so challenges his mother's epistemic authority, and displays his right to propose his own position (Heritage/Raymond 2005). With this he demonstrates clearly what "doing, being 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 towards 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 up-graded 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 towards his sister concerning the attention of their mother. Clara ignores her brother's attempt to take the floor, and keeps 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 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 (2,4 years) are looking out of the window (screenshot *1).

Extract (4)

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Susanne (2 years 4 months),

*1 (camera 1)   *2 (camera 1)


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1.                (6.0)((MO lifts C2 up, turns towards window))
2.   mo/c2:           +*look out of window*1->
3.   mo :                  *shifts gaze towards C2*2-->
4.   C2 :       ça c'est be::↑lle↓
→                that that's beau::↑tiful↓
5.   MO :        (0.3) elle est belle?
⇒                (0.3) it is beautiful?
6.   mo :                +shifts gaze towards car parking->>
7.   C2 :        (0.3) oui
→                (0.3) yes
8.               (0.9)
9.   MO :        une toute vieille?
                 a really old one?
10.  C2 :        (0.4) ouais.
                 (0.4) yeah.((conversation about the car continues))
```

In 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 towards the window (line 1). First both of them look out of the window, which looks onto a car park (line 2, screenshot *1). Then the mother orients her gaze towards Susanne without saying anything (line 3, screenshot *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 summon–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, first the QR is tied to her girl's noticing, because it fulfils 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 (Szymanski 1999:5). 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 (Goodwin 1990:177-188).

Note that the little girl's use of an indexical for referring to the assessable seems unproblematic, since the mother simply uses the adequate pronoun in order to refer to it[10]. 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 mainly produce noticings 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 "*inter-subjectively shared resource*" for the orderly accomplishment of daily life activities (Goode 1990:17).

However, by using the questioning format, the mother displays her orientation towards the re-engaged talk as not being finished yet, 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. The mother thus *downgrades* her *epistemic claim*, and instead of competing with her daughter's stance, as did the older brother in the last sequence, she merely makes relevant another confirmation by her daughter (Pomerantz 1984a), 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 pursuing the exchange initiated by the young child, as constituting the priority of the interaction (Filipi 2009:84).

In both extracts (3+4), the parents exploit a particular *tying technique*, i.e. they produce a QR, by modifying the syntactical structure, placing the pronoun in the first position of the turn (Goodwin 1990, 2006). By doing this they indicate to their small child that they are tying their own utterance to the child's noticing. By exploiting a questioning format, they provide the child with another slot to talk (Filipi 2009:84f.). Other studies have demonstrated that the production of a repair-initiator might (above all) serve the speaker to re-enter an ongoing conversation (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.

In the next sequences, the child's noticing occurs in a slightly different sequential position. Indeed, in both extracts the child produces the noticing within an ongoing conversation. In addition, the mother is mainly preoccupied with something other than conversing with the small child.

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[10]   In French the car is a feminine noun, the mother's use of the feminine pronoun is thus adequate.

3.1.2. Parents' QR following a child's noticing occurring in a busy environment

As Sacks mentions, one way of giving a noticing a particular relevance is to refer to something that has been talked about before: "The fact that it was talked about last time can set up its being talked about this time" (Sacks 1992 II:93). In everyday life, small children are very often confronted with the fact that the other members of the family are preoccupied with something other than having a conversation with them. The two following sequences indicate that small children use evaluative noticings about a referent, which was the subject of previous talk, to keep conversing with the occupied parent. 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 (2,4 years), 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)

Participants: MO: mother, C1: Louis (4, 3 years), C2: Clara (2,4 years);

*1 (camera 1)

*2 (camera 1)

*3 (camera 1)

*4 (camera 1)

```
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*¹ gra*nd*²
→              is*¹ ta*ll*²
4.     c2 :          *turns towards mother->
5.             (1.1)
6.     C2 :   (le mö) le monsieur,* il est *gr*³and
→              (the ma) the man,* he is *ta*³ll
7.     c2 :                      *orienting towards "man", pointing*
8.     c2 :                            *orienting back towards MO->>
               (0.4)
9.     MO :   c'est un*⁴ grand monsieur ?
⇒              that's a*⁴ tall man?
10.    C2 :   (0.2) mh
→              (0.2) mh ((affirmative))
11.            (0.2)
12.    MO :   +ah d'accord.
               +ah okay.
13.    mo :   +invites C2 to sit down on her high-chair, and then
               moves the chair towards the table-->>
```

In the beginning of the above excerpt, Louis is sitting at the table, Clara is standing on her high chair, and the two children are oriented towards each other (screenshot *1). While her mother is preoccupied with adjusting Clara's pants, the latter notices "is tall", without invoking any referent (line 3; screenshot 1). By shifting her gaze towards her mother (screenshot *2) at the end of the noticing, Clara tacitly addresses her turn to her mother, and thus selects her as a next speaker (Lerner 2003:180). Nonetheless, a silence emerges (line 5), during which the mother does not respond to her daughter's turn, i.e. there is an absence of a response by the recipient. Clara treats this silence as a noticeable absence of a required response, and after 1.1 seconds she proposes a candidate-repair of her initial noticing (line 6). Indeed, she prefixes her evaluative *turn-constructional-unit* (TCU) (Sacks et al. 1974) with the referent that was missing in her previous noticing, i.e. "the man". As can be seen from the transcription, the referent has been the subject of previous talk between the mother and Clara (lines 1). This self-repair might further indicate that within parent child interactions, the left dislocated format, which has been used by the mother to produce the QR in the previous two extracts, constitutes the adequate form, if the referent has been introduced in previous talk. Simultaneously, Clara proposes an *embodied identification* of the referent, which she accomplishes by orienting her body and a vague pointing towards the direction, in which the man has last been seen (line 7; screenshot *3) (Mondada 2009b:334).

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 does neither agree nor disagree with the previous claim, allows the mother to produce a response, which does not clearly display her stance towards Clara's claim. As in extracts 3+4, Clara responds with a minimal affirmation (line 10), and does not further challenge the QR. Her confirmation is adjacently followed by a turn by her mother, which begins with a *change-of-state*

token, followed by a *terminal marker* "o.k." (lines 12). This serves the mother as a closing device, and "indicates satisfactory termination of the action it follows" (Jefferson 1972:317). The use of a *change-of-state token* usually indicates a change of knowledge. It is interesting to note that up to this point, the mother is busy with putting on Clara's bib, and adjusting the little girl's position on the high chair (screenshots *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, simultaneously handling these other activities, and to finally agree with her daughter's claim – although she has neither further checked it, nor got some new information by Clara after 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 (2,1 years) and her mother use a biscuit cutter to cut a biscuit together (screenshot *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*², jolie* ç*a+.
 →            +that*², cute* th*at+.
3.   mo  :    +takes biscuit out of cutter+
4.   C2  :            *grasps biscuit cutter*
5.   C2  :              *directs cutter towards dough->
6.   mo  :               +directs bisc. towards 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.+°
 →            °*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 towards another metal cutter, and produces a positive evaluation (line 2), by simultaneously grasping the cutter, and directing it towards the biscuit dough (screenshot *2; lines 4-5). At the end of Noëmi's turn, the mother begins directing the biscuit that she has just finished cutting towards 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 (Sacks 1992 I:378). Since both use a biscuit cutter, no further clarification seems necessary to identify the referent. As Pomerantz mentions, the participation in a same activity, and thus the direct access to the assessable, provide for the obligation to respond to a previous evaluative turn (Pomerantz 1984a). 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 (Pomerantz 1984b), whereas in this sequence, Noëmi 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+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 summarise: in the above extracts (3-6) the small children produce an evaluative noticing and thus achieve the re-engagement of turn-by-turn talk (extract 3+4), or the continuation of talk about an already talked about/acted upon referent, even though the interactive context is not in favour of it, i.e. the parent is preoccupied with something other than conversing (extract 5+6) (Szymansky 1999). An evaluative noticing makes a response by the recipient relevant. Additionally it implies a claim of epistemic access and/or knowledge. In order to produce an adequate response, the occurrence of a noticing requires the recipient to look and verify its claim. More importantly for my discussion, an evaluative 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 (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+4, and a "that's x"-format for extract 5+6), the parents are strongly tying their utterance to their child's noticing (Sacks 1992:II:22f.; Watson 1997). Therefore, I argue that in this particular praxeological context, instead of using a QR to initiate repair parents deploy it to ratify their young children's interactional achievements (for a discussion of repair-initiation as a mean to enter/exit a conversation see Egbert 1997; Lerner 1993), and to provide the child with another opportunity to talk (Filipi 2009:84f.). That this might be so is further shown by the child's minimal

confirmation following their parents' QRs, which are not oriented to (by children and parents alike) as constituting a self-repair, but as (pre-)closing the *side sequence* initiated by the QR (Jefferson 1972). 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 tacitly selects the mother as next speaker (Lerner 2003). Parents and children might thus display their orientation towards the parent as having a particular *right/obligation* to encourage their young children's active participation in conversation (Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1992 I:236-266). Indeed, 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.

3.2. Questioning repeats after a child's announcement

In this section I discuss sequences in which the child's evaluative turn is doing an announcement, highlighting an action as noteworthy (Sacks 1992 II:87-90). Like a noticing, an evaluative announcement not only solicits the response of the recipients, but it also requires them to look, touch or otherwise check what is being claimed to be noteworthy in order to produce an adequate response. Contrary to the noticings of the previous section, these 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 an *epistemic asymmetry* between the speaker and the intended recipient, which is displayed in the way the parents organize their QR (Stivers/Rossano 2010). Indeed, instead of simply initiating repair after announcements, the parents seem to use a QR to adumbrate positive surprise (extract 7+8), or organize it in such a way that it displays disbelief (extract 9+10) (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). The analysis of the sequence of interaction (child's response to parental QR, and parental response to it) shows that children and parents orient to the QR as challenging the initial announcement on the basis of considerations concerning the epistemic access (extracts 7+10), knowledge (extract 8), or the verification (extract 9) that an announced claim implies. Moreover, it shows that it delays the parent's production of a compliment/acknowledgement (extract 7+8) or projects a disaligning action (extract 9+10) (Drew 1997; Schegloff 2007).

3.2.1. Parental QR which adumbrate positive surprise and/or acknowledgement

In extract 7, Noëmi (2,1 years) is alone in the bathroom, sitting on the potty, while the mother is standing in front of the closed door.

Extract (7)

Participants: MO: mother, C2: Noëmi (2 years 1 month)

*¹ (camera 2)   *² (camera 2)


```
1.    MO :   c'est bon?
              it's o.k.?
2.    C2 :   (0.2)NON*¹
             (0.2)NO*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
9.    MO :   (0.5) c'est bo*²n?
 ⇒           (0.5) it's o*²kay?
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 o.k?" (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 (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). It is followed by the contrast conjunction "but" (line 3). However, before the mother utters this, she turns around, walks away from the bathroom, instantly returning 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 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 2010:232ff.). As such, the mother's QFR resembles an open repair initiator, i.e. does not point out a particular trouble-item in the previous turn, and so stimulates the trouble speaker to locate the trouble source herself (Drew 1997:73, Corrin 2010)[11]. Noëmi immediately seems to understand what is causing her mother trouble. Indeed, as a response to the QFR, 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 requests her to do so. Note that by summoning her mother, Noëmi transforms her second pair part (SPP: response to her mother's QFR) 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 *talk control* that her mother had taken over by producing a QFR (Jefferson 1972:306f.).

Leaning over, the mother looks into the potty (line 12), and immediately produces the positive acknowledgement: "AH:: well bravo, yeah" (line13). By prefacing it with the French *change-of-state token*: "AH::" (corresponding to the English "oh" – Mondada 2009b:334), the mother displays not merely surprise but acknowledges that the girl's previous actions produce a change in her state of knowledge (Mondada 2009b:334, 342). This in turn makes relevant mother's acknowledgement of the girl's initial claim, which she produces in form of a compliment. As we have seen in this extract, QFR might be used to achieve an *other-repair-initiator* (Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010), and induce the child to propose a candidate repair (giving epistemic access). However, in this particular praxeological environment, the mother's QFR is also understood as adumbrating positive surprise. Indeed, by producing the summons "yes, look" as a response to her mother's QFR, Noëmi not only regains action control but also induces the mother to display her positive stance towards the girl's announcement in the form of a compliment, and thus to produce the action the girl projected in the first place with her initial announcement. In this sense the girl's utterance is not merely repairing but is also "fishing for a compliment". In the next extract, we will see that the child might use another method - keeping silent - after the father's QR, getting the response she projected by her initial announcement.

At the beginning of the extract below, Clara (2,4 years) 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.

---

[11] 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 2006).

Extract (8)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Louis (4years 3 months), C2: Clara (2 years 4 months), CA: camera 2

*1 (camera 2)   *2 (camera 2)


```
1.              (8.7)
2.    C2 :      VOILA ON A TOUT QU'A CA*CHE*1
→               DONE WE HAVE HIDDEN IT* ALL*1
3.    c2 :                          *lifts head, looks around->
4.              (1.1)
5.    C2 :      a tou:t cach*é
→               have hidd*en it a:ll
6.    c2 :                    *looks down->>
7.    FA :      (0.2) t'as tout caché?
⇒               (0.2) you have hidden it all?
8.              (0.8)
9.    FA :      alo/rs,
                so,/
10.   fa :         /walks into field of vision of CA, looks at card-
                board boxes->
11.             (0.6)
12.   FA :      ou:h/, moi je sais pas*2 où tu les a mis /hein↑
                ou:h/, me I don't know*2 where you have put them
                /huh↑
13.   fa :         /lh: checks over cardboard boxes one at a time/
14.   fa :                                         /lh: grabs the
                die, directs it to C2, they start playing->>
```

After hiding the last item under a cardboard-box, Clara utters her positive announcement (line 2) by lifting her head to look around (line 3). Her announcement is composed of the *terminal marker*, "done" (Mondada 2009b:354), 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 her initial announcement and thus to pursue a response (Pomerantz 1984b).[12] Compared to the first utterance, her repetition "have hidden it all" (line 5) is produced by deploying a simplified syntaxical construction, a lower voice, and is accompanied by a gaze shift down to the referents (line 6). I argue that this less intensive repetition indicates that Clara

---

[12] As Heritage has shown, the repetition of an initial action, when the recipient does not produce a next action, displays the speaker's orientation towards conditional relevance (Heritage 1984).

has seen her father approaching. After a short silence of 0.2 seconds, the father produces a QR*:* "have hidden it all?", by prefixing it 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 displaying a lack of knowledge (Pomerantz 1984:57f.).

By deploying a questioning format, the father prospectively makes relevant a response by 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-repair-initiator* (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 no-response as problematic. Indeed, instead of pursuing a response to his QR, the father produces the continuer: "so" (line 9) by approaching Clara (line 12).[13] Running his left hand over the boxes (line 13; screenshot *2) to check his daughter's claim, the father displays his surprise by beginning a next utterance with the *surprise token* "ouh" (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). 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 privyleged 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 *confirmation token* in the end. However, simultaneous with the confirmation token, the father grabs the die (line 14) and directs it towards Clara. By handing her the die the father displays his orientation towards the game-preparation-activity done by Clara, as being done properly and thus not needing an explicit confirmation of this from her. In this sequence, the father's QR points towards the interplay between participating in an activity ("you have hidden it all"), and the right/obligation to confirm evaluative claims concerning the activity (Pomerantz 1984a:63). However, by assuring his own epistemic access (inspecting the cardboard boxes), and treating his daughter's no 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.

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[13] Unfortunately the other camera doesn't capture the father's exact whereabouts before he enters the view of camera 2.

3.2.2.   Parental QR which displays disbelief with their child's initial announcement

In the sequence below, Noëmi (2,1 years) 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 (camera 2)   *2 (camera 1)


```
1.   C2 :   voilà + là*¹ (0.2) r'garde (*0.*5)*² ça just*e
→            done +here*¹ (0.2) look (*0.*5)*² that correc*t
2.   mo :        +shifts gaze towards jigsaw pieces indicated by
             C2 ->>
3.   c2 :                       *lh: pointing on jigsaw
             piece*
4.   c2 :                       *shifts gaze towards MO->
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 towards the jigsaw piece that she is pointing at (lines 2-3; screenshot *1). By using the *terminal marker* "done" (Mondada 2009b:354), Noëmi announces that she has finished something. By summoning her mother to "look" (line 1; screenshot *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, which provides for her mother's attention, the girl makes her positive announcement by shifting her gaze towards mother (line 4) (on gaze shift as a means of addressing, see Lerner 2003). Noëmi thus makes relevant a confirmation by the recipient (MO). After a short silence, the mother produces a QR prefaced with a *disbelief token,* "AH" (line 5), indicating her scepticism concerning the girl's claim (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). However, latching with her mother's QR, the little girl simply confirms her initial announcement "=yeah=" (line 7). The mother's QR does not induce the little girl to

"adjust" her previous claim (Schegloff 2007:151). This engenders the mother's disagreement, which she produces in the dispreferred format: with a weak agreement "yea::h", which prefaces a disagreement (Pomerantz 1984b), downgrading the little girl's confirmation with a proposition to check later (line 8). The mother achieves this downgrading first by using "you think", which instead of referring to a verifiable fact indicates a private or personal opinion. Secondly, by projecting that they will verify later ("we will see later"), the mother postpones the collaborative check and so projects a negative outcome of the verification. The mother thus seems to suggest to Noëmi that a claim which engenders disbelief by 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 implicitly 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 (Corrin 2010).

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 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 dis-affiliating actions by the participants (Pomerantz 1984a). Additionally, we see how participants orient towards the relevance of their relationships towards each other through the organization of the affiliation or dis-affiliation (Butler 2008). 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 (2,1 years), 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] (camera 1)

```
1.    C2 :   j'aime*¹ pas=
 →            i don't*¹ like=
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=
                              ⌊well I'm⌋sure that if you taste,=
5.    FA :   =aimes
             =you like
6.    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 towards the fridge, with Elio in his arms, when the boy announces: "i don't like" (line 1; screenshot *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 (Schegloff 2007:151). Although Elio treats the father's turn as an action of disaffiliation, and responds to it by *downgrading* his initial announcement, i.e. it occurs with some delay and is produced in a lower (barely audible) voice (line 3) (Pomerantz 1984a), his father does not treat it as being more acceptable – quite the contrary (Schegloff 2007:151). 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 4-5). 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 6). Note that compared 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 rejecting Elio's claim. On the other hand, by disagreeing with her husband so clearly 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 are said to be deployed by speakers with greater socio-epistemic rights to evaluate (Heritage/Raymond 2005:34; Stivers 2005:143f.). 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 QFR 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 analysed 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 food taste (extract 10), and thus imply an epistemic asymmetry between the speaker and the intended

recipient. I have shown that beyond initiating repair in this sequential position, parent's QRs are either adumbrating (extracts 7+8) or displaying (extracts 9+10) disbelief (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). 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+8). On the other hand, they display parents' orientation towards the child's claim as not corresponding to their expectations, and thus challenge the child's previous turn (extracts 9+10) (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006, Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010). However, children might deploy different interactive resources in order to respond to the parental challenging move, and so display different interpretations of it (Sidnell 2010). Indeed, as we have seen in extract 7, the child might interpret it as being grounded on 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 to her father's turn at all, and so undercuts its repair-dimension (Jefferson 1972:312). In extract 9, the mother's display of disbelief induces the little girl immediately to confirm her initial claim, and thus leads the mother to propose a pedagogical action, i.e. collaborative verification of the claim at a later moment (Corrin 2010). 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 (Schegloff 2007), children might resist this move through their responses, by re-affirming their initial claim, keeping silent, etc., and thus get the initially projected surprise+compliment by their parents. Additionally, extracts 9+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.

3.3. 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, in everyday family life, children's use of negative evaluations concerning issues falling under their parents' responsibility, i.e. feeding the children, protecting them from danger, etc., might easily be understood as complaints referring to parents' way of assuming their responsibilities. Complaints are a delicate matter: their interactive organization displays participants' orientation towards *membership categorization*, and towards specific *rights/obligations*, which are conventionally attributed to them (Sacks 1992 I:597-600). Depending on a) to whom they are addressed, b) the speaker's and recipient's relationship, and finally c) the recipient's relationship to the item being complained about, these might be treated as *safe* (engendering alignment) or *unsafe* (engendering disalignment) (Sacks 1992 I:597-600; Butler 2008:160). Parents' QR as a response might retrospectively display their orientation towards the child's complaint as being *unsafe*. Prospectively, they might *delay the overt expression of disagreement* with the child's complaint, and thus seek to minimize the occurrence of a longer sequence of disagreement, potentially provided for by the child's complaint (Pomerantz 1984a).

In extract 11, it is dinnertime. The father and the two children are sitting at the table, and Luc (2,10 years), is drinking sparkling water in big gulps.

Extract (11)

Participants: FA: father, C1: Lily (4years 3 months), C2: Luc (2 years 10 months)

*[1] (camera 1)


```
1.              (6.1)
2.     FA  :    t'aimes bien boire hein↑*¹
               you like drinking huh↑*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 towards father->
9.     FA  :    (0.2) ça pique?
⇒              (0.2) that prickles?
10.    C2  :    (0.2) .hh=
→              (0.2) .hh=
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 Luc to 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). Simultaneously to his sister's utterance, Luc stops drinking and lowers his cup looking into it (line 5). Then he assesses the water negatively by shifting his gaze towards his father: "that prickles" (line 7). By simultaneously shifting his gaze towards 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 too quick alignment with the father, and opts for "doing

being the rebellious brother", potentially engendering disagreement (Sacks 1984). At least the father treats Luc's turn in this sense. After a short silence (0.2) 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).

Sidnell shows that young children use QRs to respond to previous assessments/assertions in order to challenge the claim implied by them, and so delay the overt expression of disagreement (Sidnell 2010:112-115). As Pomerantz shows, delaying devices after an initial assessment are used to give the producer of the initial assessment an opportunity to reformulate it in a way that makes an agreement more probable. As such, the use of delaying devices displays the participants' preference for agreement over disagreement (Pomerantz 1975:73f.; see also Schegloff 2007:151). The QFR after Luc's complaint works exactly in this sense: by delaying the disagreement the father gives his son the opportunity (by using questioning intonation) to re-consider and eventually re-adjust his initial assessment, in order to come to an agreement. 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 QFR), to a qualified agreement (line 13). In this sense, it is the father who initiates the negotiation, which then leads towards an agreement and to the closing of the side sequence, initiated by the QFR. 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, i.e. drinking sparkling water (line 14) (Jefferson 1972).

The next extract shows a very similar interactive organization of the parental QR. Martin (2,6 years) and his father are standing in front of an oven with a transparent door and are inspecting the baking progress of the apple pie. The mother is standing a few meters away, but is oriented towards them (screenshot *2). Before the extract below starts, Martin is standing very close to the oven. The mother warns the boy to be careful, since the oven is hot and encourages him to back away from the oven. However, the father downplays her summons. Thus between the parents there is a disagreement "about the heat (level of danger for Martin) of the oven" before the extract starts.

Extract (12)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Martin (2 years 6 months);

*1 (camera 1)   *2 (camera 1)


```
1.              (*¹2*.5)
2.   c1 :        *leans towards, 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-orients towards FA->
5.              (0.5)
6.   MO :    mmh= ((amused))
7.   FA :    =pantalons sont tout chaud?*²
⇒            =trousers are very hot?*²
8.              (2*.1)
9.   c1 :     *orients his legs towards oven->
10.  FA :    no:: ⌈n.
             no:: ⌈ .
11.  C1 :         ⌊*tout chaud
→                 ⌊*very hot
12.  c1 :         *quickly backing away from the oven, as if it
                   was dangerous to stand so close to it->
13.             (1.0)
14.  FA :    *mmh
15.  fa :    *slightly nodding->>
```

At the beginning of the sequence, Martin leans slightly 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 but noteworthy (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). 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 by 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 (Jefferson 1972). While a 2.1 seconds' silence emerges, the boy orients his legs towards 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.

To summarize, in studies concerned with repair organization it has been suggested that there is a preference to treat other-repair initiators such as Q(F)Rs as indicating (local) problems of hearing, rather than (global) problems of understanding/acceptance (Selting 1987; Svennevig 2008). It has been argued that the interactants thus display their orientation towards a trouble as being grounded in the recipients' lack of hearing, as being socially less costly, less face threatening for the producer of the trouble source turn, and consequently as being easier to fix for the trouble source speaker, than to point to the unacceptability of the action-as-a-whole. However, Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman argue that the deployment of QFR (interrogative repetition of the whole turn) 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 2010:232ff.; Sidnell 2010). 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 announcement after his father's QFR, he does it in a barely audible voice[14]; and in extracts 11+12, the parents' Q(F)R do induce the boys to inhale (extract 11) or to keep silent for 2.1 seconds (extract 12). All these actions are scarcely interpretable as serving to remedy recipient's hearing trouble, but like their parents' Q(F)R these project a dispreferred action to come, i.e. disagreement (Pomerantz 1984a). Indeed, after their children's response to their Q(F)Rs, the fathers overtly and directly disagree with the child's initial negative assessment. 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) (Church 2009:63-72). As Church points out, interactants might deploy the preferred format (no delay, directness) for disagreeing (extracts 11+12) to display their orientation towards 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* (Pomerantz 1984a). As a whole, the interactive organization of these sequences indicate that the interactants treat the child's initial action, i.e complaint, as initiating a sequence of disagreement. In this sense, they display their orientation towards a child's negative evaluation of food or security – domains of parental responsibility – as constituting an *unsafe complaint,* i.e. disagreement-implicative, when addressed to a parent (Sacks 1992 I:597-600). By deploying a Q(F)R before overtly stating their disagreement, the fathers give their children the opportunity to adjust their initial turn and thus to make their action-as-a-whole more acceptable (Schegloff 2007:151). However, instead of backing

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[14] This gave rise to the incertainty in the transcription (see extract 10, line 3).

down, the children opt for confrontation. 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 of this paper (extracts 13+14).

3.4. Questioning repeats after a child's indirect request

In this section I discuss situations in which the child's negative evaluation of some food (extracts 13, 14) implies a request addressed to the parent not to eat it (extract 13) (Mondada 2009a), or 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). I will show that in these interactive contexts, parents deploy the Q(F)R in order to delay the (partial) granting of the request. After a request, granting occurs usually without any delay (Heritage 1984:296). By delaying the granting, the parents display an orientation towards the children's requests as implying an elaborated, nuanced response by them.

In the next extract, Anna (2,6 years), her sister Manon and the 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 (camera 1)   *² (camera 1)

```
1.   c2 :   ((coughs))=
2.   mo :   =⌈directs her gaze to C2, looks at her sternly⌉
3.   c2 :    ⌊(0.6)((directs the piece of peach to MO, expresses
             dislike⌋, ⌈maintains facial expression and piece of
             peach oriented to MO->
4.   mo :            ⌊directs lh towards piece of peach,
             retracts lh, then directs rh to piece of peach->
5.   MO :   qu'est-c'qu'+y a*¹?
            what's the +matter*¹?
6.   mo :              +rh: takes the piece of peach
7.   C2 :   (0*.4) ti↑ens, c'est pas bon.
→           (0*.4) ta↑ke, that's not good.
```

```
8.    c2 :      *facial expression relaxes, shifts her gaze
                towards her plate on her left, directs her hands
                towards the plate with the remaining pieces of
                peach, and starts to push it towards MO->
9.    MO :   (0.4) c'est pas bon?
⇒            (0.4) that's not good?
10.   C2 :   (0.4) *non*²
➔     C2 :   (0.4) *no*²
11.   c2 :         *mimics disgust, shakes her head, extends
                plate towards MO*
12.          (11.4)
             ((MO immediately grasps the knife. Then she is
             caught in an interaction initiated by C1. After its
             completion (9.2), MO takes away the skin of the
             piece of peach she got from C2))
13.   MO :   Anna, (0.2) pis ça+ tu manges?
             Anna, (0.2) and that+, you eat?
14.   mo :                    +lh: directs piece of peach
                without skin towards C2, and puts it on C2's plate->
15.   C2 :   (0.*5) oui
             (0.*5) yes
16.   c2 :       *rh : directs towards piece of peach, takes it,
                and eats it->>
17.          (0.2)
18.   MO :   d'accord
             okay
```

At the beginning of the sequence the mother and Manon are oriented towards each other, engaged in a conversation. Anna is nibbling a peach, and then coughs loudly and shifts her gaze towards her mother, who immediately looks back at her (lines 1-2). Anna's cough works like a summons or, in other words, as an *attention-getting device* (Schegloff 1972:357). One major property of a summons–response sequence is it's *nonterminality,* i.e. a summons makes relevant another action by the summoner after completion of the recipient's response (see extract 4; Schegloff 1972:359). Anna produces this next action by proffering the piece of peach towards 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: first, to take the piece of peach from her, and secondly to have the permission not 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 (Mondada 2009a). When Anna's tending movement towards the mother comes to a halt, the latter first directs her left hand towards the piece of peach, as if she accepted Anna's request without any more comment (line 4). However, half way she withdraws her hand and lets it rest on the table, as if she refused to grant the request (line 4). Interestingly, she then directs her right hand towards the piece of peach that Anna is still proffering her, and utters: "what's the matter?" (line 5), by 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 it from her (Jones/Zimmerman 2003).

The mother's request for an account (line 5) makes relevant a response by Anna, which is interesting in several ways. First, the first TCU (turn constructional unit) of Anna's response constitutes a request to "take" (line 7). Secondly, the second TCU, the negative assessment "that's not good" (line 7), is uttered with

a neutral facial expression and voice, and with a shift of orientation away from the object being assessed – a piece of peach – towards the remaining pieces on the plate that she then starts to push towards 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 (Mondada 2009a). Thirdly, Anna does not indicate what of the peach she dislikes.

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, "no" (line 10), and tacitly repeats her request not to eat these pieces of peach by simultaneously mimicking disgust, shaking her head, and pushing the plate with the remaining pieces towards mother (line 11, screenshot *2). Immediately after Anna's confirmation the mother takes the knife, which is lying on her plate, but is then caught in a short interaction[15] summoned by her other daughter, which has nothing to do with the peaches (line 12). After completion of this interaction, the mother starts peeling off the skin of the piece of peach, which Anna gave her (line 12). Then she 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) (Pomerantz 1984a). Moreover, it allows the mother to take away the skin from the peach and provides for a next action by her (Jefferson 1972:323f.). This next action, an invitation to Anna to eat the peach without skin (line 13), constitutes a dispreferred response to the child's 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, i.e. with skin. However, the invitation constitutes a rejection of her daughter's request not to eat the pieces of peach at all. Interestingly, the little girl accepts her mother's invitation to eat the peach without skin immediately (lines 15, 16).

In the next extract, the praxeological context is very similar. Its analysis explicates the interactive organization of the QFR, and its accomplishment of a particular social action, i.e. delaying the granting of a child's request in the context of a family meal.

In extract 14, the whole family is sitting at the table having dinner. Clara (2,4 years) sits between her mother and father (screenshot *1). The mother is preoccupied with breast-feeding her baby.

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[15]   This short sequence of interaction between the mother and C1 (Manon) is omitted for reasons of intelligibility of the transcription.

Extract (14)

Participants: MO: mother, FA: father, C1: Louis (4 years 3 months); C2: Clara (2 years 4 months), C3: Elise (2 months)

*1 (camera 1)   *2 (camera 1)


```
1.   C2 :    ⌊AE*AE⌋↑HH:+/
2.   c2 :      *putting her fingers in her mouth, showing
              dislike, by looking down on the table->
3.   mo/fa :          +/shift gaze towards C2->
4.            (1*.1)
5.   c2 :      *shifting her gaze towards her mother->
6.   MO :    qu'⌈est-c'qu'y a⌉ Cla+ra?
             wh⌈at's the matter⌉ Cl+ara?
7.   mo :                       +shifts gaze back towards C3->
8.   FA :      ⌊tu t'es mordue?⌋
               ⌊have you bitten yourself?⌋
9.   C2 :    (1.0) *ça pi::+que*¹
             (1.0) *that pri::+ckles*¹ ((weepy voice))
10.  c2 :         *shifting gaze towards C1->
11.  mo :                  +shifting gaze towards C2->
12.          (0.6)
13.  MO :    ça pi*que+?
             that pri*ckles+?
14.  c2 :           *shifting gaze towards her mother->
15.  mo :                  +shifting gaze towards 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 towards glass
22.  c2 :         *takes her glass, and starts drinking
             water*²->>
```

At the beginning of this extract, the mother is breastfeeding her baby and 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) (Schegloff

1972:357), and at the same time 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 eat it anymore. Note that while producing this assessment the girl shifts her gaze towards 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 produces a QFR of her daughter's previous turn in a very surprised tone (line 13) (Wilkinson/ Kitzinger 2006). By exploiting prosody, the mother simultaneously challenges her daughter's *action-as-a-whole* and displays availability to negotiate the evaluation and its implications (Robinson/Kevoe-Feldman 2010). However, at the end of her QFR, 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, "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 drinks 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 with by the young child ("ye:::s", lines 20-22; screenshot *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 (2,1 years) 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 (screenshot *1).

Extract (15)

Participants: FA: father, C2: Elio (2 years 1 month)

*¹ (camera 1)   *² (camera 1)


```
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*¹, t⌉u a/rrives*?
                 (*0.5/) yo⌈u*¹, yo⌉u c/an*?
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 towards C2's lh->
12.  fa/c2 :     *rh: continue 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*²-->>
```

After nearly 4 seconds, throughout which Elio silently accepts his father's guid-
ance, the boy evaluates his competence to handle the knife positively by saying
"can, (0.4) can" (line 2) by slightly withdrawing his right hand as if to escape his
father's grasp (line 3). The boy's positive evaluation of his competence, in combi-
nation with his bodily resistance towards his father's guidance, clearly implies a
request for autonomy. However, after an adjacency lapse of 0.5 seconds, the fa-
ther utters a QFR, "can?", by prefacing it with the repeated personal pronoun
"you, you" (line 5). By stressing the "you", the father highlights a contrast be-
tween the boy's positive assessment of his own competence and the actual situa-
tion in which the handling is accomplished in a highly collaborative way. Fur-
thermore, by continuing to guide him the father is producing an embodied rejec-
tion 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 in 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, screenshot *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+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 towards 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+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 (Heritage 1984:269). 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 (extract 13+14), and thus constitutes a partial granting of permission. Altogether, the sequences 10, 12, 13, 14 suggest that parents' responses to children's initial negative evaluative turns concerning food orient towards these as potential refusals to drink/eat it any further. In this sense, parents' use of Q(F)R, and children's treatment of it are not only highly contingent on the immediate interactive context, but also display a mutual and enacted orientation towards the relevance of *membership categories,* such as child and parent (Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1992). 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*, by which the parents display their responsibility towards 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 (Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1992 I:336-366). 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 towards the parent as having particular rights/obligations regarding the organization of granting a request.

4. Conclusion

This article analyses the interactive organization of parents' use of a typical other-repair initiator – questioning (full) repeat (Q(F)R) – after their young children's evaluative turns, and children's responses to it. By taking into account the praxeological context and the multimodal organization of the interactions, it explicates 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 evaluative noticing (3.1), 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+6), parents produce QRs by exploiting particular syntactical formats, such as a left dislocation, and thus tie their QR to the young child's previous turn strongly. In these ways, 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+6). Thus they accomplish a seemingly typical parental activity for interacting with young children, i.e. encourage the young child's attempts to converse (Filipi 2009:84f.). When the child's evaluative turn expresses a positive announcement in relation to their own engagement in an activity (3.2), the parents use the Q(F)R format to adumbrate positive surprise (extracts 7+8) or display disbelief. On the one hand, this use of Q(F)Rs implies epistemic scepticism, 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 (extract 8+9), the children seem to de-legitimize its challenging dimension successfully (Jefferson 1972: 312). In the third section (3.3) I discussed situations in which children's initial complaint refers to something that is conventionally considered to belong to 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 being an *unsafe complaint,* which is disagreement implicative (Sacks 1992 I:597-600). Prospectively, it gives the child the opportunity to revise and adjust his position in order to make it more acceptable for the parent (Pomerantz 1984a; Schegloff 2007). However, in the absence of the child's revision (both extracts: 11+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 (3.4), 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+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 (Heritage 1984:269), 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 towards each other as having special rights/obligations, concerning the control of food and dealing with unsafe situations (Sacks 1992 I:236-266).

This study suggests that parents' frequent use of Q(F)Rs might be grounded in its usefulness to achieve different courses of interactions[16], 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 other-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 indicate participants' tacit orientation towards *membership categorization*, i.e. towards specific *activities/ rights/obligations* conventionally attributed to them (Jayyusi 1984; Sacks 1992), making issues of categories-in-action (Butler 2008) observable and available for inspection. 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 3.1 and 3.4.[17]

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[16] Interestingly, Robinson and Kevoe identified only 22 occurrences of questioning full repeats (QFR) 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, relating to small children's interactions, Sidnell shows that 4 years-old children use the QR format significantly more often (twice as often) than 5 years-old (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).

[17] Before submitting this paper, I asked a friend who is unacquainted with CA/EM to check its general comprehensibility. After reading the paper she commented "Although the paper is quite technical, as an *expert, i.e. regular user of Q(F)Rs when dealing with my two sons,* I understood its sense and (generally) agree with its analysis".

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Appendix A

Transcription conventions (adapted from Jefferson).

⌈ ⌉	top begin/end overlap
⌊ ⌋	bottom begin/end overlap
(1.0)	timed pause (in sec)
OUI	extra loud volume
<u>oui</u>	stressed fragment
°oui°	spoken softly
°°oui°°	spoken very softly
ʃʃouiʃʃ	whispered fragment
Δouiδ	quickly spoken fragment
((smile))	described phenomena
:	elongation of prior sound
par-	cut-off word
=	latching

.h	in breath
h.	out breath
xxxxx	talk heard, but incomprehensible
(a little)	a guess at the talk
?	upward intonation
.	downward intonation
,	continuing intonation
↑	rising intonation without implying a questioning format
*[1]	indicates the exact moment according to the verbal transcription in which the screenshot of the audiovisual material has been taken.
rh	right hand
lh	left hand
*	non-verbal action by E2, which is transcribed, 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.
+	non-verbal action by MO, which is transcribed, 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.
/	non-verbal action by FA, which is transcribed, 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.
-->	indicates that the transcribed action continues.

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