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Prevailing Arguments and Types of Conclusions of Parent-Child **Argumentation**

This chapter examines the types of arguments used most often by AQI parents and children and the different types of conclusions of their argumentative discussions. The conceptual tool adopted for the analysis is based on the integration of the pragma-dialectical ideal model of a critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004) with the Argumentum Model of Topics (Rigotti & Greco Morasso, 2019). The integration of these two tools of analysis permits to reconstruct the inferential configuration of the arguments used by parents and children and to identify the types of conclusions of their argumentative discussions. Exemplary argumentative sequences that bring to light the results obtained through the qualitative analysis of a larger corpus of argumentative discussions between parents and children are presented and discussed.

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4.1 Types of Arguments Used by Parents

The findings of the analyses show that the types of arguments most often used by parents in argumentative discussions with their children can be ascribed to four categories: quality and quantity, appeal to consistency, authority, and analogy. In the following sections, we will look at each of them in detail.

4.1.1 Quality and Quantity

A great many of the arguments used by parents in argumentative dis-25 cussions with their children refer to the concepts of quality (positive or 26 negative) and quantity (too much or too little). These arguments were fre-27 quently used by parents when the discussion they engaged in with their 28 children was related to food. The argument of quality was often—but 29 not exclusively—used by parents to convince their children that the food 30 was good and, therefore, deserved to be eaten. The argument of quantity 31 was used by parents with the same scope of when they used arguments 32 of quality. Typically—but not exclusively—the parents used arguments of 33 quantity to convince their children to eat "at least a little more" food. It is 34 noteworthy to observe that when parents used arguments of quality and 35 arguments of quantity, they often adapted their language to the child's 36 level of understanding. For example, if the parents' purpose was to feed 37 their child, the food was described as "very good" or "nutritious," and its 38 quantity is "too little." On the contrary, if the parents' purpose was not to 39 feed the child further, in terms of quality the food was described as "salty" 40 or "not good," and in quantitative terms as "it is quite enough" or "it is 41 too much." In the following dialogue between a mother and her 5-year-42 old daughter, Adriana, we can see how the mother used an argument of 43 quality to convince her daughter to eat the salad: 44

Excerpt 4.1

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Italian family III. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 37 years), mother (MOM, 37 years), Samuele (SAM, 7 years and 11 months), and Adriana (ADR, 5 years and 4 months). All family members are eating,



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4 Prevailing Arguments and Types of Conclusions ...

seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and SAM sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while ADR sits on their opposite side.

1. *MOM: Adriana, devi mangiare l'insalata.

Adriana, you must eat the salad.

2. *ADR: no:: non mi piace ((l'insalata))

no:: I do not like ((the salad))

3. *MOM: Adriana, devi mangiare l'insalata perché è nutriente.

Adriana, you must eat the salad because it is nutritious.

4. *ADR: mhm::

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mhm::

%act: ADR inizia a mangiare l'insalata ma sembra controvoglia

ADR starts eating the salad but seems unwilling

In this dialogue, there is a difference of opinion between the mother and her daughter, Adriana. The sequence starts when the mother tells the child, Adriana, that she must eat the salad (line 1). Adriana, in line 2, disagrees with her mother ("no:: I do not like ((the salad))"). In argumentative terms, this phase of the discussion represents the confrontation stage, since that the mother and Adriana have two different standpoints: on the one hand, the mother wants Adriana to eat the salad, while, on the contrary, Adriana does not want to eat it. At this point, the mother accepts to assume the burden of proof, i.e., to defend her standpoint by putting forward at least one argument in its support. The argument advanced by the mother in line 3 ("Adriana, you must eat the salad because it is nutritious") is based on the quality of salad, and it aims at emphasizing the positive health properties of this food. Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase of the discussion represents the argumentation stage. Although Adriana appears to be far from being enthusiastic to eat the nutritious salad, the argument of quality used by the mother succeeds in convincing the child, Adriana, to eat it. The child clearly does not like the salad, in fact, she starts eating it unwillingly. However, the salad has a very positive quality, i.e., it is nutritious, and therefore it is worth to eat it. In argumentative terms, the non-verbal act by Adriana represents the concluding stage of the argumentative discussion. The analytical overview of the argumentative discussion between the child, Adriana, and her mother is summarized below:

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68 A. Boya

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IssueShould Adriana eat the salad?Standpoints(ADR)No, I do not like it(MOM)Yes, you mustArgument(MOM)The salad is nutritious

In this dialogue, we have already seen that the mother emphasizes the health properties of salad to convince her daughter that she should eat it. The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument of quality advanced by the mother (Fig. 4.1), using the AMT, will allow us to identify the reasoning that underlies it.

Specified on the right-hand side of the diagram is the inferential principle, i.e., the maxim, on which the mother's argumentation is based: "If action X leads to a positive outcome for x, then action X should be done by x." This maxim is engendered from the locus from final cause. For this maxim to generate the final conclusion, which coincides with the standpoint to be supported, the following minor premise is needed: "Eating salad has a positive outcome for Adriana." This leads to the conclusion that "Adriana should eat salad." The fact that "Eating salad has a positive outcome for Adriana" needs further justifications; unlike the maxim, this is not an inferential rule but a factual statement that must be backed by contextual knowledge. In this regard, the AMT representation allows consideration of the contextual premises that are implicitly or explicitly used in argumentation. This may be found on the left hand of the diagram, where the second line of reasoning is developed to support the former one. This is the reason why the preliminary conclusion on the left side becomes the minor premise on the right side. In this way, the crossing of contextual and formal premises that is characteristic of argumentation is accounted for in the AMT. Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, a second line of reasoning is developed to support the former one. In this argument, the endoxon can be described as follows: "Eating nutritious food leads to positive outcomes for Adriana." The datum, constituting the minor premise of the endoxical syllogism, is that the "Salad is a nutritious food." The datum, combined with the endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "Eating salad has a positive outcome for Adriana."

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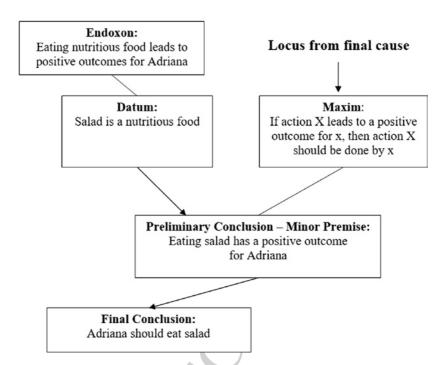


Fig. 4.1 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "The salad is nutritious"

The arguments of quality and the arguments of quantity were also used together within the same discussion by parents, as in the following dialogue between a 5-year-old child, Gabriele, and his father:

Excerpt 4.2

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111 Italian family I. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 38 years),

mother (MOM, 38 years), Silverio (SIL, 8 years), and Gabriele (GAB,

5 years and 4 months). All family members are eating, seated at the

meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and GAB sit

on the right-hand side of DAD, while SIL sits on their opposite side.

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70 A. Bova

%sit: GAB sta bevendo una bibita gassata

GAB is drinking a carbonate soft drink

1. *DAD: basta, Gabriele!

that's enough, Gabriele!

%act: GAB smette di bere

GAB stops drinking

 \rightarrow *DAD: adesso ti do il riso.

now I will give you some rice.

2. *GAB: no, non voglio altro: ((sedendosi sulla sedia))

no, I do not want anything else: ((sitting on the chair))

3. *DAD: il riso col sugo di pomodoro

the rice with tomato sauce

%pau: 1.0. sec

4. *GAB: per favore, niente. [:!facendo cenni di negazione col capo]

please, no more. [:! shaking his head in refusal]

5. *DAD: no:: non hai mangiato abbastanza.

no:: you have not eaten enough.

6. *GAB: no:::

no:::

%act: GAB si alza e corre in un'altra stanza

GAB gets up and runs into another room

This sequence starts when the father, in line 1, tells his son, Gabriele, that he must stop drinking a carbonate soft drink and that he must start eating some rice. In line 2, a difference of opinion between Gabriele and his father arises because Gabriele replies to his father that he does not want to eat anything else. Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase of the discussion represents the confrontation stage, since Gabriele and his father have two different standpoints. In line 3, the father puts forward an argument based on the quality of food: (it is) the rice with tomato sauce. In this case, we can suppose that, according to the father, the fact that the tomato sauce is an appetizing ingredient, and it is, therefore, a positive quality of this dish, is an endoxon, i.e., a premise shared by him and his son. However, as we can observe from Gabriele's answer in line 4, the argument of quality advanced by the father is not effective to convince the child to accept the father's standpoint and change his opinion. In line 5, the father puts forward one more argument to convince his son, Gabriele, to eat the rice with tomato sauce. This second argument put forward by the father does not refer to the quality of the food but, instead, to its quantity.

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4 Prevailing Arguments and Types of Conclusions ...

The father tells his child that he must eat a little more rice because, until that moment, he has not eaten enough. In argumentative terms, this phase of the discussion represents the argumentation stage. Despite his father's argumentative effort, Gabriele still disagrees with his father and, in line 6, says to his father that does not want to eat the rice ("no"). The concluding stage of this argumentative discussion involves the non-verbal act of the child getting up from the meal table and running into another room. We can summarize the reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Gabriele, and his father as follows:

Issue		Should Gabriele eat the rice with the tomato sauce?
Standpoints	(GAB)	No, I do not want to
	(DAD)	Yes, you should
Argument	(DAD)	You have not eaten enough

In this dialogue, we have seen that the father tells his child, Gabriele, that he must eat a little more rice because, until that moment, he has not eaten enough. Figure 4.2 shows the reconstruction of the reasoning behind the argument advanced by the father.

In this example, it is interesting to notice that the inferential principle is engendered from the same locus of the previous example, i.e., the locus from final cause. However, in this case, the maxim is different: "If completing the action X leads to a positive outcome for x, then action X should be completed by x." The minor premise of the topical syllogism, "Gabriele has not yet completed eating an adequate amount of food," leads to the final conclusion that "Gabriele should complete eating the rice." Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, i.e., the material component, the endoxon can be described as follows: "Only if the rice is eaten, the amount of food is adequate." The datum, "Gabriele has not yet eaten the rice," combined with the endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "Gabriele has not yet completed eating an adequate amount of food."

The argument used by the father fails in convincing the child to eat the rice. Looking at the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the arguments of quantity used by the father, we can notice that the endoxon on which this argument is based is not a real endoxon. The child
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72 A. Bova

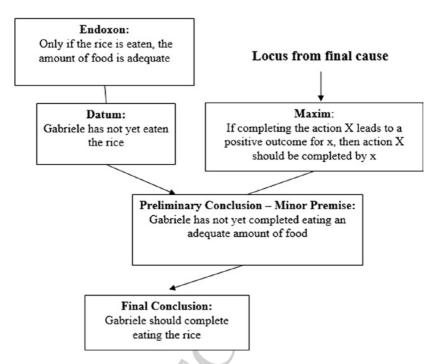


Fig. 4.2 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the father: "You have not eaten enough"

is not putting into doubt the datum (Gabriele has not yet eaten the rice), but the fact that only if the rice is eaten, the amount of food is adequate, i.e., the endoxon. Therefore, the father's argument is based on a premise which is not shared with his child.

The arguments from quality and quantity were not only used by parents to convince their children to eat, but also to convince their children *not* to eat, as in the following dialogue between a 6-year-old child, Francesco, and his father:

Excerpt 4.3

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- Swiss family V. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 37 years),
- mother (MOM, 37 years), Francesco (FRA, 6 years and 3 months), and
- 177 Michele (MIC, 4 years and 2 months). All family members are eating,

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seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and MIC sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while FRA sits on their opposite side.

1. *DAD: basta mangiare fagiolini, Francesco

stop eating the French beans, Francesco

2. *FRA: no:: voglio ancora!

no:: I want more!

3. *DAD: no! ne hai mangiato già abbastanza ((fagiolini))

no! you have already eaten enough ((French beans))

4. *FRA: ok:: ok:: [: sorridendo]

ok:: ok:: [: smiling]

In this dialogue, there is a difference of opinion between the father and his son, Francesco, since the father does not want that Francesco eats more French beans (line 1). The child, instead, wants to continue to eat more (line 2: "no:: I want more!"). In line 3, the father assumes the burden of proof and puts forward an argument of quantity to convince his son to stop eating more French beans: *you have already eaten enough*. As we can observe from Francesco answer, in line 4, the argument advanced by his father is effective in convincing him to change his opinion. In fact, in line with our dialectical perspective of argumentation, one argument, or a series of arguments, put forth by A is considered as 'effective' when B accepts the A's standpoint and retracts its own standpoint. Francesco, in this case, decides to stop eating the French beans. The analytical overview of the argumentative discussion between the child, Francesco, and his father is summarized below:

Should Francesco eat more French beans?

Standpoints (FRA) Yes, I want more
(DAD) No, you cannot

You have already eaten enough French bea

Argument (DAD) You have already eaten enough French beans

Other examples of arguments of quality and arguments of quantity used by parents in argumentative discussions with their children include: "No, you cannot eat this ((cheese)), it is too salty", "They are not that many, and are also tasty ((chickpeas))", "You must eat a little of meat, at least a little bit."

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4.1.2 Appeal to Consistency

The second type of argument most often used by parents in argumentative discussions with their children refers to the consistency with past behaviors. This type of argument can be described through the following question: "If you have explicitly or implicitly affirmed it in the past, why do not you maintain it now?". The next dialogue between a 7-year-old child, Paolo, and his mother is a clear illustration of the use of this type of argument:

210 Excerpt 4.4

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- Swiss family II. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 38 years),
- mother (MOM, 36 years), Paolo (PAO, 7 years), Laura (LAU, 4 years
- and 5 months), and Elisa (ELI, 3 years and 2 months). All family mem-
- bers are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table,
- 215 MOM and PAO sit on the left-hand side of DAD. LAU sits on the
- opposite side, while ELI is seated on the DAD's knees.

%sit: MOM, PAO e LAU stanno mangiando, seduti a tavola. ELI sta giocando con un giocattolo seduta sulle ginocchia di DAD MOM, PAO, and LAU are eating, seated at the meal table. ELI is

playing with a toy seated on DAD's knees

1. *MOM: Paolo, ieri sei stato bravissimo

Paolo, you had been very good yesterday

2. *PAO: perché?

why?

3. *MOM: perché?

why?

→ *MOM: zia Daniela mi ha detto che ieri sei stato bravissimo

aunt Daniela told me that you were very good yesterday

→ *MOM: hai fatto tutti i compiti ((di scuola)) you did all the ((school)) homework

→ *MOM: quindi domani torni da zia Daniela a fare i compiti, va bene? so tomorrow you are going back to aunt Daniela's to do your

homework, ok?

4. *PAO: no:: non voglio

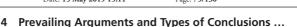
no:: I do not want to

5. *MOM: andiamo, Paolo come on, Paolo

→ *MOM: ma ieri sei stato lì tutto il pomeriggio

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but yesterday you were there all afternoon
*MOM: e oggi hai detto che ti sei divertito tanto!

and today you said that you had so much fun!

6. *PAO: mhm:: ((PAO ha un'espressione perplessa))

mhm:: ((PAO has a puzzled expression))

7. *MOM: ok, allora domani ti accompagno da zia Daniela

ok, so tomorrow I will take you to aunt Daniela

%act: PAO annuisce mostrando così di essere d'accordo con MOM

PAO nods to say that he agrees with MOM

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The dinner is started from about 15 minutes, and all family members are eating the main course. In this moment of the conversation, the parents' focus is not on food: they are talking about the behavior of one of their children. The excerpt starts when the mother, in line 1, sends a compliment to her 7-year-old son, Paolo: "Paolo, you had been very good yesterday." By these words, the mother shows her intention to start a conversation with her son. However, Paolo appears puzzled, because he does not know the reason why, according to her mother, yesterday he was very good (line 2). In line 3, the mother unveils the reason on which her compliment to his son is based: she says that aunt Daniela told her that yesterday he was very good because he did all the school homework. At this point of the sequence, the mother introduces a sentence that reveals the logical consequence of the child's behavior: she wants Paolo to go again at Daniela's home since the day before he was very good working on his homework. The reasoning used by the mother to justify the fact that Paolo must go again to Daniela's house is based on the logic form "as X, so Y" (given the consistency of the first element, the second element is then justified). The child, Paolo, in line 4, disagrees with the mother's proposal ("no:: I do not want to"), disapproving the mother's logic and expressing his personal feeling. Here, an interesting strategy is followed by the mother, as she puts forward, in line 5, an argument referring to the consistency with past behaviors: "but yesterday you were there the entire afternoon, and today you said that you had so much fun!" By referring to an action Paolo did in the past ("yesterday you were there the entire afternoon") and emphasizing how good that event was for him ("today you said that you had so much fun!"), the mother tries to show to Paolo that his present behavior
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should be consistent with the behavior he had in the past. In this case, the argument advanced by the mother appears to be effective in convincing her son to change his opinion, or, at least, to accept the mother's proposal because Paolo nods to his mother so to say that he agrees with her.

In sustaining her argumentative reasoning, in line 5, the mother used the marker "but." Probably, this choice is because she wants to underline the contradiction between the previous behavior of his son (the time spent at the aunt's home) and his non-consistent reaction (he does not want to go again) to the mother's proposal. The effect of the marker "but" is also reinforced through the conjunction "and" that introduces the fact that Paolo said that he had fun with aunt Daniela. Finally, in the concluding stage of the sequence, the mother makes explicit the logic of her reasoning process, by saying "so tomorrow I will take you to aunt Daniela" (line 7), as consequence of the argument used since the beginning, in line 3. The analytical overview of the argumentative discussion between the child, Paolo, and his mother is summarized below:

Issue Should Paolo going back to aunt Daniela's to do his

homework?

Standpoints (PAO) No, I do not want to

(MOM) Yes, you should

Argument (MOM) (Yesterday you were there all afternoon) Today you

said that you had so much fun

In this sequence, I want to focus on the appeal to consistency argument used by the mother in the argumentative discussion with her son, Paolo, in line 5: "*Today you said that you had so much fun*." By referring to an action which Paolo did in the past and emphasizing how good that event was for him (*so much fun*), the mother tries to convince her young son to be consistent with the same behavior he had in the past now in the present. The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument (Fig. 4.3) permits us to explain this point more clearly.

The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the appeal to consistency argument used by the mother with her son, Paolo, shows that the maxim on which this argument is based is one of the maxims generated from the locus from implication: "What has been explicitly

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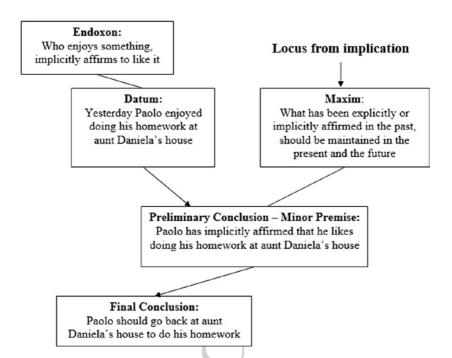


Fig. 4.3 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "Today you said that you had so much fun"

or implicitly affirmed in the past, should be maintained in the present and the future." The minor premise of the topical syllogism, "Paolo has implicitly affirmed that he likes doing his homework at aunt Daniela's house," combined with the maxim, produce the final conclusion that "Paolo should go back at aunt Daniela's house to do his homework." Moving to the material component of the AMT-based reconstruction, we can see how the endoxon shared by Clara and her mother can be described as follows: "Who enjoys something, implicitly affirms to like it." The datum, "Yesterday Paolo enjoyed doing his homework at aunt Daniela's house," combined with this endoxon, produce the preliminary conclusion that "Paolo has implicitly affirmed that he likes doing his homework at aunt Daniela's house."

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In the corpus, parents used the appeal to consistency argument also in argumentative discussions with their youngest children, as in the following dialogue between a 3-year-old child, Clara, and her mother:

Excerpt 4.5

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Italian family II. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 34 years), mother (MOM, 33 years), Giorgia (GIO, 6 years and 6 months), and Clara (CLA, 3 years and 10 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and GIO sit on the right-hand side of DAD. CLA sits on the opposite side.

1. *MOM: bimbe, la cena è pronta

girls, dinner is ready

→ *MOM: Clara, vuoi del riso?

Clara, do you want some rice?

→ *MOM: risottino giallo con le polpettine?

yellow risotto with meatballs?

2. *CLA: no:: non lo voglio il risotto.

no:: I do not want the risotto.

3. *MOM: c'è lo zafferano!

it is made with saffron!

4. *CLA: e che cos'è?

and what is that?

5. *DAD: è una polvere gialla

it is a yellow powder

6. *MOM: quand'eri piccola ti piaceva

when you were a baby you used to like it

→ *MOM: ti piaceva tantissimo!

you used to like it very much!

%act: DAD avvicina a CLA una forchettata di riso

DAD moves towards CLA with a fork full of rice

7. *DAD: assaggia

try it

8. *CLA: brucia!

%pau:

it is hot!

→ *CLA: ma è buono but it is good

2.0. sec

%act: CLA continua a mangiare il risotto guardando la televisione

CLA continues eating the rice while watching television

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In this dialogue, the child, Clara, and her mother have a difference of opinion: the mother, in line 1, wants to give Clara some risotto ("Clara, do you want some rice?"), but Clara, in line 2, clearly disagrees with her mother and does not want to eat it ("no:: I do not want the risotto"). At this point, in line 1 and line 3, the mother puts forward two arguments of quality to convince her daughter to eat the risotto: yellow rice with meatballs? (line 1), and it is made with saffron! (line 3). In this sequence our focus is however on the argument used by the mother in line 6: when you were a baby, you used to like it. This intervention permits the mother to make clear to her daughter that what she is going to eat is not something unknown, a dish to be wary of and to avoid, but rather a dish she has already eaten in the past and used to like very much. By referring to an action which Clara did in the past and emphasizing how good that event was for her ("you used to like it very much"), the mother asks her daughter to behave in a rationale way, i.e., to be consistent with the same behavior she had in the past now in the present. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Clara, and her mother is summarized below:

Should Clara eat more yellow rice with meatballs?

Standpoints (CLA) No, I do not want more risotto

(MOM) Yes, you should

Argument (MOM) a) Yellow risotto with meatballs?

b) It is made with saffron

c) When you were a baby you used to like it

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I will now focus on the reconstruction of the reasoning behind the argument advanced by the mother, in line 6: "When you were a baby you used to like it." The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument (Fig. 4.4) permits us to make this point more clearly.

The maxim on which this argument is based is one of the maxims generated from the locus from implication: "What has been explicitly or implicitly affirmed, should be maintained." The minor premise of the topical syllogism, "Clara has implicitly affirmed that she likes the risotto with saffron," combined with the maxim produce the final conclusion that "Clara likes the risotto with saffron." In this case, the

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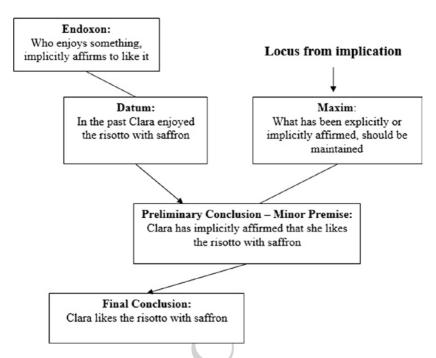


Fig. 4.4 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "When you were a baby you used to like it"

endoxon shared by Clara and her mother can be described as follows: "Who enjoys something, implicitly affirms to like it." The datum, "In the past Clara enjoyed the risotto with saffron," constituting the minor premise of the endoxical syllogism, combined with the endoxon, produce the preliminary conclusion that "Clara has implicitly affirmed that she likes the risotto with saffron." This argument permits the mother to make clear to her daughter that what she is going to eat is not something unknown, a dish to be wary of and to avoid, but rather a dish she has already eaten in the past and used to like very much. Referring to an action which Clara did in the past and emphasizing how good that event was for her (you used to like it very much), the mother tries to convince her young daughter to be consistent with the same behavior she had in the past now in the present.

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Another type of appeal for consistency by parents refers not to what the child explicitly or implicitly affirmed in the past, but to what the child did *not* affirm in the past. The next short dialogue between a father and his 8-year-old son, Marco, is a clear example of the use of this type of argument:

Excerpt 4.6

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Italian family V. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 42 years), mother (MOM, 40 years), Marco (MAR, 8 years and 6 months), and Leonardo (LEO, 5 years and 7 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and LEO sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while MAR is seated on their opposite side.

1. *DAD: lo vuoi il limone?

do you want a lemon?

2. *MAR: no::

no::

3. *DAD: ma è buono

but it is tasty

4. *MAR: a me non piace.

I do not like it

5. *DAD: ma lo hai mai provato?

have you ever tried it?

6. *MAR: no, ma non mi piace

no, but I do not like it

7. *DAD: ma come fai a dire che non ti piace, se non lo hai mai provato?

but how can you say that you do not like it if you have never

tried it?

→ *DAD: provalo almeno!

try it at least!

8. *MAR: no: no:

no: no:

*DAD: ah:: come vuoi.

ah:: do what you want

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In this discussion, there is a difference of opinion between the father and the child, Marco. The father wants Marco to eat the lemon, but Marco does not want to eat it. The child affirms that he does not like the lemon, and he appears sure of his opinion, even though he has never eaten a lemon in the past. We can summarize the reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between Marco and his father is summarized below:

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Issue		Should Marco eat the lemon?
Standpoints	(MAR)	No, I do not want to
	(DAD)	Yes, you should try
Argument	(MAR)	I do not like it
	(DAD)	a) It is tasty
		b) How can you say that you do not like it if you've
		never tried it? (you do not know if you like it or
		not)

In this sequence, I want to focus on the argument advanced by the father in line 7: "How can you say that you do not like it if you have never tried it?". The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument is illustrated in Fig. 4.5.

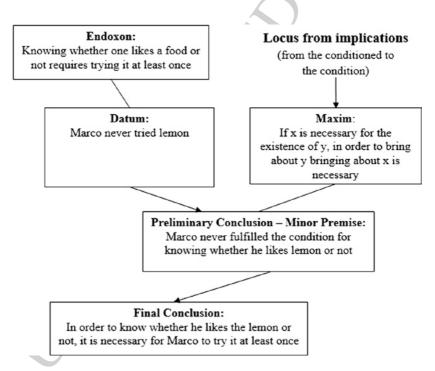


Fig. 4.5 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the father: "How can you say that you do not like it if you have never tried it?"

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In this example, the maxim on which the father's argument is based is the following: "If x is necessary for the existence of y, in order to bring about y bringing about x is necessary." This is one of the maxims engendered from the locus from implications in one of its subcategories, from the conditioned to the condition. The reasoning follows with an inferential structure: "Marco never fulfilled the condition for knowing whether he likes lemon or not" (minor premise), which leads to the following final conclusion: "In order to know whether he likes the lemon or not, it is necessary for Marco to try it at least once". Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, the endoxon can be described as follows: "Knowing whether one likes a food or not requires trying it at least once." The datum, "Marco never tried lemon," combined with this endoxon produces the preliminary conclusion that "Marco never fulfilled the condition for knowing whether he likes lemon or not." What emerges from the AMT's reconstruction of the father's argument is that the father does not aim to highlight aspects of the child's behavior that can be considered as wrong behaviors. Instead, he aims to teach his son that before taking a stance he must be informed about what he is going to judge. In this case, the argument put forward by the father with Marco has not been effective in convincing the child to change his opinion. We can try to explain the reasons why the child did not accept to change his opinion by looking at the datum of the father's argument. The datum, in fact, can be considered as wrong or, at least, as not complete because even if the child had never eaten a lemon in the past, he might have in some way some knowledge and expectations of this food not tasting good.

It seems that by using the appeal to consistency argument, the parents aim to teach children how our past actions are essential to justify our present actions. This argument, in fact, shows parents desire to teach their children not only proper behaviors related to food or table manners but also the importance of defending their opinions through reasonable and consistent arguments. Other examples of appeal to consistency arguments used by parents in argumentative discussions with their children were the following: "You ate many mushrooms last night," "You usually eat many tortellini."

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4.1.3 Argument from Authority

The third type of argument most often used by parents in argumen-399 tative discussions with their children is the argument from authority. 400 Following Walton's definition of deontic authority (1997, pp. 77-78), 401 with the argument from authority, I refer to a right to exercise command 402 or to influence, especially concerning rulings on what should be done 403 in certain types of situations, based on a recognized position of power. 404 Interestingly, in the corpus, when parents put forth arguments from 405 authority with their children, the authority always proves to be an adult. 406 In particular, in most cases, the parents referred to themselves as a source 407 of authority. Less frequently, the parents refer to a third party such as a 408 family friend, the grandfather or a teacher as a source of authority. The 409 following dialogue between a mother and her 5-year-old son, Filippo, 410 offers a clear illustration of the use of this type of argument: 411

412 **Excerpt 4.7**

- Swiss family III. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 39 years), mother (MOM, 34 years), Manuela (MAN, 7 years and 4 months), Filippo (FIL, 5 years and 1 month), and Carlo (CAR, 3 years and 1 month). All family members are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and MAN sit on the left-hand side of DAD, while FIL sits on their opposite side.
 - 1. *MOM: Filippo, devi mangiare un poco di questo formaggio

Filippo, you must eat a little of this cheese

- 2. *FIL: no. no.
- 3. *MOM: si: perché solo il pane non è abbastanza yes: because bread alone is not enough
- 4. *FIL: no, non voglio il formaggio no, I do not want cheese
- 5. *MOM: questo è quello che ha comprato il Nonno però:: è delizioso!
- this is the one Grandpa bought, though:: it is delicious!
- 6. *FIL: davvero? really?
- 7. *MOM: si, l'ha comprato il Nonno! yes, Grandpa bought it!

4 Prevailing Arguments and Types of Conclusions ...

8. *FIL: mhm:: ((sembra pensieroso))

mhm:: ((he seems thoughtful))

9. *MOM: è delizioso!

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it is delicious!

%act: MOM mette un pezzo di formaggio nel piatto di FIL

MOM puts a piece of cheese on FIL's plate

The dinner has been in progress for about 15 minutes. Frequently, in the initial phase of the dinner, the parents focus their attention on feeding the children. This sequence starts with the mother telling her son that he needs to eat a little cheese along with his bread (line 1). The child, in line 2, disagrees with his mother: he does not want to eat the cheese ("no"). In reconstructing this argumentative discussion, this phase of the discussion between the mother and her son represents the confrontation stage because in this phase of the discussion the mother's standpoint (Filippo must eat a little cheese) has been met by the child's refusal. In line 3, the mother advances an argument to convince the child, Filippo, to change his opinion: "Because bread alone is not enough." The child, in line 4, does not provide a counter-argument to defend his opposition but he only reasserts his original stance: "No, I do not want cheese." In line 5, the mother puts forward two further arguments to convince the child to change his opinion: "This is the one Grandpa bought," and "It is delicious." These two arguments, more than the first one, succeed in catching the child's attention. To resolve the child's doubts, the mother repeats once again these two arguments in line 7 and line 9. The sequence that goes from line 3 to line 9 represents the argumentation stage of the ideal model of a critical discussion. The concluding stage concerns a non-verbal act—the mother puts a piece of cheese on the child's plate—which concludes the sequence. The child goes on to eat the cheese willingly, showing that he accepted his mother's standpoint. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Filippo, and his mother is summarized below:

Issue		Does Filippo have to eat a little of the cheese?
Standpoints	(FIL)	I do not want the cheese
	(MOM)	Filippo must eat a little cheese
Arguments	(MOM)	a) Just bread is not enough
		b) It is delisious

b) It is delicious

c) This is the cheese Grandpa bought

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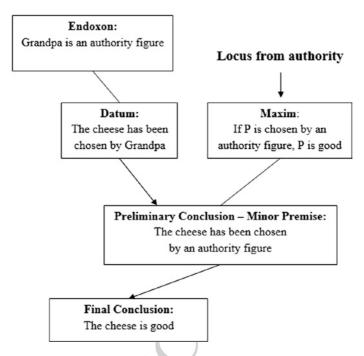


Fig. 4.6 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "This is the one Grandpa bought"

In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument from authority advanced by the mother in line 5: "This is the one Grandpa bought." The AMT's reconstruction is illustrated in Fig. 4.6.

On the right-hand side of the diagram the maxim on which the mother's argument is based is specified: "If P is chosen by an authority figure, P is good." This is one of the maxims engendered from the locus from authority. The minor premise of the topical syllogism is that "The cheese has been chosen by an authority figure," which combined with the maxim brings to the following final conclusion: "The cheese is good." Looking at the endoxical dimension of the diagram, in this argument the endoxon is as follows: "Grandpa is an authority figure." The datum of the endoxical dimension (The cheese has been chosen

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by Grandpa) combined with the endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "The cheese has been chosen by an authority figure." The AMT-reconstruction of the argument from authority advanced by the mother in line 5 brings to light that the mother refers to her son's grandfather as a source of authority to convince the child to accept her standpoint. In this case, the child accepts the mother's argumentation and changes his opinion. Looking at the child reaction, in this second example the endoxon on which of the argument from authority advanced by the mother is based, i.e., the Grandfather is an authority figure, is not put into doubt by the child. We cannot know if the Grandfather is indeed an authority figure, but what matters here is that in the child's eyes his grandfather is an outstanding authority. This is in line with what has been observed by Sarangapani (2003) and Bova (2015), who highlighted sources that according to children possess epistemic authority including teachers, grandparents, and older peers. According to this author, any knowledge presented by these sources is considered believable by children and rarely, if ever, questioned.

The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument from authority advanced by the mother shows how parents can use the argument from authority referring to another adult, i.e., other-oriented argument, and not only to themselves, i.e., self-oriented argument. When parents refer to another adult as a source of authority, a significant aspect concerns the level of knowledge that the child has of the adult who represents the source of authority. In this regard, I observed that the parents always refer to an adult who is well-known by and has positive feelings towards the child such as a grandparent or a teacher. For example, in the discussion between the child, Filippo, and his mother, the latter based her argumentation on the nature of the grandfather–grandson relationship and on the feelings that are at the ground of this specific relationship, i.e., the Grandfather loves his Grandson and vice versa. Therefore, it is an argument from authority based on the certainty of positive feelings, rather than on the fear of punishment.

The example described above allows moving to another significant aspect I want to highlight in the discussion on the argument from authority used by parents in argumentative discussions with their children. I am referring to the importance of the specific nature of the

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interpersonal relationship between parents and children. The following 496 dialogue between a mother and her 5-year-old son, Leonardo, will allow 497 making this point clear: 498

Excerpt 4.8

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Italian family V. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 42 years), mother (MOM, 40 years), Marco (MAR, 8 years and 6 months), and Leonardo (5 years and 7 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and MAR sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while LEO is seated on their opposite side. 505

*LEO: Mamma:: guarda!

Mom:: look!

guarda cosa sto facendo con il limone *LEO: look what I am doing with the lemon

sto cancellando *LEO:

I am rubbing it out!

*LEO: sto cancellando questo colore

I am rubbing out the color

MOM prende dei limoni e si china di fronte a LEO di modo che %sit:

il suo viso

risulti all'altezza di quello di LEO

MOM takes the lemon and stoops down in front of LEO so that

her face is level with his

MOM posa alcuni limoni sul tavolo %sit:

MOM places the lemon on the meal table

dai dammelo 2. *LFO:

aive it to me

3. *MOM: eh? eh?

4. *LEO: posso avere questo limone?

can I have this lemon?

5. *MOM: no:: no:: no:: no::

no:: no:: no:: no::

*LEO: perché no? whv not?

*MOM: perché no? perché Leonardo, Mamma ha bisogno dei limoni

why not? because Leonardo, Mom needs the lemons

8. *LEO: perché Mamma? Layout: Pop_A5 Book ID: 477538_1_En Book ISBN: 978-3-030-20457-0
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why Mom?

9. *MOM: perché, Leonardo, tuo papà vuole mangiare una buona insalata

oggi [: con un tono di voce basso e dolce]

because, Leonardo, your Dad wants to eat a good salad today [:

with a low and sweet tone of voice]

10. *LEO: ah:: va bene Mamma

ah:: ok Mom

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This sequence starts when the child, Leonardo, in line 1, tells his mother that he is erasing the color from a drawing by using a lemon. The mother disagrees with this kind of use of the lemon made by Leonardo and decides to take the lemon from him and put it on the meal table. At this point, a difference of opinion arises between the child and his mother. On the one hand, Leonardo, in line 2 and line 4, wants to have one of the lemons, that are placed on the meal table, to play with ("give it to me," and "can I have this lemon?"). On the other hand, the mother, in line 5, states that he cannot play with the lemon ("no, no, no, no"). Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase of the discussion represents the confrontation stage. It becomes clear that there is an issue (Can the child have the lemon?) that meets the mother's contradiction. The opening stage, in which the parties decide to try and solve the difference of opinion and explore whether there are premises to start a discussion is mostly implicit. Leonardo wants to play with the lemon that is on the meal table, and, to do so, he asks for the mother's permission as he supposes that he needs his mother's authorization to play with the lemon during mealtime. At this point, Leonardo, in line 6, asks his mother to explicit the reason on which such a prohibition is based. The mother, in line 7, says to the child that she needs the lemons, although not providing any justification for her need. As we can observe from Leonardo's answer, in line 8, the mother's need is not a sufficient reason to convince him to accept the prohibition and to change his opinion ("why Mom?"). In line 9, the mother advances another argument to convince the child to change his opinion; she says to the child, with a low and sweet tone of voice, that she needs the lemons because Dad wants to eat a good salad. According to the ideal model of a critical discussion, from line 6 to line 9, the mother and the child Layout: Pop_A5 Book ID: 477538_1_En Book ISBN: 978-3-030-20457-0
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go through the argumentation stage. After listening to the second argument advanced by his mother, in line 10, Leonardo accepts to change his opinion, and this behavior marks the concluding stage of this discussion. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Leonardo, and his mother is summarized below:

Issue		Can the child have the lemons?
Standpoints	(LEO)	I want the lemons
	(MOM)	Leonardo cannot have the lemons
Arguments	(MOM)	a) I need the lemons
		b) Dad wants to eat a good salad today

In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of both arguments used by the mother to convince the child, Leonardo, to change his opinion. Figure 4.7 shows the representation based on the AMT of the inferential configuration of the first argument advanced by the mother: "Mom needs the lemons".

On the right hand of the diagram, the maxim on which the argument advanced by the mother is based is specified: "If a means admits alternative uses, it is reasonable to reserve it for the use bringing to the most important purpose." This is one of the maxims of the locus from means to goals. The minor premise of the topical syllogism is that "The mother intends to use the lemons for a purpose that is more important than the purpose of her child," which combined with the maxim brings to the following final conclusion: "The lemons are to be reserved for the mother's need (the child cannot have the lemons to play with)." In this argument the endoxon refers to common knowledge about the hierarchy of needs within the family: "The purpose of the mother is more important than the desire of her child." The datum, "The child wants the lemons to play with. The mother needs the lemons for her purpose," combined with the endoxon, produces the conclusion that "The mother intends to use the lemons for a purpose that is more important than the purpose of her child."

The first argument used by the mother appears to be incomplete, or at least open to different interpretations. She is saying that she needs the lemons, but the reasons are not stated. She bases the strength of her argument only on the authority she held as a mother, without providing

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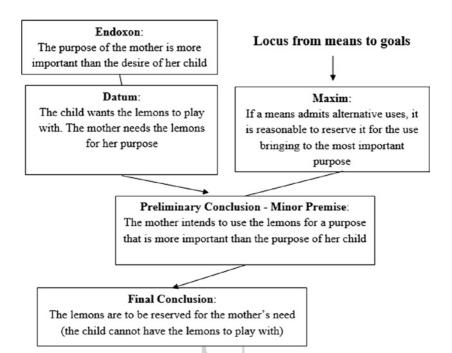


Fig. 4.7 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "Mom needs the lemons"

any justification for her needs though. In this case, as we can observe from the child's answer, in line 8 ("why Mom?"), the argument "Mom needs the lemons" is not effective in convincing the child, Leonardo, to accept the mother's prohibition and change his opinion. By asking "why" for a second time, Leonardo puts into doubt the endoxon on which the first argument advanced by his mother is based. Now, he wants to know the reason why the purpose of his mother is more important than his desire to play with the lemons. Why? What is behind Leonardo's request?

Let us now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the second argument used by the mother to convince the child, Leonardo, to change his opinion: "Dad wants to eat a good salad today." Figure 4.8 shows the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument based on the AMT.

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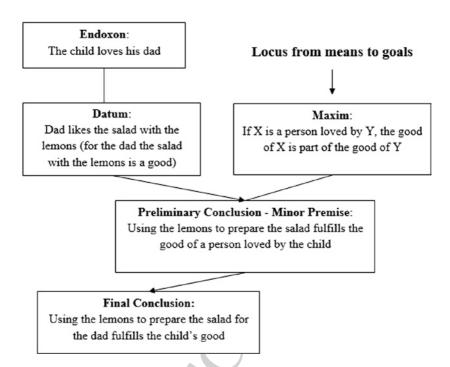


Fig. 4.8 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "Dad wants to eat a good salad today"

Like for the first argument advanced by the mother, the maxim on which the second argument advanced by the mother is based is one of the maxims of the locus from means to goals: "If X is a person loved by Y, the good of X is part of the good of Y." The minor premise of the topical syllogism is that "Using the lemons to prepare the salad fulfills the good of a person loved by the child," which combined with the maxim brings to the following final conclusion: "Using the lemons to prepare the salad for the Dad fulfills the child's good." For this second argument, the endoxon is different from the endoxon of the first argument. Now, the endoxon refers to common knowledge about the feeling that each child feels for his Dad: "The child loves his Dad." The datum, "Dad likes the salad with the lemons (for the Dad, the salad with the

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lemons is good)," combined with this endoxon, produces the conclusion that "Using the lemons to prepare the salad fulfills the good of a person loved by the child." If in answering the first argument, the child had put into doubt the premise, i.e., the endoxon ("The purpose of the mother is more important than the desire of her child"), in this second case, the premise is fully shared between mother and child ("The child loves his Dad"). Moreover, the mother does not base her argumentative strategy on the fear of the father's power and authority. If that were the case, she would have said something like: "Watch out, or I will tell Dad," rather, she uses with the child a low and sweet tone of voice to emphasize the fact that she is not mad with him. The mother bases her argumentation on the nature of the father-son relationship and on the feelings that are at the ground of their relationships ("The child loves his Dad"). It is an invocation to the parents' authority based on the certainty of positive feelings, rather than on the fear of punishment. The second argument is thus based on the authority of feelings (Bova & Arcidiacono, 2013).

In this second argument, the mother spells out the reasons behind the ban addressed to her son. She tells the child that she needs to use the lemons to prepare a good salad for the Dad, or, in other words, to fulfill a wish of his (beloved) Dad ("Dad likes the salad with the lemons"). At this point, Leonardo, also not too unwillingly, accepts the prohibition showing that not displeasing his father is, in his eyes, worthier than playing with the lemons. The invocation of authority by parents, defined as the authority of feelings, appears to be an effective argumentative strategy when the following two conditions are met: (1) the nature of the relationship between the person who represents the authority (in our case, the parents) and the person to whom the argument is addressed, that is, the child, is based on the certainty of positive feelings, rather than on the fear of punishment. In this regard, we are to consider the right emotion (admiration, fear, surprise, sorrow, and so on) that moves the behavior of the child toward a certain direction in that specific situation; (2) the reasons, which are at the base of a prohibition, are not to be hidden from the child's eyes, but are to be known and shared by both parents and children. For example, the

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argumentative discussion between the child, Leonardo, and his mother 629 shows how the child accepts the mother's ban only once he discovers 630 the underlying reason. Previously, when the mother did not clarify the reasons for her ban, the child continued to demand to know why he 632 could not play with the lemons. Furthermore, the reconstruction of 633 the inferential configuration of two exemplary cases of arguments from 634 authority used by parents with their children has shown how the actual 635 effectiveness of this argument can depend on to what extent parents 636 and children share its premises (endoxa). In the corpus, the arguments 637 from authority appear to be effective only when the child believes that 638 the person referred to by the parents was indeed of authority. This 639 aspect sheds light on the nature of the authority characterizing the par-640 ent-child relationship: the authority resides not with people but between 641 people and the way they relate to each other. 642

4.1.4 Argument from Analogy

- The fourth type of argument put forward by parents in argumentative 644 discussions with their children is the argument from analogy. As stated 645 by Walton, Reed and Macagno (2008, p. 58), the reasoning behind this 646 argument is the following: 647
- Major Premise: Generally, Case C1 is similar to Case C2. 648
- Minor Premise: Proposition A is true (false) in Case C1. 649
- Conclusion: Proposition A is true (false) in Case C2. 650
- The following example offers a clear illustration of the use of this type of 651 argument by a mother during a discussion with her 8-year-old son, Marco: 652

Excerpt 4.9 653

- Italian family V. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 42 years), 654
- mother (MOM, 40 years), Marco (MAR, 8 years and 6 months), and 655
- Leonardo (5 years and 7 months). MAR and LEO are seated at the 656
- meal table. MOM is standing and is serving dinner. DAD is seated on 657
- the couch watching TV. 658

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%act: la cena è appena iniziata. MOM serve da mangiare ai bambini,

DAD invece è ancora seduto sul divano a guardare la TV MOM dinner is just started. Mom serves the food to children, DAD instead is still seated on the couch watching TV

1. *MOM: dai vieni:: la cena è pronta [parlando a DAD]

come:: dinner is ready [talking to DAD]

2. *DAD: solo un attimo

just a moment

3. *MOM: vieni: altrimenti si raffredda

come: otherwise, it gets cold

%pau: 2.5 sec 4. *MAR: Mamm

Mamma

Mom

*MOM:

5.

cosa Marco? what Marco?

6. *MAR: secondo me la maestra Marta ((la maestra di matematica)) ci dà

tanti compiti da fare per le vacanze ((riferendosi alle vacanze di

Natale))

I think that the teacher Marta ((the Math teacher)) will give us a lot of homework to do during the holidays ((referring to the

Christmas holidays))

7. *MOM: no:: no:

no:: no:

→ *MOM: secondo me no

I do not think so

8. *MAR: si invece!

I do though!

9. *MOM: no:: secondo me no.

no:: I do not think so.

→ *MOM: se la maestra Chiara ((la maestra di italiano)) non l'ha fatto,

non lo farà neanche la maestra Marta

if teacher Chiara ((the Italian teacher)) did not do it, teacher

Marta won't do it either

10. *MAR: speriamo! ((sorridendo))

let us hope so! ((smiling))

%act: anche MOM sorride

MOM smiles too

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This sequence starts with the mother serving the food, while the father is still seated on the couch watching TV. She asks the father to sit at the meal table and enjoy the meal since the food is ready. This event, i.e., the mother announcing the beginning of the meal, represents a common starting point for the activity of mealtime. In the analysis of this excerpt, I will focus on the difference of opinion between the mother and her son,

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Marco, on an issue related to the school context. Marco, in line 6, says to his mother that he thinks that the Math teacher, i.e., the teacher Marta, will give them—this means not only to him but to all the students of his class—a lot of homework to do during the Christmas holidays. The mother, in line 7, disagrees with her son ("no:: no: I do not think so"). The child, in turn, in line 8, shows to disagree with his mother ("I do though"), but he does not provide any argument in support of his standpoint, i.e., he does not assume the burden of proof. The mother, instead, advances an argument from analogy to convince Marco to change his opinion. In line 9, she says to her son that if the Italian teacher did not give them homework to do during the Christmas holidays, neither will the Math teacher. The reasoning behind the mother's argument can be inferred as follows: because the two teachers share some similarities, i.e., they are both teachers of the same class, they will behave in a similar way. In this case, the argument put forward by the mother appears to be effective in convincing her son to change his opinion. The child does not continue to defend his initial standpoint, and the discussion ends with both smiling. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Marco, and his mother is summarized below:

	Will Ms. Marta (the Math Teacher) give a lot of
	homework to do during the Christmas holidays?
(MAR)	Yes, she will
(MOM)	No, she will not
(MOM)	If Ms. Chiara (the Italian teacher) did not give
	homework to do during the Christmas holidays, nei-
	ther will Ms. Marta (the Math teacher)
	(MOM)

In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument from analogy advanced by the mother, in line 9: "If Ms. Chiara (the Italian teacher) did not give homework to do during the Christmas holidays, neither will Ms. Marta (the Math teacher)." The AMT-based reconstruction is illustrated in Fig. 4.9.

On the right-hand side of the diagram the maxim on which the mother's argument is based is specified: "If something was the case for a circumstance of the same functional genus as X, this might be the case

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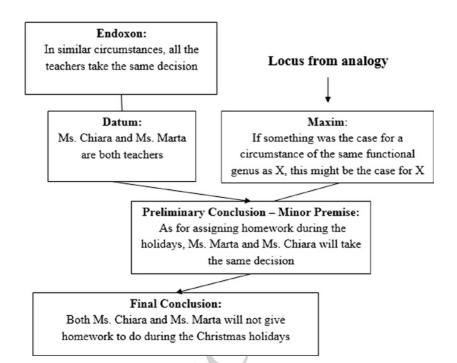


Fig. 4.9 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the mother: "If Ms. Chiara (the Italian teacher) did not give homework to do during the Christmas holidays, neither will Ms. Marta (the Math teacher)"

for X." This is one of the maxims engendered from the locus from analogy. The minor premise of the topical syllogism is that "As for assigning homework during the holidays, Ms. Marta and Ms. Chiara will take the same decision", which combined with the maxim brings to the following final conclusion: "Both Ms. Chiara and Ms. Marta will not give homework to do during the Christmas holidays". Looking at the endoxical dimension of the diagram, in this argument, the endoxon is as follows: "In similar circumstances, all the teachers take the same decision." The datum of the endoxical dimension (Ms. Chiara and Ms. Marta are both teachers) combined with the endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "As for assigning homework during the holidays, Ms. Marta and Ms. Chiara will take the same decision."

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The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument permits to show how the use of the argument from analogy by parents in argumentative discussions with their children introduces new elements within parent-child mealtimes interactions, which are not only related to the activity of mealtime, such as, for example, the evaluation of the quality or quantity of food. The arguments from analogy are also used when parents and children discuss other important aspects concerning children's social behavior. I refer, in particular, to the teaching of the correct behavior in social situations outside the family context, e.g., in the school context with teachers and peers. This aspect is important because it shows how the argumentative discussions between parents and children during mealtime open to family members a space for thinking that is not limited to activities related to the meal. Instead, parents and children discuss everything that is relevant to them, within and outside the family sphere.

4.2 Types of Arguments Used by Children

The findings of the analyses show that the types of arguments most often used by children in argumentative discussions with their parents can be ascribed to three categories: quality and quantity, expert opinion, and appeal to consistency. In the following sections, we will look at each of them in detail.

4.2.1 An Opposite View on Quality and Quantity

Similar to what we observed regarding parents, children in defending their standpoints often advance arguments which refer to the concepts of quality (positive or negative) and quantity (too much or too little). These types of arguments were often—but not exclusively—used by children to convince their parents to let them not to eat more food. Typically—but, also in this case, not only—children used arguments of quality and quantity to refuse to eat the food prepared by their parents. In the following dialogue between a mother and her 6-year-old son, Luca, we can see how the child puts forward an argument of quantity to convince her mother to let him not to finish eating the soup:

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Excerpt 4.10

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Swiss family I. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 41 years), mother (MOM, 38 years), Luca (LUC, 6 years and 8 months), and Luisa (LUI, 3 years and 11 months). All family members are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and LUI sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while LUC sits on their opposite side.

1. *MOM: dai, finisci di mangiarlo ((il minestrone))

come on, finish eating it ((the soup))

2. *LUC: no:: no::

no:: no::

3. *MOM: dai: mangialo

come on: eat it

4. *LUC: era troppo

it was too much

5. *MOM: no::

no::

6. *LUC: si, era troppo!

yes, it was too much!

7. *MOM: la prossima volta dobbiamo cucinare molto meno ((di mine-

strone)) [: rivolgendosi a DAD]

next time we have to cook much less ((of soup)) [: talking to

DAD]

%act: MOM prende il piatto con il minestrone e lo porta in cucina

MOM takes the plate with the soup and brings it in the kitchen

This sequence starts, in line 1, with the mother who wants her son, Luca, to finish eating the soup ("come on, finish eating it"). The child, in line 2, disagrees with his mother because he does not want to keep eating the soup ("no:: no::"). In reconstructing the argumentative discussion, according to the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase represents the confrontation stage, since the mother's standpoint (*Luca must finish eating the soup*) has been met by the child's refusal. We have already seen in several examples that in discussions between parents and children during mealtime, the opening stage, in which the parties decide to try and solve the difference of opinion and explore whether there are premises to start a discussion, is mostly implicit. After a further invitation to finish eating the soup by the mother, in line 3 ("come on:: eat it"), the child,

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Luca, in line 4, defends his opinion by advancing an argument which aims to highlight that the amount of soup on his plate was too much ("it was too much"). The insistence of the mother, in line 5 ("no:."), has the effect of establishing an obligation for the child to provide reasons in support of his standpoint. The child, in line 6, fulfills this obligation, providing a further confirm of his standpoint ("it was too much!"). In the present case, Luca delineates an alternative to the status quo: he is modifying the unilateral position (to do not eat more soup) into a reciprocal one (because the mother has cooked too much soup). In argumentative terms, what clearly distinguishes mother's and child's standpoints, in this case, is an opposite opinion regarding the quantity of soup. This phase of the discussion represents the argumentation stage. The child's argument, in this case, can be defined as effective. In fact, we have already seen that, in line with our dialectical perspective of argumentation, we believe that one argument, or a series of arguments, put forth by A is considered as 'effective' when B accepts the A's standpoint and retracts its own standpoint. In line 7, the mother appears to be convinced that the amount of food was too much ("next time we have to cook much less"), and she takes the plate with soup and brings it in the kitchen. This action represents the concluding stage of the sequence and shows that, in the present interaction, mother and child engage in the process of jointly explicating reasons for not eating more soup. This enlarges Luca's and Mom's response duties as well as their options: they are, in fact, expected to argue on an equal footing. Finally, the strategy adopted by the child is to provide a justification for his stance by using an argument of quantity and then to repeat his stance. The analytical overview of the discussion between the child, Luca, and his mother is summarized below:

Should Luca finish eating the soup?

Standpoints (LUC) No, I do not want to.

(MOM) Yes, you must

Argument (LUC) The soup was too much

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The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument of quantity advanced by the child, Luca, Fig. 4.10 shows that the type of reasoning behind this argument is like that of the parents when they advance arguments from quantity.



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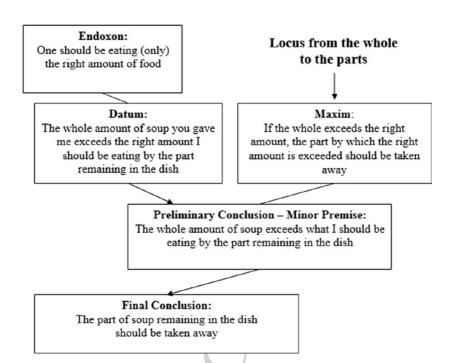


Fig. 4.10 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the child, Luca: "The soup was too much"

The maxim on which the argument of quantity advanced by the child is based is "If the whole exceeds the right amount, the part by which the right amount is exceeded should be taken away." In this case, the maxim is engendered from the locus from the whole to the parts. The datum, constituting the minor premise of the endoxical syllogism, is that "The whole amount of soup exceeds what I should be eating by the part remaining in the dish," leads to the final conclusion that "The part of soup remaining in the dish should be taken away." Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, the endoxon is: "One should be eating (only) the right amount of food." The datum, "The whole amount of soup you gave me exceeds the right amount I should be eating by the part remaining in the dish," combined with the endoxon produce the preliminary conclusion that "The whole amount of soup exceeds what I should be eating by the part remaining in the dish."

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In the next dialogue between a mother and her 5-year-old daughter, Adriana, we can see how Adriana advances an argument of quality to convince her mother to change her opinion:

Excerpt 4.11

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Italian family III. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 37 years), mother (MOM, 37 years), Samuele (SAM, 7 years and 11 months), and Adriana (ADR, 5 years and 4 months). All family members are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and SAM sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while ADR sits on their opposite side.

1. *MOM: Adriana, devi mangiare un po' di pane

Adriana, you have to eat a little of bread

2. *ADR: no:: no::

no:: no::

3. *MOM: ma è buono!

but it is good though!

4. *ADR: no:: è duro

no:: it is hard

5. *MOM: ma Adriana, è davvero buono::

but Adriana, it is really good::

6. *ADR: no, è duro non mi piace

no, it is hard I do not like it

7. *MOM: no::

no::

8. *ADR: si, è duro

ves, it is hard

9. *MOM: perché fai così a mammina tua?

why are you doing that to mummy?

10. *ADR: no:: no::

no:: no::

11. *MOM: va bene, niente pane questa sera

well, no bread for this evening

The dinner is started from a few minutes, and the mother is serving the main course to all family members. In line 1, the mother tells Adriana that she must eat a little of bread, but the child, in line 2, disagrees with her mother ("no:: no::"). In argumentative terms, the sequence that goes from line 1 to line 2 represents the confrontation

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stage of the ideal model of a critical discussion, as the mother's standpoint meets with the child's opposition. In line 3, it seems that the mother puts up an argument for renegotiation, marked by the adversative connective "but" ("but Adriana, it is really good::"). The argument advanced by the mother in support of her standpoint is based on the quality of the bread, aiming at emphasizing the good taste of the food. The argument used by Adriana in reaction to her mother's argument, in line 4, also refers to a quality of the food: Adriana replies to his mother that the bread is not good but, rather, it is hard. While the mother with her argument had put to the fore a positive property of the bread, trying to support the conversational flow by securing the interaction's continuation, the use of the adjective "hard" by Adriana indicates to the mother a negative property of the bread. In the excerpt, there are two different arguments both used to highlight a specific property of the food, good vs. hard, served during the meal with the aim to convince the other party that their view is wrong. What distinguishes mother's and child's argumentation is, therefore, an opposite judgment regarding the quality of food. Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase of the discussion represents the argumentation stage. When the mother, in line 9, tries to imagine why Adriana might have refused, her attempt is ignored even though she possibly could have produced a space for accounting the reasons for the child's refusal. In this case, the argument of quality put forth by Adriana is effective in convincing her mother to let her not to eat the bread. In fact, in line 11, the mother closes the sequence with the discourse marker "well": she does not put her position up for negotiation, making her statement beyond dispute. This is the concluding stage of the argumentative discussion in which the child has provided a counter-argument about the quality of food by repeating her stance. The analytical overview of the argumentative discussion between the child, Adriana, and her mother is summarized below.

Issue		Should Adriana eat a little of bread?
Standpoints	(ADR)	No, I do not want to.
	(MOM)	Yes, you must
Argument	(ADR)	The bread is hard

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In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument of quality advanced by the child in line 4: "The bread is hard." The AMT's reconstruction is illustrated in Fig. 4.11.

The maxim on which this argument is based is one of the maxims generated from the locus from implication, in one of its subcategories, from sign to the "signaled: "If something is signaled by its sign, it is the case." The reasoning follows with the minor premise of the topical syllogism, "The bread presents a sign of badness," which combined with the maxim leads to the following final conclusion: "The bread is bad." Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, the endoxon can be described as follows: "Being hard is for food a sign of badness." The datum, "The bread is hard," combined with this endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "The bread presents a sign of badness." The AMT reconstruction shows that the mother and her daughter, Adriana, have a different

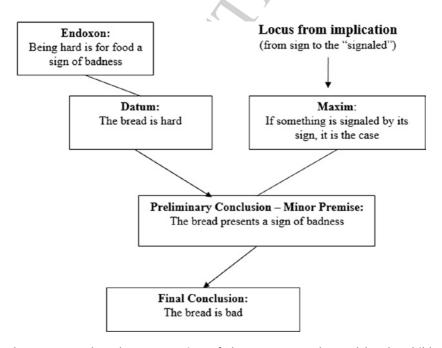


Fig. 4.11 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the child, Adriana: "The bread is hard"

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opinion regarding the datum ("The bread is hard"), whereas they fully share the endoxon ("Being hard is for food a sign of badness").

The presentation of this example permits us to show how during their argumentative discussions related to food, both parents and children put forward arguments based on the quality and quantity of food, trying to convince the other that their view on the quality or on the quantity of food is wrong. Accordingly, even if parents and children have opposite goals, they often use the same type of argument. What distinguishes parents' and children's argumentation is a different view regarding the datum, which, in this case, coincides with their opinion on the quality or quantity of food. In line with previous studies (Arcidiacono & Bova, 2015; Bova & Arcidiacono, 2014, 2018; Brumark, 2008; Wiggins, 2004; Wiggins & Potter, 2003), the children's capacity to justify a standpoint and to advance a counter-argument with their parents during mealtime conversations appears to be mostly activity-dependent, i.e., related to the activity of mealtime. In the corpus, other examples of arguments from quality and quantity put forward by children include: "I want more French beans, I have only eaten a few," "I do not want the meatball because they are hard!", and "I do not like the stew, it is spicy!".

4.2.2 Argument from Adult-Expert Opinion

The second type of argument most often used by children in argumentative discussions with their parents is the argument from expert opinion. The definition of argument from expert opinion coincides exactly with the Walton's notion of epistemic authority (Walton, 1997, pp. 77–78): "The epistemic authority is a relationship between two individuals where one is an expert in a field of knowledge in such a manner that his pronouncements in this field carry a special weight of presumption for the other individual that is greater than the say-so of a layperson in that field. The epistemic type of authority is essentially an appeal to expertise, or to expert opinion". The issue of epistemic authority has also been addressed widely within ethnomethodological and conversation analytic work. ¹

¹In this regard, see the special issue of *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(1), 1–109, and the two seminal articles by Heritage and Raymond (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

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Interestingly, in the corpus, when children refer to a third person as a source of expert opinion, the expert always proves to be an adult such as a teacher, a grandparent or a friend of the father, and not another child. The argument from expert opinion used by children during argumentative discussions with their parents can be described, accordingly, through the following statement: "The adult X told me Y; therefore, Y is true." For this reason, I decided not to name this type of argument used by children argument from expert opinion, but, instead, *argument from adult-expert opinion*. The following example offers a clear illustration of the use of this type of argument by a 6-year-old child, Francesco during a discussion with his mother related to the child's homework:

Excerpt 4.12

Swiss family V. Dinner 1. Family members: father (DAD, 37 years), mother (MOM, 37 years), Francesco (FRA, 6 years and 3 months), and Michele (MIC, 4 years and 2 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and MIC sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while FRA sits on their opposite side.

1. *MOM: devi leggere ad alta voce ((i libri di scuola))

you have to read them aloud ((the school books))

2. *FRA: è sbagliato.

it is wrong

3. *MOM: no! devi leggere ad alta voce

no:: you have to read them aloud

4. *FRA: no:: me I'ha detto la maestra che devo leggere in silenzio no:: the teacher told me that I have to read silently

5. *MOM: quando te l'ha detto?

when did she tell you this?

6. *FRA: a scuola at school

7. *MOM: va bene, ma quando te l'ha detto? well, but when did she tell you?

8. *FRA: l'altra volta last time

%act: MOM inizia a servire la cena mentre continua a guardare GIO

con un'espressione perplessa

MOM begins serving dinner while keeps looking at GIO with a

puzzled expression

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The sequence starts when the mother, in line 1, tells Francesco that he has to read the school books aloud. The child, in line 2, disagrees with his mother because, he says, reading aloud is wrong. The mother does not advance any argument to defend her standpoint, thus avoiding assuming the burden of proof, and only repeats, in line 3, her stated standpoint ("no:: you have to read them aloud"). Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase of the discussion corresponds with the confrontation stage, as there is the mother's standpoint, i.e., You have to read the school books aloud, that meets with the child's refusal, i.e., No, reading the school books aloud is wrong. The opening stage, in which the parties decide to try and solve the difference of opinion and explore whether there are premises to start a discussion, as we have already seen in several examples, is mostly implicit. At this point, in line 4, the child, Francesco assumes the burden of proof and puts forward an argument in support of his standpoint: "The teacher told me that I have to read silently." In line 5, the mother asks Francesco when the teacher told him to do so. The child's answer, in line 6, does not refer to the time but, instead, to the place where the teacher told him to read the school books aloud ("at school"). The mother, not satisfied with the answer is given by her son, in line 7, repeats her question one more time ("Well, but when did she tell you?"). The child, Francesco, in line 8, says to his mother that the teacher told him to read the school books silently "last time" he saw her. In argumentative terms, the sequence that goes from line 4 to line 8 represents the argumentation stage of the ideal model of a critical discussion. The concluding stage concerns a non-verbal act—the mother begins serving dinner while looking at Francesco with a puzzled expression—which indicates that the mother does not want to keep discussing this issue and thus accepts the child's standpoint. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Francesco, and his mother is summarized below:

Issue		Does Francesco have to read the school books aloud?
Standpoints	(FRA)	No, reading the school books aloud is wrong
	(MOM)	Yes, Francesco has to read the school books aloud
Argument	(FRA)	The teacher told me that I have to read silently

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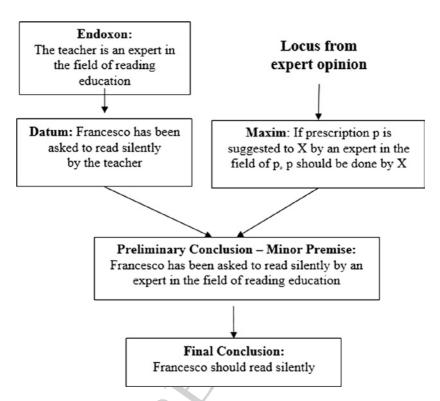


Fig. 4.12 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the child, Francesco: "The teacher told me that I have to read silently"

I now turn to the analysis of the inferential configuration of the argument put forward by the child, Francesco: "The teacher told me that I have to read silently." The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of this argument is illustrated in Fig. 4.12.

The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument from adult-expert opinion advanced by the child, Francesco, shows that this argument is based on a maxim that is engendered from the locus from expert opinion: If prescription p is suggested to X by an expert in the field of p, p should be done by X. The minor premise of the topical syllogism, "Francesco has been asked to read silently by an expert in the

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field of reading education", leads to the final conclusion that "Francesco should read silently." Looking at the endoxical syllogism of the diagram, the endoxon is the following: "The teacher is an expert in the field of reading education." The datum, "Francesco has been asked to read silently by the teacher," combined with the endoxon, leads to the preliminary conclusion that "Francesco has been asked to read silently by an expert in the field of reading education."

The argument put forward by Francesco succeeds in convincing his mother of the validity of his standpoint. The expert in this field, Francesco is saying, is the teacher rather than his mother. Note that, in this case, we can reasonably guess that the child already knew that the mother considers the teacher as an expert in the field of reading education and, accordingly, decided to advance this type of argument. Therefore, by referring to the teacher as a source of expert opinion, the child considered the audience to whom his argument is addressed, i.e., his mother. Moreover, the child introduces his argument by saying to his mother, in line 2, that her opinion was "wrong." The use of this adjective gives even more strength to the argument advanced by the child afterward. In fact, if an expert in the field states the opposite of what we say, we might infer that our statement must be wrong.

A significant aspect characterizing the argument from adult-expert opinion concerns the level of knowledge that the child has of the adult who represents the expert. In the corpus, in most cases, the expert is an adult who is well-known by the child, such as one of the two parents, a grandfather, a grandmother, or a teacher. However, the knowledge of the adult by the child does not seem a necessary condition to refer to him/her as a source of expert opinion. In fact, I observed several cases in which the expert is an adult who does not play a significant role in the child's life. This aspect is illustrated in the following excerpt, where the opinion of a friend's father is considered, by the child, like the opinion of an expert. However, in this example—where a father and his 8-year-old son, Stefano, discuss the type of soccer shoes that Stefano needs to wear in a small indoor stadium—the effectiveness of the argument put forward by the child is not the same as in the previous example, where the expert was the teacher:

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Excerpt 4.13

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Swiss family IV. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 36 years), mother (MOM, 34 years), Stefano (STE, 8 years and 5 months), and Alessandro (ALE, 4 years and 6 months). DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and STE sit on the left-hand side of DAD, while ALE is seated on their opposite side.

1. *DAD: dove giocate domani?

where are you playing tomorrow?

2. *STE: al Palazzetto, è al chiuso at the sports hall, it is indoors

3. *DAD: allora non puoi metterti le scarpe con i tacchetti then you cannot use the soccer shoes with cleats

4. *STE: si che posso! ves, I can!

5. *DAD: no! al Palazzetto puoi solo giocare con le scarpe senza tacchetti no! at the sports hall you can only play with soccer shoes

without cleats

6. *STE: si che posso! me l'ha detto il papa di Tommaso che posso

yes I can! Tommaso's Dad told me that I could

7. *DAD: no:: non puoi, ma Rudi ((il papà di Tommaso)) non capisce niente

di calcio!

no:: you cannot, but Rudi ((Tommaso's Dad)) does not

understand anything about soccer!

In this dialogue, a difference of opinion arises between the child, Stefano, and his father. In line 1, the father asks Stefano where he has to play soccer the day after. Stefano, in line 2, says to his father that he has to play soccer at the sports hall, which is an indoor structure. At this point, in line 3, the father says to Stefano that in such a place he cannot use soccer shoes with cleats, but Stefano, in line 4, disagrees with his father ("yes, I can!"). In line 5, the father repeats one more time his standpoint, by making it even more explicit: "At the sports hall you can only play with soccer shoes without cleats." Within the framework of the ideal model of a critical discussion, this phase represents the confrontation stage, since the father's standpoint, i.e., No, you cannot use the soccer shoes with cleats, meets the child's contradiction, i.e., Yes, I can. As far as the opening stage is concerned, also in this example,

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it is mostly implicit. In line 6, the child opts not to evade the burden of proof and puts forward an argument from adult-expert opinion to support his standpoint ("Tommaso's Dad told me that I could"). The father does not evade the burden of proof and, in line 7, advances an argument in defense of his standpoint ("no:: you cannot, but Rudi ((Tommaso's Dad)) does not understand anything about soccer!"). The sequence that goes from line 6 to line 7 represents the argumentation stage of the ideal model of a critical discussion. The concluding stage, in which the child and the father establish the result of the attempt to resolve a difference of opinion, is mostly implicit. The father and the child, in fact, stop discussing this issue and move the discussion to a different topic. In doing so, the child shows his unwillingness to keep defending his standpoint. The reconstruction of the argumentative discussion between the child, Stefano, and his father is summarized below:

	Can Stefano play soccer at the sports hall wearing
	shoes with cleats?
(STE)	Yes, I can use the soccer shoes with cleats
(DAD)	No, you cannot use the soccer shoes with cleats
(STE)	Tommaso's Dad told me that I could
(DAD)	Tommaso's Dad does not understand anything about
	soccer
	(DAD) (STE)

In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will focus on the argument from adult-expert opinion advanced by the child, Stefano, in line 6: "Tommaso's Dad told me that I could." The reconstruction of its inferential configuration is illustrated in Fig. 4.13.

The reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the argument from adult-expert opinion advanced by the child, Stefano, brings to light that this argument is based on a maxim that is engendered from the locus from expert opinion: "If prescription p is suggested to X by an expert in the field of p, p should be done by X." The reasoning follows with the minor premise of the topical syllogism, "It has been suggested to Stefano that he should use soccer shoes with cleats by an expert in the field of soccer," which combined with the maxim leads to the following final conclusion: "Stefano should use soccer shoes with

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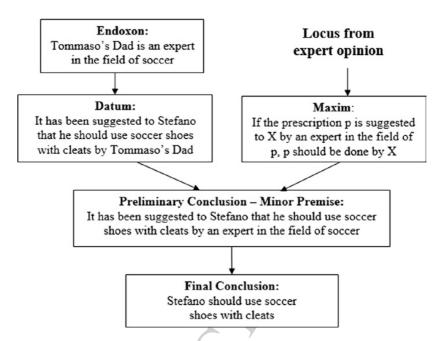


Fig. 4.13 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the child, Stefano: "Tommaso's Dad told me that I could"

cleats." Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, the endoxon can be described as follows: "Tommaso's Dad is an expert in the field of soccer." The datum, "It has been suggested to Stefano that he should use soccer shoes with cleats by Tommaso's Dad," combined with this endoxon, produces the preliminary conclusion that "It has been suggested to Stefano that he should use soccer shoes with cleats by an expert in the field of soccer."

The AMT-reconstruction shows that the child, as in the previous example, refers to what an adult told him to convince his father to accept his standpoint. However, in the previous example, the argument from adult-expert opinion advanced by the child, Francesco, was effective in convincing his mother to change her opinion. In this case, instead, the argument from adult-expert opinion advanced by Stefano is not effective in convincing his father to change his opinion.

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Why? To try to answer this question, in my opinion, we need to look at the endoxon of both arguments. In the first case, the endoxon on which the argument put forward by Francesco is based, i.e., The teacher is an expert in the field of reading education, is shared by Francesco and his mother. In this second case, instead, the father does not agree with the endoxon on which the argument put forward by Stefano is based, i.e., Tommaso's Dad is an expert in the field of soccer. Stefano's father, unlike his son, does not consider Tommaso's Dad to be an expert in the field of soccer. By referring to an adult as a source of expert opinion, the child adapts his argumentation to his interlocutor, i.e., the parent, who is also an adult. Looking at this argumentative choice made by children, it is reasonable to assume that for them the reference to an opinion of an adult is a stronger argument than the reference to an opinion of another child. However, it seems that the effectiveness of the argument from adult-expert opinion depends on the extent to which the premises, i.e., endoxon, on which the argument is based are shared by parents and children. In fact, in the corpus, this argument proved to be effective only when the parent believed that the adult to whom the child was referring was indeed an expert.

4.2.3 Appeal to Consistency

The third type of argument most often used by children in argumentative discussions with their parents refers to the consistency with past behaviors. In a previous section, we have seen that often the parents asked their children to conform to their previous behavior, as the past actions are important to justify the present actions. Similarly, children asked the same request to their parents during their argumentative discussions at mealtime. The appeal to consistency argument used by children can be described through the following question: "If you have explicitly or implicitly affirmed it in the past, then why do not you maintain it now?" The next example illustrates the use of this type of argument during an argumentative discussion between a 7-year-old child, Samuele, and his mother:

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Italian family III. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 37 years), mother (MOM, 37 years), Samuele (SAM, 7 years and 11 months), and Adriana (ADR, 5 years and 4 months). All family members are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and SAM sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while ADR sits on their opposite side.

1. *MOM: adesso, mangia un po' di frutta ((rivolgendosi a PAO))

now, eat a little of fruit ((talking to PAO))

2. *SAM: no::

no::

3. *MOM: si, Samuele

ves, Samuele

ightarrow *MOM: prima di alzarti da tavola devi mangiare anche la frutta

before leaving the meal table, you have to eat also the fruit

4. *SAM: no:: non voglio:

no:: I do not want to:

5. *MOM: ho detto di si. Samuele

I said yes. Samuele

6. *SAM: ma se prima anche tu hai detto che non la vuoi la frutta!

but if before you also said that you do not want the fruit!

7. *MOM: si, ma solo questa sera!

yes, but only this evening!

8. *SAM: anche io solo questa sera

only this evening also for me

9. *MOM: eh: fai come vuoi.

eh:: do what you want.

The dinner is going to its conclusion, and the mother, in line 1 and line 3, wants to give Samuele some fruit ("now, eat a little of fruit," and "yes, Samuele"). The child disagrees with his mother and, in line 2 and line 4, clarifies to his mother that he does not want to eat the fruit ("no::," and "no:: I do not want to:"). In line 5, the mother does not advance any argument in support of her opinion, but she only reaffirms, one more time, her initial standpoint. According to the ideal model of a critical discussion, the phase that goes from line 1 to line 5 represents the confrontation stage. As already observed in previous studies (Busch, 2012; Hepburn & Potter, 2011), when the adults try to settle or end a dispute with their young children quickly, their attempt may resolve

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only in a temporary settlement or even it may contribute to the continuation of dispute rather than to its cessation. This is what happens following the mother's intervention because the child reacts by advancing an argument in support of his refusal to accept his mother's directive.

In this sequence, I will focus on the appeal to consistency argument advanced by Samuele, in line 6: "but if before you also said that you do not want the fruit!" By referring to an action that his mother did in the past, the child asks the mother to behave in a rational way, i.e., to be consistent with the same behavior she had in the past now in the present. The reasoning used by the child to justify his refusal to eat the fruit is based on the logic form "as X, so Y," i.e., given the consistency of the first element, the second element is then justified. It is noteworthy to observe that by sustaining his argumentative reasoning, the child uses the adversative connective "but" in line 6. This choice is probably because he wants to underline the contradiction between the previous mother's behavior (previously during the meal, she said that she does not want to eat the fruit that evening) and her non-consistent reaction (she wants that her son eats the fruit) to the son's refusal. In this case, the child's argument shows to be effective in convincing the mother to change her standpoint. In the concluding stage, in fact, the mother authorizes Samuele to do what he wants, i.e., he does not have to eat the fruit. Finally, in the exchange, the child repeats his rejection and justifies his stance by referring to his own will. He supports his claim to the right to take his own will into account by using the appeal to consistency argument. The analytical overview of the discussion between the child, Samuele, and his mother is summarized below:

Issue Standpoints Should Samuele eat a little of fruit?

ndpoints (SAM) (MOM)

(SAM)

No, I do not want to.Yes, you must

Argument

But if before you (Mom) also said that you do not

want the fruit!

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In the analysis of this argumentative discussion, I will now focus on the reconstruction of the inferential configuration of the appeal to consistency argument advanced by the child, Samuele, in line 6: "But if before you (Mom) also said that you do not want the fruit!". The AMT's reconstruction is illustrated in Fig. 4.14.

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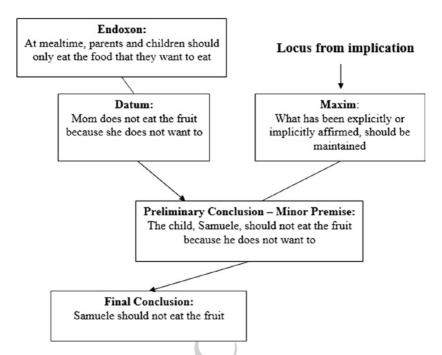


Fig. 4.14 AMT-based reconstruction of the argument advanced by the child, Samuele: "But if before you (Mom) also said that you do not want the fruit!"

The appeal to consistency argument advanced by the child, Samuele, is based on a maxim that is engendered from the locus from implication: "What has been explicitly or implicitly affirmed, should be maintained." The reasoning follows with the minor premise of the topical syllogism, "The child, Samuele, should not eat the fruit because he does not want to," which combined with the maxim brings to the following final conclusion: "Samuele should not eat the fruit." Looking at the left-hand side of the diagram, the endoxon can be described as follows: "At mealtime, parents and children should only eat the food that they want to eat." The datum, "Mom does not eat the fruit because she does not want to," combined with the endoxon, leads to the preliminary conclusion that "The child, Samuele, should not eat the fruit because he does not want to."

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The argument used by Samuele in discussion with his mother is logical. The 7-year-old child, in fact, shows to be able to relate in a duly manner a past event, i.e., Mom, you previously said that..., with a present event. Most importantly, the child uses this relation to convince the mother of the validity of his opinion. In the specific case, of his refusal to eat a little of fruit. The construction of this type of argument requires a level of logical skills that, in the corpus, I have observed in some cases in the older children, while I never did in the younger ones. The second reason to consider Samuele's argument is that, by using this argument, the child shifts the focus of his argumentation from himself and his desire of not to eat the fruit, to his mother and her, incoherent, behavior of asking him to eat. Unlike the arguments of quality and arguments of quantity, the appeal to consistency argument is not exclusively based on children themselves, but it is based on someone else. This aspect is relevant in terms of argumentative competences and conversational practices because it implies the capacity to decentrate from his/herself to create new contexts above and beyond sentences (Quastoff & Krah, 2012).

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4.3 Types of Conclusions of the Argumentative Discussions

How do parents and children conclude their argumentative discussions, after they started and engaged in them? The findings of the analysis bring to light four different types of conclusions of the argumentative discussions between parents and children during mealtime. The first two types are dialectical conclusions, in which one of the two parties accepts or rejects the others' standpoint. Therefore, in these two types of conclusions, the parent and the child reach the concluding stage of their argumentative discussion according to the ideal model of the critical discussion. The most frequent type of conclusion is when the child accepts the parent's standpoint, while the second most frequent type of conclusion is when the parent accepts the child's standpoint. This finding does not coincide with previous works on parent-child argumentative discussions. Vuchinich (1987, 1990), for example, observed that most AQ3
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of the conflicts during family dinnertime conversations ended with no resolution. How can we explain the differences between our results and Vuchinich's ones? This difference can be explained by the fact that Vuchinich does not focus his analysis on the argumentative discussions, but, instead, on verbal conflicts between parents and children. A verbal conflict takes place when there is a difference of opinion between two, or more, parties. An argumentative discussion to occur, instead, requires not only the presence of a difference of opinion between two, or more, parties but also that at least one of the two parties advances an argument in support of his/her standpoint. Therefore, in the argumentative discussion at least one of the parties has shown the interest in resolving the difference of opinion in his/her favor. In the verbal conflict, instead, not always one of the parties shows the willingness to resolve the difference of opinion. For this reason, it is more likely to observe the conclusion of a conversation with no resolution in a verbal conflict than in an argumentative discussion. Examples of these two types of dialectical conclusion will be described and discussed in Sects. 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

However, the argumentative discussions between parents and children did not always reach a conclusion. The conclusion of an argumentative discussion between parents and children in an everyday activity such as family mealtime is a phase characterized by complex dynamics. This type of activity does not impose family members to reach a definite conclusion of their argumentative discussions. Parents do not sit at the meal table with the aim of convincing their children about the validity of their opinions, and vice versa. At least, this is not their initial goal. For example, this happens when the parent shifts the focus of the conversation. In such a case, there is not a real conclusion but rather an interruption of the argumentative discussion. Another type of non-dialectical conclusion is when the parent or the child changes the topic of the discussion after a long silence (pause of a few seconds). I have observed this type of conclusion less frequently than the previous three types because the children often asked many questions on the same issue and, accordingly, the parents had to continue the discussion. Examples of these two types of non-dialectical conclusion will be presented and discussed in Sects. 4.3.3 and 4.3.4.

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4.3.1 The Child Accepts the Parent's Standpoint

The most frequent type of conclusion observed in the corpus is when 1217

the child accepts the parent's standpoint. For example, the children 1218

often accepted the parents' standpoint through a clear and explicit ver-1219

bal expression, as in the following dialogue, that we have already seen in 1220

Sect. 4.1.3, between a 5-year-old child, Leonardo, and his mother: 1221

Excerpt 4.15 1222

- Italian family V. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 42 years), 1223
- mother (MOM, 40 years), Marco (MAR, 8 years and 6 months), and 1224
- Leonardo (5 years and 7 months). All family members are seated at the 1225
- meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table, MOM and MAR sit 1226
- on the right-hand side of DAD, while LEO is seated on their opposite 1227
- side. 1228

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1. *LEO: Mamma:: quarda!

Mom:: look!

guarda cosa sto facendo con il limone *LEO:

look what I am doing with the lemon

*LEO: sto cancellando

I am rubbing it out!

*LEO: sto cancellando questo colore

I am rubbing out the color

MOM prende dei limoni e si china di fronte a LEO di modo che %sit:

il suo viso risulti all'altezza di quello di LEO

MOM takes the lemon and stoops down in front of LEO so that

her face is level with his

%sit: MOM posa alcuni limoni sul tavolo

MOM places the lemon on the meal table

2. *LEO: dai dammelo

give it to me

3. eh? *MOM:

eh?

*LEO: posso avere questo limone?

can I have this lemon?

*MOM: no:: no:: no:: no::

no:: no:: no:: no::

perché no? *LEO:

why not?

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7. *MOM: perché no? perché Leonardo, Mamma ha bisogno dei limoni

why not? because Leonardo, Mom needs the lemons

8. *LEO: perché Mamma?

why Mom?

9. *MOM: perché, Leonardo, tuo papà vuole mangiare una buona insalata

oggi [: con un tono di voce basso e dolce]

because, Leonardo, your Dad wants to eat a good salad today

[: with a low and sweet tone of voice]

10. *LEO: ah:: va bene Mamma

ah:: ok Mom

In this sequence, there is a difference of opinion between the child and his mother because the child wants to play with the lemons, while the mother states that he cannot play with the lemon. The mother, in line 7, answers that she needs the lemons, without providing any justification for her need, but the child, in line 8, keeps asking his mother the reason why he cannot have the lemon. After, the mother advances a second argument to convince her son to change his opinion. Only after listening to the second argument, Leonardo accepts to change his opinion providing, in line 10, a clear and explicit verbal acceptance of his mother's standpoint ("ah:: ok Mom").

In other cases, children showed acceptance of the parent's standpoint not providing a clear and explicit verbal acceptance of the parent's standpoint, but only by implementing the behavior demanded by the parent. The following dialogue that we have already seen in Sect. 4.1.3, between a 5-year-old child, Filippo, and his mother offers an illustration of these dynamics:

Excerpt 4.16

Swiss family III. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 39 years),

mother (MOM, 34 years), Manuela (MAN, 7 years and 4 months),

Filippo (FIL, 5 years and 1 month), and Carlo (CAR, 3 years and

1 month). All family members are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD

sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and MAN sit on the left-hand

side of DAD, while FIL sits on their opposite side.

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1. *MOM: Filippo, devi mangiare un poco di questo formaggio

Filippo, you must eat a little of this cheese

2. *FIL: no.

no.

3. *MOM: si: perché solo il pane non è abbastanza

yes: because bread alone is not enough

4. *FIL: no, non voglio il formaggio

no, I do not want cheese

5. *MOM: questo è quello che ha comprato il Nonno però:: è delizioso!

this is the one Grandpa bought, though:: it is delicious!

6. *FIL: davvero?

really?

7. *MOM: si, l'ha comprato il Nonno!

yes, Grandpa bought it!

8. *FIL: mhm:: ((sembra pensieroso))

mhm:: ((he seems thoughtful))

9. *MOM: è delizioso!

it is delicious!

%act: MOM mette un pezzo di formaggio nel piatto di FIL

MOM puts a piece of cheese on FIL's plate

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In this sequence, there is a difference of opinion between the child and his mother because the mother wants her child eats the cheese, while the child does not want to eat it. The mother advances several arguments to try to convince her child to eat the cheese: "Just bread is not enough" (line 3), "It is delicious" (line 5 and line 9), and "This is the cheese Grandpa bought" (line 5 and line 7). The child, in conclusion, shows an acceptance that he should eat the cheese without advancing an explicit verbal expression of acceptance of the mother's standpoint. In this case, the choice of continuing to object to the parental rule or ban appears to be more demanding and, accordingly, less convenient than accepting the mother's standpoint. Note that the differences in roles, age, and competences between parents and children certainly play an important role and must be carefully considered (see e.g., Heller, 2014; Lareau, 2003; Tannen, 1990). Even though challenging the parents' standpoint can be feasible for the children, it is not always possible as they are the parents who decide the extent to which their standpoint is discussable.

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4.3.2 The Parent Accepts the Child's Standpoint

The second type of dialectical conclusion is when the parent accepts 1274 the child's standpoint. In this case, it is important to highlight how the 1275 children, through their arguments, can convince their parents to change 1276 their opinion. The next dialogue between a 7-year-old child, Paolo, and 1277 1278

his mother offers a clear illustration of this type of conclusion:

Excerpt 4.17

Swiss family II. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 38 years), 1280 mother (MOM, 36 years), Paolo (PAO, 7 years), Laura (LAU, 4 years 1281 and 5 months), and Elisa (ELI, 3 years and 2 months). All family mem-1282 bers are eating, seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the 1283 meal table. MOM and PAO sit on the left-hand side of DAD, while 1284 LAU and ELI sit on their opposite side. 1285

1. *MOM: vuoi un po' di risotto?

do you want a little risotto?

2. *PAO: no:: no::

no:: no::

3. ma è buono! *MOM:

but it is good!

4. *PAO: no:: è un po' strano

no:: it is a little strange

5. ma Paolo, è davvero morbido:: *MOM:

but Paolo, it is really soft

6. *PAO: no, è strano non mi piace

no, it is strange I do not like it

7. *MOM: no::

no::

8. *PAO: si, è strano

yes, it is strange

MOM assaggia il risotto %act: MOM tastes the risotto

*MOM: 9. si, effettivamente non è tanto buono

yes, actually it is not very good

10. *PAO: è strano!

it is strange!

sarà il formaggio, *MOM: 11.

maybe because of the cheese

*MOM: si è un po' strano.

yes it is a little strange

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In this dialogue, a difference of opinion arises between the child, Paolo, and his mother because the mother, in line 1, wants Paolo to eat the risotto ("do you want a little risotto?"), but the child, in line 2, refuses to eat it ("no:: no::"). The mother does not evade the burden of proof and, in line 3, advances an argument to convince the child to change his opinion ("but it is good!"). The child, in line 4, replies to his mother's arguments putting forward an argument which aims to highlight the bad, for him, quality of the risotto: "it is a little strange." The mother, in line 5, puts forward another argument based on the quality of the risotto to convince Paolo to eat it ("it is really soft"), but the child, in line 6, keeps asserting his opinion, saying that the risotto tastes strange. At this point, the mother is convinced by her child's argumentation that she should taste the "strange" risotto herself. After doing so, she agrees, in line 9, that the risotto is a little strange indeed ("yes, actually it is not very good"). In this example, we can clearly see how the argument advanced by the child, in line 4, ("the risotto is a little strange") produces the effect of convincing his mother to taste the risotto she has prepared herself. The use of the adjective "strange" makes it clear to the mother that the taste of the risotto is not good. After having tasted the risotto herself, she also agrees with her son that the risotto is not good.

This second type of conclusion, i.e., the parent accepts the child's standpoint, occurred when the argumentative discussions between parents and children were related to food. In the corpus, I did not find, instead, any case where the child succeeded in convincing the parent to accept a standpoint in discussions where the issues were related to the respect by children of the proper table manners during mealtime as well as on children's social behavior outside the family context, e.g., the school context. Accordingly, these findings suggest that the issues related to food can at times be discussable, whereas when the issues are related to teaching table manners and how to behave in social interactions outside the family, e.g., in the school context, the parents are not amenable to changing their opinions.

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4.3.3 The Parent Shifts the Focus of the Conversation

The third type of conclusion of the argumentative discussions between parents and children during mealtime is not a conclusion, but rather an abrupt interruption of the argumentative discussion. I observed, in fact, how, at times, the parents avoided continuing the argumentative discussion with their children by shifting the focus of the conversation. In this way, the parents avoided facing the argumentative discussion with their children. In particular, this happened when the parents considered the issue not appropriate for discussion during mealtime or when they wanted their children to focus on eating rather than engaging in a discussion. The next dialogue between an 8-year-old child, Silverio, and his mother offers a clear illustration of this type of conclusion of an argumentative discussion:

Excerpt 4.18

1334 Italian family I. Dinner 3. Family members: father (DAD, 38 years), 1335 mother (MOM, 38 years), Silverio (SIL, 8 years), and Gabriele (GAB, 1336 5 years and 4 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. 1337 DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and GAB sit on the 1338 right-hand side of DAD, while SIL sits on their opposite side. 1339

1. *SIL: Mamma, posso andare a giocare al computer? Mom, can I go to play with the computer?

2. *MOM: no.

no

3. *SIL: perché? whv?

4. *MOM: adesso stiamo mangiando

we're eating now

quando si mangia, non si gioca al computer *MOM: during mealtime, you cannot play with the computer

5. *SIL: perché no? why not?

6. *MOM: ma oggi a scuola non avevate il compito in classe di

but today at school you had the Math test did not you?

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7. *SIL: si! ves!

 \rightarrow *SIL: era difficile::

it was difficult::

8. *MOM: davvero?

really?

9. *SIL: si!

ves

10. *MOM: su che cosa era?

what was it about?

[...]

In this dialogue, a difference of opinion arises between the child, Silverio, and his mother because the child, in line 1, asks his mother that he wants to play with the computer during mealtime ("Mom, can I go to play with the computer?"), but his mother, in line 2, disagrees with him ("no"). In line 3, Silverio asks his mother why he cannot play with the computer ("why?"). Through his Why-question, Alessandro makes it clear that he wants to know the reason why he cannot play with the computer, i.e., the reason for the prohibition imposed by his mother. In doing so, the child makes no effort to defend his position by putting forward arguments on his behalf. From an argumentative perspective, by asking a Why-question, the child assumes a waiting position before accepting or putting into doubt the parental directive. Instead, he challenges his mother to explain why he cannot play with the computer. Moreover, the child shows his desire to find out the implicit reasons on which his mother's refusal is based. The mother, in line 4, does not avoid justifying her prohibition, putting forward her argument: "we're eating now." Even after listening to his mother's argument, the child, Silverio, in line 5, keeps asking his mother the reason why he cannot play with the computer ("why not?"). At this point, in line 6, the mother decides to shift the focus of the conversation, changing the subject and opening a new discussion on a completely different topic: "but today at school you had the Math test, did not you?". By doing so, the mother interrupts the argumentative discussion that she was having with her child before it reaches its conclusion, and the issue of playing with the computer will not be addressed any further

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over dinner. This type of non-dialectical conclusion of the argumentative discussions between parents and children shows, again, how the parents have a structural power in the conversations with their children. Even though challenging the parents' standpoint can be feasible for the children, this type of non-dialectical conclusion suggest that they are the parents who decide whether to conclude, or not, an argumentative discussion with their children.

4.3.4 A Long Silence as an Indicator of Conclusion

The fourth type of conclusion of the argumentative discussions 1376 between parents and children during mealtime is when after a long 1377 silence (pause of a few seconds) of both, parents and children change 1378 the topic of discussion. An example of this type of conclusion is illus-1379 trated in the following dialogue between a mother and her 6-year-old 1380 son, Luca:

Excerpt 4.19

Swiss family I. Dinner 2. Family members: father (DAD, 41 years), mother (MOM, 38 years), Luca (LUC, 6 years and 8 months), and Luisa (LUI, 3 years and 11 months). All family members are seated at the meal table. DAD sits at the head of the meal table. MOM and LUI sit on the right-hand side of DAD, while LUC sits on their opposite side.

%sit: PAO si avvicina a DAD e gli dice qualcosa parlandogli

nell'orecchio

PAO goes towards DAD and whispers something in his ear

non si dicono le cose all'orecchio, Luca *MOM:

Luca, you cannot whisper things in people's ears

2. *LUC: perché?

why?

dobbiamo ascoltarla tutti.

because everyone must hear it

no:: no::

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5. *MOM: non si parla all'orecchio.

you cannot whisper in the ear

%act: MOM and DAD sorridono

MOM and DAD smile

%pau: 3.5 sec

6. *LUI: ancora insalata

more salad

7. *MOM: amore vuoi un altro po' d'insalata?

darling do you want a little more salad?

8. *LUI: si: *yes:*

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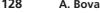
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In this dialogue, a difference of opinion arises between the child, Luca, and his mother because in line 1, says to the child that he cannot whisper in his father's ear, but Luca, in line 2, disagrees with his mother ("why?", and "no::"). The mother does not evade the burden of proof and, in line 3, advances an argument to convince the child to change his opinion ("because everyone must hear it"). The child shows, in line 4, that he still disagrees with his mother ("no::"). The mother, in line 5, repeats, one more time, her standpoint ("you cannot whisper in the ear"). After the mother's sentence, both the mother and the child do not say anything for about 3.5 seconds. This pause indicates, in this case, that the argumentative discussion between her and the child, Luca, is concluded. After this pause, the mother starts a new discussion on a different topic with her younger daughter, Luisa. Like the previous type of conclusion, this type is also a non-dialectical conclusion. Differently from the previous type of non-dialectical conclusion, where the mother wanted to shift the topic of the conversation, in this case, both the mother and the child appear to be not interested in continuing the argumentative discussion and, after a pause of a few seconds, they start talking about a different topic. However, I observed this type of conclusion less frequently than the previous three types, as children often asked questions, in particular, Why-questions, to find out the implicit reasons on which their parents' directive are and, accordingly, the parents must continue the argumentative discussion.

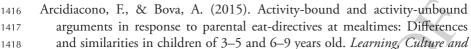
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