

INTERROGATION IN MOTHER-CHILD AND FATHER-CHILD INTERACTION

by

ANDRENA LOUISE VEDROS

B. S., Kansas State University, 1974

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

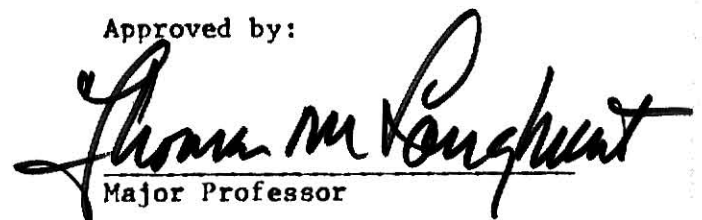
Department of Speech

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

Manhattan, Kansas

1975

Approved by:


Major Professor

LD
2668
T4
1975
V43
C.2
Document

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks to my Major Professor, Dr. Thomas M. Longhurst for his time and most valuable advice and suggestions. I wish also to extend thanks to the members of my committee: Dr. Charles Litz, Dr. James Armagost, and Dr. Norman D. Bunton.

For statistical advice, I am grateful for the assistance of Dr. Arthur Dayton of the Kansas State University Statistics Department.

Special acknowledgements go to Meg King for her assistance in collecting data and Judy File for computing reliability.

Finally I am indebted to my family and good friends for their unselfish concern and moral support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
METHOD	5
Subjects.	5
Experimental Setting.	5
Procedure	5
Protocol Preparation and Segmentation	6
Categorization of Interrogations	6
Reliability	7
Statistical Analysis.	9
RESULTS.	9
DISCUSSION	10
REFERENCES	14
APPENDIX	16

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1. Examples of the Four Categories of Interrogation	8
2. Parent and Child Difference Scores and Confidence Intervals for the Four Interrogation Types and Total	10

**THIS BOOK
CONTAINS
NUMEROUS PAGES
WITH MULTIPLE
PENCIL AND/OR
PEN MARKS
THROUGHOUT THE
TEXT.**

**THIS IS THE BEST
IMAGE AVAILABLE.**

INTRODUCTION

Within the past decade much interest has arisen concerning the affect of the verbal input that children receive from their mothers on their language development. Winitz (1973) described this recent interest in mother's verbal input as Phase III in the development of language acquisition literature. During Phase I enormous amounts of data were collected which analyzed language development quantitatively by measures such as mean length of response and structural complexity. Phase II was characterized by the search for universal linguistic rules which children use to generate sentences.

(Some researchers have suggested that the language children hear from adults probably has little or no influence on language development since it is often ungrammatical and very difficult for the child to understand (Chomsky, 1967; McNeill, 1966). However, these arguments are usually based on reports of adult speech addressed to another adult. (Researchers who have investigated adult speech addressed to children have reported that the speech of mothers addressed to their children is very different from the speech of mothers addressed to other adults (Braine, 1963; Brown and Bellugi, 1964; Brown and Fraser, 1964; Broen, 1972; Cannon, 1972; Phillips, 1973; Snow, 1972; Reichle, 1973; Longhurst and Stepanich, 1975). These researchers found that mothers consistently use simple, short grammatical sentences, repetitive vocabulary, a slower rate of speech, and frequently imitate and expand their child's utterances. These studies have also shown that syntactic structure of adult language increases in complexity as the child's age increased.)

One aspect of mother-child verbal interaction which has been designated by Leach (1972, p. 34) "as a potential index of adult speech" is interrogation.

He claimed that interrogation occurred at a high rate in adult-child interaction, and that this behavior could be reliably identified and recorded. He also conjectured that interrogations served as a type of constraint providing guidelines which enable the child to respond appropriately to a particular question asked. Other researchers have also recognized interrogation as an important interaction between mothers and their young children (Bee, VanEgeren, Streissguth, Nyman, and Leckie, 1964; Holtzman, 1972; Longhurst and Stepanich, 1975). Longhurst and Stepanich (1975) found that over 40% of the utterances directed to one, two, and three-year old children were interrogations. Thus, interrogation has been regarded as a prominent feature and apparent useful tool which has contributed much to the child's process of language acquisition.

Holtzman (1972) stated:

There are two ways in which a young child may learn the uses of interrogative forms. First, by observing the ways in which interrogatives are used by others and second, by the ways in which the interrogatives he himself uses are responded to. (p. 312)

The most outstanding feature of Holtzman's investigation was that he studied interrogative forms in terms of their function or the purpose they serve. All other studies concerned with interrogatives placed their main focus on the syntactic construction, for example, labeling interrogatives as yes-no questions, tag questions, or wh questions. Holtzman concluded that it is the context in which verbalizations occur or the particular personal relation or experience of the child which promotes the development of interrogative use.

When most researchers speak of adult-child interaction they are mainly referring to mother-child interaction. Father-child interaction has virtually been ignored. As the focus of attention turns to the child's total verbal environment, examination of the father's verbal input to the child has begun to be an area of interest for researchers.

Friedlander, Jacobs, Davis, and Wetstone (1972) used the natural language environment in the homes of two sets of parents and their 12-month-old infants to report a technique for analyzing and categorizing certain gross features of receptive language environment. An important feature of this study was that one child was raised in a bilingual setting. Her father although a native speaker of standard american English spoke only Spanish in her presence until she was two years old. The data consisted of extensive tape recordings obtained in natural home settings during the waking hours of the day, 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., for a one-week period. The language samples were analyzed in terms of quantitative and qualitative factors. Results showed that both the mothers were much more active than the fathers in their child's language environment. However, a follow-up observation was conducted on the child in the bilingual home six months after the tape recordings were collected. It was obvious that the child had learned to speak Spanish solely as a result of her father's speaking Spanish in her presence. She was able to follow simple instructions in Spanish, and answer simple questions appropriately in Spanish. In addition, she named objects from a picture book and carried on a conversation in Spanish about the pictures. These researchers suggested that this language acquisition success, in view of the child's limited exposure to Spanish, sheds a different light on the assumption that mothers provide the major language models for their children. It may very well be the fathers share this role significantly.

In a study by Giattino and Hogan (1974) it was proposed that since mother and father assume different roles in the child's life and set different relationships with the child, perhaps parents play a different role in their child's verbal environment. They analyzed specific speech aspects of one middle-class father to his language-learning child. The variables that were analyzed were

frequency of use of grammatical constructions, use of expansions, father imitation of the child's speech and the child's imitation of the father's speech. These variables were compared to mothers' data from previously reported research in mother-child verbal interaction. The results revealed that this father and the mothers from previous investigations differed in their language input to children. Notable differences were apparent between this father and mothers in the use of imitation and expansion. The father imitated his child's immediately preceeding utterance only 9% of the time. Unlike mothers in the study conducted by Brown and Bellugi (1964) who responded to their children with expansions 30% of the time this father used expansions 1/2% of the time. Some similiarity was found between this father and mothers in the occurrence of commonly used sentence types. In addition, this father like mothers was influenced by the child's level of language development.

It is clear that further examination of father speech directed to children is needed in order to provide data on factors which affect the course of language acquisition. It was the purpose of the present study to investigate the father-child interrogation, and to compare this behavior with the mother's interrogation to her child. Unlike previous work on father-child interaction, this study used a larger number of subjects. In addition, a comparison between the mother and father of the same child allowed for a more controlled comparison. An attempt was made to answer the following questions:

- 1) Is there a significant difference in the amount and type of interrogations a father uses with his language-learning child versus the amount and type of interrogations the mother uses with the same child?
- 2) Is there a significant difference in amount and type of interrogations a language-learning child will use with his father compared to the amount and type of interrogations the child will use with his mother?

METHOD

Subjects

Ten children, five males and five females and their parents served as subjects. All subjects were native English speakers and from the middle socioeconomic status as determined by family-head income. The children's ages ranged from five years ten months to six years two months of age. There was no attempt made to control the sex of the children, the educational backgrounds of the parents, the ages of the parents, nor the ages or number of siblings.

Experimental Setting

All sessions were conducted in the homes of the subjects. The experimenter was not present during the sessions in order to maximize the naturalistic environment of the home.

Procedure

Each mother was contacted by phone and asked to participate in a study of language development in children. She was informed that the purpose of the study was to investigate the verbal interaction between the parents and their children. If she agreed to participate, she was then told that a cassette tape recorder and tape would be delivered to her home at which time further instructions would be given as to the nature of the study and procedure. The experimenter assured the mother that each tape would be coded to insure that neither the parents' names nor the name of the child would be associated with the data. Specific details and purpose of the study were not disclosed to the parents in order that their performance would not be influenced during the sessions.

Upon delivery of the tape recorder the mother was instructed that she and the child's father were to tape record a 20-minute conversation under two

conditions. Condition A consisted of a 20-minute conversation between herself and her child. Condition B consisted of a 20-minute conversation between the father and the child. It was stressed that these sessions were to be as natural as possible. It was suggested that the sessions take place at times during the day when each of the parents normally spend time playing or talking with their child. Each family was given some time to think of as natural a situation as possible.

Protocol Preparation and Segmentation

Transcripts of the speech of both parents and children from the taped recorded sessions were typed verbatim following instructions as outlined by Siegel (1963) (See appendix A). The experimenter used instructions by Lee (1974) for separating the transcripts into sentences.

Categorization of Interrogations

When protocol preparation and segmentation were complete the experimenter retrieved the interrogations out of the middle 50 interaction units from each protocol for further analysis. An interaction unit included the verbal behavior of one subject and the response of the second subject. For example, an adult's message might include several sentences and the child's response might also include several sentences. One change in speaker was allowed in each interaction unit. An utterance was defined as an interrogation when the words in the utterance, its intonation, or word order indicated it would be punctuated with a question mark (Holtzman, 1972). The interrogations of the parents and the children were then classified into four predetermined categories as employed by Holtzman (1972) and a miscellaneous category. These categories were used because interrogations were classified according to function and concise

definitions of each category were provided. Examples of these categories are presented in Table 1.

An interrogation was categorized as Type 1, a request for Information if the speaker asked from the listener information the speaker did not have but believed the hearer had. This category entailed the wishes, thoughts, and feelings of the hearer or events and objects he has been involved with outside the presence of the speaker. Commands delivered in interrogative form were categorized as Type 2, request for Behavior. Interrogatives were categorized as Type 3, interrogations designed to test or display the Knowledge of the hearer when they were used in teaching or testing names of objects, counting, names of colors, facts about the natural world, etc. The difference between Type 3 and Type 1 interrogations was the judgment that the speaker knew the answer to his own question, therefore it was not a sincere request for information. Category 4, interrogatives in which what was questioned was not in the verbalization, hereafter referred to as Clarification, was the category for those interrogations which suggested a breakdown in communication. The speaker was not sure he had heard correctly what had been said, or does not understand what is meant. The questions "Huh?" or "What?" fit in this category and it also included repetitions of all or part of the hearer's previous utterance said in a rising inflection. Any interrogations that did not fit in one of the four categories was classified under a miscellaneous category.

Reliability ✕

Reliability for protocol preparation and segmentation was determined by having an experienced typist retype and resegment two families' protocols. An experienced graduate student identified and categorized the interrogations from these protocols. A percentage of agreement was then computed for protocol preparation, segmentation, and categorization.

TABLE 1

Examples of the Four Categories of Interrogation

1. Information	Parent: What did you do in school today? Child: What time is daddy coming home?
2. Behavior	Parent: Would you please sit in the chair? Child: Mom, can you get me a kleenex?
3. Knowledge	Parent: In what season of the year do the leaves turn colors? Child: What color is grass? (Evaluation: From the context of the conver- sation, it is clear the child knows the answer to this question.)
4. Clarification	"Huh?" or "What?" (frequently used by both parent and child) Child: Jerry is a funny face. Parent: Jerry is a funny face? (Evaluation: Repetition of previous utter- ance said in rising inflection. Parent is not sure what child meant.)

Statistical Analysis

The major focus of the present investigation was the comparison of the type and number of interrogations directed to children by their fathers versus their mothers. Also, the type and number of interrogations directed to the children's fathers versus mothers from the children was of interest. To facilitate these comparisons, scores which represented the difference between the father and mother scores and between the child's score directed to the father versus mother were computed. A subject by interrogation types analysis of variance (Winer, 1966) was used to evaluate the mean difference scores for the parents and another for the children. Confidence intervals (Winer, 1966, p. 91) at the .05 level were calculated to determine significant differences between fathers and mothers or children's interrogations directed to father versus mother for each interrogation type and total.

RESULTS

Reliability for protocol typing and segmentation ranged between 88% and 96%. Reliability for categorization of interrogations ranged between 90% and 97%.

The number of interrogations within each type for each subject is presented in Appendix B. The mean difference scores for the parents and children are presented in Table 2.

The data were analyzed in two analysis of variance (Appendices C and D). The first analysis of variance compared the father versus mother difference scores for the four interrogation types. The second analysis of variance compared the children's difference scores when interacting with fathers versus mothers for the four interrogation types.

No significant F-ratios resulted for these analyses.

Confidence intervals at the .05 level were computed on each mean difference score in Table 2. The only significant difference was between the number of

TABLE 2

Parent and Child Difference Scores and Confidence Intervals for the
Four Interrogation Types and Total

	1 Information	2 Behavior	3 Knowledge	4 Clarification	Total
$\overrightarrow{\text{FC-MC}}$	0.30	1.20	1.00	0.70	1.80
	(-6.04,6.69)	(-5.14,7.54)	(-5.35,7.34)	(-5.64,7.04)	(-8.42,11.6)
$\overrightarrow{\text{CF-CM}}$	-3.70*	-0.40	-0.10	-0.40	-4.30
	(-6.17,-1.23)	(-2.87,2.07)	(-2.37,2.57)	(-2.87,2.07)	(-10.2,1.6)

Note: The total category also includes the miscellaneous category which was not analyzed.

*Significant at the .05 level of confidence.

information interrogations directed to fathers versus mothers by children. In this one instance, children used significantly more information interrogations when addressing their mothers.

DISCUSSION

From past research it is apparent that mothers employ certain strategies to train language skills when addressing their children (Braine, 1963; Brown and Bellugi, 1964; Brown and Fraser, 1964; Broen, 1972; Cannon, 1972; Phillips, 1973; Snow, 1972; Reichle, 1972; Longhurst and Stepanich, 1975) and that fathers also can act as major language models for their children (Freidlander, Jacobs, Davis, and Wetstone, 1972). The present study attempted to investigate differences in the amount and type of interrogations a father uses with his child versus the amount and type the mother of the same child uses. Also investigated were the amount and type of interrogations a child uses with his father versus the amount and type he uses with his mother.

Results revealed that there were no significant differences in the amount and type of interrogations a father used with his child versus the amount and the type the mother used with the same child.

One possible reason for this lack of significant differences in the amount and type of interrogations used by the father versus the mother is the wide divergence in the overall communication style among the groups of parents. Appendix B shows the wide variability among the subjects within the groups. This large variability has also been found in other studies concerning adults' verbal input to children (Riedl, 1972; Cannon, 1972; Longhurst and Stepanich, 1975).

An alternative explanation is that even though there was large variability among subjects within groups, there are in fact no differences between the way

fathers and mothers interrogate their children. If this argument were extended, fathers may employ the same kind of strategies, such as the use of simple, short sentences, and a repetitive vocabulary, as do mothers when interacting with their children. Giattino and Hogan (1974) did find similarities with previously reported data from mothers in the occurrences of commonly used sentence types and that their father's language increased in complexity as the child's age increased.

No significant differences were found in the total number of interrogations a child used with his father versus those used with his mother. Results of the type of interrogations used by the children with their fathers versus those used with their mothers showed that the children addressed more information questions to their mothers and this result was significant at the .05 level of confidence. No other question type difference was significant. Although no measure was taken of the amount of time spent verbalizing to the child by each parent, it was noticed by the experimenter that the fathers spent considerable more time talking to the children. Thus, the children probably spent considerably less time verbalizing to the fathers than to the mothers. Perhaps more information questions were addressed to the mother because the child had a greater opportunity to verbalize with the mother.

The particular method of collecting language samples was an important feature of this study because it allowed for a relatively unconstrained and more naturalistic verbal interaction between each parent and the child than a language sample collected in a laboratory setting. Such characteristics as the level of language complexity used within the family, parental expectation, and personal styles of interaction seemed to be brought out in samples taken from the home setting. Consideration of these factors must be taken into

account if a clear understanding and description of the child's total verbal environment is to be made.

As pointed out earlier, most studies of interrogative behavior have concentrated mainly on syntactic structure with very little consideration given to the function or purpose of questions. Several authorities (Bloom, 1970; Schlesinger, 1971) have suggested that focusing on the function of interrogation might light the way to an appreciation of a child's acquisition of the use of interrogatives. Using the four categories which defined the interrogations according to function provided a meaningful analysis of the child's total verbal input and output and outlined some of the most basic uses of interrogations. These categories included most interrogations since very few interrogations were categorized in the miscellaneous category.

The outcome of this study with respect to fathers raises some important questions about the primary focus which has previously been put on the role of verbal input for mothers. Further research is necessary to obtain a more precise description of father-child interaction to determine if fathers do differ from mothers in other areas such as sentence length or complexity or modeling behavior.

REFERENCES

- Bee, H. L., Van Egeren, L. F., Streissguth, A., Nyman, B. A., and Leckie, M. S. Social class differences in maternal teaching strategies and speech patterns. Developmental Psychology, 1969, 1, 726-734.
- ✓ Bloom, L. Language development: Form and function in emerging grammars. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1970.
- Braine, M. On learning the grammatical order of words. Psychological Review, 1963, 70, 323-348.
- Broen, P. The verbal environment of the language-learning child. ASHA Monographs, 1972, 17, 1-65.
- Brown, R. and Bellugi, U. Three processes in the child's acquisition of syntax. Howard Educational Review, 1964, 34, 133-151.
- Brown, R. and Fraser, C. The acquisition of syntax. In U. Bellugi and R. Brown (Eds.), The acquisition of language. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1964, 29, 43-79.
- 0 Cannon, S. Speech of trained and untrained adults assembled with high and low linguistic level normal children. Master's thesis, Kansas State University, 1972.
- Chomsky, N. The formal nature of language. In E. H. Lenneberg, Biological Foundation of Language. New York: John Wiley, 1967.
- Friedlander, B. Z. Jacobs, A. C., Davis, B. B., Wetstone, H. S. Time-sampling analysis of infants' natural language environment in the home. Child Development, 1972, 43, 730-740.
- Giattino J. and Hogan J. Analysis of a middle-class father's speech to his language learning child. Paper presented at the annual convention, American Speech and Hearing Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, Nov. 17, 1974.
- Holtzman, M. The use of interrogative forms in the verbal interaction of three mothers and their children, Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 1972, 1, No. 4, 311-334.
- Leach, E. A., Interrogation: a model and some implications. Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1972, 37, No. 1, 32-46.
- Lee, L. Developmental sentence analysis. Northwestern University Press, 1974.
- Longhurst, T. and Stepanich L. Mother's speech addressed to one-, two-, and three-year-old children. Child Study Journal, 1975, 5, 3-11.

- Mc Neil D. Developmental psycholinguistics. In F. Smith and G. A. Miller (Eds.), The genesis of language. Cambridge: Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1966.
- Phillips, J. R. Syntax and vocabulary of mother's speech to young children: Age and sex comparisons. Child Development, 1973, 44, 182-185.
- Reichle, J. Verbal modeling behavior in mother-child interaction. Master's thesis, Kansas State University, 1973.
- Riedl, M. J. Speech of mothers and nursery school teachers assembled with high and low linguistic level normal children. Master's thesis, Kansas State University, 1972.
- Schlesinger, I. M. Production of utterances and language acquisition. In Slobin, D. I., The ontogenesis of grammar. New York: Academic Press, 1971.
- Siegel, G. Appendix H: Prototypes for instructions to typist, Monograph 10, Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1963, 10.
- Show, C. Mothers' speech to children learning language. Child Development, 1972, 43, 549-565.
- Winer, B. J. Statistical principles in experimental design. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Winitz, H. Problem solving and delaying of speech as strategies in the teaching of language. ASHA, 1973, 15, 10, 583-586.

APPENDIX A

Instructions for Typing Protocols

1. Type the parent's and the child's speech. Type both the father and the child for the father-child interaction. Type both the mother and the child for the mother-child interaction.
2. Do not use capitals (except for proper names or for the pronoun 'I'), comas, question marks, or any other form of punctuation in preparing the transcripts. You will use apostrophes, however, to indicate contractions or possession.
3. Some of the remarks made by the parents or the child may be incomprehensible. If an utterance is either partially or completely incomprehensible, so indicate by typing several dots in the space where the utterance would be located.
4. Interjections such as 'uh' or 'er' should be omitted except when they are used as meaningful words.
5. Include unfinished words only if you are sure what they were meant to be.
6. Type numbers uttered by the speakers as if they were written out.
7. Include repeated words in the transcript.

APPENDIX B

Number of Interrogations Within Each Type and Total

Subjects	Condition	Interrogation Types					Total
		1	2	3	4	5*	
1.	FC	26	2	9	11	3	51
	CF	6	0	0	1	3	10
	MC	31	0	9	7	5	52
	CM	7	2	0	1	1	11
2.	FC	14	7	2	3	8	34
	CF	7	0	0	0	2	9
	MC	23	0	9	16	3	51
	CM	6	0	0	1	0	7
3.	FC	21	0	11	5	1	38
	CF	1	0	1	0	0	2
	MC	32	2	3	8	5	50
	CM	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	FC	32	4	12	10	0	58
	CF	2	0	0	0	0	2
	MC	12	2	26	5	1	46
	CM	15	0	0	0	0	15
5.	FC	19	1	6	6	7	39
	CF	2	0	0	0	0	2
	MC	22	2	8	7	0	39
	CM	1	0	0	0	0	1

APPENDIX B (continued)

Subjects	Condition	Interrogation Types					Total
		1	2	3	4	5*	
6.	→FC	27	3	0	10	6	46
	→CF	3	1	0	1	0	5
	→MC	30	0	1	7	2	40
	→CM	10	2	0	0	0	12
7.	→FC	42	0	10	14	2	68
	→CF	2	0	0	2	0	4
	→MC	36	0	6	4	0	46
	→CM	0	0	0	1	0	1
8.	→FC	8	6	9	9	2	34
	→CF	5	0	0	3	0	8
	→MC	41	0	0	10	4	50
	→CM	1	0	0	3	3	7
9.	→FC	26	0	0	7	6	39
	→CF	2	0	0	0	1	2
	→MC	16	2	18	0	2	38
	→CM	7	1	0	3	0	11
10.	→FC	8	3	31	4	4	50
	→CF	0	0	0	0	0	0
	→MC	14	6	0	8	1	29
	→CM	20	0	0	2	0	22

*Miscellaneous category

APPENDIX C

Analysis of Variance Comparing Father Versus Mother Difference Scores
for Four Interrogation Types

Source	df	MS	F	Probability
Subject	9	48.00	0.50	0.86058
Type	3	1.53	0.02	0.99716
Error	27	95.70		
Total	39			

APPENDIX D

Analysis of Variance Comparing Children's Difference Scores When Interacting
with Fathers Versus Mothers for the Four Interrogation Types

Source	df	MS	F	Probability
Subject	9	17.5	1.20	0.3349
Type	3	30.60	2.1	0.12316
Error	27	14.60		
Total	39			

INTERROGATION IN MOTHER-CHILD AND FATHER-CHILD INTERACTION

by

ANDRENA LOUISE VEDROS

B. S., Kansas State University, 1974

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Speech

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

Manhattan, Kansas

1975

ABSTRACT

Ten six-year-old children and their parents served as subjects for the experiment. Two 20-minute language samples were collected in the home setting without the experimenter present. One language sample consisted of a 20-minute conversation between the father and the child. The other language sample consisted of a 20-minute conversation between the mother and the child. The parents were encouraged to tape record the conversations at times during the day in which they normally spend time playing or talking with their child. The experimenter typed and segmented the protocols from the tape recorded sessions. Interrogations within the middle 50 interaction units were identified and categorized into four predetermined semantic categories.

Analysis of the father-child and mother-child interaction data revealed that there were no significant differences between fathers and mothers in the amount and type of interrogations each used with their child. Results of the analysis of the child's speech directed to the father and child's speech directed to the mother revealed that there were no significant differences in the amount and type of interrogations the child used with the parents. However, a comparison of the types of interrogations the child used with each parent revealed that the child used significantly more information questions with the mother than with the father.

The large variability within groups necessitated a cautious conclusion. The experimenter concluded, however, that there were no significant differences in the way fathers versus mothers interrogate their children and only minimal differences in the way children interrogate their fathers versus mothers.