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# **Disagreements in Situated Decision Making: From Virtual to Everyday**

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## Abstract

This research investigates disagreements in decision making processes in a virtual setting, an experimental web simulation and in an everyday setting, involving a university research team from the Situated Action Theory perspective.

The specific focus is on disagreements, because they lead to critical situations which put at stake two vital issues that are common between the simulation and the research team, namely, a limited amount of time and mutual aims that must be met within a set deadline. More specifically the study investigates: (1) how participants manage disagreements within these two contexts and (2) which theoretical and methodological implications Situated Action Theory suggests for studying both of them.

The simulation in which the first part of this study takes place is a website in which participants had to choose a house to rent. It has been developed in four stages which involved 306 participants: a preliminary study, two validation studies and one study with single participants, in order to assess gender differences in chosen house. After the study with the single participants a study with the participants in couples (N=87) was performed, in order to study how they managed disagreements. The second context in which this study takes place is an interdisciplinary research team which aimed at studying the access and communication of migrant citizens to public municipality services. All meetings that took place from December 2007 until May 2008 were video and/or audio recorded. The corpus of the study consists of 10 hours and 50 minutes of video recorded interactions for the experimental simulation and 9 hours and 30 minutes of video and audio recorded interactions for the research team, which have been analysed from a perspective that includes conversation analysis, field notes, analysis of documents and interviews with the participants.

Analysis shows that some aspects were common within the two contexts but also that some issues differentiated the virtual context from the everyday one. A discursive re-structuring of controversial issues allowed the participants to both contexts to reach a shared decision: decision making seems to be linked more with sense making than with a rational consideration of different alternatives. Another common characteristic of the web simulation and the research team is that the management of disagreements is mediated by the use of different micro discursive strategies studied by conversation analysts, like anticipatory completions, quotations (all of which were found within both contexts), extreme case formulations, challenging questions, format tying.

However, some differences, along with important methodological implications, have been also found. Some moments of interaction, in fact, cannot not be explained by only focusing on what the participants orient as relevant for them within the interaction, while some other moments that could be explained through conversation analysis but, when we integrated such analysis with a broader ethnographic perspective, we had a very different analysis.

All the findings suggest that a simulation allows the studying of decision-making processes from a situated perspective, however the research team study suggests that the results of such study should be contextualized to obtain a deeper knowledge of situated decision-making processes in everyday settings.



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## Introduction

Decision making is a crucial aspect of everybody's life and has been addressed from the early periods of scientific research from a normative and later on from a cognitive point of view. Normative theories usually assumed that the decision maker was fully aware of all the pros and cons of a particular decision and acted in a rational way to choose the best available option. Given that these requirements are not usually met research had thus focused on the development of tools to aid decision making and on explaining how people can make decisions even if they do not have neither all the necessary information nor enough time that would enable them to choose the best option. An influential perspective on the above mentioned issues is what Herbert Simon termed as Bounded Rationality. The main assumption of this approach is that people act in a partly rational way just after having simplified the available choices. Thus research has firstly focused on the strategies that people use to simplify choices and secondly on which ones they then use to make their final choice. The most influential theory in this field is Prospect Theory.

The problem with the above mentioned theories is that they run the risk of conceiving environment as static rather than dynamic. Moreover, they do not consider that in everyday environments there are many interrelated events that should be taken into consideration. This has led to the development of a new approach that is still considered within the realms of Bounded Rationality but also investigates decisions where environments are considered as dynamic. This perspective is called Naturalistic Decision Making (NDM). It focuses mainly on decisions that are made in everyday settings, especially in demanding situations where people have to take into consideration many issues in a short amount of time. Findings that resulted from NDM perspective have allowed the creation of simulated environments, like microworlds, that incorporate aspects part of everyday complexity and enables researchers to study decisions with a NDM approach in experimental settings too. The most influential theories that have been developed within NDM perspective are Recognition-Primed Decision Model and Image Theory. One of the problems of bounded rationality and naturalistic theories is that they consider context as something that should be simplified or taken into consideration and, therefore, external to decision-making processes. Moreover they consider these processes as located deep within the internal human mind. A

perspective that emerged at the time of NDM approach, Situated Action Theory, allows for the evaluation of important new aspects on this issue. This perspective considers context as connected to human processes in an inextricable way, as human action is always influenced by situations. John Heritage and Charles Goodwin, for instance, clearly summarized this concept by referring to actions performed by people during conversation, by saying that every conversational action is both “context-shaped” and “context-renewing”. This perspective suggests to move the theoretical and analytical focus from people's minds to the interaction between people and the environment. Many studies have investigated human interaction from this point of view. However studies on decision making in both experimental and everyday settings are still lacking.

The present study investigates decision making processes through an experimental web simulation and in an everyday setting involving a university research team. Some important studies suggest that work practices within a scientific laboratory should be considered a complex setting. However, the present study addresses interaction within a web simulation that has been simplified through an experimental validation and through strict experimental requirements. This way the first part of the study focuses on a “virtual” setting. On the contrary, the second part of the study investigates decision making processes of a research team with no experimental simplification taking place: for this reason it can be classified as an everyday setting. We shall focus on disagreements, because they lead to critical situations which put at stake two vital issues that are common between the simulation and the research team, namely, a limited amount of time and mutual aims that must be met within a set deadline. Disagreements, in fact, lengthen the duration of experiments and of research team meetings. This way they run the risk to make it difficult to meet experimental requirements and achieve research aims. This study aims to investigate how participants manage disagreements within these two contexts and suggests which theoretical and methodological implications Situated Action Theory suggests for studying both of them. In the first chapter we shall review literature on the most influential theories on decision making, then we shall introduce the situated perspective. In the second chapter we shall present the two contexts that have been investigated, along with the methodology that has been used. In the third chapter disagreements will be analysed. Conclusions, open issues and possibilities of further investigation will be presented after analysis.

## Chapter 1 – Decision making: from 'rational' to 'situated'

### 1.1 Expected value, expected utility and prospect theory

Decision making was considered at first a rational choice process. According to March (1994) rational decision-making theories share a common framework: decision processes are consequential and preference-based and answer to four main questions: (1) What actions can be performed; (2) What consequences can one expect of such actions; (3) What value do such consequences have for the decision maker; (4) Which rules do decision makers follow in order to choose the most appropriate alternative. Another important implication of rational theories is that people are thought to decide according to a balance between gains and losses.

The most influential theory that referred to this perspective was the expected value theory. According to it people calculate, for each consequence of an option they have to take into consideration, its outcome value (positive or negative) and multiply it by the probability that it may occur. What results from this sum is the expected value associated to that particular option. At the end of this process decision makers choose the option with the highest expected value. One of the assumptions of this theory is that people always try to maximize gains and minimize losses. Bernoulli (1954[1738], 31) gives an example, that is known as the St Petersburg paradox:

Peter tosses a coin and continues to do so until it should land "heads" when it comes to the ground. He agrees to give Paul one ducat if he gets "heads" on the very first throw, two ducats if he gets it on the second, four if on the third, eight if on the fourth, and so on, so that with each additional throw the number of ducats he must pay is doubled. Suppose we seek to determine the value of Paul's expectation.

According to this formulation Paul's expectation is infinite. However, Bernoulli writes, no one would probably pay more than a moderate price to play that game. This paradox suggests that people do not always maximize expected value. Bernoulli developed a new theory to explain it: the expected utility theory. He proposed that people maximize utility instead of monetary value and that utility "is

dependent on the particular circumstances of the person making the estimate” (ibidem, 24). For instance the utility of winning an amount of money can be different depending on the income of the decision maker. With St Petersburg paradox probably utility diminished with the amount the gambler had to pay. This theory was further developed by von Neumann & Morgenstern (1953[1944]). They proposed five mathematical axioms that were later reformulated by Marschak (1950, 116) into four postulates: complete ordering, continuity, sufficient number of nonindifferent sets of prospects<sup>1</sup> and equivalence of mixture of equivalent prospects (Harsanyi, 1976, 21).

These postulates have been explained both in a mathematical form as well as in a more discursive form. The latter form will be used here:

1. Complete ordering implies two sections: comparability and transitivity.
  - a. Comparability means that given two prospects, A and B, it follows that  $A \geq B$  or  $B \geq A$ .
  - b. Transitivity means that given three prospects, A, B and C, if  $A \geq B$  and  $B \geq C$  then it follows that  $A \geq C$ .
2. Continuity means that given three prospects, A, B and C, where  $A > B > C$  then we there exists a mixture between A and C, with associated probabilities such as to be exactly indifferent to B.
3. Sufficient number of nonindifferent prospects means that there are four or more sets of prospects that are nonindifferent.
4. Equivalence of mixture of equivalent prospects means that given two indifferent prospects, A and C, then for any prospect B, a mixture of B and A is indifferent to a similar mixture of B and C.

Expected utility theory assumes a risk aversion as utility decreases. Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1992), however, showed that people are willing to risk in a different manner when they are dealing with gains instead of losses or when the probabilities are low instead of medium-high. Allais (1953, 1990) used a paradox to illustrate that people violate the expected utility theory's equivalence of mixture of equivalent prospects postulate. He compared two problems (Allais, 1953, 527):

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<sup>1</sup> The definition by Kahneman & Tversky (1979, 263) will be used here: “A prospect  $(x_1, p_1, \dots, x_n, p_n)$  is a contract that yields outcome  $x_i$  with probability  $p_i$ , where  $p_1+p_2+\dots+p_n=1$ ”

(1) Would you prefer situation A to situation B?

Situation A: 100 million for certain

Situation B: A 10% chance of 500 million  
An 89% chance of 100 million  
A 1% chance of 0

(2) Do you prefer situation C to situation D?

Situation C: An 11% chance of 100 million  
An 89% chance of 0

Situation D: A 10% chance of 500 million  
A 90% chance of 0

People usually preferred A in problem one and D in problem two. So, given that 1% of winning zero has no utility, for problem one we have:  $u(100) > 0.10u(500) + 0.89u(100)$ . If we subtract  $0.89u(100)$  from both members we have:  $0.11u(100) > 0.10u(500)$ . However,  $0.11u(100)$  is exactly C in problem two and  $0.10u(500)$  is exactly D in problem two. So problem two is obtained by subtracting a common amount from problem one. According to expected utility theory if  $A > B$  then  $C > D$ , but people's choices suggest that:  $A > B$  and  $D > C$ . Kahneman & Tversky (1979) referred to a certainty effect: when participants switched from a certain to an uncertain gain they perceived these gains as different.

Another problem of expected utility theory is that according to it people take into account not only their gains but also what they already own. Kahneman & Tversky (ibidem, 273) showed a violation of this assumption by using two problems:

Problem 11: In addition to whatever you own, you have been given 1,000. You are now asked to choose between

A: (1000,.50)[16%] and B: (500)[84%]

N=70

Problem 12: In addition to whatever you own, you have been given 2,000. You are now asked to choose between

C: (-1,000,.50)[69%] and D: (-500)[31%]

N=68

Most participants chose B for the first problem and C for the second. However, A and C have the same expected income: (2000,.50; 1000,.50). B and D have the same expected income: (1500). This illustrates that people do not consider what already they have along with their expected gains: Kahneman & Tversky (ibidem) called it the isolation effect.

Prospect theory is an evolution of expected utility theory. One of its main innovations is it considers utility as a matter of gains and losses, *changes* of wealth instead of *states* of wealth (Kahneman, 2003).

Decision-making process is divided in two phases: an *editing* phase and an *evaluation* phase.

Editing is a first analysis of options in order to reformulate and organise them and, thus facilitating the evaluation phase and the subsequent choice. During the editing phase the following six main operations are performed. Coding, Combination, Segregation and Simplification are applied to each prospect while Cancellation and Detection of dominance are applied to a set of two or more prospects. These operations can be described as follows: (1) *Coding*. Usually people code options as gain or losses, which are defined according to a reference point which can be the *status quo* or a particular wish. Coding can also explain the isolation effect: people did not compare gain or losses to status quo but to a different reference point. The reference point can be affected also by formulation of offered prospects; (2) *Combination*. Probabilities that are associated with the same outcome can be combined and evaluated in their combined form; (3) *Segregation*. Riskless components of prospects that contain them are segregated from their risky component; (4) *Simplification*. Prospects are simplified by rounding probabilities of outcomes or by discarding those that are extremely unlikely; (5) *Cancellation*. Common constituents of probability pairs are discarded; (6) *Detection of dominance*. A scanning of prospects is performed to detect dominated prospects, which are then discarded.

During the evaluation phase both a value function and a weighting function are applied. The value function focuses on changes of wealth (gains or losses) instead of focusing on final states of wealth. This is consistent, according to Kahneman and Tversky, with a general principle of perception: temperature, brightness, loudness are, in fact, always perceived as a change from a reference point or from an adaptation level. The presence of a reference point implies that made decisions near it gain more attention than those that are made far from it. Another important characteristic of the value function is that it is concave above the reference point (for gains) and convex below it (for losses). This implies that there is risk aversion



for gains and risk seeking when people have to face losses.

The weighting function hypothesises that the value of each outcome is multiplied by a weight. According to prospect theory very low probabilities are usually more overweighted than medium-high ones. If we call  $\pi(p)$  the weight for a certain probability  $p$ , where  $0 < p < 1$ , Kahneman and Tversky suggest that usually  $\pi(p) + \pi(1 - p) < 1$ . This characteristic is known as *subcertainty*.

Prospect theory was developed into Cumulative prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1992), according to which the entire cumulative distribution function is transformed instead of single probabilities. This new version of prospect theory explains non-linear preference (for instance: the difference between probabilities of 0.99 and 1.00 is perceived in a different manner than the difference between 0.10 and 0.11), loss aversion (the phenomenon according to which losses appear larger than gains) and risk seeking (for instance: people have different risk attitudes towards gains and losses or when they have to choose between a loss that is certain and a big probability of a larger loss) by hypothesizing some new characteristics of the value and weighting functions. In particular, the weighting function is not considered to be applied to each probability separately but it is applied separately to the cumulative distribution for gains and for losses.

## **1.2 Naturalistic decision making**

Most everyday decisions are made in changing environments, where many interrelated processes have to be considered together. This kind of decision processes are called Dynamic Decision Making, or DDM (Edwards, 1962, Brehmer, 1992). This kind of decision processes have been deeply studied within a perspective called Naturalistic Decision Making (NDM), which aims are “to understand how people make decisions in real-world contexts that are meaningful and familiar to them” (Lipshitz et al., 2001, 332). According to Orasanu & Connolly (1993) decision-making processes in everyday situations are a function of two factors: task characteristics and relevant knowledge, and expertise about tasks owned by decision makers. The authors enumerate eight factors, related to characteristics of tasks, that help researchers to investigate decision processes from a NDM perspective (Zsombok, 1997).

1. *Ill-structured problems.* Rarely are issues related to real decisions that occur in a clear manner: decision makers often have to make an effort to generate hypotheses that allow them to understand complex causal links, interaction among causes, feedback cycles. When people face an ill-structured problem they usually have different ways to solve it. There is no commonly shared solution, and no single or most correct answer.
2. *Uncertain, dynamic environments.* People typically make decisions under uncertain environments, where information is incomplete and imperfect. Decision makers most of the time know information about a small part of problems, but they do not have a full vision of it. Information can be poor or unclear. Problems can be further complicated by two other factors. First, tasks are usually dynamic and change over time, so previous information can become unuseful. Second, utility of information depends on its source which can have hidden aims or intentions that are adverse to the decision makers' goals.
3. *Shifting, ill-defined or competing goals.* It is unusual for people, when they decide outside a laboratory context, to make a decision that is linked to a unique and well-known aim value. We can expect them to act on the bases of a lot of aims some of which are not totally clear while others may be contrasting. Moreover, situations can quickly change and new values can become relevant.
4. *Action/feedback loops.* As underlined above, NDM focuses on DDM processes, that are characterized by the presence of many interrelated events: this allows people to make use of their previous errors as a source of information that can help them to hypothesize proper corrections for their actions and face the effects of their previous actions.
5. *Time stress.* Time stress for decision makers is another peculiarity which characterises decision-making processes in naturalistic environments. This has some consequences which are obvious but at the same time are very meaningful. Decision strategies that require reflection, like those which plan an in-depth evaluation of multiple choices, as suggested by

many decision-making scholars, are unfeasible. It seems likely that a few options (or, sometimes, just a single option) are taken into consideration, sometimes in an incomplete manner.

6. *High stakes*. It is important to investigate decisions that participants consider to be interesting. A lot of traditional research on decision making processes, on the contrary, use tasks which barely interest the participants.
7. *Multiple players*. Many issues that NDM researchers face do not implicate a single decision maker but many people who even though playing different roles, are actively involved in decisions. Such issues are in fact related to everyday interaction: this implies that decision makers can have to face some negotiation and mutual-agreement questions.
8. *Organisational goals and norms*. Most research on decision-making is carried out in organisational contexts. This fact has two important implications. First: decision makers' values and aims are not just their personal preferences but are linked to organisational needs and constraints. Second: organizations can help decision makers to solve their difficulties by giving them more general objectives, norms, standard procedures or common guidelines (Hackman, 1986).

NDM studies take place in everyday settings and also in laboratory settings. In the laboratory it is not always possible to include all characteristics: researchers use simulations and microworlds (Chapman et al., 2006, Elliott, 2007) that are a reproduction of most important real-world characteristics. Researches on simulated settings can be a starting point for studies within real contexts, where the characteristics of the task are "naturally" present. Researchers engaged in the study of decision making processes in naturalistic context do not include all of the characteristics of the task introduced by Orasanu and Connolly (1993). Lipshitz (1993), for instance, reviewed NDM theories that focused on individual decision process, omitting the presence of other participants, roles and organisational norms.

Not only are the characteristics of the task relevant in naturalistic situations, it is

also essential to analyse the characteristics of the decision makers in complex tasks: expertise, aims and knowledge among others are relevant. Klein et al. (1993), showed a difference between expert decision makers, that is to say those who were familiar with artifacts used in the decision process and aware of the rules and unskilled decision-maker, with no prior experience of the situation. Experts can reveal reasons and consequences and use complex models to represent the task unlike the inexpert decision-maker (Larkin, McDermott, Simon & Simon, 1980).

We can consider expertise as the ability to discern between relevant informations and "noise" present in a specific situation. Research on problem solving shows how experts involved in complex tasks heavily rely on the ability to refer to their knowledge to analyse the situation, figure out the problem and define a path to the solution. Thanks to their experience decision-makers are able to face situations with a limited number of diagnosis, options and possible hypothesis, whereas unexperienced decision-makers often use their time in unsuccessful actions (Chi, Glaser & Farr, 1988). In particular what differentiates experts from non-experts is situation awareness, "the perception of the elements in the environment within a volume of time and space, the comprehension of their meaning and the projection of their status in the near future" (Endsley, 1988, 1995, cited in Endsley, 2006, 638). Expertise, in this sense, is not linked only to the knowledge of a particular domain but also to tasks and relevant actions within it. Moreover, it is important to notice that NDM studies seem to use what Chi (2006, 22) calls a "relative" approach to expertise: experts are not "exceptional" individuals but are people that have achieved a level of proficiency that novices can achieve as well.

The most important models that were developed within the NDM perspective are the Image Theory (Beach, 1990) and the Recognition-Primed Decision Model (RPD, Klein, Calderwood & Clinton-Cirocco, 1986; Klein, 1998), which will be now presented. The conception of expertise used by Klein to present his RPD model seems to be consistent with the "relative" approach. Klein (1997, 287), in fact, writes that "The function of the RPD model is to describe how people can use their experience to arrive at good decisions without having to compare the strengths and weaknesses of alternative course of actions": he talks of experience (that is to

say of something that can be achieved instead of previous exceptional qualities) and by so doing he indicates a reference to the relative definition.

Image theory is a descriptive theory on how people use their knowledge and values to achieve their goals. According to this theory people possess three *images* that are distinct but related: (1) The *Value image* represents people's values, ethics, principles and so on. The content of this image governs people's behaviour; (2) The *Trajectory image* represents people's agenda of goals. It can be related to their principles, to environmental obstacles or both. It can vary for concreteness or abstractness; (3) The *Strategic image* represents plans people use to achieve their goals. Plans are implemented through different *tactics* to reach an imagined scenario that is known as the *forecast*.

Only options that are consistent with the value image are taken into consideration by decision makers. They decide upon each option by running a compatibility test, a screening process that allows people to assess how many times a particular option violates their values. It is an all-or-none test: an option can be compatible or incompatible. If the number of violations exceeds a violation threshold then the option is rejected. The same compatibility test allows decision makers to assess whether a plan that is being executed helps to achieve relevant goals. If it does not help then the plan can be changed or rejected during its execution.

Some authors, however, criticize the compatibility test. Harvey & Bolger (2001) for instance suggest that choice can be made as part of a compensatory process. They performed an experiment in which the participants had to choose an apartment to rent for a friend. They had information on how their friend ranked his/her current house and they gained points if they chose an apartment that was better than the friend's current apartment. Harvey & Bolger found that compatibility was not the best predictor of attractiveness rankings, people were likely to collect information that was associated with a high gain in net points instead of with high compatibility scores and half of the chosen rooms were not viewed. These findings suggest that choice could be part of a compensatory process rather than being part of a screening process.

The RPD model was developed by studying fireground commanders' behaviour. Klein and colleagues found that the participants usually did not decide by

comparing different courses of action but, on the contrary, they generated the correct action to perform as a first option. They explained these findings by developing a three-level model. The main assumption is that when decision makers have to face a dynamic situation they assess whether it is analogous to a past situation. If there is a “Simple match” (Level 1 of the model) thanks to various cues, then decision makers implement a course of action that was successful in the past.

If the situation is not perceived as analogous to a previous one, nor is it perceived as prototypical, then there is a Level 2 that Klein called “Diagnose of situation”. Decision makers clarify anomalies by using stories, by trying to better match situation features with other situations and so on, until the anomaly is solved. Then they implement the course of action that they have found in this way.

Another variation, Level 3, “Evaluate course of action”, can be taken into account when no course of action can be found immediately. At this level decision makers evaluate different courses of actions by using mental simulation, until an action is successful. Then they stop and implement that course of action. It is important to notice that, for this model, there is never any comparison of options.

Image theory and RPD model seem to be consistent with Kahneman (2003) analysis of findings within decision-making studies: there are two systems that are related to decision-making processes. The first system allows to make most judgement and choices intuitively and the rules that govern intuition are usually similar to those of perception (like in Level 1 and Level 2 of RPD model). When the intuitive systems fails a more rational system begins to be used (like in Level 3 of the RPD model and in the Image theory).

### **1.3 Situated decision making and disagreements**

All the above-mentioned perspectives are primarily concerned with some kind of processes that are conceived to happen in people's minds. These processes are those that play the most important role for decision makers' behaviour. Also the summary made by Kahneman (2003), according to which there are two main systems, the former being intuitive and the latter rational, seems to share this assumption. The subject of both systems seems to be the individual and his

mental processes.

A perspective that emerged in the same period of the NDM approach, Suchman's (1987) situated action theory, allows for the making of some important new considerations about this issue. Suchman's theory is not a formal model of action, but on the contrary she stresses that human action cannot be abstracted from circumstances in which it occurs. Given that situations are never static, people need to continuously change their plans through interaction with specific circumstances. Moreover context is not considered just as an entity that is external in relation to human processes but such processes are considered as shaped by situations. For this reason they cannot be conceived as located in people's head: knowledge is embedded in work tools (like computers or paper outlines), in shared rules about meeting structures and in all cultural artifacts (Cole, 1996; Mantovani, 2000) that mediate action. Although many studies on human behaviour have been performed from this perspective (also on scientific work practices, for instance Goodwin, 1994, 1996, 1997; Ochs & Jacoby, 1997), decision making appears to be a field that is not yet fully investigated. An important study that is rooted on situated action theory has been carried out by Alby & Zucchermaglio (2006), who showed that decision-making processes are embedded in complex work practices and are shaped by them. However, this perspective has not yet been applied in a sufficient manner on decision making both in experimental simulations and in everyday settings, in order to critically compare these two kind of contexts. The present study aims to address this issue, by paying a particular attention to discursive interaction, because language is one of the most powerful artifacts that mediates human action.

The use of language from a situated perspective was analysed in particular by two approaches: Discursive Psychology and Conversation Analysis. Discursive Psychology considers psychological processes as fundamentally constructed through discourse practices (Potter & Edwards, 2001). The focus is, for this reason, on discourse and, more broadly, on how people use language interactionally. It is a perspective that is not interested in studying rules that are supposed to be universal and abstract (like for instance in generative grammar rules initially proposed by Chomsky, 1965) but rather in the investigation of how

language is used “in the arena of social behaviour” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 14). A consequence of this approach is that discursive psychology scholars do not rely on abstract sentences that are regularised and standardised but study irregularities and complexities of language in use as important phenomena, because speakers use them to perform specific actions.

The study of language in use shows that language, along with social processes that are linguistically produced, is situated at a conversational level, at a discursive level and at a cultural level. Moreover, is it possible to think of language as a part of many cultural artifacts (Cole, 1996; Mantovani, 2000) that mediate social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Situatedness at a conversational level has been investigated from a conversation analytical perspective. Conversation Analysis (CA) was developed in the study of ordinary conversation as a way of studying social interaction and conversation as a particular form of it (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). Conversation is not considered as an abstract system but as a form of social action. CA analysts first showed this characteristic by focusing on real conversations, rather than on invented sentences and later analysed them as part of larger sequences, rather than as isolated utterances. This way they showed that errors, self/other corrections, hesitations, repetitions and so on that can be found in naturally occurring conversations instead of being irrelevant for language, can be demonstrably seen as a resource used by speakers to create and manage an “architecture of intersubjectivity” (Heritage, 1984, 254). In other words: if we consider such expressions along with their position in sequential organisation of talk, we can see that they are used by speakers to reach a mutual understanding of an ongoing conversation and to react accordingly to what happens. Let us consider the following example (from Frankel, 1984, 153):

1 Pt: This- chemotherapy (0.2) it won't have any lasting effects on havin' kids will it? 2 (2.2) 3 Pt: It will? 4 Dr: I'm afraid so
--

This short extract is part of a conversation between a doctor and a patient. In line



1 the patient asks about the effects of chemotherapy treatment in relation to his/her possibility of having kids. There is no spoken answer by the doctor (this is indicated by 2.2 seconds of silence in line 2). In line 3 the patient shows that he/she understands the silence of the doctor as bad news and finally, in line 4, the doctor confirms this bad news. It is worth noticing here that the silence in line 3 (that would not be considered within a Chomskian perspective) is an action that gives the patient very important information and the patient shows that he/she understands it in this way. It is important to notice that the doctor's silence is made possible and, in some way, can be suggested by the patient's previous question. That question is asked, in fact, by using a negative form ("won't have", line 1). Conversation analysts noticed that there is often a preference for agreement (Sacks, 1987) in conversation (although Billig, 1996, points out that this could be due to the necessity of keeping the dialogue in play within those moments that are taken into consideration in CA studies): in this case the negative form could be a way through which the patient shows that his preferred answer is something like "no, it won't". However the doctor shows that he thinks chemotherapy could have negative consequences for the patient. The doctor answers the patient in a way that is related to the patient's previous utterance: with his silence on one hand he suggests to the patient that chemotherapy will have negative effects and, on the other hand, he gives him the possibility to reformulate his question in a positive way. We can say, in other words, that the doctor's question is context shaped at a conversational level. It is also interesting to notice that even when the patient reformulates his question in a positive form (line 3), the doctor's answer in line 4 is not given in a straight way but is prefaced by an "I'm afraid". This could seem to be unimportant for the message the doctor is going to give to the patient: the doctor could in fact have simply answered: "yes it will". However, it could be pragmatically relevant for two reasons. First: it could be a way used by the doctor to let the patient know that the information that follows could be bad news for him/her, that is to say that it might be considered by the patient as dispreferred (this concept is now just introduced without any further explanation but preference organisation will be explained later in a detailed way). Second: by using this expression the doctor could show the patient beforehand that he understands the patient's

concerns. He creates a context in which any worries that the patient may eventually develop, do not need to be justified but can be shared with the doctor. There was not anything said before uttering "I'm sorry" that could have indicated that the doctor shared the patient's eventual concern: that expression was also context renewing.

The example just analysed also illustrates that language and discourse often have a *function* that is not explicitly indicated by speakers and can also be studied at a wider discursive level from a discursive psychological perspective. Discursive psychology scholars point out to two other characteristics of discourse: *variation* and *construction* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Variation is linked to function, that is to say that discourse is situated will vary according to its function. For instance the account of an accident by a witness will vary when it is told to a friend instead of to a police officer. In the former case it could have a function to inform the friend of what happened while, in the latter it could have also the function to persuade the police officer that the witness is not a hit-and-run driver, so it may be richer in concrete details and less rich in emotions than in the first case. Such discourse variability can also be seen in the following example (adapted from Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 49-50, bold added by me):

1. *Interviewer*. [Do] you think that, say, immigration from the Pacific Islands should be encouraged [ ] to a much larger extent than it is? It's fairly restricted at the moment.

Respondent. Yes. Um, I think there's some problems in, in encouraging that too much, is that they come in uneducated about our ways, and I think it's important they understand what they're coming to. I, what I would li .. rather see is that, sure, **bring them into New Zealand, right, try and train them in a skill, and encourage them to go back again** because their dependence on us will be lesser. I mean [ ] while the people back there are dependent on the people being here earning money to send it back, I mean, that's a very very negative way of looking at something. [ ] people really should be trying, they should be trying to help their own nation first. (Pond: 17-18).

2. Polynesians, they are doing jobs now that white people wouldn't do. So in many sectors of of the community or or life, um, we would be very much at a loss without them, I think. Um, what I would like to see is more effort being made to train them into skills, skilled jobs, because we are without skilled people and a lot of our skilled people, white people, have left the country to go to other places. I think that **if we encouraged more Polynesians and Maoris to be skilled people they would want to stay here** they're not as, uh, nomadic as New Zealanders are (*Interviewer*: Haha.) **so I think that would be better** (Pond: 18).

In these two extracts the same speaker takes two opposite stances. In the first extract he claims to be for encouraging migrants to go back to their country, while in the second he claims it would be better to if they stayed in the same speaker's country. This great variation would be problematic if one looked for the speaker's attitude towards immigrants. However, one can see that such different stances are linked to two different issues: in the first extract the respondent talks about migrants' "dependence", while in the second he talks about New Zealand work problems.

It is possible to find, within variability, some regularities that were called interpretative repertoires (Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984) that can be defined, for discourse analysis purposes, as "a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 138). They can be considered as particular ways of talking (Edley, 2001) that researchers identify within people's discourse. In the above two extracts about immigration we can identify a "humanitarian" repertoire (in the first extract: immigrants should not depend on New Zealanders) and a "work" repertoire (immigrants do some jobs that other people would not like to do). At this point a researcher would look at all corpus and see if these repertoires are used elsewhere, how they are linked with other repertoires and what function the use of those repertoires have, for instance what version of reality they sustain. Interpretative repertoires and variation, in fact, suggest that people *construct different versions of reality* while they speak and position themselves and others (Davies & Harré, 1990) within such constructions. Construction implies that people use linguistic resources that pre-exist to their use, that there is an active selection of such resources (and an active omission of some of them) and the use of the term construction is important to emphasise the fact that language does have a relevant effect on reality and on interaction.

Variability, as mentioned above, can be so vast that the same person could take two opposite stances within different issue: it seems to be related to the argumentative context in which discourse is spoken, that is to say variability is related to what a person would like to claim but also to what he is arguing against. Billig (1996), with his rhetorical approach to Social Psychology, proposed this idea

for the first time. He showed that when one takes stance it necessarily is about a controversial issue. There is no stance adopted when a topic is not controversial. The stance has to be understood by looking at what one claims for and also at what one claims against. It is rhetorically constructed to defend a position and, at the same time, to criticise those counter-positions that are relevant for the speaker. Inconsistencies in stances, according to Billig, are not necessarily problematic (as can also be seen in the above extracts) but *accusations of inconsistency* are problematic. They can be solved by denying the inconsistency, solving inconsistency at another level (it is not uncommon in hermeneutic of religious texts, where inconsistency is often explained by referring to a divinity), by downgrading the importance of an issue or by using other rhetorical strategies. Neuman & Tabak (2003) analysed such strategies in Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu speeches. They found that Netanyahu: (1) sometimes recognized inconsistency but characterised it as unavoidable, so he denied his responsibility; (2) he also criticised some agreements made by his predecessors and pointed out that albeit the inconsistency he had introduced some valuable points in those new agreements he reached; (3) he denied inconsistency. Language and social processes that it allows to accomplish are situated also at a cultural level. Let us consider the following example (from Levinson, 2005, 12):

1	N:	wu dmââdí a kêdê Thursday ngê anê lóo	
		‘That girl told me she would go across on Thursday’	
2	P:	n:uu ngê?	
		‘Who did?’	
3	N:	o(yi dmââdi )o	
		‘That girl’	
4	P:	Mby:aa tp:oo módó ngê=	
		‘The daughter of Mby:aa did?’	
5	M:	=Kpâputa u kpâm?	
		‘Kpâputa’s wife?’	
6	P:	Kpâputa u kpâm?	
		‘Kpâputa’s wife?’	
		[	
7	M:	ee! ee! kî tpókni mwi lee dmyino, Stephen a kwo, mwi lee dmyino ó!	
		‘Hey kids go over there, Stephen is here, go right over there!’	
		[	
8	N:		<b>EBF</b>
			<b>Head-point East</b>
9	P:	Kpâputa u kuknwe apii?	
		‘Kpâputa’s widow, right?’	
		[	

- |    |   |                      |
|----|---|----------------------|
| 10 | N: (°kî dmââdi °)                                 | <b>EBF</b> <i>mm</i> |
|    | (That girl) ‘you got it’                          |                      |
| 11 | M: (to kids) ka, tin ghi mwi ’nuw:e, mwi pââ y:i, |                      |
|    | ‘OK take the tins over there, run off over there’ |                      |
|    | (conversation lapses)                             |                      |

The above extract shows a conversation that took place in Rossel Island, Papua Nuova Guinea. In line 1 N makes a reference to a girl but does not specify her name. P does not understand who “that girl” is and asks for her name (line 2). Instead of giving the name N repeats “that girl” (line 3). At this point P tries to guess (lines 4, 5, 6). After the third guess P obtains an eyebrow (EBF, line 8) and a head-point toward east: this way N suggests that P could be close to making out who that girl is. After this gesture P makes a guess: “Kpâputa's widow” (line 9) and N confirms with a gesture (line 10). It is difficult to understand why N did not say the girl's name and P did not consider it as disappointing if we do not take into account that the participants to this conversation share a taboo according to which they cannot name the recently dead and living affines. This is why N suggests with gestures who “that girl” was and P considers it normal that she tries to guess. A shared cultural norm, that is not directly visible within this piece of interaction, mediated it.

Rules, language, material objects and their mediation function are considered together by Cultural Psychology as cultural artifacts (Cole, 1996). According to Cole (1995, 28) “Cultural artifacts are simultaneously ideal (conceptual) and material. They are ideal in that they contain in coded form the interactions of which they were previously a part and which they mediate in the present. They are material in that they exist only insofar as they are embodied in material artifacts”. There are many artifacts that are important within decision-making processes, like meetings and their structure, flowcharts, organisational rules. March (1991, 108) suggests to consider decision making as an artifact and, in particular, as “a ritual activity closely linked to central Western ideologies of rationality”. This implies (ibidem, 109) that “understanding decisions in one arena requires an understanding of how those decisions fit into the lives of participants”.

These considerations suggest that disagreements could be a critical aspect that allows for the investigation of decision making, from the perspective presented

here, in particular within the two contexts in which this study took place, an experimental web simulation and a research team involved in a time-limited project. Both the experimental web simulation and the research team are characterized by the some aims that were shared between the participants (to follow experimental requests in the web simulation and to make a decision in the research team context). Both contexts are characterized by time limitations: even if the participants in the web simulation had no explicit time limitations they were aware that the experiment should come to an end in a limited time. Time was also critical for the research team, as they had to carry out their research by following a project timeline, so it was preferable that meetings ended within a reasonable time, in order to respect the timeline. Disagreements were a critical moment, as they were an obstacle to reaching a shared decision and prolonged experimental sessions and meetings. Due to these reasons studying disagreements can allow us to understand how decision makers manage such critical moments and, moreover, results can lead to important considerations being taken in study settings that are different than those that are investigated here. Disagreements have been studied, in particular, by conversation analysts, who have investigated on how they arise and are solved in talk-in-interaction (Pomerantz, 1984) and on the link of disagreements with face-threatening acts (Goffman, 1955; Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). Heritage (1984), in particular, connects disagreements with face-threatening acts, by using the CA notion of “preference”. Preference is a form of a social organisation, according to which some types of actions are usually performed faster and more straightforwardly than others in response to a previous utterance and according to which there is a response that is “preferred” by the addressee of an utterance. After an invitation, for instance, the acceptance of the invitation is performed almost without a need for further justifications: this means that the acceptance is the preferred action. The declination of the invitation is a dispreferred action: it is usually prefaced by hesitations, disclaimers, justifications and so on. According to Heritage (1984, 268) “it is deviance from these institutional designs which is the inferentially rich, morally accountable, face-threatening and sanctionable form of action”. Boyle (2000) summarizes findings about preference by referring also to original Sacks’s (1992a, 1992b) lectures on conversation: a

preferred second pair-part is “seen but unnoticed” (Boyle, 2000, 589). Seen but unnoticed means that the participants show to orient, on their next turns, to the implications of a particular action, but do not show to consider such action as problematic. A dispreferred action, on the contrary, is seen, noticed (so it is usually necessary that who did the dispreferred actions gives an account for it) and can be sanctionable or not sanctionable. Preference cannot be considered as a codified scheme that can be used without any reference to talk-in-interaction (*ibidem*). Sacks (1992a, 562), for instance, claims that in a doctor-patient interaction a doctor’s “how are you” question may be followed by a “Fine” answer, even if that patient is not feeling well, when he considers the doctor as having a particular membership: he/she can be considered as “somebody who’s passing you in the hall, who knows you, who is your doctor but isn’t at this moment your doctor”.

Pomerantz (1984) analysed agreements and disagreements, when both are the preferred action (for instance after a prior’s speaker self-deprecation) but also when they are dispreferred. The latter are more important for our study than the former. When disagreements are dispreferred they can be expressed with a preface, like a partial agreement, a period of silence, hesitations, requests for clarification (weak disagreements, according to Pomerantz), or they can be expressed in a direct manner, without a preface (strong disagreements).

According to Brown & Levinson (1987) a strong disagreement can be interpreted as a threat to the previous speaker’s face, while an indirect disagreement can be a strategy used to protect face. Many studies have contested this position, arguing that a connection between disagreements and face-threatening acts depends on contextual elements (e. g. Kotthoff, 1993, Rees-Miller, 2000). Rees-Miller, in particular, analysed some “elicitation sequences” in a study on disagreements between professors and students, that took place during some University courses. Elicitation sequences are structures in which “the professor asks a display question, a question to which s/he knows the answer, a student responds, and the professor evaluates the response as correct or incorrect” (Rees-Miller, 2000, 1102-1103). Rees-Miller pointed out that when students were expected to know the correct response (based on their homework) the professor disagreed and gave the correct answer without neither softening it nor giving an explanation: a direct

answer and a strong disagreement were not considered a face-threatening act. However, when the professor used elicitation sequences to elicit students' contributions to a new issue, he/she disagreed with them by using a weak disagreement, given that they were not expected to know the correct answer and a strong disagreement would have been a face-threatening act. Other studies (e.g. Benwell & Stokoe, 2005) suggest that a tutor can mitigate dispreferred responses even if students are at fault because they did not do their homework. It seems that a disagreement can be the preferred or the dispreferred response according to the context in which it is produced or to how the tutor is considered. All these considerations suggest the importance of analysing each disagreement 'in context' without taking for granted that it is a dispreferred response or it is inevitably linked with face.

Which context should be considered relevant for this kind of studies is a controversial issue. Schegloff (1987, 1996) suggests to take into consideration just those contextual features that the participants show to consider relevant within the interaction. He also points out the importance of analysing interaction in the participants' terms, so that the analyst does not impose his categories to what he analyses. Billig (1999a, 1999b) points out that conversation analysts use, within their analyses, some concepts (like preference organisation, adjacency pairs) that are not the "participants terms". This way, Billig suggests, CA is not neutral but constructs its data from a particular point of view and includes some presuppositions into the analysis. Moreover, as we also saw in the previous paragraph, Levinson (2005) suggests that there are different levels of analysis: a sociocultural system, a linguistic system and an interaction system. Each of them is related to different contextual features and can be taken into consideration during analysis. With the example analysed previously for instance Levinson (ibidem) illustrated that the sociocultural system (taboo names) does have an influence on the linguistic system (some relatives' names could not be used) and on the interaction system (the participants in the conversation tried to guess the name instead of asking for it in a direct manner). Even though each system should be analysed, according to Levinson, in its own right, it is important to take into account possible links and interplays between systems and between different



contextual features.



## **Chapter 2 – Aims, corpus and methodology of this study**

### ***2.1 Aims and methodology***

The present study aims to investigate two issues: (1) how disagreements are managed within two contexts, an experimental web simulation and a research team; (2) which methodological implications has to study disagreements within these contexts.

These two contexts, as previously mentioned in Chapter 1, share two similar aspects: (1) a particular aim (to complete the experimental task; to perform a research) and (2) a limited time to reach common aims.

However they are also very different in relation to contextual aspects that mediate interaction. The participants in the research team share a common history, common theories and methodologies and interact within different institutional frames. Different from the everyday situation the participants in the experimental web simulation interact in a situation that is constructed ad hoc in a laboratory and therefore presents less complexity: it is a sort of virtual situation in relation to the research team.

These contexts will be studied from a perspective that includes conversation analysis that will be integrated with field notes, analysis of documents and interviews with the participants.

### ***2.2 The experimental web simulation***

The study on disagreements within an experimental web simulation is part of a wider research about gender differences on house renting decision-making processes. This larger study, on one hand, shared the interest of Naturalistic Decision Making perspective for processes instead of for results of decisions and, on the other, developed a web simulation to study some characteristics of decision-making processes in a laboratory setting. This concern suggested to build and validate a web site, in which participants had to choose a house to rent, by using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Soru et al., 2009). This was a deliberate choice that took into account the circularity of theories and objects of study, along with their situated nature (Mantovani, 2003). Theories, in fact, allow to construct a particular version of reality and of study objects and suggest which are

the most suitable methodologies for studying such constructions. In an early stage of this study, as it will be better explained below, the participants were required to judge some houses within two continua. The categorizations were analysed through repeated measures anova. Following the theoretical perspective presented in the previous chapter such analysis did not have the aim of generalization but aimed at building a simulation that incorporated some characteristics that were relevant for the participants in the study. In fact the participants involved in the validation of the simulation came from the same context of those who participated in the study. They were all students of the University of Padua. It was expected that interaction within the simulation presented some characteristics that enabled to study house-renting decision processes in other contexts. The participants knew that they were into a Psychology department and that they were taking part in a scientific research. This knowledge might have persuaded them to try to act, as far as they could, as they would have really behaved when they were actually looking for a house. This consideration seems to be suggested also by the presence of those disagreements that will be analysed in chapter three: if the participants had just behaved according to the requests of the scientific setting and of experimenters, then they would probably have avoided any disagreement, given that they knew that they were not going to really live in the houses they were looking at. They would probably have assented quite rapidly to a house in order to bring draw the experiment to a close. This did not usually happen, thus suggesting that part of the participants behaviour within a real setting could have been performed also during the simulation developed, validated and used here.

The simulation was developed and validated in four stages: a preliminary study, two validation studies and one study with single participants, in order to assess gender differences house choice. The participants in the preliminary study (N=14; 7 M, 7 F; Mean Age = 22.53) were told that the university would give them a scholarship to rent a house, and that they could choose from among five houses on the website. Each participant was asked to navigate on a website similar (for logo and colours) to that of the university, where he/she could choose among the houses. The website was written in PHP and MySQL (Figure 1). Information given

to the participants did not include rent fees. This study was in fact about gender differences in decision-making. Literature on consumers' behaviour is controversial about gender differences for price: we decided to tell the participants that the University would have paid all the costs. The participants were all university students because the task was relevant to them in a town like Padua, where the house rental market for students is highly developed. Moreover, we used pictures and descriptions that were similar to flat advertisements that could be found on real websites for students (see Appendix B).

Figure 1 – Tool used in the preliminary study



Participants were asked to think aloud as they browsed the website. An interview was performed after that participants had chosen a house, in order to better investigate their preferences. Sessions and interviews, amounting to 200 minutes of footage, were videorecorded with informed and written consent of the participants, were transcribed and analysed through discourse analysis, in order to discover the interpretative repertoires (Edley, 2001) used by the participants for their choice. We discovered two repertoires that were used to choose: one called “Comfortableness” and another called “Pleasantness”.

Preliminary study: example of comfortableness interpretative repertoire

183 C: bha!(.)from the pictures i see that there's a washing machine  
184 <and that's importa::nt>  
185 there also a microwave ove:n  
...  
365 C: the:: <first important> thi:ng  
366 is that it is comfortable  
367 >so this one< is in portello: area  
368 <and it is ve:ry comfortable>

The above extract (see Appendix C for the original Italian transcription) shows an example of “comfortableness” interpretative repertoire usage. As can be seen C refers to appliances (washing machine and microwave oven, ll. 183, 185) that are useful for practical issues: C does not talk, in fact, of any particular characteristic of such appliances, thus suggesting that it is not a matter of pleasantness, but it is important (l. 184) that those appliances are in the house. C also says that the first important thing (l. 365) is the comfortableness (l. 366, 367) and this characteristic is also judged by referring to the area in which the house is located (l. 367).

Comfortableness and pleasantness repertoires were not always used separately. For instance in the following extract we can see an example of a cooperative use of comfortableness and pleasantness repertoire.

Preliminary study: example of cooperative use of pleasantness and comfortableness interpretative repertoire

1015 G: the décor it is catchy,  
1016 the shower (.) i prefer it to the bathtub,  
1017 and it was redecorated in two thousand si::x,  
1018 >so it's new<, and there's (.) an internet  
1019 connection

G (l. 1015) points out to a characteristic linked to pleasantness, the décor, by referring to it as catchy. Afterwards G continues to describe the house by referring to some issues related to comfortableness: the presence of a shower (l. 1016) and then he switches again to a pleasant characteristic of the house: it was redecorated (l. 1017) and, in the end, he once again points out to a issue related to comfort: an internet connection (ll. 1018, 1019).

After the preliminary study, two validation studies were performed, in order to validate, using a quantitative analysis, the descriptions and pictures of the houses presented in the website. The participants to the first validation study (N=66; 20 M, 46 F. N=63; 22 M, 41 F) were asked to navigate the website and judge the descriptions and the pictures of the house on two axes (comfortable/uncomfortable for the “Comfortableness” dimension and pleasant/unpleasant for the “Pleasantness” dimension). These categorizations were then measured by the use of a continuum (a Visual Analog Scale) instead of a Likert scale in order to get an interval measure, instead of the quasi-interval data obtained by using a Likert scale. We used a tool we wrote in PHP and saved evaluations in text files (Figure 2). Given that more than one participant evaluated houses at the same time we decided to improve performance of the system. This is why we did not use MySQL DBMS but evaluations were stored on session variables and, after the last evaluation, they were written in a text file. An algorithm was implemented to avoid a contemporary access to the same text file and deadlocks while waiting for an exclusive access.

Figure 2 – Tool used to validate the houses

**CASA 610V3**

Si tratta di un trilocale: cucina con lavastoviglie, soggiorno e camera da letto.  
Il bagno comprende cabina doccia con porte di vetro, lavandino quadrato e toilette.  
La superficie complessiva è di 50 mq.  
L'appartamento è sito in zona istituti. Connessione a internet in banda larga. Posto bici.

Comoda  Scomoda

Gradevole  Sgradevole

[Conferma e vai alla casa successiva](#)

Each categorization was divided by the line length, so that we obtained a scalar

variable ranging between 0.00 and 1.00 (where 0.00 corresponds to the minimum judgement for comfortableness/pleasantness and 1.00 corresponds to the maximum for both adjectives). All the participants categorized all the houses. Following the experimental design described above we performed a 6x2 repeated measures ANOVA with JUDGEMENT as dependent variable and HOUSE (1/2/3/4/5/6) and ADJECTIVE (comfortableness vs pleasantness) as within factors. The sphericity assumption was met for house:  $\chi^2(14)=20.656$ ,  $p=0.111$  and for the interaction:  $\chi^2(14)=18.154$ ,  $p=0.200$ . The main effect of HOUSE was significant:  $F(5,325)=31.851$ ,  $p<0.001$ . Houses 1, 3 and 4 had the highest judgements for comfortableness and for pleasantness as well, houses 5 and 6 had lower judgements and house 2 had the lowest judgement. The main effect of ADJECTIVE was not significant:  $F(1,65)=0.007$ ,  $p=0.933$ : overall there is no difference between these two judgements. The interaction was significant:  $F(5,325)=3.270$ ,  $p<0.05$ . To explore the interaction six one sample t-tests, comparing to zero the difference between comfortable and pleasantness, were performed using the false discovery rate (FDR) correction (Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995). No significant differences were found. Even if there is a global effect of the interaction, if we consider each house distinctly, difference is never statistically significant.

The second validation study was very similar to the previous one. The only difference was that we tested the influence of the presentation order of the houses. We defined three presentation orders based on researchers' expectation. After the houses were modified three researchers categorized all six houses as comfortable or pleasant. Two houses (house 2 and house 3) were judged to be pleasant, two houses (house 5 and house 6) to be neutral and two houses (house 1 and house 4) to be comfortable. Then three orders were constructed according to these judgements:

1. Pleasant; Neutral; Comfortable;
2. Comfortable; Neutral; Pleasant;
3. Neutral; Comfortable; Pleasant;

Each participant (N=63; 22 M, 41 F) was randomly given an order, so houses appeared in the web site menu in a different way comparing to the order.



Following the experimental design described above we performed a 6x2x3 repeated measures ANOVA with JUDGEMENT as dependent variable and HOUSE (1/2/3/4/5/6) and ADJECTIVE (comfortableness vs pleasantness) as within factors and ORDER (1/2/3) as between factor. The sphericity assumption was met for HOUSE:  $\chi^2(14)=13.211$ ,  $p=0.510$  but was not met for the interaction:  $\chi^2(14)=39.005$ ,  $p<0.001$ . Greenhouse-Geisser correction will be used for the interaction. Results show that there was no significant main effect for ORDER:  $F(2,60)=0.443$ ,  $p=0.644$ . The interaction between HOUSE and ORDER was not significant:  $F(10,300)=1.000$ ,  $p=0.443$ . The interaction between ADJECTIVE and ORDER was not significant:  $F(2,60)=1.737$ ,  $p=0.185$ . The interaction between HOUSE, ADJECTIVE and ORDER was not significant:  $F(8.153,244.594)=0.763$ ,  $p=0.638$ . Given that non significant effect was found for ORDER we performed a 6x3 repeated measure analysis deleting ORDER. JUDGEMENT was the dependent variable, HOUSE (1/2/3/4/5/6) and ADJECTIVE (comfortableness vs pleasantness) were within factors. The sphericity assumption was met for house:  $\chi^2(14)=12.590$ ,  $p=0.559$  but was not met for the interaction:  $\chi^2(14)=39.602$ ,  $p<0.001$ . Greenhouse-Geisser correction will be used for the interaction.

The main effect of HOUSE was significant:  $F(5,310)=9.314$ ,  $p<0.001$ . Figure 3 shows, in particular, that house 5 had a high judgement for comfortableness and for pleasantness as well, houses 2 and 3 had a higher judgement for pleasantness than for comfortableness, houses 1, 4 and 6 had a higher judgement for comfortableness than for pleasantness. The main effect of ADJECTIVE was not significant:  $F(1,62)=0.764$ ,  $p=0.385$ : overall there is not a difference between these two judgements. The interaction was significant:  $F(4.092,253.697)=9.374$ ,  $p<0.001$ .

To explore the interaction six one sample t-tests, comparing to zero the difference between comfortable and pleasantness, were performed, using the false discovery rate correction. Difference for house 1 was not significantly different from 0:  $t(61)=1.612$ ,  $p=0.168$ ; difference for house 2 was significantly different from 0:  $t(62)=-4.067$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; difference for house 3 was not significantly different from 0:  $t(62)=-0.517$ ,  $p=0.729$ ; difference for house 4 was significantly different from 0:  $t(62)=3.300$ ,  $p<0.01$ ; difference for house 5 was not significantly different from 0:

$t(62)=0.054$ ,  $p=0.957$ ; difference for house 6 was significantly different from 0:  $t(62)=2.589$ ,  $p<0.05$ .

Figure 3 – Estimated marginal means for the second validation study



The analysis shows that houses 1, 3 and 5 were judged neutral (comfortable and pleasant at the same time), houses 4 and 6 were judged more comfortable than pleasant and house 2 was judged more pleasant than comfortable.

After these validation studies we performed a study with the validated website. Each participant (N=163; 91 F and 72 M; Mean Age = 23.12) was told that University would have given him a scholarship to rent a house he should select among the 6 houses they would have seen in a simulated Web Site. This experiment was aimed to test our validation studies, so we decided to not video record participant's interaction. House 5, that was a neutral house with high rating both on Comfortableness and on Pleasantness, was the most chosen. We tested gender differences for the chosen house with Chi Squared Test. No gender differences were found:  $\chi^2(5)=1.184$ ,  $p=0.946$ . 34.1% of women and 34.7% of men chose house 5.

After this first study we performed another study with different participants in

couples. There were four kinds of couples: man with man (MM), woman with woman (WW), man with woman there were not in a sentimental relationship (MWnr), man with woman there were in a sentimental relationship (MWr). The participants were 87 couples (12 MM, 36 WW, 21 MWr, 18 MWnr). All experimental sessions were videorecorded with the informed and written consent of the participants, for a total corpus of 10 hours and 50 minutes. They were then codified, in order to identify disagreements for the house they had to choose. Six disagreements were identified. It is not surprising that there were very few disagreements, as the participants were asked to decide together which house they would rent: experiment was constructed so that an agreement was necessary. Disagreements were then transcribed and analysed from a conversation analytical perspective and, when necessary, by referring also to other contextual issues that helped to understand such processes.

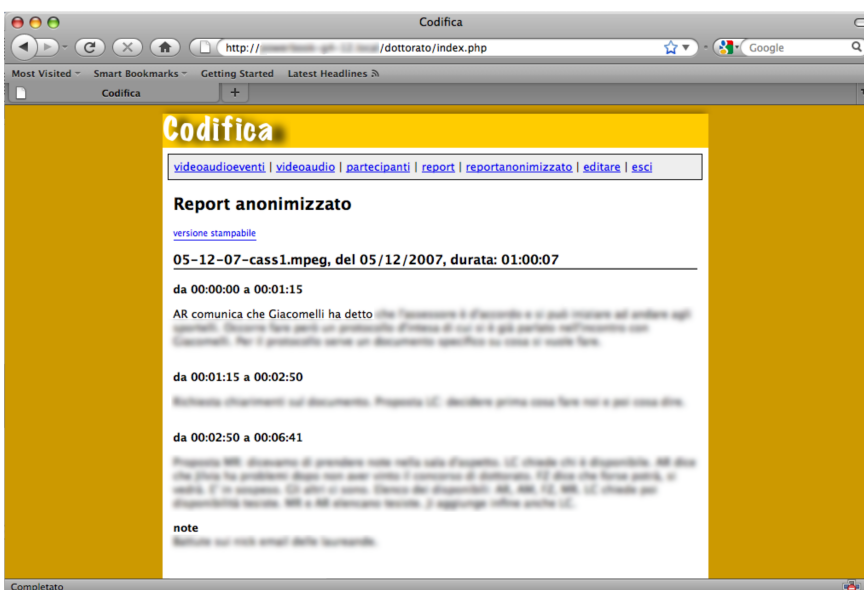
### **2.3 *The research team***

The second context in which this study took place was an interdisciplinary research team which aimed at studying the access and communication of migrant citizens to public municipality services. The research team consisted of the head of the research projects and three collaborators. All the meetings were recorded with the participants' informed consent for the present study but also as part of the team's research because they also aimed to analyse their own research practices. To protect the participants privacy some expressions within transcriptions will be changed, so that the speakers are not recognizable. One of collaborators was also a cultural mediator who worked in the places the group want to study. For this reason he was what Anthropologists call an informant: he introduced the research group to the places and to people in which the study took place and he gave some suggestions on how to contact the Council.

The research was part of a bigger project on intercultural processes in a northern Italian town. The participants in this team shared a research perspective that they discussed when they collaborated in the past and during some meetings that took place before those that are investigated here. They shared an intercultural perspective on cultural processes and on research methodologies. According to

their perspective culture should be considered as a situated process that is mediated by cultural artifacts. People use cultural artifacts to interact and to make sense of their lives. Methodologically this implies the importance of studying interaction in everyday settings, by using for instance ethnography, participant observation, field notes, interviews, recordings of interactions. A particular attention, as said in the first chapter, is paid to language because it is the most important artifact people use to interact and construct particular versions of reality. This part of is about disagreements within decisions that the group made during the operative stage of its research. The group had to decide how to contact the municipality staff, what to do first in studied places, how to go on with their research after some observations and so on. All meetings that took place from December 2007 until May 2008 were video and/or audio recorded. This period was chosen because it was defined as a first stage by the group itself: after this period the group wrote a first report for the Council and began to discuss about a second stage of the research. The corpus consists of nine meetings and amounts to about 9 hours and 30 minutes. The meetings were then codified by using a web-based tool (written in PHP and that was interfaced with the MySQL DBMS, Figure 4), in order to have an outline of what happened during the meeting minute by minute.

Figure 4 – Tool that was used to codify the meetings



During this outlining we paid a particular attention to disagreements. This outline allowed for the pin-pointing of the moments of disagreement and for their transcription by using an elaboration of Gail Jefferson's transcription system (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, see Appendix A for transcription conventions here used). After the transcription stage a second selection was necessary: Jefferson's system showed that some disagreements were due to a misunderstanding: when the misunderstandings were clarified the disagreements were solved. We decided to analyse just those disagreements that were not linked to a misunderstanding. This stage allowed to transcribe six disagreements, one of which was a disagreement about what the participants decided in the past during a meeting between the research team and final year students (that was not recorded). Disagreements will be analysed in the next chapter. During analysis we shall refer to an English translation of transcriptions. Such transcription has been made just for readability purposes: we are aware of difficulties that a translation of a jeffersonian transcription would raise. This is why, even if references are made to the English transcription, analysis will be performed by continuously looking at the original transcriptions in Italian.

Given that the group agreed on many theoretical and methodological issues, considering also that the group met to make a shared decision, it is not strange that only six disagreements were found. These considerations make the analysis of such disagreements even more interesting because even though the participants met to make a shared decision (so an agreement was important to them) there were some moments of disagreement.

The transcriptions were analysed by using conversation analysis, which was integrated, when relevant, with field notes and interviews to the research team members. This is justified by the theoretical perspective presented in the previous chapter: according to such perspective, in fact, an analysis that takes into account just what people show to be relevant to them in interaction runs the risk of an interactional reductionism (as noted also by Levinson, 2005). Another risk is that by focusing just on those issues that are made explicit within interaction there is a risk of lapsing into an interpersonal reductionism, that is to say we can run into the risk of implying that interaction is linked just to relations among participants and

not also to the broad social and cultural systems that shapes interaction and is shaped within it. A possible consequence can be a weak analysis, because it is inconsistent with participants' awareness of those issues that are implicit, shared, but not displayed within interaction.

## Chapter 3 – Analysis of disagreements

### 3.1 The experimental web simulation

#### First disagreement: “the bathtub!”

The following extracts come from an experimental session where the participants were two women (R and W). Part of their interaction with the experimenter (S) is also analysed. The following extract is taken at the beginning of the experimental session, after that the experimenter instructed participants on the web simulation.

#### D2C2WW – Extract 1

35 R: the bathtu:b! ((*laughs*))  
36 W: ((*laughs*)) ( ) well (..) m m:  
37 R: bathtub with shower  
38 W: but what's this?  
39 R: a carpet (.) no (.) a carpet i thi::nk (.)  
40 W: and the pouf?  
41 R: it's a pouf.  
42 W: right (..)   
43 R: thi:s (.) m: (.) so:  
44 W: the comfort of this flat is given from the perfect  
45 R: ((*reads very quickly and quietly*)) balcony (..) wa:lls

At the beginning of this extract R and W talk about a flat they are looking at. R points out the importance of a bathtub (l. 35). W does not take into account such an observation: she laughs (l. 36) and utters a continuer (“m m”, l. 36). This way she shows she understood what R said but does not show appreciation the bathtub. It could be a weak disagreement about the importance of such amenities. This is confirmed by R's next turn: she mentions the bathtub again (l. 37) and, this time, she also mentions a “shower” (ibidem). This last turn is constructed by R as a continuation of the turn at l. 35: she connects to her previous turn by repeating the word “bathtub” and then she adds new information by using the expression “with shower”. This structure could have two functions. First: it could be a way used by

R to highlight the importance of a bathtub. Furthermore, it could be another possibility that R gives to W, so that she takes into account the presence of the bathtub and agrees with R. By constructing this turn as a continuation, in fact, R considers her previous turn as not complete (see also Schegloff, 1995 for a similar observation on the function of incremental information). Now, after R having mentioned also the shower it is complete. Even if W ignored the bathtub now she could change her mind and appreciate a “bathtub with shower”. This analysis seems to be reinforced by the word “with” used by R: the bathtub and the shower seem to be constructed as a unique object, a bathtub *with* shower (and not, for instance, a bathtub *and* a shower). W does not use this new possibility and, after this turn, shows again she is not interested in the bathtub: she points out again, in fact, with a question (“what’s this”, l. 38), to another characteristic of the same flat. After R’s answer (l. 39) W asks a question about a characteristic she underlined earlier (as can be seen from the full transcription in Appendix C): a pouf (l. 40). Afterwards R repeats the name of such piece of furnishings (l. 41) and then W ends the sequence by using the word “right” (l. 42). The disagreement about what to consider important seems to be left out without being solved: there is not, in fact, any further answer by W. After this turn they switch to another flat (as can be seen by looking at flat descriptions in Appendix B).

#### D2C2WW – Extract 2

54 R: ((*continues to read very quickly and quietly*)) (.) m m:  
 55 (.) total area (fifty metres) (.) this is already in  
 56 university buildings area m with [( )] and bike=  
 57 W: [(*laughs*)]  
 58 R: =parking ( )  
 59 W: right. there’s just a bed you know (.)  
 60 R: no right [(.) we]’re two so:::  
 61 W: [no (.)]

In this extract it is important to notice that W, after R has finished reading the description of a flat, points out a problem: there is “just a bed” (l. 59). R shows that she agrees with W and considers it a problem as well, because they are two people (l. 60). A shared concern about the necessity of not having “just a bed” can



be noticed.

### D2C2WW – Extract 3

122 R: =is not bad (..) so (.) [here we la]ck the batht- (.)  
123 W: [( )]  
124 W: i don't kno:::?:w (.) why do you exclude that one  
125 [(.) well i ] exclude this one, this one no (..) the:n  
126 R: [no i exclu-]  
127 R: [this one is sofa- be:d ((laughs) )]  
128 W: [((rotates left hand with the handbreadth upward))]

In this extract R notices that the flat they are looking at lacks a bathtub (l. 122). Even if there is an interruption the utterance “batht-” is probably bathtub and not, for instance, bathroom, as can be seen in Appendix C in the original Italian transcript: bathtub – “vasca” – is different from bathroom – “bagno”). Her interruption at the end of l. 122 could be a way of making W understand R’s desire for a bathtub while, at the same time, of not expressing such a desire in a direct manner, given that W (as we have seen in the previous extract) does not consider a bathtub important. W makes a weak disagreement in her next utterance: she says that she does not know (l. 124). This is a way of disagreeing with W’s previous utterance because she has shown that she does not consider the existence of the bathtub in the flat important (“this one”, l. 125). She focuses on another flat (“that one”, l. 124). Finally the “the:n” (l. 125) seems to be a way of inviting R to look at another flat. R agrees with W and begins to describe a different house (a house that also has a sofa bed, l. 127, as can be seen in the descriptions in Appendix B).

### D2C2WW – Extract 4

152 W: wa:it. (.) let me see:?  
153 (.)  
154 R: which ones  
155 (.)  
156 W: both of t- no those (.) that you sa:id  
157 (.)  
158 R: here they [are ]

159 W: [flat] decored with an embraceable ethnic style  
160 particular attention was given to the use of colors right  
161 (.) from the bedroom you can see a courtyard [(.) right ]  
162 R: [((laughs))]  
163 W: ((reads quickly))  
164 R: [right it doesn't say where it is]  
165 W: the ( ) (.) [the area is characterized by a ] sofa  
166 area with a pouff (.) what does this inspire you? that it  
167 is large?  
168 (.)  
169 R: yes ((brightens up her voice)) and how's decored well  
170 W: [okay ]

At the beginning of this extract W asks to see some flats (l. 152). R asks which ones (l. 154) and W answers that she would like to see some flats that had previously been suggested by R (“that you sa:ɪd”, l. 156). This way W shows that she considers R’s opinion as important to her. R clicks on the first of those flats (“here they are”, l. 158). W begins to read its description (ll. 159-161). R notices that she cannot find where the flat is (l. 164) but meanwhile W does not take into account her observation but instead continues to read the flat’s description (ll. 165-166), this implies that she does not consider the flat’s location important. At ll. 166-167 W asks R why she liked that flat (“what does this inspire you”, l. 166) and suggests a possible answer: “it is large” (l. 167). Thus W shows appreciation for R’s opinion, given that she also has a good reason (the flat size) to appreciate the flat R likes. R then agrees with that answer (l. 169) and adds that she likes how the flat is decored (l. 169). After this turn W does not disagree with R and expresses, with an “okay” (l. 170), that she has understood what R said.

It can be noted that the flat that R and W are talking about is the one that has a “bathtub with shower”, that is the same flat mentioned by R on her previous turns. It should be noted that R does not directly mention that characteristic, even if she could imply it by referring to the flat decoration (as can be seen from Italian transcription “furnishings” and “decoration” are the same word, the bathtub with shower could have been considered by R as a part of the amenities). The characteristic that brought R and W to disagree (the bathtub, as we saw in the

previous extracts), seems to have been left out by them and it is replaced by the reference to the flat size, that is another mutual concern of R and W. This sort of discursive re-structuring of the flat (it is no longer a flat with a “bathtub with shower”, but a large flat) allows participants to take the flat into consideration and, at the same time, allows them to reach an agreement. This is consistent with Sacks (1987) findings according to which there is a preference for agreement in conversation.

#### D2C2WW – Extract 5

181 R: [this ons is in the ce:nter]  
182 W: [no (.) then (.) we o:]pt: (.) i'd=  
183 R: [((laughs))]  
184 W: s[ay (.) ] or the ethnic one  
185 (.)  
186 R: m:  
187 W: the one above that decored in ethnic sty[le, (.) or the]=  
188 R: [or the fi:rst]  
189 W: =first. (.) yes  
190 R: okay  
191 W: let me see again th(HHH)ose ones that ((laughs))  
192 R: ok(h)ay. the:n thi:s one but it tells you very much  
193 interior co[lors ]  
194 W: [but (.) it's] large ((points to the monitor))  
195 R: one hundred square metres this one (..) right so (.) a  
196 it's an open-space this one

This extract is taken towards the end of the experimental session. R notices the location (“in the ce:nter”, l. 178) of a flat and W considers this information a good reason (as can be seen from her “then”, l. 182) to look for another flat. At first she expresses her opinion as if it were a mutual one (this is indicated by the “we” in “we o:pt”, l. 182) but afterwards she makes a repair and points out what she is going to say as her personal opinion (“i'd say”, ll. 182, 184). She expressed her preference for “the ethnic” flat (l. 184). The way she refers to the ethnic flat implies that the participants already knew about the flat, given that she calls it “the ethnic one” (instead of, for instance, “an ethnic flat”). R utters a continuer (“m:”, l. 186) but

she does not make clear whether she agrees or not with W. W shows to consider this continuer as a lacking comprehension by R and adds further information about the ethnic flat (l. 187). This time R shows that she has understood which flat W is referring to (l. 188) and W confirms this by repeating R's utterance (l. 189). R ends the sequence with an "okay" (l. 190) and afterwards W asks to see the flat they have talked about (l. 191).

R then makes a comment about the flat they are looking at, prefaced by a "but" (l. 192). This could be a way of suggesting that R dislikes that flat. It is the same flat that had the bathtub with the shower: it seems that R has changed her mind and no longer likes the flat they had talked of earlier. W, by prefacing her next turn with a "but" shows that she disagrees with R (l. 194) and makes her notice that the flat is "large" (ibidem). W refers to a specific characteristic, the size, that both participants had considered important (as we saw in the previous extracts). Once again this re-structuring of the problem, that is to say a foregrounding of some characteristics along with a backgrounding of some others, allows participants to solve a disagreement. On her next turn, in fact, R shows she has understood what W had said by referring to the size of the flat ("one hundred square metres", l. 195). Afterwards she acknowledges with a "right" and moves on to another flat: an open space (l. 196).

#### D2C2WW – Extract 6

197 W: i like open-sp- (.) it's mine ((laughs))  
198 (.)  
199 W: lunch area with microwa:ve oven, living room,  
200 R: yes but it's all here, i mean  
201 (.)  
202 W: do you think so:  
203 R: [o yes]  
204 W: [o but] then i opt for the ethnic one=  
205 R: =er: (.) mee too (.) right!  
206 W: [((nods yes))]  
207 W: [thi:s one ]  
208 R: [done? ] (.) confi?rm  
209 W: yes.  
210 R: right ((laughs))

After that R announces that they are watching an open space (as was shown in the previous extract) W implies she would choose that house (“it’s mine”, l. 197). After that W describes the flat (l. 199) R disagrees with her. She makes a weak disagreement: it is prefaced by a “yes”, after which R utters a “but”. R implies that the flat mentioned by W does not have everything she needs (“it’s all there”, l. 200). This way she implies that she would have expected to find something that she considers important but which is lacking in the open-space flat. W asks R for a confirmation of her disagreement (“do you think so:”, l. 202), R confirms (“o yes”, l. 203). After which W agrees with R and proposes another flat. She prefaces such an agreement with an “o but” (l. 204). This way she makes her next turn a consequence of what R said on her previous turn. W announces she would like to choose the ethnic-styled flat (l. 204), R agrees with W (l. 205) and after some final confirmations (ll. 206-209) they choose the ethnic-styled flat (l. 210).

It seems that the ethnic-styled flat is chosen because of its size and such a choice is the result of a mutual contribution of both participants. R, in fact, was the first who pointed to that flat because of the presence of a bathtub with shower. Afterwards she seemed no longer interested in it because she only found information about the interior colours. W pointed out the flat size, then R took again into consideration the ethnic flat and, finally, one they decided to choose.

If we look at the final choice, the reference to the bathtub does not seem to be considered as an important characteristic. However an analysis of the following extract seems to suggest a different interpretation. After participants confirmed their choice, the experimenter conducted a short interview. The interview involved an analysis of the reasons for their decision, their preference for comfortableness or pleasantness (this question was related to the way in which the web simulation was built, as described in the previous chapter) and about who, according to the participants, contributed more to the final choice. The following is an extract from this interview (as mentioned above S is the experimenter).

#### D2C2WW – Extract 7

214 S: for which characteristic you choose the flat i mean what  
215 bro:ught you to choose that one instead of (..) an other?

216 W: [(because)]  
217 R: [((looks at W)) we::ll i think [(..) the ] comfort and  
218 the decor  
219 W: and also because it's very large so  
220 S: m: m:  
221 (.)  
222 W: [if we have to live there together]

At the beginning of this extract S asks which characteristics governed R and W's choice (ll. 214-215). It is important to notice the way in which this question is designed implies a theory on choice: such a choice is related to some characteristics of flats and not, for instance, to leadership or to expertise (or to other processes that are not taken into consideration by phrasing the question this way). The experimenter was aware of such implications and investigated the involvement of each of the participants in the decision-making process during different phases of the interview.

R seems to accept what the question implies and answers by listing some characteristics that she considers important, namely, comfort and decor (ll. 217-218). W accepts R's consideration and designs her next turn as a completion of R's previous turn, by starting her turn with an "and" (l. 219). She then mentions the flat size ("it's very large", *ibidem*). After that S, with a continuer ("m: m:", l. 220), shows she has understood what R and W said, W utters, on her next turn, a condition: "if we have to live there together" (l. 222). This consideration might be linked to the instructions that the experimenter gave to the participants at the beginning of the session. Even if for this particular disagreement, instructions were not video-recorded, it can be noticed, by looking at other disagreements in Appendix C, that the experimenter said to the participants that they had to choose a flat where they would live together. With this turn W seems to design her previous turn ("it's very large") as a consequence of the necessary condition that they had to live together. Moreover, she seems to make such a requirement as something that is not just participants' opinion but a necessity that is not under their control. Thus, this choice does not seem to be considered by W as related to their wishes, but seems to be linked to *appropriateness* of decision within a

particular social context, which in this case is the experimental session with its possibilities and constraints.

#### D2C2WW – Extract 8

223 R: [we were undeci- ] we were undecided  
224 between open-space a::nd (.) this other one (.) but we  
225 decided that (.) with the open-spa:ce hopefully there was  
226 le:ss (.) intimacy. (.) [less pri|vacy|  
227 S: |m m: |  
228 W: [(exactly) (.)] that was a:ll (.)  
229 while this one  
230 S: yes. (.) so: you ha:d i mean the choice was based on  
231 pleasantness of flat and also on usefune:ss that's to  
232 say o::n (.) the possibility of using in the best way  
233 all area:?s  
234 R: [yes]  
235 W: [yes]  
236 R: er:: well it was not written their location so[::: ] (.)=  
237 S: [m m:]  
238 R: (.) well (.) by [the way (..) it's not a problem]  
239 W: [well it had a sho:wer (.) ]  
240 bathroom i mean that's to say (.) bathtub it had both of  
241 them so ye:s

In this extract it can be seen that R does not disagree with W's previous consideration and, on her next turn, relates the importance of flat size to "intimacy" and "privacy" (ll. 223-226). This way she switches from W's consideration about experimental requirements to something that is related to a participants' concern. It could be a way of saying that experimental requirements are consistent with their wishes or it could be a way of finding a compromise between experimental requests and their need for privacy. It does not seem possible to take a stance for one of these two alternatives.

Afterwards W confirms what R said ("exactly", l. 228). On her next turn S reformulates what R and W said according to experimental design, by referring to "pleasantness" and "usefune:ss" (ll. 230-231). It is important to remember, as was explained in the previous chapter, that the simulation was built by considering

comfortableness and pleasantness. In this case S, seems to transform “comfortableness” into “usefulness” and explains it as “the possibility of using in the best way all area:s” of the flat (l. 223). Both R and W confirm such reformulation (ll. 234, 235). R adds that sometimes they did not find any information about the flats' location (l. 236), thus implying that she expected to find this information. After this consideration R says “it’s not a problem”, perhaps because her previous turn could be a potential face-threatening act towards the experimenter. This way she probably points out a problem and, at the same time, she avoids a face-threatening act. On her next turn W says that the flat they chose had a shower (l. 239) and afterwards explains that she meant a bathtub (l. 240) and a shower (“both of them”, ll. 240-241). It is interesting to notice that the bathtub, that seemed to be left out by the participants, is brought up again in the justification of the choice. This time, however, it is W and not R (as we saw previously) who underlines the presence of the bathtub. This could be a way used by W to show she took into consideration what R mentioned earlier. This seems to suggest, once again, that the discursive re-structuring of the ethnic flat, that at first was a result of referring to its size instead of to the bathtub with shower, allowed the participants to make a compromise between their desires and the contextual requirements (to think as they had to live together). This compromise seems to be considered by the participants as a good choice, even if it does not seem to be considered as the ideal one for each individual participant.

### **Second disagreement: “you decide: we sleep together or we don't”**

The following extracts come from an experimental session where participants are a man and a woman who are not in a relationship. Unfortunately it is not possible from the recordings in the experimental session to understand whether they knew each other prior to the experiment. The following extract comes from the beginning of the session. They looked at some houses and, as can be seen in the following extract, they decided to look at some of them a second time. The following symbols are used: the woman (W), the man (M) and one of the two experimenters (S2).



D3C2MWnr – Extract 9

45 W: so:: (.) wait er: (.) i want to see again thi:s one:  
46 M: yes the second one was ni:ce isn't it  
47 (..)  
48 W: m::? also because there's the little inner courtyard=  
49 M: =m:  
50 (.)  
51 W: one hundred square metres is la:rge  
52 (..)  
53 M: but there isn't internet  
54 W: exa:ctly  
55 (..)  
56 W: right but we call fastw(h)eb ((*laughs*)) and they  
57 br(hh)ing us it (..) ((*reads part of description very*  
58 *quickly and quietly*)) bedroo:m (.) but it has got one  
59 room. (.) we've:: (..) two:? ((*flats*)) that have two  
60 rooms m: (.) or one i don't remember anymore  
61 M: er i don't remember as well

In this extract W asks to review a flat the participants had already looked at (it is indicated by the “again” at l. 45). Afterwards M shows his appreciation for that flat (“was ni:ce”, l. 46) and also asks for W’s opinion (as can be seen from the final question “isn’t it”, l. 46). There is a period of silence (l. 47) during which M is probably waiting for W’s opinion, implying that he would like to make a joint decision with W, probably according to experimental requirements. W in l. 48 agrees with M, by providing another reason why the flat is nice, that is, the presence of a courtyard. M with a continuer (“m:”, l. 49) acknowledges W showing he has understood what she had said. Afterwards (l. 51) W adds a further reason to indicate why she likes the flat: its size. At this point, after a period of silence (l. 51) M disagrees with W: he prefaces his disagreement with a “but” (l. 53) and points out the lack of an internet connection. This could be considered a strong disagreement with W, given that M did not preface it with a “yes” or he did not show in any other way to partially agree with her.

W initially agrees with M (“exa:ctly”, l. 54) but, after a period of silence (l. 55) makes a weak disagreement. Initially, in fact, she agrees with M (“right”, l. 56) and,

subsequently uttering a “but” (ibidem), she proposes a possible solution to the problem raised by M: they could ask a company to provide them with an internet connection (ll. 56-57). In this interaction an important difference between M and W is noticeable. M does not seem to take into account the consequences of his disagreements as face-threatening for W, as can be seen from his strong disagreement in l. 53. W, on the contrary, seems to be very careful to not threaten M’s face: at first she agrees with his position (l. 48). M initially appreciated the flat but later criticized it, so he seems to be inconsistent with his previous position. Despite this inconsistency W agrees once more with him (“exa:ctly”, l. 54) and, even when she disagrees, she implies that the problem which M pointed out (the lack of internet) is really a problem, but it can be solved. This indicated that she designs her turn in order to protect M’s face. It also seems that M acts in an authoritative way and W does not question this authority. The mutual solution the participants came out with allowed them to solve the disagreement: after W’s proposal M does not show disagreement with her and the participants change the topic of conversation (ll. 58-61).

### D3C2MWnr – Extract 10

56 W: right but we call fastw(h)eb ((laughs)) and they  
57 br(hh)ing us it (..) ((reads part of description very  
58 quickly and quietly)) bedroo:m (.) but it has got one  
59 room. (.) we’ve:: (..) two:? ((flats)) that have two  
60 rooms m: (.) or one i don’t remember anymore  
61 M: er i don’t remember as well  
62 (.)  
63 W: it seems to me thi:s one (.) it has two rooms (..) m::?=  
64 W: =[two bed]rooms=  
65 M: [two rooms yes]  
66 W: =(..) and it could [also be nice ]  
67 M: [it’s very small anyway.] (.) but  
68 M: [for two people (you stajy cosy)/(you stay in a cosy=  
69 W: [yes if- (.) exactly ]  
70 M: =way).  
71 (..)

In this extract participants talk of the size of the flat they are looking at, until they find a flat that has two bedrooms (ll. 56-65). A disagreement about the importance of finding a two-bedroom flat is not evident, although when W mentions that the flat they are looking at may be nice (l. 66) M disagrees by pointing out that it is small (l. 67). However, after a short period of silence he makes a repair, by prefacing it with a “but” (ibidem). He says that the flat is “cosy” (l. 68). By designing his turn this way M does not contradict his previous statement: the flat is small but it is also large enough for two. This reference to “two people” (l. 68) indicates that participants look at the flat size according to the experimental requirements (which asked them to choose a flat for two people and, for instance, not to include any other friend). This link to experimental requirements allows the participants to discursively restructure the flat so that the size is no longer problematic. W, on her next turn, confirms M’s repair (“exactly”). We already saw in the previous disagreement that problem re-structuring strategy was used during some other disagreements to solve it. This time re-structuring is made by the same person who had already underlined a possible problematic issue while, during all other disagreements that we have analysed, it was accomplished as a result of a mutual effort by all the participants.

D3C2MWnr – Extract 11

76 W: it's that one that was the coolest (.) isn't [i:ʔt ]  
 77 M: [(° ]  
 78 °)  
 79 (..)  
 80 M: yes m: (.) it could seem so [but]  
 81 W: [yes] it doesn't say you how=  
 82 M: [er: ]  
 83 W: =many square metres it is though (.[.] it's] given by the  
 84 perfect planimetry of the flat itself what does it mean:?  
 85 W: [( )]  
 86 M: [( ) ] )

In this extract W characterizes a flat (W refers to it as “that one”, l. 76) as “the coolest” (ibidem) and asks M for a confirmation. After an indecipherable utterance

by M (ll. 77-78) and a period of silence (l. 79) M mentions that it may be as W said (l. 80) and then he adds a “but” (ibidem): it seems that he is about to disagree with W.

W's next turn is consistent with this interpretation: she interrupts him (l. 81), M lets her continue with her turn (as can be seen by the lack of any overlap with W after she interrupted him) and finally, W shows through an anticipatory completion (ll. 81, 83) that she also sees it as a problem. Her correction (from considering the flat as the coolest to the underlining of a problem) seems to be linked to M's “but”. Through the anticipatory completion W transforms a potential disagreement into an agreement (Lerner, 1996). Unfortunately it is not possible to understand from M's “er:” (l. 82) whether he acknowledged W, but, however, it is possible to note in the interaction that from then onwards M no longer disagrees with W, given that after W's anticipatory completion there is a change of topic (ll. 83-84).

#### D3C2MWnr – Extract 12

87 W: large living room (.) with lunch area double bedro[om]  
88 M: [th]  
89 ere's just one bedroom  
90 W: exactly (.) bathroom and toilette for guests. (..)  
91 bathroom and toilette for guests and for us (.) ((reads  
92 the description very quietly)) central area is cosy isn't  
93 i:t?  
94 (.)  
95 M: yes but if one would like to study it's a little  
96 uncomfortable (.) [because ]  
97 W: [yes yes it's tr]ue no it's true  
98 (.)  
99 M: [this one is very uncomfortabl]e  
100 W: [yes i lived in ] an open-space don't talk  
101 of it (..)  
102 W: [((smiles)) (hhh) ]  
103 M: [yeah: (.) i imagine ]  
104 W: ((smiles))

At the beginning of this extract W describes a flat that they are both looking at and

M interrupts her, to underline that that flat has just one bedroom. M shows that he considers the single bedroom since problematic as he refers to it by using the word “just” (l. 89). On her next turn W, on one hand, acknowledges M’s previous consideration (“exactly”, l. 90) but, on the other hand, does not show signs of considering it problematic, on the contrary, she appears to ignore M’s consideration. In fact, after that she utters the expression “exactly”, and continues to describe the flat they are looking at (“bathroom and toilet for guests”, l. 90).

Given that at her previous turn W began to list flat furnishings, this turn design seems to be a *latching* to her previous turn and can be considered a continuation of it. After taking into consideration a toilet for guests, she points out the location of the flat and shows that she considers this issue important: she says that the central area in which the flat is located is “cosy” (l. 92) and asks M for a confirmation (ll. 92-93). After a short period of silence (l. 94) M disagrees with W in a weak manner, as can be seen from the word “yes” followed by “but” (l. 95). M’s disagreement is further weakened by the use of a conditional: the flat, in M’s opinion, might be “uncomfortable” (l. 96) but “just a little” (l. 95) and just “if one would like to study” (l. 95). This way of disagreeing could be a strategy to protect W’s face. This is suggested also by the interaction that follows: W agrees with M (l. 97): the flat might be uncomfortable in W’s opinion too. With such an utterance W changes the interactional context. If earlier M might have preferred to express his disappointment for the flat in a weak way, because it meant to disagree with W, now this disappointment means an alignment with W’s opinion too. This could be the reason for M’s next turn, when he talks of the flat as “very uncomfortable” (l. 99). Here we can observe that M does not lessen his claim nor does he use any conditional. W shows that she does not consider such a strong disappointment as dispreferred, she agrees with M (l. 97) and motivates this agreement by referring to a personal experience in a flat that was similar to the one they are looking at (ll. 100-101). This exemplification could be a way of making her agreement with M stronger and of suggesting that it is not an extemporaneous opinion but it is linked to a specific personal experience. At this point M agrees with W’s last consideration (l. 103).

D3C2MWnr – Extract 13

105 W: three bedroo:m (.) kitchen dishwasher living room and  
106 bed[room ]  
107 M: [still] one  
108 (.)  
109 W: just one has two bedrooms.  
110 M: m:

In this extract W talks of a flat and mentions its bedroom (l. 105-106). M interrupts her to point out that they had already seen a flat with a single bedroom (as can be seen by “still one”, l. 107). It seems to be a way of expressing his disapproval of that single-bedroom flat, as can be seen from the next turns. After a short period of silence W says that there is just one flat that has two bedrooms (l. 109). On one hand she shows her agreement with M's disapproval but, on the other hand, she also implies that if M had considered having two bedrooms essential, they might as well have ended their experimental session because they could only choose one flat. W seems to design her turn as an implicit disagreement with M but, at the same time, she seems to imply that her disagreement is due to necessities, the experimental setting, that are not under their control. M then utters a continuer (l. 110) and in this way he shows he has understood what W has said and, given that he does not propose to choose the only flat that has two bedrooms, he seems to agree with the implication of W's previous turn: the presence of two bedrooms is no longer an essential requirement.

D3C2MWnr – Extract 14

111 W: fifty square metres. (..) o: bike parking wow it's  
112 important  
113 (.)  
114 M: u but if one is we:ll connecte:d (.) they said that all==  
115 W: [o::: it's true]  
116 M: =[anyway they]'re connected with  
117 (..)

In this extract W points out the importance of having bike parking (ll. 111-112). M disagrees with her in a weak manner: he does not contest, in fact, the importance

of bike parking but he claims that it is not important if the flat is “well connected” (l. 114) and says that the flats they are looking at are connected (l. 116). W agrees with M’s consideration (l. 115).

#### D3C2MWnr – Extract 15

131 W: so we said that this one has two bedrooms [but]  
132 M: [i’d] focus on  
133 those that have exactly two bedrooms  
134 W: er there’s just this one that has two bedrooms  
135 M: (g(h)od)/(g(hh)) (..) right  
136 (..)  
137 W: ((croons) °then°  
138 M: it’s very dull anyway maybe i don’t know  
139 W: if he furnished [it]  
140 M: [ye]s exactly  
141 (.)  
142 W: you know i prefer functionality  
143 M: do you say that this one is more functional  
144 W: i mean (..) it depends because if we sleep together (..) and if afterwards i invite your boyfriend and not- i mean  
145 i call my boyfriend and you your ((laughs))  
146  
147 M: (we couldn’t)

In this extract W points out that they had said that a flat they are looking at (“this one”, l. 131) has two bedrooms. She seems then to show her disapproval of that flat, as can be seen by the word “but” at the end of l. 131. However, M interrupts her by saying that he would prefer the flats that have two bedrooms (ll. 132-133). In this way he shows his disagreement of any possible criticism that W might make of the flat that they are looking at. W points out, as she had done earlier, that there is just the flat that they are looking at (“this one”, l. 134) that has a single bedroom. M then utters a continuer (“right”, l. 135) and, at this point, W prompts M to consider the consequences of her previous utterance, as can be seen from the word “then” in l. 137. M does not show that he is following W’s suggestion and points out that the flat that they are looking at “dull”. This consideration does not seem to be noted by W as inconsistent with his previous claim. It might be

inconsistent because, on one hand, M pointed out the importance of having two bedrooms and, on the other hand, during this turn he dislikes the only flat that has two bedrooms. Maybe it is not taken as an inconsistency because M says that he would focus on two-bedroom flats by using the conditional form (“i’d focus”, l. 132). This may imply that the “two bedrooms” condition is not the only one that needs to be met in order for M to choose a flat.

Afterwards W asks what M would have thought if someone had furnished the flat they are looking at (l. 139). M seems to consider this proposal as a good one (l. 140), even if from W’s turn it seems to be an unreal proposal. W, on her next turns, says she prefers functionality (l. 142). M asks if W considered the flat they are looking at as more functional (l. 143). By asking this M seems to be asking W for a reason with regard to the flat's functionality. W also seems to consider the question in this manner: at her next turn, in fact, she explains why she considers more functional the flat that they are looking at. She links functionality to the possibility of having two bedrooms. She gives an example of an unpleasant implication of having one bedroom: it would be difficult for her to invite her boyfriend and for M to invite his girlfriend (ll. 144-146). On his next turn M seems to agree with W’s considerations (l. 147).

#### D3C2MWnr – Extract 16

167 W: then you decide (.) or we sleep together or we don't  
 168 sleep together.  
 169 (.)  
 170 M: ((looks at W))  
 171 W: [((looks at S2))]  
 172 S2: [((laughs)) ]  
 173 M: it's better if we don't i['d s(h)ay ]  
 174 W: [i make him] sc(hh)a::ry  
 175 S2: ((laughs and nods yes))  
 176 W: and then this is the o(h)nly one (.) and we furni- w(h)e  
 177 make it more beautiful  
 178 M: no[:]  
 179 W: [o]ka:?y (.) [er no]  
 180 M: [it's ]be:ttter for you (.) (it's)- it's  
 181 oka:y



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182 W: er:: but it's the only one with two bedrooms you know  
183 M: m: (.) well m: for me it would be (.) necessary to have  
184 my bedroom  
185 W: yes for me too  
186 M: u: okay  
187 W: because if you snooze then i mean (.) really you know=  
188 M: [ (okay) ]  
189 W: =((laughs))  
190 M: no i don't snore ((laughs))  
191 W: ((laughs)) it was a joke. shall we choose this one then?  
192 M: yes  
193 W: okay confirm ((literally: shall we light it, maybe it's a  
194 reference to a tv game when participants have to turn on  
195 a light by pressing a button in order to confirm their  
196 answers))  
197 M: okay

At the beginning of this extract W prompts M in order to make him take a decision (“you decide”, l. 167). With this formulation, on one hand W seems to show that she is taking into consideration M’s opinion but, on the other hand, she shows that she ascribes to M the responsibility for not having still taken a decision. She reformulates all the alternatives they face by referring to a possible consequence of their decision: to sleep in the same bedroom (“together”, l. 167) or not. This formulation, on one hand, seems to refer to the choice between a two-bedroom flat and a one-bedroom flat, but on the other hand it also seems to be formulated to have another implication. Such expression, in fact, seems to be ambiguous because it might mean sleeping in the same bedroom and not just in the same flat. Given that she seemed to have mentioned previously that she has a boyfriend, the possibility of sleeping together can be considered unrealistic. For this reason this formulation could have the function of implying that, in W’s opinion, there is one realistic alternative (not to sleep together) and one unrealistic alternative (to sleep together). Such counterposition seems a way that is used by W to suggest she prefers the two-bedroom flat. It seems to be considered an unrealistic option by the participants too, as can be seen from the next interactional turns. M, in fact, does not answer and looks at W (l. 170). It could be a weak disagreement and a



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52 W: [i d- i don't li:::ke them]  
53 M: then here you can't see anything ((*that is interesting*))  
54 W: yea:h in fact (..) eth(hhh)nic style (h) (..) holy shit  
55 how cool it is! (hhhh) yeah! (hhh)  
56 M: o:: this one has an internal courtyard  
57 W: (m:)

In this extract M points out to the size of the flat they are looking at (ll. 47-48) by referring to it as “really large”. This use of the adjective “really” (l. 47) could be a premise to showing appreciation of this flat. After a period of silence (l. 49) W seems to disagree in advance with M's possible appreciation. She shows that she does not consider the flat's size as so important, as is apparent from her “it's a:ll here” (l. 50) and from her “i don't know”. With these utterances she implies that she expects more than just a large flat. At his next turn M does not show neither agreement nor disagreement to W's consideration: his “right” (l. 51) does not seem to be an agreement but a continuer, through which M shows he has understood W's considerations. The potential disagreement here seems to be solved before it happens, because W shows in advance that she does not consider the flat good enough. In the following part of this turn M talks of another characteristic of the flat (“its fittings” l. 51) which he does not appreciate, as can be seen from his “its fittings doesn't” and “shou:ldn't be” (l. 51), which indicate that fittings are not as he expected. This can be a way of being consistent with his previous claim (the flat should be appreciated for its size) and, at the same time, of agreeing with W (anyway it is not perfect, for instance because of its fittings). This kind of interaction could have two alternative functions: it could be a way used by M to avoid any disagreement with W or it could be used to ascribe a particular authority to her. If the latter possibility were true then such probable authority does not appear to be expressed by W in a direct manner but, on the contrary, it can be assumed by observing that M does not initiate any disagreement with W. A disagreement, in this case, would probably be dispreferred or face-threatening also considering that the participants are probably aware that, after the experiment, they will not really go to live in the flat they have chosen. After M's last utterance W shows that she agrees with his consideration and says that she does

not like the fittings (l. 52). M confirms that they cannot see “anything” (l. 53) in the flat they are looking at. Afterwards they switch to another flat.

#### D4C4MWr – Extract 18

80 M: (...) here it i:s this is mine  
81 W: (...) ((retracts her face. disappointment?))  
82 (...)  
83 M: no this one hasn't even the be:d (..) a::nd a:nd  
84 W: (m:)  
85 M: i'd (.) reject this one imme::diately

The interaction within this extract seems to be similar to the previous one. M shows appreciation for a flat that they are looking at (as can be seen from his “this is mine”, l. 80). W, on her following turn, does not disagree in a direct manner with M but makes some gestures with her face. This could be a way of disagreeing in a weak way. W’s silence at l. 81 and 82, along with a lack of any utterance, might be seen as a weak disagreement as well. After this probable weak disagreement M refers to one characteristic of the flat, the lack of a bed (l. 83), which they never took into consideration (as can be seen from the full transcript in Appendix C). He shows that he considers it important. After a continuer by W (l. 84) M says that he rejects “imme::diately” (l. 85) the flat they are looking at. This reference to a characteristic that they had not previously taken into consideration gives M the chance of not having to deny the appreciation he made earlier: by discursively foregrounding this new characteristic, in fact, they can talk of a flat that is different than the one they had talked about a moment earlier and they can solve their previous disagreement. As said in the analysis of the previous extract this could be a way of avoiding a disagreement or of ascribing authority to W.

#### D4C4MWr – Extract 19

123 W: (mh) (...) well right (.) the fourth  
124 (...)  
125 M: but also thi:s one  
126 (...)  
127 W: this one he:re?

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128           (.)  
129 M:       this one here  
130           (...)  
131 W:       but (..) it's a (.) it's a (.) it's a single be:d! (.) i  
132           sleep on the gro:und!  
133 M:       yes come on (..) i bring it ((*another bed*)) eventually  
134           (.) we have chosen  
135           (..)  
136 S:       okay, you click confi:rm please  
137 M:       m:  
138 W:       m:  
139 M:       (...)  
          confirmed

This extract comes from the last part of the experimental session. M points out a flat, by calling it “the fourth” (l. 123). After a short period of silence (l. 124) M makes a weak disagreement: he designs his proposal as something that can be added to W’s proposal (as can be seen by the “but also”, l. 125). This implies, on one hand, that the proposal W made is still valid but, on the other hand, that it is not the best proposal, given that M points out to another flat. After a short period of silence (l. 126) W asks M to confirm what he previously said (l. 127). This could be a way of disagreeing with him, given that it could be a possibility for M to make a repair. M, after a short period of silence (l. 128) confirms what he said by repeating W’s question as an answer. This seems to be an example of what Goodwin (1990) called format tying, that implies reusing a part of previous talk with some modifications. This usually has two functions: on one hand it allows M to show she understood what W said. On the other hand it allows him to mark what differentiates his utterance from the previous talk to which it is tied. In this case the difference is given by the intonation, as the previous utterance was a question while M’s turn is designed to be a claim. This modification seems to imply that, in M’s opinion, the flat they take into consideration is not to be questioned. After this turn there is a long period of silence (l. 130) in a point that can be the beginning of a turn by W. This silence could imply that W disagrees with M. This is confirmed by W’s following turn. It begins with some hesitations. This turn design could be linked to M’s previous claim and could be another signal that W is going to disagree. This

disagreement appears dispreferred (considering the claim M made on his previous turn). W, on the following part of her turn, shows explicitly that she disagrees (it is indicated by a “but”, l. 131). Afterwards, with a “yes” (l. 133) M shows that he has understood and agrees with W’s argumentation, but he proposes a solution (l. 133). Then he says to the experimenter that they chose their flat (l. 134) and it seems to be a shared decision (as can be seen from confirmations at ll. 137-138). The solution proposed by M allows them to solve the disagreement and to reach a common decision.

#### Fourth disagreement: “it's paid for by University anyway”

The following extracts come from an experimental session of a man (M) and a woman (W) that are in a relationship. After the participants choose a flat, part of the experimenter’s (S) interview will be analysed. The following extracts are taken from the middle of the experimental session because it was not possible to observe any disagreement earlier.

#### D4C4MWr – Extract 20

91 M: the sa:me: (.) large bathroom (.) °double sofa bed°  
 92 M: sofa be:d  
 93 W: °but wai- (.) it has a la:rge bathroom, o:ffice,  
 94 ( )°  
 95 M: yes but look chea:p ba::throom tiles [also (.) ]  
 96 W: [°no::° (h)] (why  
 97 they’re there)  
 98 M: uh mo come on also the kitchen tiles are cheap the-  
 99 W: that i:s ( ) (.) well large balcony, dishwasher,  
 100 [PArking- ]  
 101 M: [la:rge balcony ten square metres  
 102 (..)  
 103 W: bi:ke parking (.) in the center (.) no in my opinion on  
 104 the contrary thi:s one shouldn’t be discarded  
 105 M: no, (we should) ((chooses another flat)) er::  
 106 W: wait (.) bla bla bla bla bla (.) living roo:m, lunch  
 107 area, dou:ble bedroom, two bathroo:ms  
 108 M: it’s paid by university a[nyway]  
 109 W: [the b](h)alcony ((laughs))

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110 M: ((laughs)) exactly. (..) central area (.) la:rger  
111 W: |((points to the computer)) |  
112 W: yes this one is |[cooler (.) then [(..) ]| that one==  
113 M: [confi:rm]  
114 W: =no wait (.) the next one:  
115 M: ((laughs)) th(h)i?s  
116 W: yes (.) how's i:::t (...) that one  
117 M: with a bathroom (..) that seems for anchovies (.) this  
118 one is very hi:gh the wa:ll: (.) fat friends can't have a  
119 shower  
120 W: [((points to the computer))]  
121 W: [then wait (..) let's see ] all of the:m ri:?ght  
122 M: all of them?  
123 W: ye:s (...) this one anyway is more particular you love

At the beginning of this extract M points out a flat by listing some of its characteristics (ll. 91-92). W asks him to wait (l. 93) and lists some other characteristics of it (ibidem). However at l. 95 M points out a problem: the kitchen and bathroom tiles of the flat they are looking at are cheap. It is not possible to understand if W considered them cheap as well, given that the beginning of her next turn was not hearable (l. 99). It can be seen however that she points out to other characteristics of the flat (balcony, dishwasher, parking, ll. 99-100): this way she shows that she does not care about tiles and that she likes the flat they are looking at too. On her turn W also addresses the issue about the size of the flat. M ignores the issue of the tiles and addresses the size of the flat as well. He uses a format tying (Goodwin, 1990) and, this way, on one hand he shows that he has understood what W said but, on the other hand, he adds further information. He mentions the exact size of the balcony ("ten square metres", l. 101). This specification of a precise size seems a way of contesting the fact that the balcony is really large. After a period of silence (l. 102) it can be seen that W does not address the issue of the balcony again: she talks of bike parking and of the flat's location (l. 103). These changes of topic allow the participants to avoid a possible dispute that could result if they eventually had repeated their different positions on the flat. After these turns, W proposes not to discard the flat they are looking at (ll. 103-104): this way she shows in an explicit way to disagree with M's negative

considerations. However she does not even propose to choose the flat in that moment, so M can click on another flat (l. 105) without being the click considered dispreferred (as can be seen from the lack of any comments by W).

On the next turns W and M make some positive remarks about the flat they have taken into consideration (ll. 106-110). At l. 112 W says that the flat they are looking at is “cooler” than another flat they had previously been looking at. At this point M proposes to choose the flat (l. 113) but W disagrees explicitly (“no wait”, l. 114) and proposes to see another flat (ibidem). M acknowledges her and after some requests for confirmation (ll. 115-116) they begin to look at another flat (l. 116). Disagreements seem to be avoided or, when they happen, participants do not address immediately but leave them lingering. This can be seen through the following turns: M criticizes the flat's bathroom (ll. 117-119), W shows that she agrees with him and proposes to look at all flats before they make a choice (l. 121). M asks for a confirmation before clicking (l. 122) and W confirms on her next turn (l. 123).

#### D4C4MWr – Extract 21

123 W: ye:s (...) this one anyway is more particular you love  
124 parti:cular things  
125 M: yes particular but it's also small  
126 W: [(*moves her handbreadth in the air, by tracing a*  
127 *diagonal line from a point on the top until another point*  
128 *on the bottom left*)] ]  
129 W: [no:: but it has a slo]ping ro]of [m:: (...) er: ]  
130 M: [yes (.) exactly slo]  
131 ping roof means (.) less cubage (.) thirty fi:ve square  
132 metres  
133 (.)  
134 W: very small  
135 M: kitchen  
136 W: let's say that this one is a li:ttle ne:st  
137 W: [(*laughs*)] ]  
138 M: exactly [(.) given tha]t (.) it's university that pays i  
139 want [a big ne:st (.) ] why not and it's this==  
140 W: [(*laughs*)] (.) co::ome o:n]  
141 M: =one (.) why no:t (.) (excuse me) (.) value for mo:ney



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142 (...) (come on)/(you know) i could look for another=  
143 M: [((looks at W))]  
144 M: =[flatmate (you:] know)/(come on)  
145 M: ((laughs))  
146 W: ((laughs))  
147 W: (hhh) (..) for your fla?t  
148 M: exactly and also for my studies  
149 (..)  
150 M: ((looks at W)) (..) [((nods yes))]  
151 W: [okay |right|]  
152 M: |er: c|racy paving excuse me  
153 but (.) look (..) large (.) and (.) bright (.) windows=  
154 M: [((looks at W)) ]  
155 M: =(.) (here) (.) toilette for guests [(.) it's for us who]  
156 have many pa:rties (.) i confi:rm  
157 (..) ((looks at W))  
158 W: oka:y  
159 M: confirmed.

At the beginning of this extract W appreciates the flat they are looking at and implies that M should do the same. She links, in fact, her considerations to “particular things” (l. 124) that characterize the flat and says that M likes those kind of characteristics. M does not contest that he likes these types of flats (as can be seen from his “yes particular” at l. 125). However, he says that the flat they are looking at is “also small” (ibidem). With this weak disagreement on one hand he acknowledges with W: the flat is really particular, this way he avoids a potential face-threatening act towards her. On the other hand he can point out another flat because it also has a negative characteristic. On her next turn W disagrees with M (ll. 126-129) by pointing out the flat roof of the flat she appreciated and by also making a gesture (ll. 126-128). This gesture seems to be a quotation and can have the function of a visual demonstration (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) of what W claimed. The quotation can be a way of showing what she said and, In this way, to reinforce it. M at first agrees with W (“yes (.) exactly”, l. 130) and, by using format tying, says that the roof described by W means “less cubage” (l. 131) and then he mentions the size of the house in metres (ll. 131-132). This specificity which M

uses could be a way of positioning himself as an expert and to legitimize his criticism to the flat they are looking at. After a short period of silence (l. 133) W agrees with M and confirms that the flat is “very small” (l. 134). M names the flat's kitchen (l. 135) and afterwards W describes the flat as a “li:ttle n:est” (l. 136). This way on one hand she seems to agree with M's previous consideration: the flat is small (it can be noticed in Appendix C that “small” and “little” are the same word, “piccolo”, in the original Italian transcription) but it is also a “nest”. Given that W and M are in a relationship, the description of the flat as a “nest” could be a way of saying that even though this type of flat is small it could be suitable for them. W's utterance, for this reason, appears as a disagreement.

M, on his next turn, disagrees with W in a weak manner: initially he agrees (“exactly”, l. 138) and proposes to choose a “nest” (l. 139), but he talks of a “big” nest (*ibidem*), thus proposing a flat that is different from the one proposed by W. He justifies his proposal by referring to the experimental instructions: he says that the flat is paid for by University (l. 138). M refers to the experimenter's instructions to claim for his position even if participants know that University will not really pay their rent: it appears to be a rhetorical strategy more than a realistic consideration. It is important to note that the participants consider the description of the experiment in the same class as all other characteristics of a flat when when it comes to choosing a flat. This suggests that web simulation can be a useful tool through which to understand decision-making processes, as far as decisions are critically situated and discussed within the context in which they happen.

At l. 140 W laughs but does not show explicitly her disagreement with M's proposal. M seems to consider this lack of disagreement as relevant, and proposes once more to choose that flat (l. 141) and says the he (otherwise) could look for another flatmate (ll. 142-143). This last utterance appears as a joke, as it is also suggested by the participants' laughs at ll. 145-146. W asks further information about such a joke (l. 147) and M provides it (l. 148). After a period of silence (l. 149) M looks at W (l. 150). This could have the function of choosing her as the next speaker (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). This also seems to be suggested by W's next utterance, through which she acknowledges with M (“okay right”, l. 151). At the same time M shows, with a head gesture (l. 150), that he

considers W's previous utterance a confirmation. This interpretation seems to be suggested also by the M's further appreciation of the flat (ll. 152-155). At l. 156 M asks again if he could confirm, he selects W as a next speaker by looking at her (l. 157) and, after an "okay" (l. 158) by W, he confirms the choice (l. 159).

#### D4C4MWr – Extract 22

230 S: okay. (.) er:: in: (.) which characteristics: (.) did you  
231 consider to choose: your house  
232 W: ((laughs)) i left him choose ((points to M))  
233 (..)  
234 S: [so which a:re]  
235 M: i mean [i already liv]ed alone and so::=  
236 S: [m: ]  
237 M: =[(.)] the: (.) the choice was we:: (..) area (.)  
238 comfortable in the center er:: (..) and also the fact  
239 that was a: (.) a flat ready to be used (..) and it did  
240 not need much renovation  
241 W: i (.) i don't know if everybody chose this hou::se  
242 S: yes  
243 W: er:: i chose it as well (.) so that is was in the middle  
244 between the center and the university (..) and in fact it  
245 is in corso gariba:ldi i mean to say near corso  
246 gariba:ldi and so: (.) it's strate::gic (..) a::nd (.)  
247 and then what what else (.) also there we've two  
248 bathrooms (.) er:: (that are) very sma:ll (.) the single  
249 be:droom (.) i think (.) it was a little (a discriminant)  
250 (..) then (.) in reality they were into a fourth and half  
251 floor without an elevator on the contrary for that one  
252 the a:rea (.) didn't influence me (.) a little of ill  
253 repute because: (.) in via trieste (.) central but no::t  
254 very beautiful but (.) it was interesting for me that it  
255 was a comfortable area [(..)] er::: (.) this things=  
256 S: [m m:]  
257 W: =let's say (.) a- and the flat was enough la:rge (.) a:nd  
258 furnishings wasn't beautiful at all (.) but it wasn't  
259 boring on the contrary sometimes we found (.) flats maybe  
260 nicer but that seemed to belong to gra:ndma (.) and then  
261 m:: (.) those flats no

262 S:       okay  
263 W:       these were the criteria  
264 S:       how long have you been in a relationships?  
265 W, M:   [*((look in each other's eye))* ]  
266 M:       [*(°two°)* ]  
267 W:       [*(two ye:ars)* and three months]  
268 M:       [*((looks again at W and nods yes))*]  
269 S:       okay thanks

In the previous extract we could see that M seemed to position himself as an expert, by describing the size of a flat starting from its roof shape. This extract seems to confirm such an interpretation. It is part of the experimenter's interview that followed the choice of the flat. At the beginning of the extract S asks which characteristics the participants considered important for their choice (ll. 230-231). W at first laughs. This could be considered a hesitation to announce a dispreferred answer. It is confirmed by W's next turn: she does not give any reasons but answers that she left it to M to choose the house (l. 232). S seems to consider this answer as dispreferred as well, as can be seen from the silence at l. 233. On her next turn S repeats her question again (l. 234), this way probably she gives to W a possibility for a repair. At this point it is M that begins a turn and speaks on behalf of W (l. 235) by saying that he has already "lived alone" and by characterizing this utterance as an explanation of what W said earlier through the word "so:" (ibidem). This way he seems to position himself once again as an expert and to link this expertise to his past experience. W does not contest this: on his next turn M explains again their choice (ll. 237-240) and W, instead of contesting M's expertise, changes the topic of the discussion (l. 241).

It is interesting to note however that, afterwards, W gives a very detailed explanation of all reasons that made her choose that particular flat. This long explanation (ll. 243-255, 257-261) that is overlapped only by the experimenter's continuer (l. 256), could be a way used by W to affirm also her expertise without contesting M's expertise, as can be seen also by the following turns. After this description W confirms that she had talked about decision criteria (l. 263). S asks them a personal question (l. 264) and, once the answer is received the experiment is concluded (l. 269).

### Fifth disagreement: “but we had to decide together”

The following extracts come from an experimental session where participants are two women (RA and RR). The end of the decision-making process will be analysed and also the first moment of an interview made by one of the two experimenters (S1) that were in the laboratory.

#### D6C6WW – Extract 23

66 RA: (..) ((clicks))  
 67 RA: ((looks at RA, laughs)) i don't know  
 68 RR: ( ) (..) [((points to the monitor)) ]  
 69 RR: [(let's go with) this one (.)] i  
 70 don't know  
 71 RA: (this one:)/(sto:p) (..) ((chooses the house they see in  
 72 the monitor))  
 73 S1: [((stands and approaches RR and RA)) ]  
 74 RR: [((looks at RA, laughs)) (i don't kn(hhh)ow)]  
 75 S1: [which characteristic: or which: characteristics brought  
 76 you: to choose this fla::t ]  
 77 RR: [((looks at RA and laughs)) come o(hhhhhhhhh)n ]  
 78 RA: right (the choice i:s)/(i chose it) (..)=  
 79 RR: [(noth(hhhh)ing) ]  
 80 RA: =[through the kitchen (..)] then okay the central area  
 81 also

At the beginning of this extract RA clicks on the web simulation and opens a page of a flat (l. 66). RA shows doubt about this flat, by saying that she did not know (l. 67), this seems to mean that she is not sure that the flat is appropriate for them. This is confirmed by RR's next action: she points to the monitor and seems like she is proposing to open another flat (l. 69). RA opens such a flat but, instead of waiting until both of them have read its description, she chooses the flat (ll. 71-72) and, in this way, she causes the experiment to come to a conclusion.

RA made this type of decision even if it is not possible to see an agreement with RR within the transcription. The lack of an agreement can be also seen also by looking at the following turns. After this choice RR laughs (l. 74) and seems to repeat that she does not know why she has made the choice (ibidem). S1 asks

which characteristics caused RA and RR to make their choice (ll. 75-76). RR does not provide any reasons: she utters "come o(hhhhhhhh)n" (l. 77) and "noth(hhhh)ing" (l. 79), both of which are entwined with laughs. RA, on the contrary, gives two reasons for the choice (ll. 78, 80-81). These two different reactions (laughs and indecision by RR, some reasons by RA) seem to confirm the lack of a shared decision.

#### D6C6WW – Extract 24

82 RR: but we h(h)ad to decide together this was the ta:sk (.)  
83 ((laughs))  
84 RA: ((looks at RR)) right okay it was better than the other  
85 anyway  
86 (..)  
87 RR: no (.) ((laughs)) the area was okay anyway:  
88 RA: and the other was near university buildings (.) we'd have  
89 been far  
90 RR: okay but there wasn't any central area so  
91 RA: right

In this extract RR underlines explicitly that the decision had to be made "together" (l. 82) and links this necessity to the experiment ("this was the ta:sk", *ibidem*). During her next turn RA agrees with RR ("right okay", l. 84) and claims that the flat they chose was better than the other one, here generically addressed as "the other" (*ibidem*). By referring to such a flat as "the other" RA implies that RR knew which flat she was speaking about. After a period of silence (l. 86), that could be a premise of a weak disagreement, RR seems to disagree explicitly (as can be seen by her "no", l. 87) but later she agrees with RA and confirms that "the area" of the flat mentioned by RR "was okay" (*ibidem*). On her next turn RA criticizes what she called "the other" flat (ll. 88-89) and RR disagrees with RA by pointing out a positive characteristic of that flat (l. 90). At l. 91 RA acknowledges RR's last utterance.

The following part of the interview seems to be a negotiation and a rhetorical justification of a decision one of the participants had already made, as can be noted in Appendix C. This could be linked to the social setting in which the

experiment took place, given that an agreement was preferred. We can expect to find characteristics like this also within other settings, where an agreement is preferred but someone makes the decision without considering other people's opinions.

### Sixth disagreement: “how can you say 'come on'”

The following extracts come from an experimental session where participants are a man (M) and a woman (W) in a relationship. As can be seen from the complete transcription in Appendix C there were very few moments of disagreement, which will be analysed below.

#### D6C8MWr – Extract 25

54 W: °look what a beautiful bathroom here° (..) look how  
55 beautiful this i:s (.)  
56 M: ( )  
57 W: it comes from- (.) from the perfect pla:nimetry (.)  
58 M: ba:throom and toilette (.) on the east side you see a  
59 large ba:lcony: (.) particular pastel color (.) central  
60 area (..) °wow°  
61 W: it's beautiful also thi:s one:?  
62 (.)  
63 M: m: (.) bu:t it doe:sn't say how many metres is it  
64 W: okay yes but who cares  
65 M: ((laughs)) o yes (.) [(see also) the r ]oo:ms:  
66 W: [(it doesn't scare me)]  
67 W: no one roo- dou:ble bedroom ((looks at M))  
68 M: u: (.) yes excuse me indeed (.) this one wa:s (.) two  
69 roo:ms: (..) excuse me this one was two roo:ms (.) no  
70 [this one no.]  
71 W: [no (.) ] two bedrooms (.) no [this one no ]  
72 M: [already removed] (.)  
73 this one:, (.) this one: (.) o::

At the beginning of this extract W appreciates the bathroom (l. 54) of a flat they are looking at, by saying that it is “beautiful” (l. 55). After that M utters something that is inaudible (l. 56) he and W together read part of the description of the flat (ll. 57-

60). M then expresses, with a “wow” (l. 60), his appreciation for this flat. Afterwards they switch to another flat. W designs her turn to compare this new flat to the previous one they liked earlier: she uses the word beautiful, as she did for the previous flat (l. 61) and links the flat they are looking at to the previous one with the word “also” (ibidem). She designs her turn as a question (as it is indicated by the question mark at l. 61).

After a short period of silence (l. 62) M makes a weak disagreement: it is prefaced by a hesitation (“m:”, l. 63), it is followed by a short period of silence and then it is announced by a “bu:t” (ibidem). M then says why he disagrees: because he cannot find the flat's size (“how many meters is it”, ibidem). On her next turn W makes a weak disagreement. At first she shows that she agrees with M (“okay yes”, l. 64) and afterwards she announces with a “but” her disagreement. By asking “who cares” (instead of saying, for instance, “i don't care”) she implies not only that the information M looked for is unimportant to her, but that it should be irrelevant for everybody. Moreover: this utterance is designed more as a challenging question than as a request for information. Any answer about the comment “who cares” could be considered as a face-threatening act and would probably need an argumentation to support it. On his next turn M does not seem to reply to this disagreement: he initiates his turn by laughing (l. 65) and then he shows that he agrees with W by uttering an “o ye:s” (ibidem). He then points out another characteristic of the flat, its rooms.

On her next turn W names a double bedroom and then looks at M (l. 67). It can be seen from M's next turn that W pointed out the lack of a double bedroom, an issue that could be important, given that they are in a relationship: M notices that in that flat there are “two roo:ms” (ll. 68-69) and proposes not to choose this flat (l. 70). W (l. 71) and M (l. 72-73) confirm in their next turn that this flat was “removed” (l. 73) from those ones they take into consideration. It is interesting to note that in this extract that both the decision to take into consideration a flat and the decision not to choose the flat comes after W's interventions. Thus she shows that she acts in a more authoritative way than M (as could also be seen by the “who cares”, that has been analysed earlier, through which she proposes her opinion at a general level). Such authority does not appear to be contested by M in an explicit way.



D6C8MWr – Extract 26

124 M: so these two nothi:ng  
 125 W: and this (. [.] n:o:]  
 126 M: [n:o ]  
 127 M: do you say this one:  
 128 (.)  
 129 W: fifty square me:tre:s (.) ((looks at M)) (.) [no:.]  
 130 M: [well]  
 131 (.) well come o:n  
 132 W: but how can you say come o(hh)n  
 133 M ((laughs))  
 134 W: [((juts her head))]  
 135 W: come on look at [that ]  
 136 M: [((looks at the camera))]  
 137 M: [( ) ]  
 138 W: ((laughs))  
 193 M: do you know i lost train (.) times (.)  
 140 W: but can you give me this information la:ter: (.) ( )  
 141 ) ( ) (.) double: (.) central a:rea (.) hold on but  
 142 (.) it's behind there a little: (.)=

At the beginning of this extract the participants agree on not choosing a flat (ll. 124-126) and begin to look at another flat.

In l. 127 M asks for a confirmation, to assess if he has opened the correct page. There is no answer by W who, after a short period of silence (l. 128), begins to read the flat's description. This way she implies that it is the right flat. W ends her turn with a “no” (l. 129), this way she shows she does not like the flat they are looking at.

M, on his next turn, shows to disagree with W (as can be seen from the two “well”, ll. 130-131 that in Italian are similar to a “wait”) and seems to invite her, with a “come o:n” (l. 131), to change her mind. W answers with a challenging question: “how can you say” (l. 132). This way she shows that she disagrees with M and asks him for a justification of his previous invitation. At the end of her turn she repeats, by saying “come o(hh)n”, what M previously said. This can be defined as format tying (Goodwin, 1990), that is a turn that is designed by using previous

spoken utterances that are modified a little. Format tying allows speakers, on one hand, to show that they have understood the utterance to which they tie and, on the other hand, to mark the differences between their utterance and the previous one. An important characteristic that differentiates W's utterance from M's one is the laugh that W makes at the end of her "come o(hh)n" expression. Laughing could have, in this case, the function of giving M a possibility for a repair, without he needs to deny what he previously said. W, in fact, seems to allow M to recast his serious "come on" as a joke, something that can be associated with a laugh. If M agreed to transform his "come o:n" into a "come o(hh)n", in fact, he would not be required to correct himself, as the content of his utterance would be still the same: "come on". The insertion of laughing however would change the meaning and the consequences of such an utterance: if it had been an invitation, then they would have to discuss it; if it had been a joke then they could switch to another flat and avoid a disagreement. M, on his next turn, laughs (l. 133). This way he shows he has accepted the possibility W gave him.

It is interesting to note once more that from the lack of an utterance by M (except laughing), that W seems to act in a more authoritative way than him. On one hand, she did not give any reason to invite M to change his mind (but she asks M for a reason through a challenging question). On the other hand M did not challenge this unmotivated invitation by W. From the next turn it is possible to see again that M has acknowledged W: she invites him to look at another flat (ll. 134-135) and, after some considerations that are not related to flats (ll. 136-140), W begins to read a description of a new flat (ll. 141-142).

#### D6C8MWr – Extract 27

200 M: ((*laughs*)) (..) come on this one: [(.)] ri:ght (.)  
201 W: [yes]  
202 W: it has every:thing ri:ght (.)  
203 M: (..) it lacks i:nternet (.)  
204 W: it lacks internet but we can have it  
205 M: wha:t?  
206 W: it lacks internet but we can have i:t  
207 M: m:  
208 W: [(*points to the monitor*)]

### 3.1 The experimental web simulation

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209 W: [but look how's beautiful ] new in my opinion  
210 M: m: (.) then this one right (.) i mea:n (.)  
211 W: [((points to the monitor))]  
212 W: [(but) (.) e:r (.) total a]rea where i:s  
213 (..)  
214 M: i don't kno:w  
215 W: come on [(.) let's finish and let's take] the small one  
216 M: [come on this one then ]  
217 M: [((chooses the flat)) ]

In this extract it is possible to see the last part of the participants' decision-making process. W points to a flat (it is called "this one:", l. 200) and with a "right" (ibidem) asks W for a confirmation. W overlaps him and agrees (l. 201). On her next turn W asks M if the flat they are looking at "has every:thing" (l. 202). The utterance at this turn seems to be similar to what Schegloff & Sacks (1973) called possible pre-closings. They are usually characterized by the presence of words like "right", "okay", and so on at the end of the turn and they usually imply that the speaker who utters them has nothing more to say. This way the speaker gives an opportunity to the others to open new topics. If other speakers answer in a similar way (by using words like "right", "okay", "yes" and so on) the conversation usually comes to an end, otherwise it could continue. On his next turn M opens a new topic. This way he disagrees with W's previous consideration because he implies that the flat does not have everything. He points out the lack of internet (l. 203). In her next turn on one hand W shows that she agrees with M by repeating what he said ("it lacks internet", l. 204) and, afterwards, she proposes a solution ("we can have it", ibidem). M asks for a repetition of this last utterance (l. 205) and W repeats it (l. 206). On his next turn M shows that he agrees with W ("m:", l. 207). In this case the disagreement is solved when W acknowledges M's consideration and proposes a solution that is accepted by both parts.

As can be seen from the rest of this extract W makes some positive comments about the flat (l. 209) and M proposes to choose it ("this one right", l. 210). W asks a question about the flat size (l. 212). It is not clear if she considers the lack of such information as a problem, but she shows in her next turns that she considers it to be an unsolvable problem. After a period of silence (l. 213), in fact, M answers

that he does not know about the flat's size (l. 214) and, despite the lack of this information, W proposes to choose the flat they are looking at. Even if W refers to the flat as “the small one” (l. 215) we can see from M's overlap that the flat is the one they were looking at: M refers to the flat as “this one” (l. 216). At this point M chooses the flat (l. 217).

### 3.2 The research team

#### Multiple histories and competencies

The following extracts come from a meeting where the participants talked about how they would begin the research, in particular how to perform their first visits. The research is about access and communication of migrant citizens to public municipality services. LC pointed out that they had contacted all council political staff, he reminds them that they have two places to visit and then proposes to analyse all the documents they have already found. He then lists all documents, proposes to visit central and peripheral offices and suggests the types of analyses they could perform. During a long turn made before line 336 in the extract below LC explained that it was necessary, in his opinion, to analyse, in particular, those forms made by the Council for foreigners: a student who worked with LC and with AZ saw that the forms that were written in Arabic were full of mistakes.

#### 090108 – Extract 1

336 AR: maybe in this case:: we have to make the difference between  
337 the:- for instance between the forms an:d documents tha:t  
338 [and flyers ]  
339 LC: [no: (.) i'd say (.)] yes but we can't scatter ourselves. i'd  
340 say that we need to make a list of all the forms that are  
341 available=  
342 AR: =yes but forms are one thing (.) i mean a form has a rhe- i  
343 mean- it might be translated badly but it has an  
344 administrative rhetoric  
345 LC: but how do we know that (.) i don't know that (..)  
346 AR: i mean if they have to translate an a[dmistrative document]  
347 LC: [listen (if i) ]

### 3.2 The research team

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348 go to police headquarter and ((s/he)) says (.) to write the  
349 undersigned or to write no (.) i mean there are (.) also some  
350 of our forms (.) that are bureaucratic forms the: (.) um::  
351 used by the: locals (.) there are different ways to address  
352 the same person

After LC's proposal AR expresses a disagreement (l. 336, 337) and suggests they should make the difference between "forms and documents" and "flyers". She prefaces her disagreement with two mitigations: a "maybe", implying that she could be wrong and a "in this case", so implying that her disagreement does not concern LC's claims in general, but just for this current situation. We do not know if she proposes to analyse forms/documents and flyers in a different way or to analyse just one type of documents, she does not say. This is consistent with Pomerantz (1984): when the participants expressed a dispreferred disagreement they tried to lessen as much as possible the difference between what they said and the disagreed statement.

On his next turn LC seems to disagree with AR (with a "no:", l. 339) and proposes another solution: to make a list of of all forms that are available (ll. 340-341). It is interesting to note the reason given by LC to interrupt AR: he says that they cannot "scatter" themselves (l. 339). The research the team aims to perform, in fact, was planned by referring to a specific timeline. Each complication could result in a damaging prolongation of a research phase, so it is important to avoid it when it is unnecessary. Given that at the stage in which this meeting took place the participants did not know the places they were going to study, as they had performed only a participant observation, LC shows that he considers AR's proposal as problematic and potentially time-scattering. For this reason his disagreement in this case probably implies a need to perform the research by following their planned timeline.

AR shows, with a "yes" (l. 342) to agree with LC. AR, however, partially disagrees with him and explains why forms are different from other kind of documents (ll. 342-344).

LC overlaps AR's turn and disagrees with her: he asks her how they could know

what she said (l. 345) and then he says he does not have the same information AR had (“i don’t know that”, l. 345). LC this way does not seem to ask AR just to explain *how* she knew what she said but to *give a reason* for that: in fact he asks how they, not “you”, (“we”, l. 345) knew what AR said and then he says he does not know that. It is interesting also LC’s switch between “we” and “I”: it could further qualify LC’s question as a challenge. In fact this way LC makes it clear that if AR repeated what she said in her previous turn she would be in disagreement with him. It is interesting also to link LC’s utterance to the ethnographic methodological perspective shared by the research team: according to such methodology, in fact, researchers should understand social processes through participant observation, field notes, interviews. In fact processes are situated within specific social activities and it would be incorrect to unlink them from such activities. Given that the participants did not have, at the time of this meeting, enough ethnographic data, LC’s “i don’t know” could be interpreted as a suggestion to study forms and documents from an ethnographic perspective, so that it becomes part of the team’s research process (this way the research team does not scatter themselves, as we saw previously) and then it can be better understood.

AR does not seem to consider the methodological implications of LC’s utterance and, on the contrary, treats it as a disagreement, as we can see in her next turn (l. 346): she begins to give an explanation of what she has said and, this way, she implies that there is the reason that LC had asked for. This explanation could be a face-threatening act, because it implies that she knows something that LC does not know. She prefaces and mitigates her disagreement with “i mean” (l. 346) and begins to talk about a hypothetical case. LC does not let AR finish and tries to justify his position. He makes a strong disagreement: he overlaps her (l. 347) and asks her to “listen” (ibidem). AR does not try to continue to speak: she stops a moment after LC asks her to listen. Then LC replies to AR by using a hypothetical case as she had also done, but without any preface: this way he makes a disagreement that is stronger than AR’s one. This kind of interaction could be probably explained by a consideration that is not possible to see explicitly within interaction, but that has been underlined earlier: the team needs to carry on its

research and to solve unclear issues during ethnographic observations, instead of discussing them during long meetings.

090108 – Extract 2

353 AZ: yes but she the distinction that she wanted to:: highlight is  
354 that [(.) ]  
355 LC: [it was] between the kinds of forms  
356 AZ: yes. (.) i mean there are flyers that have (.) the aim to  
357 send a message not to::: supp- promote an initiative. there  
358 are some: some forms for which (.) you should understand what  
359 to write to (.) to register for daycare  
360 LC: exactly  
361 AZ: and there there isn't (.) it's not a matter of=  
362 AZ: =rheto[rics ]  
363 LC: [there you go] (.) it's really about understanding what  
364 it means  
365 AZ: yes practically (.) [pragmatically]  
366 LC: [but then (.) ] but (.) this is a matter  
367 then flyers for sure (.) for the other forms we are able to  
368 do an analysis of this ((*issue*)) in my opinion this falls  
369 into what we called procedures in relation to services i mean  
370 those ones are pieces of procedures for which- (....) right  
371 in the little outline that i have in front (i mean)  
372 background ethnography, a man enters, he sits there, i  
373 videorecord, i hear what they said and so on there is an  
374 object for which i have to do it let's say it is (.) daycare  
375 registration then that's where the form comes into that  
376 procedure [(.)]=  
377 AZ: [yes]  
378 LC: =it's not that we do an analysis of forms in general (..)   
379 that's why procedures that are more common being daycare  
380 registration, (..) things of this kind two or three they  
381 can't be more than few we analyse them within the procedure  
382 they're tools (..) ((*he looks at AR*)) m:?  
383 AR: m m:

AR does not reply to LC's disagreement. In this case we do not know if she had

any intention of replying, as AZ self-selects himself as the next speaker: instead of an answer by AR we can see an intervention by AZ. It is a partial and weak agreement: it is prefaced with “yes” and it is followed by “but”. AZ finds in LC’s position something to disagree on, but AZ constructed his disagreement in a way that it is not a face-threatening act. AZ does not contest, in fact, what LC has said but explains what AR said in other words: there is not necessarily a contrast between what AR said and what LC said, but that what AR said was misunderstood. AZ begins to explain the distinction AR wanted to highlight (l. 353-354). LC however anticipates AZ’s explanation and completes it: he says that AR wanted to make the difference “between the kinds of forms” (l. 355). With this action LC shows that he already knew what AZ was going to say. AZ confirms that LC is correct with a “yes” (l. 356) that is not followed by “but” or any similar conjunction. AZ then better explains what difference AR wanted to make, but he also shows he agrees with that difference, by using the first person singular: “i mean” (l. 356). In this case the “i mean” discourse marker seems to be used as a preface for a replacement repair (for other examples of this use see Schiffrin, 1987): it allows AZ to push forward the idea he expressed in his previous turn (ll. 353-354) and meanwhile no longer refer that idea to AR (“she”, l. 353) but to present some claims in a general manner (“there are”, “you should”, ll. 356-359). It does not seem that AZ, with his “i mean” wants to disagree but to explain which kinds of forms they could find. LC confirms AZ’s explanation by saying that it is true (“exactly”, l. 360). This way LC positions himself as someone who could judge if what AZ said was correct or incorrect and, by saying that it is correct, he also makes it his opinion (as he will explain better in line 363). This is consistent with what Lerner (1996, 316) found by analysing a similar phenomena of “anticipatory completion”: they could be seen as a way “to convert disagreement into agreement, other-correction into self-correction, or a request into an offer on those occasions when an opportunity for completion is furnished” and as a way to protect face (ibidem). AZ then says that it is not a matter of “rhetorics” (l. 361-362) and then LC makes another anticipatory completion: he explains what AR and AZ said (l. 363-364). AZ confirms that LC understood what he meant with a “yes” that is not followed by any “but” or any similar adverbs (l. 365). LC continues and



introduces a consequence of what they said (“then”, l. 366). It is worth pointing out that, in the original Italian utterances, what here is translated as “then” (l. 366) and “there you go” (l. 363) are the same word: “ecco” (literally: “here it is”, see the original Italian transcript in Appendix C, 09-01-08-1-ita, l. 362 and 365). This consideration suggests a link between the two turns: LC confirms he has the same opinion as AZ again, as he did in his previous turn. Then LC says how he thinks they will analyse the different kind of modules (“flyers” and “the other forms”, l. 367). He implies that he agrees with the consideration that there were different kinds of forms. After that LC explains how he would analyse them (l. 366-376) AZ confirms he agreed (“yes”, l. 377). At the end of this conversation LC agrees to analyse flyers and other forms in a different way and confirms that what AR-AZ proposed is also his proposal. Then LC looks at AR and asks her for confirmation (“m:”, l. 382). AR confirms she agrees (“m:”, l. 383) and allows all the participants to close the sequence. This way LC saved face, because AR-AZ proposal was also his proposal and he recognizes AR's proposal as good, also saving face for her.

In the extracts that have been analysed LC agrees with AZ, he also recognizes that what AZ said is exactly what AR meant. But he makes these actions by using two anticipatory completions, so he shows that he already understood what AR meant. LC seems to be inconsistent in his behaviour: on one hand he strongly disagreed with AR and, on the other hand, he agreed with AZ, knowing that they were saying the same thing. This incoherence is considered a preferred answer by the participants, as it is “seen but unnoticed”: it is not clear whether it is unnoticed because of a matter of face but the participants do not explicitly show that they considered it problematic. Inconsistency is not necessarily a problem, it becomes a problem when it is criticized (Billig, 1996) and then it can be managed with different strategies or it can be denied (Neuman & Tabak, 2003). It does not seem possible to understand from previous transcriptions which contextual elements are shared by the participants and according to which LC's inconsistency is considered possible and preferred. An analysis of some characteristics of the participants and of the space in which the team met allows us to understand the inconsistency. We said that at the meeting there is the head of the research team

(LC) and two people who had a grant for the research (AR and AZ). However it could also be important to consider, even if it is not clear from transcriptions, that LC and AR have already collaborated in the past within other research projects, they are used to collaborating and that they knew each other before they met AZ. They belong to other common research teams, while AZ does not. We could say that, even if this is a research team, there are multiple histories and at least two research teams. Given that LC and AR are used to meeting and discussing research issues, they could use a style that is more direct than the style LC uses with AZ. For this reason what seemed to be a strong disagreement by LC (for instance the “no” at l. 339) could be a sign of the habit they have to discuss without considering it a face-threatening act. Moreover: this meeting took place in LC's office, that was previously usually occupied by AR for other research projects but has not been occupied by AZ. AZ could be considered, in this situation, a sort of guest, so it therefore would be problematic to strongly disagree with him. However these considerations do not explain why LC agrees with AZ instead of (for instance) disagreeing with him in a weak manner. If we also consider that AZ usually works in the place the research team aims to study in then it makes sense that LC communicates in differently with AZ and AR and he does not address AZ with expressions like “how do we know that”. A consideration made by AR or LC, who still did not know the places they were going to study, could imply a wasting of time. The same consideration by AR becomes an important ethnographic observation made by an informant. For this reason LC's agreement appears to be the most appropriate behaviour. The consideration of these issues that were not explicitly available from transcriptions allowed a better understanding of the interaction. Moreover it is important to notice that the interaction is also linked to the past participants history and also to issues that are not a characteristic of the participants but refer to the room in which the meeting took place: an analysis focused just on the interpersonal level seems to be insufficient to understand this piece of interaction.

### **Acting as individuals and acting as institutions**

The following extracts come from a meeting where the participants discussed the

research stages. LC described the places they had to visit, AZ adds further information, LC then proposes a division of tasks between the people attending the meeting and the final year students who participated in the research project, in order to write their dissertation. In the extract below LC makes a proposal about how to introduce themselves to the research environment.

051207 – Extract 3

264           (..)

265 LC:       ho how- how we go o:n u(h) (..) so. we said that first we

266           work on the ce:ntral side then we work u:::(h)? and then

267           we'll work on specific issues no (..) that it's not worth to

268           identify now. (..)du:(.) dur- during ini:tial (.) initial (.)

269           initial visits of (...)it's necessary to say more or less (.)

270           given that our- our leader will be obviously ali (.) er::

271           it's necessary:: essentially: (..) to introduce ourselves and

272           make us accept by them without formalizing(.)too much because

273           otherwise you blo::ck them then to do a moment of participant

274           observation of the waiting room or whenever they are, (.) of

275           introd- i mean anyway you introduce yourself (..) you

276           introduce yourself to offices (..) because it beco::mes (..)

277           not to ask for an authorization=

278 AZ:       =yes yes yes y[es]

279 LC:                           [to] ask them (..)=

280 LC:       =[if they've (.) (    ), (.) (concerns) no]

281 AZ:       [so (.) but (.) here (.) on] this side anyway (.) er: we lack

282           a formalization that we made with the:: (.)

In this extract LC proposes how the team should begin to perform its research, he talks about “initial visits” (ll. 268-269). In particular he proposes that the research team performs its initial visits and introduces itself “without formalizing (.) too much”. He also says also that their “leader will be obviously ali” (l. 270). At first AZ agrees (l. 278). It is interesting to note the repetition of the word “yes”: it could imply that AZ has something more to say instead of just agreeing. By repeating the word “yes”, in fact, AZ continues with his turn, he avoids stopping (and to let another participant to begin a new turn) and, later he adds something more to his previous “yes”: he disagrees with LC. He introduces his disagreement with a “but”,

he mitigates it with “here”, “on this side”, “anyway”, “er:” and finally he says that the group lacks “a formalization” (l. 282). So after that LC shows that he has taken into account AZ’s opinion and expertise (their “leader”), after that he said that they should not worry about *formalizing*, AZ says that they lack a *formalization*.

051207 – Extract 4

283 LC: but if it is not needed neither by the council and then: er::  
284 (.) i mean by saying look i a::nd? it mea::ns (..) i've the  
285 authorization of your boss i stay here i'm a pain in the butt  
286 (.) but if you say we're:: a grou::p from university, we're  
287 doing a research project on- (.) on communication::, so  
288 afterwards:: (.)  
289 AZ: m: (.)  
290 LC: we'll- we'll ask you, if you have any idea you say us, i mean  
291 (..) you can't arrive with a sheet in your hand ((*he lifts a*  
292 *sheet where he took notes and he shows it*)) you should not to  
293 do it right.  
294 (...)  
295 LC: so to sum up it's necessary to m- to know the environment to  
296 acquaint yourself with (..) to introduce yourself to: (.) to  
297 the people at the counters (..) in this sense i would like to  
298 come as well or rather (.) i think i have to come (before i  
299 hadn't) (..) a::nd and then you adapt very much yourself to  
300 ((*looking at AR*)) do you remember that time we went to  
301 ghiacciai?  
302 AR: ((*nods yes with her head*))  
303 AZ: m m:=  
304 LC: =we:: adapted yourself very much also to:: to what they sa: id  
305 you if they give you any suggest- (.) it could happen that no  
306 suggestions come- (.) it would be very normal that staff  
307 attended a little their:: (..) then to say if somebody said  
308 yes, i'm interested, how, i we:nt to the: conferen-, (.) i  
309 don't know no a:nd (.) you make us of opportunities that one:  
310 one (create)/(will create) [(.) a::nd]=  
311 AZ: °[(sure) ]°

LC disagrees with AZ’s proposal. At first he says that the formalization is not needed neither by the Council (l. 283), then he talks about an ethical reason. He

demonstrates (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) such ethical reason by using a verbal quotation (“look”, “i’ve the authorization of your boss i stay here” ll. 284-285) that is also an Extreme Case Formulation of a possible quotation (“i am a pain in the butt”, l. 185, probably would not be used in a real research visit. See Pomerantz, 1986 for the analysis of using ECFs as a way of legitimating a position). Then LC uses another quotation that is consistent with his position and appears as a reasonable alternative (he shows it is an alternative by prefacing it with “but if you say”, l. 286) to the ECF just formulated: “we’re:: a grou::p from university, we’re doing a research project on- (.) on communication::,” (ll. 286-288).

AZ, in his following turn, uses a continuer (“m:”, l. 289) and shows that he has understood what LC said (Schegloff, 1982). LC then repeats, by using a quotation (both physical and verbal, ll. 290-293) that it would not be correct to “arrive with a sheet in your hand” (l. 291). LC then stops speaking (it is indicated by the full stop symbol at the end of l. 293 and by the silence at l. 294) but no one begins another turn. AZ who was the addressee of LC’s “right” (l. 293) does not start to speak and AR or MR do not speak as well. This way they could imply that they have nothing to add, so they agree with LC. After that no one self selects for a new turn, LC begins another turn (this behaviour is consistent with the classical work by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974 on turn-taking). It is, again, a turn in which LC produces an alternative that is more reasonable than the demonstration he did in his previous turn: he proposes “to know the environment” (l. 296) and to introduce the research group to counters employees (ll. 296-297). Afterwards LC says he would like to go there personally (ll. 297-299). Then he remembers another research project and addresses AR (l. 300). He talks about a successful research project that is known by AR (l. 302) and perhaps also by AZ (it is not clear if “m m:” at l. 303 is a continuer or a sign by AZ that means he knows about the research). LC refers to that research and links it to a possibility that “could happen” (l. 305) in the present research (ll. 304-310). This possibility is also demonstrated by using a quotation. Interestingly the quotation includes two opposite alternatives and allows LC to show that he takes into consideration a possibility but also the opposite possibility, so every possible situation: “yes i’m interested, how, i we:nt to the conferen- (.)” (l. 308) “i don’t know no a:nd (.)” (ll. 308-309). AZ, in his following

turn, seems to agree with LC's last argument: "(sure)" (l. 311). Storytelling has been found to be as used as an indirect disagreement device (Georgakpolou, 2001). The truth of the story is not usually contested but what is contested is the validity of the analogy between the story and the actual situation. In this case LC does not use a story but, rather, a hypothetical scenario that seems to have the same function that Georgakpolou proposes: it is not contested by AZ and the validity of the analogy is not contested as well: this consideration can lead us to consider AZ's behaviour as an agreement.

### 051207 – Extract 5

312 LC: =and after o:ne or two times we go there to do participant  
313 observation we de- we identify <exactly> (..) it would be  
314 ideal meanwhile to make small interviews that at lea:st with  
315 staff (.) but it's necessary a little that they come to us i  
316 mean like other times (you go there and you observe) next  
317 time (.) can we come to ask you a little which are the  
318 proble:ms (..) that's it by saying but we should reco:rd  
319 because it's part of a research no but (.) it's used ju:st  
320 (.) that's it but (..) an excess of formalization scares  
321 a::::nd and makes worried because it's not tha:t (.) m: we  
322 don't go there to judge their (..) and i think that if we go  
323 wi:th ali (.) these times no so (.) so that (...) what do  
324 you say ali  
325 AZ: yeah yeah (..) i mean (.) a::nd yes and no because: (.)=  
326 AZ: =[if: (.) yes and no in the sense that er: these:-]  
327 LC: [((laughs)) (.) ((laughs)) ( ) ]  
328 AZ: ((laughs)) (..) n::o it's good not to formalize with staff  
329 and all but there there is a head of sector [(.) tha:t ]  
330 LC: [and it's ne]ces  
331 sary to go immediately to talk with the head of s- [he]ad=  
332 AZ: [yeah]  
333 LC: =of sector  
334 (..)  
335 AZ: the head of sector is a good person indeed tha[:t by]=  
336 LC: [ye:s ]

### 3.2 The research team

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337 AZ: =the way: (.) the important thi:ng i::s i mean that's=  
338 AZ: =that w- that when we go there [(.) that he kno]ws it=  
339 LC: [ab:solute:ly ]  
340 AZ: =[ (.) the:n (.) ] the rest we can=  
341 LC: [absolutely ]

LC then continues his turn by explaining how he would act (ll. 312-319). He then talks about some ethical reasons that should prevent them from doing “an excess of formalization” (l. 320): they would run the risk of scaring employees, (l. 320), to “make worried” them (l. 321) and it would be a judgement (l. 322) for them. He then proposes to do what he said “wi:th ali” (l. 323) and asks him for his opinion (ll. 323-324). It is interesting to note that, even when LC disagrees with AZ, he recognizes his expertise and the importance of his opinions. AZ partially agrees and partially disagrees (“yes and no”, l. 326). He shows that he agrees with LC: “it’s goo:d not to formalize with staff” (l. 328) and he includes, with a general extender (“and all”, l. 329, Cheshire, 2007), in his agreement all LC’s previous discourse and any eventual further element he could add (see Jefferson, 1990, for an analysis of how three-elements lists can be used as a resource to accomplish this function). He then adds information he did not provide when he talked about a formalization. He said, in fact, that the formalization was lacking “here (.) on this side” (extract 1, l. 281). Now AZ adds that the formalization is related to “a head of sector” (l. 329). At this point there is an anticipatory completion by LC (“and it’s necessary to go immediately to talk with the head of s-“, ll. 330-331) thanks to which he shows he had understood and agrees with what AZ meant (for a similar analysis of anticipatory completions see Lerner, 1996). AZ confirms what LC says is correct (“yeah”, l. 332). It is interesting to notice that AZ with his turn al ll. 326-329 agrees with LC’s position and meanwhile makes his previous disagreement a complementary (instead of an alternative) position that is accepted by both speakers. AZ explains why it is important to speak with the head of sector (ll. 335, 337, 338, 340) and LC agrees with him (ll. 339, 341).

051207 – Extract 6

342 AZ:        =[also: (.) to go over. ]  
343 LC:        [or rather (..) w- we g]o there, (.) if you agree we go  
344            toge::ther we:: (..) we: (.) °all five°  
345 AZ:        m:  
346 LC:        °(for obvious reasons morning or in the afternoon)° (.) and-  
347            we arrive let's say you cannot talk to the head of sector yes  
348            look (.) (we [want to speak with])  
349 AZ:                [yes but we can also] anticipate this thing make  
350            an appointment with [(.) head of secto:r]  
351 LC:                        [m: could you sa:y ] him (.)  
352 AZ:        yes ((he takes notes)) tomo:row (..) °yes (here) we are°  
353            (..)  
354 LC:        i call him if you give me the telephone nu:mber (.) i w- it's  
355            better if it's you who talk with him or if i talk with him  
356 AZ:        (..)  
357 LC:        both of us.  
358            (.)  
359 MR:        but y- you already know him you said

LC overlaps AZ, who was finishing his previous turn, and makes another proposal (“rather”, l. 343) that is not a disagreement with what AZ previously had said but it seems to be a specification: given that they had already decided to go and speak with the Head of Sector, here LC suggests *how* they could contact him. He proposes that all the people who are attending the meeting go to see the Head of Sector together (ll. 343-344). LC shows again how he considers AZ’s opinion important: he makes a proposal but only if AZ agrees ( “if you agree”, l. 343). AZ uses a continuer (“m:”, l. 345) and LC adds some details to his proposal (ll. 346-348). AZ overlaps LC, he agrees with him (“yes”, l. 349) but also proposes to make an appointment with the Head of Sector (ll. 349-350). LC overlaps AZ and asks if it is AZ who can make such appointment (l. 351). AZ says he can and takes a note (l. 352). But after a period of silence (l. 353) LC says that it is he who will call the Head of Sector (“i call him if you give me the telephone nu:mber”, l. 354) and not



AZ. This proposal could be problematic: LC proposed to AZ to call the Head of Sector, AZ fully agreed but after a moment LC changes his mind and says he will call the Head of Sector. It could be a face-threatening act towards AZ. LC shows he treats his proposal as problematic and makes a repair ("i w-", l. 354) by asking AZ if it was better that he or AZ called the Head of Sector (ll. 354-355). The absence of an answer by AZ (l. 356) is ambiguous and LC treats it as a necessity that both AZ and LC (l. 357) call the Head of Sector. There is no answer by AZ (l. 358) and afterwards there is a change of topic by MR (l. 359). It is possible that this absence of an answer by AZ could be a weak disagreement, but the participants do not actually address it this way. From line 360 to line 384 which have been omitted (see Appendix C for a full transcription) LC, AR and AZ discuss the name of the Head of Sector, AZ proposes to talk with the Councillor that is responsible for the services that they have to study and the participants look for his name.

#### 051207 – Extract 7

385                 (..)

386 AZ:            well i'd say tha:t (.) if we care about thi:s aspect o:f (.)

387                 councillor head of sector we have the green light for all the

388                 rest because a:ll i mean it's one- (.) e::r the registration

389                 office is a situation [ver]y structured that's to say=

390 LC:   [( )]

*((lines 391-392 omitted: AZ describes some characteristics of the places participants are going to study))*

393   =(..) but (it's necessary-)/(we have to) it's

394                 necessary to have the o[k.                                 ]

395 LC:   [definitely] definitely. what shall we

396                 do. (..) we make a call to: this one

397 AZ:            yes a::nd what do you say e:r we make: a step for:: (.) cause

398                 i could also go me antonie:tta i don't know to >to to<

399                 to the councillor (.) or to the: (.) to the head of sector

400                 (.) then maybe- or we go to the councillor and then .hh we



the possibility of saying something more. AZ then uses this possibility to propose, as an alternative to what LC had previously said, that it is he who makes the call (l. 427). LC does not answer and AR begins to look for the number by using the Department's wi-fi lan. It can be noted here that the absence of an answer by AZ about who should call the Head of Sector/Councillor (051207 – Extract 6, l. 358) could be considered as a weak disagreement that in this example is repeated as a question, thanks to which AZ shows that he has also taken into consideration the possibility that LC would have preferred to make the call. This issue is, until now, still ambiguous and unsolved, as that silence is not taken into account by the participants, so it remains unnoticed and, from this point of view, cannot be considered dispreferred and unaccountable.

From lines 430 to lines 435, here omitted (see Appendix C for a full transcription) MR gives to AR some technical details about the departmental wi-fi lan.

#### 051207 – Extract 8

436 LC: ((*looking at AZ*)) hh i'll call him tomorrow the councillor  
437 if you give me the number  
438 (.)  
439 AZ: m m  
440 (.)  
441 LC: yes given that they're: organizations strongly bureaucratic  
442 it's always be- .hh  
443 (..)  
444 AZ: so differently from mici where there we can go and do: i mean  
445 that is- they're more: (.) less established as offices  
446 registration office is a- an organization. (.) so when we  
447 have the go-ahead of the others they get started on b- staff  
448 start to speak staff (.) i mean it's enough that you say we  
449 already talked with, we have the authorization they calm down  
450 (..)  
451 LC: definitely=  
452 AZ: =a::nd furthermore [the:n then i ca::n (..) ] make way=

453 LC: [.hhh the:n (.) i mean if-]  
454 AZ: =easier by ask- (.) to ask to:- to operators an intervi:ew  
455 (.) i mean i i know them personally  
456 (..)  
457 LC: ok. (.) so we ha::ve er:: there's- there's the telephone  
458 number so that i call (tomorrow)  
459 (..)  
460 AR: now i'm looking for it

The issue of who will make the call seems to be solved during this moment of interaction. At the beginning of extract 6, LC announces that he will call the Councillor the next day (“tomorrow”, l. 436) and asks AZ for the number. AZ agrees to give the number to LC (“m m”, l. 439). In his following turn (ll. 441-442) LC gives a reason to support the necessity of talking with the Councillor. AZ then (ll. 444-449) agrees by making a link to what LC has said and his opinion (“organizations strongly bureaucratic”, l. 441 is linked by AZ’s “registration office is a- an organization”, l. 446). LC agrees (l. 451) and AZ proposes “furthermore” (l. 452) he contacts the registration office operators for an interview (ll. 454-455). LC agrees (“ok”, l. 457) and again asks for the telephone number of the Councillor (ll. 457-458). AR answers she is looking for it (l. 460).

From line 461 to line 572 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) AR and AZ talk about another association they should contact (it is called Migrantes), then all the participants speak about some technical issues of the Department’s wi-fi lan, finally they talk about AR’s experience with U.S.A. wi-fi broadband.

#### 051207 – Extract 9

573 AR: ((*talking to AZ*)) did he wri:- er::: (..)  
574 AZ: it is already possible to call. (.) m: (.)  
575 MR: er: i write to final year students a:nd  
576 LC: ((*looks at AR and AZ*)) yes. (..) the problem is that i am  
577 deaf however-  
578 AR: gomie:ro

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579 AZ: gomiero francesco  
580 (.)  
581 AR: seven one three one  
582 AZ: eight [two]  
583 LC: [thi]s is the council[lo:r (..) ]  
584 AR: [ze:ro? (..)]  
585 AZ: yes. (three zero zero) nine o:ne (.)  
586 AR: twenty seven  
587 AZ: twenty seven.  
588 (..)  
589 AZ: ((he types the number of the councillor on his mobile, he  
590 presses the call button and gives the mobile to LC))  
591 LC: ((he takes the mobile and approaches it to his left ear))  
592 LC: [thanks. ]  
593 (..)

At the beginning of this extract, after which AR has looked for the Councillor's telephone number, she asks AZ if LC wrote the number (l. 573). AZ says that "it is already possible to call" (l. 574), by using an impersonal form, without specifying who should make the call. LC asks AR and AZ to repeat what they said, because of some auditory problems he has (ll. 576-577). AR and AZ repeat collaboratively name and number of the Councillor (ll. 578-587). LC asks if this was the Councillor's number (l. 583). AZ answers that it was ("yes", l. 585). Afterwards AZ types the number on his mobile, presses the call button and gives the mobile to LC (ll. 589-590), who finally makes the call (ll. 591-592). This could be a way used by AZ to be kind towards LC, by doing the job for him, but it could also be a "pragmatic" solution to the issue that has been raised during the present meeting: who will call the Councillor. Even if this issue is related to the "why" AZ did this action (so it is not a matter for conversation analysis, which is interested in the "how" interaction is accomplished, Boyle, 2000), it can be investigated. AZ (personal communication) wrote that, in his knowledge it was not possible to see a caller number from Council's telephones. It is not important, in this case, to see if

AZ is right, but it is important to know that he thought his number did not appear in the Councillor's telephone. This information that is not available in the transcription can suggest to us that AZ accepted that LC called the Councillor, so he agreed with him and that his action was a way of being kind towards him.

### 051207 – Extract 10

594 LC: ((he introduces himself and asks to talk to the councillor))  
595 AZ: what does s/he say?  
596 (...)  
597 LC: pardon- (.) no er he was talking at the phone somewhere else  
598 s/he says to call back later after ten minutes=  
599 MR: =meanwhile he already knows that we'll do the research and  
600 this is already a step ((literally: it's already something))  
601 (.)  
602 LC: can you give my the number ( ) so i save it  
603 (...)  
604 AZ: er::::  
605 (.)  
606 MR: he's officially informed that we'll do the research  
607 FZ: [((laughs))]  
608 AR: [((laughs))]  
609 AZ: [((laughs))]  
610 MR: ((he lifts up and down quickly his head)) ok  
611 LC: [((he takes notes)) ]  
612 AZ: [one three six ] (.) seven six (.) two four three (.)  
613 twenty two  
614 MR: m:: could you give:: me the ad[dress]  
615 AR: [or ] two six  
616 (.)  
617 AZ: or two six  
618 MR: could you give me the address o::f of- of irene is that how  
619 she's called right

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620 AR: [ ( ) ]  
621 LC: [so he's the coun]cillor:  
622 (.)  
623 AZ: so he's gomie::ro (..) francesco gomiero (.) yes

After that LC calls the Councillor AZ asks what he said (l. 595). LC says he was not able to talk with him but he will call back (ll. 597-598). MR notices that the Councillor is informed that there is a research project (ll. 599-600) and repeats what he said (l. 606). Afterwards all the participants, except for LC, laugh (ll. 607-609) and MR ends that topic (“ok”, l. 610). Meanwhile LC asks for the number of the Councillor (l. 602), AZ and AR give him the number (ll. 612-613, 613, 617). MR asks for an address (l. 614) and he specifies he need the address of “irene” (ll. 618-619) but he does not seem to receive any answer (it is unclear what AR says at l. 620). LC asks for a confirmation about the number he wrote (l. 621) and AZ confirms that he is the Councillor by repeating his name (l. 623).

It is important to note that LC’s inconsistency (his invitation for AZ to call the Councillor and then he made the call) is not discussed by the participants, therefore it is considered the preferred action. However it does not seem possible, from the transcriptions alone, to know what allows the participants to consider it, during this meeting, as preferred. We can understand this apparent inconsistency if we do not consider LC just as participant, but as the head of a university research project and as the figure considered by the Council as a representative of the University. What does not appear clear from the transcriptions and can be known through ethnographic observations is that the University and the Council begun a formal collaboration through this research team, they were waiting for a formal agreement. So it is important to consider the call to the Councillor or to the head of a Council sector not from an interpersonal level (that could result from transcriptions, given that University is not mentioned explicitly) but as a formal relation between two institutions: the University and the Council. For this reason it appears better that LC, as representative of University, is the one who makes the call. In fact AR, AZ and LC show they do not consider it to be problematic.

Inconsistency is not always considered the preferred action within this research

group, as can be seen by the following moment of disagreement.

### **When the organisational level is mistaken for the interpersonal**

The following extracts come from a meeting where the participants talked about what they had collected from the research. It is one of the last meetings recorded during the first step of the research. MR collaborates with LC's team and they (MR and LC) have also worked together in the past on other research projects. LC asked for some clarifications and AR answered his questions. LC made some proposals about how to go on with the research, in particular he proposed to stop with data collection and to analyse and understand this data. AR and MR also suggested to analyse and understand the data they had collected, however, continue collecting data. MR describes the activities he and his collaborators performed in an office where he undertook part of the research. LC makes some proposals and they speak about these. Afterwards, as can be seen in the extract below, an unexpected event happened: LC talks of an issue (that is not reported for privacy purposes) by using a colloquial register and, after looking at the camera, asks MR to stop recording the meeting.

#### **120308-1 – Extract 11**

1 LC: (.) oops. (.) ((to MR)) listen (.) it's not really necessary  
2 that al(h)l (.)  
3 MR: u(h): but i'll not write:: i mean right (.)  
4 LC: (.) in my opinion: it takes spontaneity away no:w (.) let's  
5 make it silent for about half an hour u(h):? (.)  
6 MR: (..)  
7 LC: how's that you don't wa:nt  
8 MR: er: no: because:: for f- f- f- th:en you say me that i don't  
9 have a corpus for this research  
10 LC: me:?  
11 MR: ye:a(h) t- then you say me that there isn't a co[rpus ]  
12 LC: [o: b]ecause  
13 according to you one should record everything also when one  
14 goes to the to:ilet  
15 MR: [(.) no ] w- what one manages to do  
16 LC: [(then!)]  
17 LC: ri:ght but if i- if now i say i prefer to take away you



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18                   should take away without difficulties no  
19   MR:           right ((some clicks are heard, MR approaches his hand to the  
20                   recorder to switch it off))

LC asks MR to stop recording by saying that “it’s not really necessary” to record everything. He asks MR to stop recording by using a claim that refers to a general necessity, instead of being just his opinion: “it’s not really necessary” (l. 1), this implies that if MR stopped recording it would not be really problematic for him.

It is interesting to note, here, two issues. First: there is a contrast between the research aims that were shared within the team and a right for privacy of the participants, in particular in this case for LC when he talks in a style that is closer to informal interaction more than to scientific meetings. Second: in this extract it can be noted how research practices, like a video camera (but it could also be a computer or any experimental tool), are a form of action that could dramatically change the studied processes. These considerations show the importance of deep deontological considerations, especially for qualitative research. They also show the importance of analysing research not as neutral but as a social activity, in order to take into consideration more seriously *reflexivity* about scientific practices. LC seems to solve the contrast between privacy and research aims through a methodological reflection: the methodology shared by the team does not aim to collect a large corpus of data for generalization purposes but, on the contrary, the preference is to make a deep analysis of a small amount of recordings that are representative of the research team history. Given that LC is the head of the research project he is entitled to make such observations. MR however does not seem to accept LC’s methodological explanation and treats it as a privacy issue: he assures, in fact, that he will not transcribe what LC said (l. 3). By this way he also implies that he would prefer not to accept LC’s invitation and continue recording. MR’s answer is a dispreferred action: an invitation that, in this case, could be referred to methodological issues that are also shared by MR, is expected to be followed by an acceptance of it, in particular given that the suggestion comes from the head of the research team. LC considers MR’s utterance as a rejection of his invitation and asks him, in a more explicit way, to stop recording: “let’s make it silent for about half an hour” (ll. 4-5). This time LC seems to switch from a general

necessity to his point of view: it is “in my opinion” (l. 4) that the recorder takes spontaneity. It is important to note, however, that LC is also the head of the research team, so even if he speaks from his point of view this could be understood as a must for the team. To understand the full implication of the expression “takes spontaneity” it is important to go beyond an interpersonal level, so it is important not to consider just what the participants explicitly show within the interaction but, on the contrary, it is important to consider the specificity of this research team. If the video camera had taken away spontaneity then the team would have met in an optimal way. Given that the meetings were the most important moments of coordination for the whole research team (as they worked on different areas of Council services), considering also that the meetings were relatively short (about an hour), any impediment would result in a difficulty for the entire research project. For this reason LC's strong request can be seen as a way of allowing the research project to continue in the proper fashion.

There is also a mitigation by LC's reference to spontaneity. He implies, in fact, that his utterance is not a general request, so MR can record the interactions again in the future: the recording “takes spontaneity” just “no:w” (l. 4) and LC asks to make it silent just for “half an hour” (l. 5). There is no reply by MR (l. 16). This silence at a transitional relevant point could be considered as a dispreferred answer and, in this case, as a disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984). LC treats it as a disagreement and, at this point, asks MR why he did not want to switch off the recorder (l. 7).

MR replies that if he had switched off the recorder then LC would have told him he did not have a corpus for the research they perform (ll. 8-9). With this answer on one side MR acknowledges that LC's opinion and request is important to him: it is not because of MR's desire that he would not switch off the recorder but it is related to what LC would say in the future. This way on one hand he recognizes the leading role of LC within the research team but he shows consideration for LC's proposal from an interpersonal level and not as an issue that is related to the whole research team organization. MR, with his utterance, also implies that LC could be incoherent: now he asks to switch off the recorder but “th:en” (l. 8) he would say to MR that he lacks a corpus for the research. Moreover it is possible to notice that MR uses what Pomerantz (1986) called an “Extreme Case

Formulation" (ECF): he does not say, for instance, that perhaps he would not have a sufficient corpus but that he would not have a corpus at all. Pomerantz suggests that such extreme expressions can be used to defend the legitimacy of a position. Here, differently from previous extracts, a possible inconsistency seems to be criticized by MR before it could happen. MR seems to anticipate what LC could say in the future: MR could lack a corpus. However MR seems to suggest that this lack of a corpus could be related to what LC said in his previous turn (his request to switch off the recorder) and, in that case, LC would be inconsistent. The expression seems to be considered by LC as a face-threatening act: LC's following utterance is a question that could ask MR for a repair, in particular it can be seen as the beginning of a possible-initiated repair (Schegloff et al., 1977). LC asks if MR was talking about him (l. 10) but MR does not take this opportunity and gives another dispreferred answer: he says, with a "ye:ah" (l. 11) that he referred to LC and then he repeats the ECF he used in his previous turn (l. 11). LC then overlaps him (l. 12) and asks MR if one should record "everything", "also when one goes to the toilet" (ll. 13-14). MR then answers that he did not mean what LC says but he would like to record "what ones manages to do" (l. 15). This utterance could have the function of underlying LC's exaggeration, of pointing to it and of defending MR's previous position. LC accepts this formulation ("then", "right", l. 15, 16) but uses it as a basis for defending his original request. It is interesting to note two further things: on one hand MR shows to consider his corpus as an issues that should be important for LC too. MR also speaks of a possible future LC's incoherence. LC shows his interest for MR's corpus but does not address MR's implication of a possible incoherence. Why does LC orient in such a different manner to MR's expressions? We can answer to this question by again linking to the specific participation framework where this interaction takes place (Goodwin, 1996) in two ways. MR is recording the present meeting for the research project and LC is the head of the research project, so one of LC tasks is to give suggestions about MR's work. A problem related to recordings (the corpus) is an issue to which LC is entitled to provide help, therefore LC addresses it instead of focusing on the remaining part of MR's utterance. Another explanation that seems to be closer to the considerations we made earlier could be that LC refers to an

organisational level and not to the interpersonal level implied by MR with his reference to an inconsistency. If we consider LC's utterance from an organisational level, i. e. a level that is related to the team and to the whole research, therefore an issue that is related to the corpus is an important issue for him. On the contrary, an issue related to an eventual inconsistency by LC would only be related to him personally and would not be relevant for the level addressed by him. Once more we can see that MR and LC interact by referring to two incompatible discursive levels, an interpersonal and an organisational one. These different constructions of the situation makes it difficult to solve the problem raised by LC, as he and MR to react just to one of them. These levels are not mentioned explicitly within transcriptions, however it can be seen that they shape the interaction and make it difficult to come to an agreement.

On his next turn LC does not refer to MR's previous ECF but makes another extreme claim: he treats MR's request (to record the meeting they were attending) as if he asked a more extreme request (to record everything). He rephrases MR's question as another ECF. Pomerantz (1986) also suggests another possible use of ECFs that was further investigated by Edwards (2000): a repetition of an ECF by its addressee can be considered as a challenge to it and can be followed by a softened version of the extreme claim, which is then accepted as a basis for continuing the discussion. In this case both actions are accomplished by the same person: LC attributes to MR an ECF he did not say (although MR used another ECF twice), afterwards, he challenges it and MR, similarly to what Edwards (*ibidem*) found, produces a softened version of the claim that is accepted by LC. In this case LC strengthens his challenge by making an impossible example: also recording "when one goes to the toilet" (ll. 13-14).

LC's acknowledgement with MR's softened claim ("right", l. 17) is followed by a disagreement with MR (the disagreement is signalled by a "but" following the "right"). If MR can record what he manages to record (l. 15) and LC prefers to "take away" (l. 17) then MR, according to LC, should take away the recorder (l. 18). LC's disagreement is softened but it is also presented as valid at the moment of speaking: it is prefaced by an "if" (l. 17), that is nevertheless not followed by the use of the conditional (that can be used in the Italian construction, see 12-03-08-1-

ita l. 16 in Appendix C) or by the past in the English translation (l. 17) but is followed, instead, by the use of simple present (“i say”, l. 17). It could also be a face-threatening act to MR, as it could be interpreted as an accusation of incoherence: MR had said that he has to record what he managed to do (l. 15), LC would like MR stops recording. Being one of the participants in MR’s study, LC has the right to ask MR to stop recording. So, when LC does ask MR to stop, he should be coherent with what he had said earlier and stop, as he is not allowed to record for some minutes. MR then acknowledges LC’s request (“right”, l. 19) and switches off the recorder (ll. 19-20).

#### 120308-1 – Extract 12

21 LC: no on the contrary let it go on i don't mind at all but (.)  
 22 it's a view a little::: (.) i mean it's not that we should  
 23 have (.) everything[::]  
 24 MR: [no] but if i have a bit of continuity  
 25 it's better for:  
 26 LC: (i see) but because you recorde::d [(.) every=]  
 27 MR: [two hours]  
 28 LC: =mome:nt  
 29 MR: two hours until now  
 30 LC: yes (.) not as quantity (.) as continuity it will be a  
 31 hundred per cent no:  
 32 MR: (.) y:[eah]  
 33 LC: [ n]o (.) so right ok (.) ok

When MR was going to switch off the recorder LC gives his consent to continue recording (l. 21) by adding that he did not mind but, at the same time, he once again affirms his previous position: it is not necessary to have everything (ll. 22-23). Another interesting thing to note is that LC uses the “we” instead of “you” he used at line 13. This seems to confirm the reference by LC to a level that is related to the whole research team, instead of to his own preferences, even if this is not explicitly mentioned within the interaction. Later there is another exchange between MR and LC: MR agrees with LC’s opinion that it is not necessary to have everything (“no”, l. 24) and he says that the recording is to have “a bit of continuity”. LC then says that MR recorded “every moment” (ll. 26-28) but MR

overlaps him and specifies that he recorded “two hours” (l. 27). LC disagrees this time with a weak disagreement: it is prefaced by “yes” (l. 30) and then he says that he referred to “continuity” instead of to “quantity” (l. 30) and quantity will be “a hundred per cent” (ll. 30-31). MR, at this point, agrees (“yeah”, l. 32) and LC ends the sequence (“so right”, “ok”, “ok”, l. 33).

### **The interplay between liability and a shared theoretical perspective**

The following extracts come from the same meeting where those that have just been analysed come from. Before the following extract LC and AR talked about how to link their research to final year students' dissertations.

#### **120308-3 – Extract 13**

119 LC: listen we sh- we should make them take (.) four pa:ths. (.)  
120 so they should have (.) in common a visio- (.) this one is a  
121 thing that's on the background that has nancy right (.) they  
122 know about it but it's not their thesis subject. .hh then  
123 they should have an idea (.) about these procedures right (.)  
124 and then ((they should)) describe some particular paths right  
125 (.) moreover as they do (.) a clinical ((degree course)) it's  
126 very good that they focus on a case isn't it  
127 (.)  
128 MR: so they should go to do some interviews:  
129 LC: it would be necessary that now one or two interviews  
130 MR: actually we don't have them because you told us [not to ]=  
131 LC: [of course]  
132 MR: =go to users  
133 (.)  
134 LC: pardon:  
135 MR: actually we don't have them: because you told us not to go to  
136 users to (.)  
137 LC: yes. (.) that's to say we decided right (.)=  
138 LC: =or::[: (.) als]o: (.) it seems to me i said a(hh) (.)=  
139 MR: [yes yes yes yes]  
140 LC: i mean we talked about it together no=  
141 MR: =yes. (.) no i expressed some doubts [( )]=  
142 LC: [ye:s? ]  
143 MR: =(.) because i kn- i kn- i knew that we hadn't had

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144 any(h)thing that w- that was useful if we hadn't gone do you-  
145 do you remember that i had that [(.)] that maybe=  
146 LC: [yes]

In this extract LC proposes a topic for some final year students' dissertations and how such dissertations can be linked to the broader research the team is performing (ll. 119-126). After a moment of silence (l. 127) MR voices the implication (that is prefaced by the word "so", l. 128) arising from what LC said. He asks LC if students should do some interviews. LC agrees with MR's proposal by repeating it (l. 129). At l. 130 MR says that they did not do any interviews because LC had said not to interview the users (ll. 130, 131). By giving this information MR implies that if LC had behaved in a different manner then they would already have done some interviews. This could be a face-threatening act, but LC does not seem to address it as such immediately. At first he overlaps MR (l. 131). After that MR stops talking, there is a moment of silence (l. 133) and LC asks MR to repeat what he has said (l. 134). MR repeats what he had said in his previous turn (ll. 135-136). LC then denies that it was just his decision and says that it was a decision that had also been shared by MR ("we decided", l. 137). MR agrees (l. 139), LC then asks if they had discussed before making the decision (l. 140). After this question MR partially agrees ("yes", l. 141) but also adds that he had expressed "some doubts" (l. 141), thus he implies that the final decision was made by LC. MR then explains why he expressed such doubts: if they had not done an interview then they would not have had "any(h)thing that w- that was useful" (l. 144). MR then asks LC for a confirmation (l. 145) and LC answers that he remembers ("yes", l. 146).

#### 120308-3 – Extract 14

147 LC: =but i was very ( ) (it's not the problem right) (.) but  
148 now i'd say (.) then there were some moments it seemed that  
149 by the way the structure had difficulties to welcome us and  
150 moreover (.) difficulties now are overcome (.) de facto (.)  
151 but we don't still have an agreement even if all: right  
152 [(.)] so:: (.) i mean i have a liability towards these=  
153 MR: [m: ]

154 LC: =people tomorrow i receive a call: (.) (by one person) and  
155 s/he says (.) why are you here we don't have even signed an  
156 agreement (.) it's tru:e that we talk with the the councillor  
157 and so on but (.) it's my duty to be careful within this  
158 fiel[d ([.])] a::nd sometimes m: antonietta for instance was=  
159 AR: [m m[: ]]  
160 MR: [m::]  
161 LC: =very concerned recently but it seems to me (.) that  
162 relations with operators become very: cordial exactly right (.)  
163 AR: yes basically:: (.) at registration office (..) it's more (.)  
164 calm because there's always ali (.) when we go usually  
165 there's ali and (then we've) some appointments. (.) at  
166 urp's mici there still this problem that you don't know (.)  
167 er: (.) and moreover with giacomelli you didn't underst- (.)  
168 i mean now: (.) i dunno:.

After that LC says he remembers what MR had talked about earlier he also says that the past situation was different from the present: in the past there were some moments in which the office staff (the structure, l. 149) had difficulties in “welcoming” the group (ll. 149-150) but in the present situation the difficulties had been “overcome” (l. 150). It is not clear why the office staff should welcome the research team unless we refer to a theoretical perspective that was shared within the team. Its aim was to perform a research intervention. This implied that they aimed to avoid the arising of a hierarchical struggle between the researchers (who were not supposed to know more than the Council staff about the research) and people who worked within the offices where the study was conducted. During past meetings a different requirement emerged: instead of working *for* the council staff the team decided to work *with* them. So according to such a perspective it was necessary that the team was welcomed by the people who worked within the Council offices, before they performed any action that could have been potentially problematic.

This seems to be confirmed by the following utterances LC makes: he adds, in fact, that he has a responsibility, a liability (l. 152) towards the people (“these people”, l. 152, 154) MR talked about. If they had interviewed the users he may have received complaints (“why are you here”, l. 155) because of the lack of a



“signed agreement” (ll. 155-156). He says that it is his “duty” (l. 157) to be careful. As the head of the research project LC is entitled to check that the team's theoretical perspective (to work *with* the staff) was fully met. Then he tells a story about AR (Antonietta, l. 158) to exemplify what he is saying and AR confirms LC's version by adding further details (ll. 163-168). During the research period the relationships between the research team and office staff changed. This allows LC to confirm that at the moment in which this meeting took place they reach their shared goals to work in a friendly manner with the staff and to propose what was not possible in the past. If we were not aware of the team theoretical perspective it would be very difficult to understand LC's inconsistency, which is justified by his concerns to follow what the team had decided during meetings held previously but that is not explicitly mentioned within the transcriptions. This perspective that takes into account not only what happens in a particular moment, but also considers the past team history, its decisions, the opportunities and restrictions imposed by the two institutions that were involved in the research (the team and the Council) permits the understanding of processes in a way that would be very difficult by just looking at what the participants display during their interaction.

### **How methodology and time shape decisions and interaction**

The following extracts are part of the meeting held by the research team after having performed their first participant observation. LC, as underlined before, is the head of the research team and AR has received a grant to participate in the research project. Before the following extract AR relatd what had happened during her observation. Afterwards LC suggests that it would be important to decide how the research should be continued but they would have talked of it after the Christmas holidays. AR asks if they should carry out another participant observation the following day and just before the following extract LC answers that in his opinion it would be important.

#### **191207 – Extract 15**

322 LC:       okay (.) so does it sound goo:d?

323               (.)

324 AR:       b::ut (.) we talk with: with opera- with mici operators not

325 with registration office employees  
326 LC: well i'd say at this point to speak with everybody you cannot  
327 say (.) you: are (.) but you aren't for-  
328 AR: i mean but they are two places so di- well i mean (.) we with  
329 urp staff for instance except those who were at the  
330 consultation room: [( )]  
331 LC: [but my ] question is er::: does these  
332 other people manage:: er:: any conversation with immigrants:  
333 AR: er i don't (.) i don't know insofar as immigrants:  
334 (.)  
335 LC: exactly. insofar as they come and they relate as with them  
336 they are interesting for us  
337 AR: yes but they don't know anything of (.) i mean-  
338 LC: well you (we go tomorrow and you see there)  
339 (..)  
340 AR: m:

At the beginning of this extract LC asks whether the people attending the meeting agree with what he said (“does it sound good”, l. 322). This question, that is prefaced by “ok”, can be seen as a possible pre-closing: for instance an “ok” as second pair part could be used by the participants as a resource to begin a closing section. This possible pre-closing also gives to the participants the possibility to start a new topic (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). AR uses this possibility and begins her turn (l. 324) with a “b::ut”. She says that they could talk with some people (“mici operators”, l. 324) and not with others (“registration office employees”, l. 325). On his next turn LC disagrees and proposes that they talk with “everybody” (l. 326) because it is not correct (“you cannot”, l. 326), in his opinion, to be selective. The selection is showed by LC through a quotation: “you: are (.) but you aren’t for” (l. 327). Quotations can be seen as a way to demonstrate (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) that a possible exclusion expressed by LC can be true. A quotation does not necessarily refer to a real even but could also refer to a hypothetical one (De Vries, 2008). In particular the word “but” used by LC may allow him to “show” a possible exclusion.

AR disagrees with LC (“but”, l. 328) and adds further information to her previous position: there are “two places” (ll. 328). LC, with a “but” (l. 331) shows that he

considers AR's new information as insufficient to change his mind and suggests, with a question, what is relevant in his opinion: it is important to know whether the "other people" (II. 331-332) mentioned by AR had any conversation with immigrants (I. 332). AR at first answers that she does not know (I. 333) but then she adds that there might be a situation when those people talk with immigrants. She prefaces this possibility by using the word "insofar". Even if she does not give any details LC shows he understands there is such a possibility ("exactly", I. 335). LC then repeats his previous position: "they are interesting for us" (II. 335-336) as they "relate" to immigrants (I. 335).

AR partially agrees with LC ("yes", I. 337), so she agrees about the possibility that registration office employees talked with migrants, but she adds another information: "they don't know anything of" (I. 337) and she does not further specify of what. LC then probably (it was not possible to understand this utterance) suggests AR to go and see (I. 338) what happens. AR, after a silence (I. 339) shows that she agrees ("m:", I. 340).

If we look at this extract again we can see that AR specifies two categories of people, mici operators and registration office employees (II. 324-325) but this specification is not accepted by LC (II. 326-327). AR disagrees with LC by further describing the specificity of the situation that has to be studied (II. 328-330). Here it can be seen that a methodological perspective (that was shared within the research team) emerges, even if it is not mentioned explicitly earlier. The research team aims were to study access and communication of migrant citizens to public municipality services. According to this perspective they decided that from a methodological point of view they should have considered the studied places by looking at them only as offices related to migrant citizens, without any further a-priori differentiation between the different types of people who worked in the offices. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by LC who, at this point, disagrees with AR and defends his previous position by referring to this type of methodological perspective: they were studying access and communication to municipality services of migrant citizens, so everybody who is dealing with migrants is interesting for the research team (II. 331-332, 335-336). AR reveals herself to be unsure as to whether registration office staff are not in contact with

migrants (“i don’t know”, l. 333) so LC suggests that she should find out whether they are (l. 338).

#### 191207 – Extract 16

341 LC: so these are- employees they saw you last time furthermore  
342 they would feel strongly excluded no  
343 AR: no the: those who [arrived]  
344 LC: [you go t]here you speak with three people  
345 you don't want ((to talk with)) the other two we must not  
346 [(ask)/(believe)]  
347 AR: [those who a]re in consultation room er: an:: one (.)  
348 with one of them we introduced ourselves before leaving to be  
349 honest because we hadn't i mean  
350 LC: exactly so i mean

LC says that as a consequence of what they said (“so”, l. 341) is that some employees already saw AR and probably felt “strongly excluded” (l. 342). LC this time uses an argument related to a possible ethical misconduct of AR. AR answers to this possible face-threatening act in a negative manner (“no”, l. 343). AR then continues with her turn but LC overlaps her and explains the reason of what he said in his previous turn: it is because AR spoke with some people (“three people”, l. 344) and not with some other people (“the other two”, l. 345). AR continues her previous turn and links it by using the expression “those who” (l. 347) she used before (l. 343). She says that they introduced themselves to one person. So she shows she has already done what LC suggested and that she did not exclude anyone. LC takes this turn as a confirmation of his position, by saying “exactly” (l. 350) and he begins to talk about a consequence, by prefacing it with “so” (l. 350).

#### 191207 – Extract 17

351 AR: and the others are very busy we cannot go to the counter and  
352 say excuse me they don't know anything, they didn't speak  
353 with anyone, they didn't (.) i mean i don't have i don't i  
354 don't just  
355 LC: then anto listen then  
356 (..)

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357 AR: they don't have any relation with giacomelli i mean they're  
358 two

359 LC: it's not interesting at all for us right that they have a  
360 relation with giacomelli i mean (...) so (...) so then n:  
361 inside of the council building there are: (.) many different  
362 views so then (.) this service that is mici depends from a  
363 woman called giacomelli who refers to a department that is  
364 called (.) whatever it i:::s (..) that is that one of  
365 sangati. then there are the registration office on the other  
366 side. so there are these distinctions right (..) that on one  
367 side it's very important to kee- to consider right (.) then  
368 we had the ok and a (.) dialogue with (..) this giacomelli,  
369 (.) we looked for the others but we still don't have con-  
370 (..) we still didn't have any formal ok and so on (.) but (.)  
371 from another point of view here (.) e: they are people that  
372 work with different belongings in the same context (.) and so  
373 from a methodological point of view the correct way i mean we  
374 are not employees of i don't kno::w, of tax office that have  
375 to go, they have some authority in sector a: or in sector b:  
376 we (.) as we go there that one is a workplace for us then  
377 (..) the characteristic of a (.) of an ethnographically  
378 oriented work (.) is to work (.) mainly on relations by  
379 clarifying (..) what you're going to do there because it is a  
380 duty and so introducing yourself as you did last time by  
381 introducing also new figures as they come (.) introducing  
382 them by voice but also practically for instance to go the  
383 following week instead of after two months is an introduction  
384 right other people come they may also get alarmed i mean  
385 (instead of two) ((he laughs)) others come and they become  
386 fifty and to offer to the others a possibility of introducing  
387 themselves right obviously if these people have some work to  
388 carry on (..) er: i'll let them work but the idea if to try  
389 to say excuse me when you've one minute we'll explain to you  
390 why we're here then that (.) then don't speak with you  
391 because they can't (.) it's one thing if they didn't speak  
392 with you because you don't address them it's another right  
393 and so (how to say) (.) er::: the more you become a visible  
394 presence the more (.) you can a: overcome these barriers:  
395 (...) but even by saying we spoke with giacomelli and the:::

396 but many times there is some work that people do together  
397 right (and then) i'm here they're there (.) so it's not that  
398 (.) i go and i speak right- (.) i speak with them and not  
399 with you because it would be even a form of exclusion (.)  
400 this i'd think. (.) a::nd (.) and so i'd say to involve (.)  
401 as much as it's possible if they're not there working ok (.)  
402 i don't go there=  
403 LC: =[and i say ] ok clear  
404 LC: [((he taps his right fist on the table))]

AR, in this extract, adds further information to what she had previously said. She said she talked with other people but she also says they were very busy (l. 351): this is why she did not speak to all of them. This way she again disagrees with LC: it is not possible to talk with everybody because they are very busy. AR, in this case, uses two strategies to defend her position: a quotation (“excuse me”, l. 352) that allows her to demonstrate what he means and two extreme case formulations (ECF): “they don’t know anything” and “they don’t speak with anyone” (ll. 353-354). As Pomerantz (1986) showed ECF can be used as a way of legitimizing a position. After AR added the last piece of information, LC asks for the right to speak (“listen”, l. 355). LC does not immediately begin to talk and, after a period of silence (l. 356) AR adds further information: the people she talked about (“they”, l. 357) do not have any interaction with Giacomelli (l. 357). In his turn at l. 355 LC uses a direct manner to begin a turn: the imperative tense. It is not clear whether AR considers LC’s utterance as problematic, as she does not speak and there is a period of silence (l. 356). With this silence AR gives LC a possibility to continue his turn. Just after this period of silence, as LC does not use that possibility, AR initiates another turn (ll. 357-358). This interruption that is accepted by AR might suggest that she acknowledges a leading role to LC. However another possible explanation will be provided at the end of this paragraph.

Now there is a long turn by LC. He says that it is not important they have any interaction with Giacomelli (ll. 359-360). He uses a ECF to enforce this claim (“it’s not interesting *at all*”, l. 359). This ECF could also be a face-threatening act but it is not possible to know if AR considers it in this way, as she lets LC continue to speak. LC also says that there are two offices (l. 360-366), as AR said, that the group

does not have a formal go-ahead to talk with registration office staff ("any formal ok", l. 370) but all people work "in the same context" (l. 372) so "from a methodological point of view" (l. 373) it is necessary "to work (.) mainly on relations" (ll. 378-379). It is necessary to work on relations and to give to "the others a possibility of introducing themselves" (ll. 386-387) and "obviously", as AR said, to let them work if they cannot talk (ll. 387-388). This "obviously" might be a way used by LC to show he already knows what AR said and agrees with it. It could also be a way to protect AR's face. It is interesting to also note the use of "and so on" after the expression "formal ok" (l. 370). Jefferson (1990, 90) showed that a list (she analysed three-term lists, while here we have a two-terms list) can be used as a resource to reformulate as an "equivalent list co-member" any further list-item produced by a second speaker. Moreover Cheshire (2007) shows a further possible use of these structures: they can be used to foreground a discourse entity and, at the same time, to mark as background information what is linked to the concept they underline. So in this case any further eventual element linked to the "formal ok" is put in the background and is not considered sufficiently relevant and, moreover, if AR said any of those elements, it may already be included by LC within his "and so on".

So in this turn LC presents his proposal to talk with everybody as a way of behaving correctly towards them because such behaviour would allow the employees the possibility of introducing themselves. Meanwhile he accepts the position AR took previously (ll. 351-352): it is not necessary to talk with registration office staff if they are busy. LC repeats his proposal and makes an example (ll. 388-402). He then asks AR if she agreed ("ok clear", l. 403). It is also important to note at l. 404 that LC taps his fist on the table. It might seem to be acting in an authoritative way, but it will be better analysed at the end of this paragraph.

If we focus once more on the content of this extract we can see that LC mediates between methodological issues, ethical issues and context contingencies. He specifies the "correct way" of working from a *methodological* point of view (ll. 373-380), as was underlined earlier: it is correct to work on relationships and also (it is "a duty", l. 380) to introduce yourself (*ibidem*). But the introduction of AR, along with new figures could have some bad *ethical* consequences: "they may also get

alarmed” (l. 384). LC explains why they may get alarmed by using another ECF: the other people the group eventually introduced can “become fifty” (l. 386) instead of two (l. 385). It is an ECF because all the participants attending the meeting knew for sure that the research group was not made up of fifty people. LC’s next proposal is a more reasonable alternative of avoiding that frustrating situation. This type of proposal is demonstrated by using a quotation: “excuse me when you’ve one minute we’ll explain to you why we’re here” (ll. 389-390). If AR behaved like LC proposes here, then employees would have “a possibility of introducing themselves” (ll. 386-387) but, at the same time, if they were very busy, they could continue to work (ll. 387-388). This way both “ideal” methodological requirements and contingent ethical issues are taken into account: they had a possibility to speak and if they did not speak it is because “they can’t” (l. 391) and not “because you don’t address them” (l. 392). Moreover it seems that LC, in this case, uses a quotation at ll. 389-390 to demonstrate to AR that she should try to overcome the problems she encountered: he suggests she can “overcome these barriers” (l. 394). He underlines again the importance to speak with everybody, otherwise, if she did not address the “barriers” it would be an *ethical* problem, “a form of exclusion” (l. 400).

#### 191207 – Extract 18

405 AR:       yes yes right in the sense i meant that they're two (..)  
 406             they're two >they're two functions completely=  
 407 AR:       =di[fferent<            ci]si is hosted the:re but it's=  
 408 LC:        [i understood but]  
 409 AR:        =(.) there are no interactions i mean they're not th're not  
 410             they [aren't]  
 411 LC:        [but wh]at do we know about it you went once and you  
 412             already know that there are no interactions  
 413 AR:        i mean they do (.) right i mean they do totally different  
 414             things [that's to say ( )]  
 415 LC:        [ok they           at lea]st see each other right the girl  
 416             who came last time i mean (.) in a workplace at least  
 417             curiosity right what i come what did they did (.) if they  
 418             don't deal with problems o::f immigration (..) and then er:  
 419             there's no reason but also in this case (.) it's more correct



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420 to say them right to say we stay here and we study pr- we too  
421 by the way sometimes s/he says we unfortunately work just  
422 with (..) then (..) right (.) but they should be involved by  
423 letting them a choice about (.) how to position themselves,  
424 if it's possible this time if you think it's correct (.) ((he  
425 looks at MR)) to record something and to try to listen to  
426 somethi:ng (..) i mean the point that's a little weak (.) no  
427 the poi:nt very positive is that you're two three (.) without  
428 ali right the point that weakens a little but it's also  
429 good (.) is that there isn't ali otherwise you could  
430 already begin to talk with (.) but by taking your time it's  
431 not that you have to assault them right (.) a::nd and then it  
432 would be necessary to do a little a plan for the period after  
433 christmas right (.) and after (.) after twelfth night right  
434 so that (.) also these misses have some work (.) right (.) is  
435 it ok (.) is it ok or should we say or do any other thing (.)  
436 i think this things (.) can't be planned in advance too much  
437 what do you say francesca

AR answers she agrees (“yes yes right”, l. 405) but then she says that she meant there are two functions that are “completely different” (ll. 406-407). LC overlaps her and says he has understood (l. 408) and, with a “but”, he prefaces a disagreement. AR continues her turn and adds that “there are no interactions” (l. 409) between the two types of workers. LC then interrupts her and disagrees by saying that she went to the offices only on one occasion and so she could not be sure if there had been any interactions (ll. 411-412). AR repeats they are totally different (ll. 413-414) and LC says again, by interrupting AR (l. 415) that it is important to let workers have “a choice” (l. 423) to participate. Near the end of his turn LC asks if they agreed (“right”, “is it ok”, “is it ok or should we say or do any other thing”, ll. 434-435). There is no answer by AR nor any overlap with LC, who chooses the next-turn speaker (“francesca”, l. 437). AR will not address this topic again during the current meeting, so a shared decision was made here because of the lack of a further disagreement.

AR disagreed every time by adding further information to what she said in her previous turn, this way she could accept as a principle what LC said (so she could

avoid any face-threatening act) but she could also disagree because she added new information, so she continuously re-constructed the issue they were talking about at every turn. LC, on the other hand, disagreed with her by asking questions and by using some counter-arguments to say that the information AR provided was not relevant or it was not necessarily correct. At the same time it can be noted that LC also used some strategies to protect AR's face: by saying, for instance, that she can work by taking her time (l. 430) and that she does not "have to assault them" (l. 431) he shows he understands AR's concerns and partially agrees with her. Face-saving acts performed by both AR and LC allows them to reach a compromise between their positions that, at first, appeared to be significantly different.

In this extract we also can see that LC refers again to some *ethical* ("it's more correct to...", ll. 419-422) and *methodological* issues ("they should be involved by letting them...", ll. 422-423) and again to an ethical issue ("by taking your time it's not that you have to assault them", ll.430-431). We can see that in the extracts here analysed methodology and ethics are put in connection with contingencies. The struggle between meta-artefacts (ways of doing ethnographic research; on ethical issues) and specificities of the studied context mediate the final decision on how to act. At the beginning LC focuses on meta-artefacts, but AR's disagreement and detailed description of the context allows LC to situate meta-artefacts (extract 17-18) and allows LC and AR to make a shared decision.

It is important to make a final remark about some issues that still seem not to have been explained in a sufficient manner. In previous extracts we mentioned that LC performed some actions that seemed to be related to an authoritative way of interacting: he interrupted AR by using an imperative tense (l. 355), he tapped a fist on his office table (l. 404) and finally he interrupted AR twice (l. 411, 415). This kind of interaction, that could be a potentially face-threatening act, seems to be very particular and difficult to explain. However it can be understood by looking at some contextual issues that are not explicitly mentioned within the interaction but allow to explain such behaviour. The research performed by this team was mainly field research, meetings made up only a small phase of this research. Even though their length was not explicitly predefined a priori it did not vary a lot within

the corpus analysed. The average length of meetings in this corpus is 01.03 hours. From the codify that has been made to find disagreements within this meeting we can see that the present meeting length was of 52.08 minutes and that the piece of interaction that has been analysed happened from 42.23 to 47.29. This suggests that the research team was approaching the normal end of a meeting and that imperative tense, along with interruptions were probably a way used by LC to bring the meeting to an end, so that the field research could be performed. The team, in fact, had to reach some research goals within a pre-defined period and an unusual prolongation of meetings would have been dramatic for the common research plan. If we consider these contextual issues then what could be seen as an authoritative way of interacting (from a conversational point of view) appears as a proper way to realize the research team's aims. Some conversational features, like interruptions, appear to be shaped by the broader context in which the interaction took place. This context does not seem to be explicit within the interaction, however, an analysis that does not take this into account would probably be incongruent with what probably happened.

### **When the unsaid makes a difference**

The following extracts are part of a meeting that took place at the end of the first phase of the research. The participants talk about a paper they are going to write. AR and MR studied available literature and prepared an outline of the paper. Before the following extract they explained to LC (who is the head of the research project) this outline.

#### **210508 – Extract 19**

1 LC: (.) ok so we've an introduction [then (.) ]  
2 MR: [(it's not] just) the  
3 introduction because he say:s that chap (..) excuse me er: if  
4 i interrupt you. (.) he says th:- there are ma:: because we'd  
5 like to focus exactly by starting from this paper this is why  
6 i insist (.) hh he says that there are three modalities o::  
7 of intercultural mediation it seems to me. (.) one (.) in  
8 which mediators act as an interface (.) betwee::n migrants

9 and organization (..) the other in which they want:::  
 10 tha[t:::]  
 11 LC: [this]: (.) panareda  
 12 MR: yes this (.) [th:: the]  
 13 LC: [that anyway is no:t [(panareda)] (.) he's=  
 14 AR: [may i ]  
 15 LC: =called augusti  
 16 MR: m. (.) the other in [in ie: (.) th:- (.) i:-]=  
 17 LC: [his surname is augusti ]  
 18 MR: =the o:: the other in which (.) in which you want that mi-  
 19 that migrants adapt (.) themselves to social syste::m of::  
 20 (.) of host society he uses exactly host society, (.) and the  
 21 other that that that is one- that:: that is the ideal one  
 22 that says there would be a modality (.) in which mediators  
 23 act as a third figure to allow (.) to change also  
 24 organizations.  
 25 (.)

As mentioned above AR and MR gave LC a written document, an outline of the paper, titled: “Situating intercultural mediation in the public services: Professional and organisational changes”.

In the first extract LC begins a turn but MR interrupts him and adds some new information (we can see that it is not a full disagreement by MR’s preface: “it’s not *just*”, l. 2). LC overlaps MR (l. 11) but in his turn he does not refer to what he said but changes the topic of the discussion (l. 11): he makes a comment about an author that is present in the outline he is reading. MR, at first, answers LC’s questions (l. 12). AR overlaps LC (l. 14) but finished his turn. Afterwards MR begins once more with the topic he was talking about during his previous turn (l. 16). This way he shows that his previous answer (l. 12) could also be a way of going back to his previous topic. In fact MR, after a continuer (“m. (.)”, l. 16) repeats the word “the”, which was the last word he used in his previous turn (l. 12) before being interrupted by LC. It seems that MR and LC are interested in two different topics: LC in fact interrupts MR and changes the topic to the surname of the author he talked about in his previous turn (l. 17). MR does not stop talking and continues to talk about the topic he began at l. 2 (ll. 18-24). From line 25 to

line 33 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) MR and AR discuss an issue from a paper by Panareda (the author to which LC referred to during his topic-changes).

#### 210508 – Extract 20

34 MR: ok. a::nd and and he says there: there's a- there's a- there  
35 are there are these ones and the third one: that:: one about  
36 modifying also organization (.) which in his opinion would  
37 be the ideal one is never put into practice. (..) in::  
38 in:: in our opinion as much as we saw (.) there's a missing  
39 step that he doesn't do (..) that's to say why no:- why these  
40 one are put into practice and why the other one is not  
41 put into practice. (..) because in our opinion he does not  
42 take into consideration that (.) and here we'd we'd like to  
43 use it also in the title, that mediation is a situated  
44 context. that's to say to understand what kind of mediation  
45 is the best within a certain system (..) it's necessary first  
46 to consider the type of organization in which mediation is  
47 situated (..) and here we'd like to start and go on (.)  
48 beginning by this thing that he doesn't say.  
49 (...)  
50 LC: right you left out (.) the (..) martinez. [(.)]=  
51 MR: [m::]  
52 LC: =knowingly or not?

In this extract the structure of interaction is similar to the one found in extract one: MR talks about the content of the paper (ll. 34-48) and, after a period of silence (l. 49) LC begins a turn. On this occasion he shows that he agrees with MR (“right”, l. 50), then he changes the topic, and talks about another author (“martinez”, l. 50). From line 52 to line 63 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) LC, AR and MR talk about this new topic.

#### 210508 – Extract 21

64 LC: yes ok (..) so now we have to see if it's better to write it  
65 this way but anyway we have all data isn't it? (..) because  
66 now it's necessary to see (.) i mean exactly how i'd see it  
67 i'd see first (...) interculture (...) that's to say the

68 introduction (.) it says just how's the arti[cle]=  
 69 AR: [yes]  
 70 LC: =(names) concepts we have to introduce (.) we think  
 71 interculture, (..) because of interculture: (..) er:: the  
 72 object, (..) and methodo:logies (..) are territory, (...) i  
 73 mean this one for me (..) is a strong discourse (.) this is  
 74 the discourse you did.  
 75 MR: m: m:

In this extract LC proposes what they should write (ll. 64-68), AR agrees (l. 69), then LC, after underlining that what he was saying was a “strong discourse” (l. 73) for him (“me”, l. 73), asks if MR had also meant the same thing. MR confirms it is correct (l. 75). A disagreement in this case could have been a face-threatening act towards LC, given that LC explicitly linked what he was saying to himself by stressing the word “me” (l. 73). From line 76 to line 92 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) AR asks LC for some clarifications about what he had said in ll. 64-74, LC answers AR’s questions.

### 210508 – Extract 22

93 LC: so (.) would we like to do a work on inter- on intercultural  
 94 mediation. for this reason we have i'd begin what's  
 95 interculture (.) and what's territory then (.) it's a link  
 96 very (.) strong isn't it  
 97 AR: yes (.) we thought of it like this (.) thing here  
 98 LC: yes (.) yes yes i see i'm rephra:sing it [(.) ] in my=  
 99 AR: [yes yes yes]  
 100 LC: =way right (...) yes (.) it's this one  
 101 AR: yes right i: i i:: i wondered basically=  
 102 AR: =[this way or more:: ]  
 103 LC: [er this way (.) right] just you'll see how [it becomes,]=  
 104 AR: [uh ok ]  
 105 LC: =what it's necessary to do: (.) e::r in my opinion the  
 106 problem is too see what's (.) the way all steps right [(.) ]  
 107 AR: [m: m:]  
 108 LC: that's to say what it justifies right (...) a::nd then here  
 109 so there's a discourse on mediatio:n and there are (...)  
 110 models

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111 AR: (...) yes exactly here we wondered what is the link and  
112 exactly:-  
113 LC: er er: right so you say we'd like to do a work on  
114 interculture because [(.) ] that's what comes=  
115 AR: [m: m:]  
116 LC: =first right [(..)] then mediation (.) models and here=  
117 AR: [yeah]  
118 LC: we've different sources of models right(...) even if martinez  
119 summarized them into three models do you reme:mber?  
120 (...)  
121 AR: yes  
122 LC: (then)/(they were) those ones .hhh ok so mediatio:n there are  
123 these models (...) we::: which one do we choo:se  
124 AR: we which one do we choose (.) exactly here [we thought ]=  
125 LC: [no no(.)no(.)yes]  
126 AR: =i mean approaches and then the intercultural vision on  
127 media[tion]  
128 LC: [o:ur]  
129 AR: our  
130 LC: yes (..) we say the same thing (..) [there's ( )]  
131 AR: [no i'm saying the]=  
132 AR: =logic [is ]  
133 LC: [yes] it means (..) yes ((*in english*)) situated yes  
134 AR: let's say the intercultural vi- our view of mediation  
135 LC: i mean given that- so mediation is carried on these and those  
136 ways (.) this way this way this way (...) m: m: when we  
137 present them we say where we position ourselves [right?]  
138 AR: [yes ]  
139 perfect  
140 LC: this is o:k (.) this is like the observation you did right?  
141 MR: yes

In this extract LC explains again what he meant. In his opinion the paper is on “intercultural mediation” (l. 93). It is necessary, in his opinion, to have a section about interculture and territory (ll. 93-95). He asks if the participants agree (l. 96). AR says she agrees and points out that they had already thought of that issue (l. 97). She uses a deictic, “here”. Probably she is referring to the outline they presented to LC. In that document there is a point that is entitled “interculture and

the study of territory”. LC says that he knows they had already written about what he said and that he is just rephrasing it (l. 98). AR after a few turns agrees (l. 104). LC then begins to explain “what is necessary to do” (l. 105) in his opinion. He says that there is a discourse on mediation and there are many models (ll. 109-110) and then lists some sections of the paper. He talks of these sections as if they were shared by all the participants, he uses “we” (l. 113). He then lists these sections: intercultural (l. 114), AR confirms that she agrees (l. 115), then LC continues with his listing: he says that there are many “sources of models” (l. 118) and refers to Martinez (l. 118). AR, after a request by LC (l. 119), confirms that the reference to Martinez is correct (l. 121).

LC continues by saying that there are different models (ll. 122-123) and asks which one the group would choose (l. 123). AR answers by making a reference to the document they are reading (“exactly here”, l. 124). LC overlaps her (l. 125) but AR continues her turn (l. 126) and LC stops speaking. AR explains that they thought it was a good idea to talk about “approaches” (l. 126) and then about “intercultural vision on mediation” (ll. 126-127). Probably, she is referring to an item of the document they are reading: “mediation: approaches in literature and an intercultural position”. LC overlaps her and associates the intercultural vision with them, by specifying that is “o:ur” (l. 128) position. AR confirms by repeating the word “our” (l. 129). LC confirms (“yes”, 130) and points out that they are saying the same thing (l. 130). It is not clear here if “we” (l. 130) is referred to LC and AR that are speaking or to all the participants at the meeting, given that AR and MR are the authors of the document AR referred to.

AR further specifies what she meant (“the logic is”, ll. 131-132). It is not clear whether her “no” (l. 131) is a disagreement with LC’s utterance (“we say the same thing” l. 130) or an agreement, so AR explains what the “same thing” is in her opinion. LC shows he has understood and says that the logic is “situated” (l. 133). He utters the word “situated” in English. This could be a link to the document they are reading. Most of the document is written, in fact, in Italian but there are some sentences that are written in English. In particular it seems to be important to look at the document’s title and to an item from the “analysis” section. The title is “Situating intercultural mediation in the public services: Professional and



organisational changes” and the English item from the analysis section is “Mediation as a situated construction”. The word “situated”, spoken in English, could be a reference to the title or to the item from the analysis section. This reference could also indicate that the “we” LC used in l. 113 referred not only to AR and himself but also to the whole group. It could have an indexical function as it implies a referred “context” that, in the present case, could be the research group. AR says that what they are talking about is the “intercultural vi-“ (l. 134) but then she makes a repair and specifies that it is their (“our”, l. 134) view of mediation: this way she shows again she agrees with LC and his “o:ur” (l. 128). LC then says that the group should present all models of mediation and should position itself around them (ll. 135-137). He asks for a confirmation (“right”, l. 137). AR confirms (“yes perfect”, ll. 138-139). Then LC asks MR if what LC said is “like” what MR had said (l. 140). MR confirms it was (“yes”, l. 141).

This agreement by MR seems to be particular. LC in fact referred to models of mediation, as MR seemed to do in extract 19 by calling them modalities. LC refers to mediation as situated, as MR did in extract 20. However MR also specified what he meant with the word situated. This is evident in extract 20, ll. 43-48 and can be also be seen in extract 23 reported below.

#### 210508 – Extract 23

43                    use it also in the title, that mediation is a situated  
44                    context. that's to say to understand what kind of mediation  
45                    is the best within a certain system (..) it's necessary first  
46                    to consider the type of organization in which mediation is  
47                    situated (..) and here we'd like to start and go on (.)  
48                    beginning by this thing that he doesn't say.

MR says that it is necessary at “first” (l. 45) “to consider the type of organization in which mediation is situated” (ll. 46-47). He says that they (“we”, l. 47) would like to begin from that point (“here”, l. 47). However LC or AR did not make any references, in their previous turns, to this point. LC instead says that he would like to begin with what is interculture (ll. 94-95). It is not clear that the agreement reached here by LC, AR and MR is a total agreement. This lack of reference to an

issue that MR considered important is a potential unexpressed partial disagreement, a disagreement that is not explicitly addressed here by MR.

#### 210508 – Extract 24

335 (.) it's corre:ct?  
 336 (.)  
 337 LC: no.  
 338 MR: n:o er::: the th- the th- the thing would be (.) in li- in  
 339 literature these are expected (.) in literature in last  
 340 articles we say (.) and a- also here he says there are plenty  
 341 of them it's us- just these three (.) are used what a pity  
 342 that it doesn't- [it doesn't]-  
 343 LC: [but ] excuse me usually they're  
 344 alternative models right (.) so it's not true that all of  
 345 them should be used. there're options right? (.) [(i me]an)  
 346 AR: [bu::t]  
 347 MR: yes [but]  
 348 AR: [but] you consider that here he by the way (.) saw a w-  
 349 wi- wide range also of services. [(.) i] mean mediators=  
 350 LC: [y:es ]  
 351 AR: =within different services  
 352 LC: yes  
 353 AR: and he looks at mo[de:l]s (.) and also to modalitie:s (.)=  
 354 LC: [(ao)]  
 355 AR: =that have been adopted by (.) by mediators i mean [(.)] the=  
 356 LC: [yes]  
 357 AR: =model of mediation and also (.) in quotes techniques [the:]  
 358 LC: [yes ]  
 359 yes yes but i mean so it doesn't make too much sense to say  
 360 but then why they don't do also that other mediation because  
 361 they are doing this one (...) do i make myself clear? no  
 362 (.)

From line 142 to line 334 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) the participants still discuss the paper. In particular from line 142 to line 215 they talk about the theoretical part of the paper, from line 216 to line 248 they discuss the title of a section and from line 249 to line 335 LC explains that there is a national model that says what mediators are, and proposes that they make a map of what

exists in the town they were going to study and, finally, he says that there are some ethnographic observations made by the group, that can be compared with the other two models. At the beginning of this extract he asks if what he said was correct (l. 335). There is no answer by MR (l. 336) and LC considers this silence as a disagreement (“no”, l. 337). MR confirms he disagrees (“no”, l. 338) and begins to explain why (ll. 338-342). LC overlaps him, MR stops talking and LC disagrees with him by asking a question (ll. 343-345). AR overlaps LC and begins to answer by prefacing a disagreement (“bu::t”, l. 346). She does not continue to speak. MR begins a turn, when he partially agrees with LC (“yes”, l. 347) and partially disagrees, like AR (“but”, l. 347). AR overlaps MR (l. 348) by linking to his “but”. This could be a strategy AR uses to show she agrees with MR and to align with him. MR stops speaking and AR explains what she meant (ll. 348-349, 351, 353, 355, 357). LC agrees (ll. 350, 352, 356, 358) and explains again (ll. 359-361) what he said at ll. 343-345. He asks at the end of his turn if everybody has understood (l. 361). MR does not answer (l. 362), so it is still not possible to know what MR was going to say nor to know if he agreed with LC’s new explanation.

## 210508 – Extract 25

363 AR:       yes ok i mean he says there's a loss of balan- that's to say  
364               what lacks let's say is the intercultural (..) version of  
365               mediation that it that one that (..) apart from let's say from  
366               (..) simplifying to one one a::: operativity: of  
367               assimi[lation that's to say (..)] of normalization in quotes=  
368 LC:               [i understood i understood]  
369 AR:       =also a (.) modality that e:r brings to discuss or=  
370 AR:       =[to rethink modalities       ]=  
371 LC:               [i understood i understood]  
372 AR:       =of- (.) of institution=  
373 LC:       =[i understood]  
374 MR:       [nearly to    ] [nea- ]  
375 LC:               [and t]his thing you said would be based on  
376               what (..) on the model on both on the model that comes out hhh  
377               from documents and also on that one that then you see::  
378 MR:       exactly  
379 LC:       is it [like that? is it t]his one: (.)  
380 MR:       [al alm-               ]

In this extract AR explains what she meant (ll. 363-367, 369-370, 372) in her turns analysed in the previous extract. LC overlaps her twice (l. 368, 371) and says he understands. MR initiates a turn (l. 374) and, when LC overlaps him (l. 375) he stops speaking. LC then explains what he understood (ll. 375-377) and MR says he agrees (“exactly”, l. 378). But when LC asks explicitly if what he said was correct (l. 379) MR overlaps him and begins to say, probably, “almost” (l. 380). What is translated here as “nearly to” (l. 374) is, in Italian (see l. 379 of the Italian transcription in Appendix C), “quasi a” and “almost” in Italian is “quasi”. So “al alm-“ (l. 380) might be a way used by MR to link to his previous turn (l. 374) and to specify something. It does not seem fully clear, from this transcription, whether MR completely agrees with LC or he agrees only partially.

#### 210508 – Extract 26

381 (.)  
382 AR: [yes (it's)]  
383 LC: [i mean ] the:: t:: the element of interest is a  
384 comparison between what comes out from documents (.) and on  
385 the other side (.) what we saw during intervieu:ws and during  
386 observations (.) or (.) between (.) these two thing  
387 considered together and the general picture that has been  
388 created be:fore?  
389 (...)  
390 MR: perhaps a different third thing [(.)] er::: (..) m: i er: (.)=  
391 LC: [o::]  
392 MR: =i explain it by starting from what ali said because we  
393 it's from there that we came there (..) here all all all all  
394 mediators have b- have been hired as mediators (..) foh: as:  
395 figures that in theory are external. (.) they found  
396 themselves within an organisational context in which (.) they  
397 have a big need::: for operators (.) and where in practice  
398 they work as dependent employees because they've a boss  
399 they've set working hours and so on (.) and so er::: the:::  
400 the kind of mediation that's expected (.) when they're hired  
401 is not applied but (..) it's appl- another one is applied and  
402 this thing could be (.) argued by all documents that ali  
403 mentioned (..) and here we'd like to say also to this paper::

### 3.2 The research team

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404 m:: er:: (.) that (.) that underlines that some models are  
405 used instead of some others (.) why because it's necessary to  
406 consider the organisational context (.) and mediation has to  
407 be re-thought of as a situated concept

After some silence (l. 381) AR initiates a turn (l. 382) and LC interrupts her (l. 383). LC then asks what is “the element of interest” (l. 383) and gives two possibilities (ll. 383-388). After a long period of silence (l. 389) MR disagrees with him and says that the element of interest is “a different third thing”. He mitigates his disagreement by using a “perhaps” (l. 390). He explains his position (ll. 392-407). He says that he will begin from what Ali said (l. 392) because that is the way they used to come “there” (l. 393). He does not yet specify what he is referring to. He says that all mediators have been in theory hired as external figures (ll. 394-395). Then MR specifies some characteristics in regard to the “organisational context” (l. 396) in which mediators work. In that type of organisational context (“where”, l. 397) they did not work as mediators but as “dependent employees” (l. 398). Then MR specifies why they are dependent employees: set working hours (l. 399). He concludes (“so”, l. 399) the kind of mediation they are carrying out is not what they had “expected” (l. 400). MR then points out that what he had said can be proven thanks to Ali's documentation (ll. 402-403). Then he says that what they (“we”, l. 403) would like to say is complementary to what LC had said (“also”, l. 403). He specifies what he would add: to understand why some models of mediation are used and other models are not (ll. 404-405) “it's necessary to consider the organisational context (.) and mediation has to be re-thought of as a situated concept” (ll. 405-407). We can see that what MR adds to LC's considerations is the same concept we isolated in extract 23 and corresponds to what LC did not explicitly agree and referred to in his previous explanations. The potential partial disagreement noticed at extract 23 is now made explicit.

#### 210508 – Extract 27

408 LC: what has to do with it has to be re-thou- sorry ri:ght if i  
409 interrupt you i i say [ho- be]cause because i lose the=  
410 MR: [please]  
411 LC: =thread very much [(.)] so we made (.) a reasoning in which=

412 MR: [yes]  
413 LC: =first we say (..) there's a wide literature that says x y z  
414 and we take position let's say ↓for us this is good right?  
415 hhh (...) then well er:: we say we do the research results as  
416 results (.) we say here there's a: (.) series of documents  
417 that say us that here mediation is (.) a (.) a certain thing  
418 ( ) and one right? then we did also a series of different  
419 observations (..) ↓let's call them ethnographic interviews  
420 and so on (.) that say us what do they say us the same thing  
421 (.) or the same thing in a different manner (..) or (.) in a  
422 way they contest these documents (..) they show their  
423 inadequacy or  
424 (.)

After that MR explained his position (in the previous extract) LC asks for a clarification (l. 408), apologises for interrupting MR (ll. 408-409) and says he does not understand (“i lose the thread”, l. 409). An interesting point here is that in these lines there is a lot of face work by LC and by MR as well, as LC apologises for interrupting MR and MR lets him continue. This could be due to their awareness that there is something about what MR said that is not clear to LC. It is important that, during this meeting, they make a shared decision. Given that the interruption was used by LC to underline a misunderstanding it is not accountable, as it could be the premise of coming to a mutual understanding and agreement.

LC says that he does not understand just the verb “re-thou-“ (probably he refers to MR’s re-thought at l. 407) but does not say anything about the concept MR explicated. It is still unclear whether LC agrees or disagrees with the concept that MR remarked on in the previous extract (as shown in extract 23).

MR invites LC to continue his turn (l. 410), LC continues and explains his position (ll. 413-423), without making any reference to the concept that was important for MR. From line 425 to line 494 (here omitted, see Appendix C for a full transcription) AR and LC talk about models of mediation and solve a disagreement due to a misunderstanding. They do not make any reference to the issue that MR considered important.

210508 – Extract 28

495 LC:                               so (.) we got all these documents we lay them  
496                               together (...) right then you say what results from these  
497                               documents is a local model (.) incoherent (.) for all  
498                               reasons we said (.) and incomplete. right. (.) correct:  
499                               (.)  
500 LC:                               but you said that: (.) you just said  
501 AR:                               er:: yes.  
502 LC:                               right. (.) so now at a certain point (.) that probably will  
503                               be two paragraphs but here we go on like it was nothing (.)  
504                               let's write ethnographic data and the model that results. is  
505                               it correct:  
506                               (.)  
507 MR:                              m m:  
508                               (.)  
509 AR:                              m m:  
510 LC:                              m?:  
511 MR:                              yes.

In this extract LC explains what data he thinks the research group owns and he asks to AR (who was his addressee in this turn, see Appendix C for the full transcription of previous turns) if she agreed (ll. 495-498). After a period of silence (l. 499) that is considered by LC as a possible disagreement (l. 500) AR agrees (l. 501). LC continues to explain what he said in his previous turn (ll. 502-504) and asks for a confirmation (“is it correct:”, ll. 504-505). After a period of silence (l. 506) MR agrees (l. 507) and after another period of silence (l. 508) AR agrees as well (l. 509). LC gives to the participants another possibility to disagree, perhaps because of the partial disagreements that were analysed in previous extracts. This further request of confirmation (l. 510) is followed by a full agreement by MR (“yes.”, l. 511).

210508 – Extract 29

512                               (...)  
513 LC:                               that's the model: (.) let's call it actual and it's this one  
514                               that will form (.) the true critic (..) of local or  
515                               localistic model that (.) if you say (.) this local model

516 that doesn't take into acco:unt of: and the:n it's not  
517 supported (.) at a nationa:l level, it hasn't any  
518 consciousne:ss of all these (pese::) and in fa::ct no (.) so  
519 it becomes a sort of (.) er: empirical confirmation of  
520 lackings right (.) and moreover it would be a discourse (.)  
521 really intellectual if we said (.) there are these models  
522 here there's a concrete experience (.) but given that it  
523 doesn't know all models then it's not good right ( )  
524 (..) instea:d (.) er:: you say there's this concrete  
525 experience that is (..) a nai:ve experience because it  
526 doesn't take into acc: and:: in fa:ct (.) this way right (.)  
527 m: (.) where so the key element will be to show where  
528 inconsistencies and incompletenesses are (.) this becomes (.)  
529 if you show it through (.) these ethnographic data (.) more  
530 than through theoretical discourses (.) [is ] it ok (.)=  
531 MR: [m:-]  
532 LC: =is it corre:[ct (.) ]  
533 MR: [and a:-] (.) and it will be also:: to sh:ow  
534 anyway because this last model we mentioned (.)makes sense in  
535 this particular kind of organization because it answers (.)  
536 to particular necessities (.) like: (.) lacking of staff (.)  
537 or to parti- or to particular situations:: (.) the fact that  
538 mediators (.) work like all- all- all others operators (.)  
539 and it's not expected: n:- neither by their hiring contracts  
540 and so on (.)

In this extract, LC after a period of silence, continues to explain his position (ll. 513-530). MR seems to agree (l. 531). LC explicitly asks if the participants agree (l. 532). This explicit request could be a face-protecting act towards the other participants but it could also be due to previous misunderstandings between LC and MR. MR does not answer yes or not but he adds (“and a:- (.) and”, l. 533) some further information to what LC said. He talks of the issue that he mentioned previously and, this time, he links this issue to what LC said. He does not talk of “kind of mediation” (extract 23, l. 44). He talks, as he did in a previous turn (extract 26, l. 404) of “models” of mediation, but this time he links the word “model” to what LC said: he refers to “this last model” (l. 534) LC talked about and implies that was also a shared model (“we mentioned”, l. 534). He then adds that this type of model



makes sense in “this particular kind of organization” (l. 535). This way he shows he agrees with LC and also shows that what he says is complementary to what LC proposed. So, as MR said before (extract 23, ll. 45-47) it is important to consider the kind of organization in which mediation happens. In this extract MR says something that is a little different from what he first said: in particular he does not say that the type of organization is the “first” point to consider, but he proposes that point as additional information in respect to what LC said (see the “and” at the beginning of his turn, l. 533).

### 210508 – Extract 30

541 LC: the conclusion could be mediation as situated activity=  
 542 LC: =[(..) ]=  
 543 MR: [it's the title]  
 544 LC: =that's to say we throw (.) yes (.) [i saw it bu:t]=  
 545 MR: [ok(h) (hh) ]  
 546 LC: =we decided together i think right (.) the title  
 547 MR: we changed it  
 548 LC: you cha:nged it  
 549 AR: no we changed it  
 550 MR: we ch(h)anged it  
 551 LC: uh then you should say it to me.  
 552 MR: ((laughs))  
 553 LC: wait then (.) m:: at the end could be::  
 554 AR: m:: maybe (.) in discu:ssions [(.) i made it explicit ]  
 555 MR: [yes yes (.) first point.]  
 556 (...)

After that MR added the information that he had previously showed to consider important, LC does not disagree and asks if “the conclusion could be mediation as situated activity” (l. 541). This time LC shows that he agrees with what MR had said and from there he makes a conclusion. MR then overlaps him and says that that conclusion is “the title”. Probably, MR is referring to the title of the outline that he and AR gave to LC: “Situating intercultural mediation in the public services: Professional and organisational changes”. LC then begins to explain what he meant (l. 544) but then he changes the topic and says that he has already seen

the title (l. 544) and asks if the decision was mutual for all (l. 546). MR then says that they had changed the title (l. 547), LC asks for confirmation (l. 548) and AR (l. 549) and MR (l. 550) confirm. It is interesting to note that by using these pronouns the participants construct two different groups: on one side there are MR and AR, who wrote the outline and changed the title of the paper, on the other side there is LC. LC again confirms this differentiation and says that *they* should have given him this information (l. 551) and proposes the possibilities on how the paper might end (l. 553). AR says that maybe what LC said was made “explicit” (l. 554) in the discussions section of the outline. MR says that it is the first point (l. 555) of that section: “Mediation appears a situated concept”.

### 210508 – Extract 31

557 MR: that's- that's exactly the step about which (.) about which i  
558 told you that is lacking here  
559 (..)  
560 AR: 'cause marian that's more:: [(.)] schematic you managed: (.)=  
561 MR: [m:?]  
562 AR: =i get lost  
563 MR: you get lo:st ( )  
564 LC: that one that so we use as element in the discussion (.) and  
565 also::: (.) as conclusion right [(..) ] conclusion (.)=  
566 MR: [exactly]  
567 LC: =that's to say that so to situate within the context and to  
568 situate within the organization right (.)  
569 MR: m m:  
570 (..)  
571 LC: here we'll have to study it a little in a more detailed  
572 manner but (.) at the moment it seems to me that there's this  
573 line: right (..) what do you say (.) to see the title so now  
574 right (.) well by the way we see (that one) afterwards

In this extract MR says that what they said before is “exactly” (l. 557) the step that he told was lacking. Perhaps at this point MR is referring to what we isolated in extract 23 and we saw in extract 26: mediation is situated.

The negotiation that here comes to a full agreement resulted in a shared decision

between the participants. MR changed his mind: what he proposed (and was isolated in extract 23) is not the “first” point of the paper. LC changed his mind as well and accepts a consideration that he did not mention it at first. Through this negotiation they reached a compromise which is also their shared decision. What appeared to be problematic in the previous interaction was not what the participants had said but, on the contrary, what LC had not mentioned but that MR had expected to hear.



## Conclusions and open issues

In this study we analysed how disagreements in decision-making processes within two contexts - an experimental web simulation and a research team - were solved. These two contexts were chosen because of some similarities and some differences. They are different because the participants in the experimental web simulation interacted in a context that was built in a laboratory and was a virtual situation in relation to the research team's context, because it presented a lower degree of complexity than it. The participants in the research team's study, on the contrary, shared a common history, common theories and methodologies and interacted within different institutional frames, thus presenting a complexity that is common in everyday settings. Both contexts were also similar for two reasons. (1) In regard to the task the participants had to complete: it was preferable that in both contexts the participants reached a shared decision, based on following the experimental requirements or on the necessity of completing a research project; (2) they had to decide in a limited amount of time. The aims and time were important aspects of the interaction in both contexts. Thus, we decided to focus our analysis on disagreements, because they were critical moments that could hinder participants from achieving the aims or that could lengthen the experimental sessions or meetings.

We had two initial questions: (1) how disagreements are managed within these two contexts; (2) which implications has to study disagreements within these contexts from a methodological point of view. To answer these questions we decided to study both contexts from an ethnographic perspective.

The analysis has been conducted by integrating the conversation analysis with a broader ethnographic perspective. We found some aspects that were common within the two contexts but also some issues that differentiated the virtual context from the everyday one.

We have found within both contexts that discursive re-structuring of controversial issues allowed the participants to reach a shared decision: decision making seems to be linked more with sense making than with a rational consideration of different alternatives. This was shown, in particular, in the first and second disagreements of the web simulation study and in the last disagreement of the research team's study.

Within the web simulation a flat was discursively re-structured by referring to it as a *large flat*, instead of as *a flat with a bathtub*, because this type of amenity was considered to be problematic by one of the participants.

Within the research team, a participant, MR, disagreed with LC because LC did not take into consideration an issue that was important for MR. Only after LC took the issue in consideration did MR cease to disagree. However, LC considered this issue within a compromise that resulted from a discursive re-structuring of a controversial issue. MR proposed that such an issue become the “first” point of a paper, while LC proposed to use it in the discussion section, therefore in the final part of the paper. This type of re-structuring, that in the case of the research team was also mediated through an update of an outline on a sheet of paper, allowed the participants, in this case too, to solve the disagreement. Another common characteristic of the web simulation and the research team that we have studied is that re-structuring is mediated by the use of different micro discursive strategies studied by conversation analysts, like anticipatory completions, quotations (all of which were found within both contexts), extreme case formulations, challenging questions, format tying.

However, we also found some differences, along with important methodological implications, in particular in the analysis of the research team's disagreements. We found some moments of interaction that could not be explained by only focusing on what the participants orient as relevant for them within the interaction. We also found some other moments that could be explained through conversation analysis but, when we integrated such analysis with a broader ethnographic perspective, we had a completely different analysis. This integration was made possible by ethnographic observations and by discussing with the research team members early versions of the analysis. Thus we can say that the second part of the research was conducted not just *on* the research team but *with* its members. This seems to be an important implication to consider in research in everyday settings. This allowed us to observe in the first disagreement, for instance, that multiple participants' histories and competencies, coupled with some considerations on the room in which the meetings took place, provided reasons to explain a particular inconsistency. In the second disagreement we saw that another inconsistency

could be explained because one of participants acted as a spokesperson of an institution and not as an individual. When this organisational level of interaction was mistaken for the interpersonal we saw (in the third disagreement) that two members of the team reacted by constructing interaction with two different “lens”, this way reacting to two incompatible situations. This brought them to a sort of communicative impasse that prevented the participants to make a common decision. The first step taken to solve this impasse was to understand which different perspectives the participants were using. This evaluation could be useful for future research interventions focusing on conflicts in order to allow participants to re-structure social reality and to understand the different perspectives that they use.

What was not explicitly available within the interaction actually influenced it, like liability, a shared theoretical perspective and time. We saw, by making some considerations on the duration of one of the meetings, which from a CA's perspective could have been considered as an authoritative behaviour was on the contrary an effective way of reaching the research team aims and, for this reason, it was not considered problematic by the research team members. We also saw that a disagreement (the last one in the research team study) was solved through a discursive re-structuring that was possible just when the head of the research team explicitly mentioned some concepts. In that case it was not important what the participants mentioned explicitly, but it was what they did not say that made the difference.

A number of issues have been left open during this analysis. We have shown that to consider an experimental setting from a situated perspective allows also the studying of decision-making processes in simulated environments, in order to develop new hypotheses for the study of different situations. The present study can be further developed by using it as a starting point for the investigation of more complex settings and for building decision support systems that can help teams and groups to manage disagreements within decision-making processes. However, the research team study suggests that such hypotheses should be contextualized to obtain a deeper knowledge of situated decision-making processes. The study of the web simulation can be further developed by enriching

video recorded interactions with ethnographic data (for example, through more detailed interviews of participants) in order to further investigate a Psychology laboratory as a specific context.

During the analysis of a disagreement we saw that the use of a recorder by the researcher changed the context of interaction, in fact one of the participants (in this case the head of the research project) asked for the recorder to be switched off. It was not possible to fully analyse the consequences of this consideration, however, we showed that research is a practice that is not neutral, but modifies the studied contexts. This results in always having to conceive research theoretically and methodologically as a *participation* of researchers *and* participants to social processes, instead of it being a mere observation of them. The implications for reflexivity on how research practices shape social processes and the implications for deontological considerations on research have to be analysed in future studies, both theoretically and methodologically.

The ethnographic perspective used within the research team could also raise questions about the end of the analysis: it seems that an analysis of a moment of interaction is always partial, because context can be analysed at different levels and each level can give new insights for the analysis. However such a search for a “complete” analysis of interaction would imply an essentialistic view of social reality, namely that there is an objective reality that is “out there” and it needs to be investigated in an objective manner. The situated perspective that has been adopted here allows us to go beyond this impasse and to consider analysis to be always an ongoing practice.

Finally: in this case we had the possibility of letting the research team members read a first version of the analysis. On one hand this allowed the research team to be aware of some processes related to their way of interacting, on the other hand it gave us some important clues on how to elaborate further on the analysis. This could have important theoretical and methodological implications, about the role of both research and researchers, that should be developed in the future.



## Appendix A – Transcription conventions

Adapted from Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974).

(.)	Short period of silence, between 0.1 and 0.2 seconds
(..)	Medium period of silence, between 0.3 and 0.5 seconds
(...)	Long period of silence, longer than 0.5 seconds
.	Falling or final intonation
,	Continuing intonation, similar to the one that can be found within lists
?	Rising intonation
↑↓	Rises or falls in pitch
a:	Prolongation of the sound that precedes semicolons
a-	Abrupt word interruption
=	Latching. It can indicate that it is not possible to hear any silence between two utterances, as they were joint together, or it can indicate the continuation of a turn in another line (for graphic purposes)
<u>abc</u>	Stress or emphasis on the underlined expression
!	Talk that is pronounced in an animated tone
°abc°	Talk that is pronounced with a lower volume than the talk around it
ABC	Talk that is pronounced with a higher volume than the talk around it
>abc< / <abc>	Talk that is pronounced quicker or slower than the surrounding talk
h	Hearable aspiration, that can indicate also laughters, cough and so on
.h	Hearable inhalation
(h)	Aspiration within a word
( ) (abc)	Expression that is not hearable or is uncertain
(abc) / (def)	Different alternatives for an uncertain expression
[ ]	Overlapping talk
	Overlapping talk. It is used in conjunction with previous symbols with more than two overlaps
((abc))	Non verbal aspects of talk or transcripator's comments



## **Appendix B – Flat descriptions used in the simulation**

### HOUSE 9454R

This flat is modern and functional.

It consists of living room, kitchen with a very large fridge, two bedrooms.

The bathroom has a bathtub with shower.

Its total size is 60 square metres.

Internet connection available.

### HOUSE M4R5

This is an open space, it is about 35 square metres large and it is located in a quiet area.

From the entrance spread the flat environments: lunch area with microwave oven, living room and sleeping area.

On the ground floor there is a local storeroom that is 12 square metres large.

The flat was completely renovated in 2006.

Residential area connected with University by public services.

### HOUSE 71R60

Flat decorated with an embraceable ethnic style.

A particular attention was paid to the use of warm colors for all rooms.

From the bedroom you can see a nice inner courtyard.

The large living room is characterized by a big and comfortable sofa with a pouf.

Bathtub with shower.

Total size 100 square metres.

### HOUSE 610V3

It is a three-bedroom flat: kitchen with dishwasher, living room and bedroom.

The bathroom consists of a shower box with glass doors, square washbasin and toilette.

Its total size is 50 square metres.

The flat is located near university buildings. Broadband Internet connection. Bike parking.

#### HOUSE 73NU5

The comfort of this flat is given from the perfect planimetry of the flat itself and from the disposition of furnishings that makes it particularly practical: elegant entrance, large living room with lunch area, double bedroom, bathroom and toilette for guests.

On the east side you can see a large balcony.

Walls were recently re-painted by using a particular pastel color.

Central area.

#### HOUSE 421MUT

This flat of about 60 square metres consists of entrance, large living room with a beautiful sight on the inner garden, kitchen, studio, large bathroom.

Double sofa bed. Dishwasher. Balcony that is 10 square metres wide. Bike parking. It is on the second floor. Central area.

### **Original descriptions in Italian**

#### CASA 9454R

L'appartamento è moderno e funzionale.

Composto da soggiorno, cucina con frigo di grandi dimensioni, due camere da letto.

Il bagno è dotato di vasca con doccia.

La superficie complessiva è 60 mq.

Possibile connessione a Internet.

#### CASA M4R5

Si tratta di un open space, misura circa 35 mq ed è sito in un luogo tranquillo.

Dall'entrata si diramano gli ambienti dell'appartamento: zona pranzo con forno a microonde, soggiorno e zona notte.

Al piano terra vi è un locale magazzino di 12 mq.

Appartamento completamente ristrutturato nel 2006.

Zona residenziale collegata agli istituti da servizi pubblici.

#### CASA 71R60

Appartamento arredato in un avvolgente stile etnico.

Particolare attenzione è stata data all'utilizzo di colori caldi per tutte le stanze.

La camera da letto si affaccia su un delizioso cortiletto interno.

Il grande soggiorno è caratterizzato da un grande e comodo divano con un puff.

Vasca da bagno con doccia.

Superficie complessiva 100 mq.

#### CASA 610V3

Si tratta di un trilocale: cucina con lavastoviglie, soggiorno e camera da letto.

Il bagno comprende cabina doccia con porte di vetro, lavandino quadrato e toilette.

La superficie complessiva è di 50 mq.

L'appartamento è sito in zona istituti. Connessione a internet in banda larga. Posto bici.

#### CASA 73NU5

Il comfort di questo appartamento è dato dalla perfetta planimetria dello stesso e dalla disposizione dei mobili che lo rendono particolarmente pratico: elegante ingresso, ampio soggiorno con zona pranzo, camera con letto matrimoniale, bagno e toilette per gli ospiti.

Sul lato est si apre un'ampia terrazza.

Le pareti sono state recentemente riverniciate con una raffinata tinta pastello.

Zona centro.

#### CASA 421MUT

L'appartamento, di circa 60 mq, si compone di ingresso, ampio soggiorno con bella vista sul giardino interno e angolo cottura, studio, ampio bagno.

Divano letto matrimoniale. Lavastoviglie. Terrazza di 10 mq. Posto bici. Sito al secondo piano. Zona centro.



## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

### *The experimental web simulation*

#### **Preliminary study**

##### *Preliminary study: example of comfortableness interpretative repertoire - Italian*

183 C: bha! (.) dalle foto vedo che ha una lavatrice  
184 <che è importantee::>  
185 c'è anche il forno a microonde:  
...  
365 C: la:: <prima cosa> importante:  
366 è che sia comodo  
367 >quindi questo< è nella zona portello:  
368 <ed è comodo:simo>

##### *Preliminary study: example of cooperative use of pleasantness and comfortableness interpretative repertoire - Italian*

1015 G: è accattivante l'arredamento,  
1016 la doccia (.) la preferisco alla vasca,  
1017 ed è ristrutturata nel duemilasei::,  
1018 >quindi è nuova<, è c'è (.) connessione  
1019 internet

#### **First disagreement: “the bathtub!”**

D2C2WW

M, W: participants

S: experimenter

1 M, W: ((look at the monitor))  
2 M: ((moves the mouse) okay. (..) ((looks at S)) shall we go  
3 o:n  
4 (.)  
5 S: yes  
6 W: a: (.) okay.  
7 M: you go on  
8 W: e:::?  
9 M: open space ((reads a flat description aloud))

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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10 W: right (.) if it's really necessary (..) let's go (the::)  
11 (..) grea:t (.) wo:w? (.)  
12 M: so (.) what do you think of thi:s (..) m::: (.) sincerely  
13 (i do:n't) (.) with a storeroom  
14 W: okay ground floor ((reads quickly and very quietly)) does  
15 it have a shower? ((points to the monitor))  
16 M: yes  
17 W: okay  
18 M: let's go on  
19 W: no!  
20 R, W: ((laugh))  
21 M: modern and functional flat, it consists of living room  
22 kitche:n (..) fridge, (.) very large, two bedrooms and a [( )]  
23 W: [and there's]  
24 M: an internet connection (.)  
25 W: right=  
26 M: =((laughs))  
27 W: and the:n?  
28 (.)  
29 M: (and so) ( ) decored flat ( )  
30 W: a particular attention was given to the use of warm  
31 co:lors (.) for all rooms and bedroom [is near ]=  
32 M: [a pouff!]  
33 W =a delicious(hh) ((laughs))  
34 M: the bathtu:b! ((laughs))  
35 W: ((laughs)) ( ) well (..) m m:  
36 M: bathtub with shower  
37 W: but what's this?  
38 M: a carpet (.) no (.) a carpet i thi::nk (.)  
39 W: and the pouf?  
40 M: it's a pouf.  
41 W: right (..) thi:s (.) m: (.) so:  
42 W: the comfort of this flat is given from the perfect  
43 M: ((reads very quickly and quietly)) balcony (..) wa:lls  
44 (.)  
45 W: but excuse me (.) this one has got just a room?  
46 M: a it's dou:ble: (..)



49 W: well. then?  
50 M: m:: (..) this (..) th[ree-room ] (..) kitchen=  
51 W: [((laughs))]  
52 M: =(reads very quickly and quietly)  
53 W: er but well anyway it has a bedroom=  
54 M: ((continues to read very quickly and quietly)) (.) m m:  
55 (.) total area (fifty metres) (.) this is already in  
56 university buildings area m with [( )] and bike=  
57 W: [((laughs))]  
58 M: =parking ( )  
59 W: right. there's just a bed you know (.)  
60 M: no right [(.) we]'re two so:::  
61 W: [no (.)]  
62 M: thi:s, this (.) flat,  
63 W: of about sixty square metres, ( ) large office,  
64 living room with a beautiful sight on internal garden  
65 (°>here it is here it is<°) (.) la:rge office the  
66 bathroom: (.) (roo:m:?) / (roo:ms:?)  
67 (.)  
68 M: in the center (.) but there's another one al- ((laughs))  
69 (.)  
70 W: yes but (.) how many roo:ms?  
71 (.)  
72 M: er: but it has got a bed (.) ((laughs)) maybe  
73 W: it has got an offi:ce and it hasn't got a roo:m  
74 M: okay so: (.)  
75 W: wait (.) have we seen all of the:m (.)  
76 M: yes.  
77 W: sto:?p (..) [((laughs))]  
78 M: [so th]is i::s (.) this one. then  
79 there's (..) this one  
80 W: how many [rooms has got thi-]  
81 M: [this one if far ] from the cente:r well (.)  
82 structu:red (.)  
83 W: ((reads very quickly and quietly)) and sleeping area but  
84 it doesn't specify: (.)  
85 M: well right (...)  
86 W: well at the ground floor  
87 M: ( ) ((laughs))

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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88 W: THIS ONE:=  
89 M: =n:o (.) this one no (.) thi:s (.) then in my opinion  
90 (..) or thi:s one: (..)  
91 W: but here i mean- we- we're two if we have to sleep o:n it  
92 M: yes but no:::t (immediately) (.)  
93 W: yes (.) but there's not another bed (.) (there's) no:t  
94 (.)  
95 M: [(looks W in her eye)]  
96 M: [yes. ]  
97 W: ((laughs))  
98 M: betwee::n (..)  
99 W: then?  
100 (.)  
101 M: er:: (.)  
102 W: but do you want the ba:thtub (.)  
103 M: ( )  
104 W: this one: (.) [don't you like this one?]  
105 M: [(antique chisellings )]  
106 M: this one is double but i eman the ot- (i suppose  
107 everything changes) i mean the:- (.) being (little  
108 things) (.) right (.)  
109 W: [( )]  
110 M: [it would be necess]ary to call  
111 (..)  
112 W: ((laughs))  
113 W: can we a:?sk him  
114 M: no(hh)  
115 W: ( [ )]  
116 M: [but excuse me:] (.) considering what is  
117 written here (.) whi[ch one do you prefer]  
118 W: [right. (.) ] and the:n?=  
119 M: =so (..) then there wa:s (.) thi:s one:? (.) internet  
120 M: [(.) and university bui]ldings area (...) even this one=  
121 [( )]  
122 M: =is not bad (..) so (.) [here we la]ck the batht- (.)  
123 W: [( )]  
124 W: i don't kno:::?:w (.) why do you exclude that one  
125 [(.) well i ] exclude this one, this one no (..) the:n  
126 M: [no i exclu-]

127 M: [this one is sofa- be:d ((laughs)) ]  
128 W: [((rotates left hand with the handbreadth upward))]  
129 W: with a beautiful sight on the garde:n, (.)=  
130 W: [cooking a:rea, ]=  
131 M: [((rotates right hand with the handbreadth downward))]  
132 W: =[large o:ff]ice:, sofa be:d (.) dou:ble, ( ),=  
133 M: [also here:]  
134 W: (..) right. (.) the?  
135 (...)  
136 W: bedroom and bathroom ( ) (..) well you go on (...)  
137 this one not- (.) i mean- (.) i'd keep it [( )]  
138 M: [this one is ]  
139 small: (.) fifty square metres  
140 W: ( ) (.) but  
141 W: then  
142 M: there also the large balcony:=  
143 W: yes in fact (.) entrance (.)  
144 M: so this one (let's say) that ( ), if you want to  
145 bring a cot ((laughs))  
146 W: ((laughs))  
147 M: so  
148 W: but it has a large living room=  
149 W: =[here there's] someone could sleep in the living room]  
150 M: [then i:: (..) ]  
151 i mean i'd use for instance thi:s one (.) or this one  
152 W: wa:it. (.) let me see:?  
153 (.)  
154 M: which ones  
155 (.)  
156 W: both of t- no those (.) that you sa:id  
157 (.)  
158 M: here they [are ]  
159 W: [flat] decored with an embraceable ethnic style  
160 particular attention was given to the use of colors right  
161 (.) from the bedroom you can see a courtyard [(.) right ]  
162 M: [((laughs))]  
163 W: ((reads quickly))  
164 M: [right it doesn't say where it is]  
165 W: the ( ) (.) [the area is characterized by a ] sofa

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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166 area with a pouff (.) what does this inspire you? that it  
167 is large?  
168 (.)  
169 M: yes ((*brightens up her voice*)) and how's decored well  
170 W: [okay ]  
171 M: [a:nd thi]s one is more practical there's i:nternet ( )  
172 W: or the first one you don't rea:lly like it?  
173 M: yes  
174 (...)  
175 M: right i:f this one is conn- (as now) if it's connected  
176 (.) to university buildings=  
177 W: and the other one is not connected to university  
178 buildings  
179 M: it's not writ- on some of them it's not written  
180 (.)  
181 M: [this ons is in the ce:nter]  
182 W: [no (.) then (.) we o:]pt: (.) i'd=  
183 M: [(*laughs*)]  
184 W: s[ay (.) ] or the ethnic one  
185 (.)  
186 M: m:  
187 W: the one above that decored in ethnic sty[le, (.) or the]=  
188 M: [or the fi:rst]  
189 W: =first. (.) yes  
190 M: okay  
191 W: let me see again th(HHH)ose ones that ((*laughs*))  
192 M: ok(h)ay. the:n thi:s one but it tells you very much  
193 interior co[lors ]  
194 W: [but (.) it's] large ((*points to the monitor*))  
195 M: one hundred square metres this one (..) right so (.) a  
196 it's an open-space this one  
197 W: i like open-sp- (.) it's mine ((*laughs*))  
198 (.)  
199 W: lunch area with microwa:ve oven, living room,  
200 M: yes but it's all here, i mean  
201 (.)  
202 W: do you think so:  
203 M: [o yes]  
204 W: [o but] then i opt for the ethnic one=

205 M: =er: (.) mee too (.) right!  
206 W: [((nods yes))]  
207 W: [thi:s one ]  
208 M: [done? ] (.) confi?rm  
209 W: yes.  
210 M: right ((laughs))  
211 S: okay now i ask you some questions  
212 M: [((laughs))]  
213 W: [((laughs))]  
214 S: for which characteristic you choose the fla?t i mean what  
215 bro:ught you to choose that one instead of (..) an other?  
216 W: [(because)]  
217 M: [((looks at W)) we::ll i think [(..) the ] comfort and  
218 the decor  
219 W: and also because it's very large so  
220 S: m: m:  
221 (.)  
222 W: [if we have to live there together]  
223 M: [we were undeci- ] we were undecided  
224 between open-space a::nd (.) this other one (.) but we  
225 decided that (.) with the open-spa:ce hopefully there was  
226 le:ss (.) intimacy. (.) [less pri|vacy|]  
227 S: |m m: |  
228 W: [(exactly) (.)] that was a:ll (.)  
229 while this one  
230 S: yes. (.) so: you ha:d i mean the choice was based on  
231 pleasantness of flat and also on usefulne:ss that's to  
232 say o::n (.) the possibility of using in the best way  
233 all area:?s  
234 M: [yes]  
235 W: [yes]  
236 M: er:: well it was not written their location so[::: ] (.)=  
237 S: [m m:]  
238 M: (.) well (.) by [the way (..) it's not a problem]  
239 W: [well it had a sho:wer (.) ]  
240 bathroom i mean that's to say (.) bathtub it had both of  
241 them so ye:s  
242 S: m m:. (.) so between the two:, (..) that one you  
243 ch(hh)os[e, (.) h]ad more than the other one w(h)hat

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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244 W: [((laughs))]  
245 (..)  
246 M: er it ha::d (.) mo:re (..) comfortableness and more=  
247 M: =a:[reas also ]=  
248 W: [areas (.) m m:]=  
249 M: =[divisible]  
250 W: =[exactly. ]  
251 S: m m:  
252 W: the:n (.) it was near or it wa:sn't near (.)=  
253 W: =[to univ- ]  
254 M: [no it wasn't] written if it was or not but we:ll or:=  
255 S: [m m:]  
256 M: =[(..)] [( )]  
257 W: [((laughs)) ]  
258 S: and in the choice on the contrary (.) how did you proceed  
259 i mean (.) there was one of you who ha::d (..) the  
260 choi::ce (.) the more (.) preponderant [who so ]=  
261 W: [((laughs))]  
262 S: =brought the o:ther towards that choice or you wa[:s]  
263 W: [we]ll  
264 (.) we saw all of the:m (.)=  
265 W: =[but as we exclud[ed] those things what (..)]  
266 M: [(first we saw all of the:m) in my opinion ] this wa:y  
267 [and in my opinion]  
268 S: [m m: ]  
269 (.)  
270 M: [( )]  
271 W: [i'd exclude this o:ne] (.) i'd exclu- i'd exclude that  
272 one (.) then at the end there were those two:  
273 M: after all they were okay: for bo[th of us] more or less  
274 S: [m m: ]  
275 S: [m m:]  
276 W: [and ] what i: excluded was okay also for he:r i mean  
277 [to exclude]  
278 S: [m m: ]  
279 M: yes  
280 (.)  
281 S: i understood (.) alright!  
282 W: fini:shed?

283 S: thanks a lot!  
284 W: you're we:lcome!  
285 R, W: ((stand up))  
286 M: [((look at the camera))]  
287 M: [e:::? ]  
288 W: hi::  
289 R, W: ((laugh))  
290 S: ((laughs))

## D2C2WW-ita

R, W: partecipanti

S: Sperimentatrice

1 R, W: ((guardano il monitor))  
2 M: ((muove il mouse)) occhei. (..) ((guarda S)) procediamo:  
3 (.)  
4 S: sì  
5 W: a: (.) occhei.  
6 M: procedi  
7 W: e:::?  
8 M: open space ((legge la descrizione di un appartamento  
9 a voce alta))  
10 W: vabbè (.) se è proprio necessario (..) andiamo (la::)  
11 (..) grande: (.) ua:u? (.)  
12 M: allora (.) che ne pensi di que:sto (..) m::: (.)  
13 sinceramente (non:) (.) con magazzino  
14 W: occhei piano terra ((legge velocemente e a bassa voce))  
15 e ha la doccia? ((punta lo schermo))  
16 M: sì  
17 W: occhei  
18 M: andiamo avanti  
19 W: no!  
20 R, W: ((ridono))  
21 M: appartamento moderno e funzionale, composto da soggiorno  
22 cucina: (..)   
23 W: il frigo, (.) grandi dimensioni, due camere da letto e il  
24 [( )]  
25 M: [e c'è] la connessione a internet (.)  
26 W: vabbè=  
27 M: =((ride))

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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28 W: e poi:?  
29 (.)  
30 M: (e insomma) ( ) appartamento arredato ( )  
31 W: particolare attenzione è stata data all'utilizzo dei  
32 colori caldi (.) per tutte le stanze la camera da letto  
33 [si appoggia su un delizioso(hh) ((ride))  
34 M: [il pouff!]  
35 M: la vasca da bagno! ((ride)) occhei  
36 W: ((ride)) ( ) vabbè (..) m m:  
37 M: vasca da bagno con doccia  
38 W: ma questa cosa qua che cos'è?  
39 M: un tappeto (.) no (.) un tappeto penso:: (.)  
40 W: e il pouf?  
41 M: è un pouf.  
42 W: vabbè (..) m:  
43 M: questa: (.) m: (.) allora:  
44 W: il comfort di questo appartamento è dato dalla perfetta  
45 M: ((legge velocemente e a voce bassa)) terrazzo(..) pareti:  
46 (.)  
47 W: ma scusa (.) c'ha solo una camera questa?  
48 M: a è matrimonia:le: (..) m:  
49 W: vabbè. poi?  
50 M: m:: (..) (questa) (..) tri[locale ] (..) cucina=  
51 W: [((ride))]  
52 M: =((legge velocemente e a voce bassa))  
53 W: e ma va be' ha sempre una camera=  
54 M: =((continua a leggere velocemente e a voce bassa)) (.) m  
55 m: (.) superficie complessiva (cinquanta metri) (.)  
56 questa è già in zona istituti m con [( )] e posto=  
57 W: [((ride)) ]  
58 M: =bici ( )  
59 W: vabbè. sai è un letto solo: (.)  
60 M: no vabbè [(.)] siamo in due quindi:::  
61 W: [no (.)]  
62 M: questo:, questo (.) appartamento,  
63 W: di circa sessanta metri quadri, ( ) studio ampio,  
64 soggiorno con bella vista sul giardino interno (°>eccolo  
65 qua eccolo qua<°) (.) studio a:mpio il bagno: (.)  
66 (ca:mera:?)/(ca:mere:?)



67 (.)  
68 M: in centro (.) però ce n'è una al- ((ride))  
69 (..)  
70 W: sì ma (.) a ca:mere?  
71 (.)  
72 M: e: ma ha un letto (.) ((ride)) forse  
73 W: ha uno stu:dio e non ha una ca:mera  
74 M: occhei quindi: (.)  
75 W: aspetta (.) le abbiamo finite tutte: (.)  
76 M: sì.  
77 W: ba:sta? (..) [((ride))]  
78 M: [allora q]uesta è:: (.) questa qua. poi c'è  
79 (..) questa  
80 W: quante [camere ha que-]  
81 M: [questa è fuori] dal centro: vabbè (.)  
82 struttura:to (.)  
83 W: ((legge velocemente e a bassa voce)) e zona letto però  
84 non specifica: (.)  
85 M: vabbè insomma (...)  
86 W: vabbè al piano terra  
87 M: ( ) ((ride))  
88 W: QUESTA:=  
89 M: =n:o (.) questa no (.) questa: (.) allora secondo me (..)  
90 o que:sta: (..)  
91 W: ma qua cioè- ci- siamo in due se dobbiamo dormi:rci  
92 M: sì ma non::: (subito) (.)  
93 W: sì (.) però non ci sta un altro letto (.) (non) ci sta:  
94 (.)  
95 M: [((guarda W negli occhi))]  
96 M: [sì. ]  
97 W: ((ride))  
98 M: tra:: (..)  
99 W: poi?  
100 (.)  
101 M: e:: (..)  
102 W: ma tu vuoi la va:sca (.)  
103 M: ( )  
104 W: questa: (.) [non ti piace questa? ]  
105 M: [(antiche cesellature)]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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106 M: questa è matrimoniale però cioè l'al- (suppongo cambia  
107 tutto) cioè la:- (.) essendo (le piccolezze) (.) vabbè  
108 (.)  
109 W: [( )]  
110 M: [bisognerebbe chiam]are  
111 (..)  
112 W: ((ride))  
113 W: possiamo chie:?dergli  
114 M: no(hh)  
115 W: ( [ )]  
116 M: [ma scusa: ] (.) in base a quello che c'è  
117 scritto qua (.) qua[le ti piace di più]  
118 W: [vabbè. (.) ] e poi:?=  
119 M: =quindi (..) poi c'era: (.) que:sto:? (.) internet  
120 M: [(.) e zona isti]tuti (...) anche questo non è male=  
121 W: [( )]  
122 M: =(..) allora (.) [qui ci ma]nca la vas- (.)  
123 W: [( )]  
124 W: ba::::? (.) perché escludi quella [(.) be io] escludo=  
125 M: [no esclu-]  
126 W: =questa, questa no (..) poi:  
127 M: [questo è il divano- letto: ((ride)) ]  
128 W: [((rotea la mano sinistra col palmo verso l'alto))]  
129 W: con bella vista sul giardi:no, (.)=  
130 W: =[angolo cottu:ra, ]=  
131 M: [((rotea la mano destra col palmo verso il basso))]  
132 W: =[studio a:m]pio:, divano letto: (.) matrimonia:le,=  
133 M: [anche qua:]  
134 W: ( ), (..) vabbè. (.) poi?  
135 (...)  
136 W: camera da letto e bagno ( ) (..) vabbè avanti (...)  
137 questo non- (.) cioè- (.) lo terrei [( )]  
138 M: [questo è pic]colo:  
139 (.) cinquanta metri quadri  
140 W: ( ) (.) però  
141 W: allora  
142 M: c'è anche l'ampio terrazzo:=  
143 W: =sì infatti (.) ingresso (.)  
144 M: allora questo (diciamo) che ( ), se tu vuoi portar

145            la brandina ((ride))  
146 W:        ((ride))  
147 M:        quindi  
148 W:        però ha un ampio soggiorno=  
149 W:        =[ (qui c'è) qualcuno può dormire nel soggiorno]  
150 M:        [allora io:: (..) ] cioè io  
151            userei tipo que:sto (.) o questo  
152 W:        a:spetta. (.) fammi vede:?re  
153            (.)  
154 M:        quali  
155            (.)  
156 W:        tutti e d- no quelli (.) che hai detto te:  
157            (.)  
158 M:        sono [questi]  
159 W:            [appart]amento arredato in avvolgente stile etnico  
160            particolare attenzione è stata data all'utilizzo dei  
161            colori vabbè (.) la camera da letto si affaccia su in  
162            direzione del cortile [(.) vabbè]  
163 M:                    [((ride)) ]  
164 W:        ((legge velocemente))  
165 M:                    [vabbè non ti dice dov'è]  
166 W:        la ( ) (.) [la zona è caratterizat]a da un angolo  
167            divano con un pouff (.) cosa ti ispira di questo? che è  
168            grande?  
169            (.)  
170 M:        sì ((si schiarisce la voce)) e come è arredato vabbè  
171 W:        [occhei]  
172 M:        [e: que]sto è più pratico c'è i:nternet ( )  
173 W:        o il primo non ti piace pro:prio?  
174 M:        sì  
175            (...)  
176 M:        vabbè se: questo è col- (come adesso) se è collegato (.)  
177            agli istituti=  
178 W:        =e l'altro non è collegato agli istituti  
179 M:        non c'è scr- in alcuni non c'è scritto  
180            (.)  
181 M:        [questo è in ce:ntro]  
182 W:        [no (.) allora (.) o]ptia:mo: (.) io=  
183 M:                    [((ride))]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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184 W: =di[rei (.) ] o quello etnico  
185 (.)  
186 M: m:  
187 W: quello sopra l'arredato etnic[o, (.) o il ]primo. (.) sì  
188 M: [o il primo: ]  
189 M: occhei  
190 W: rifammi vedere qu(HHH)elli che ((ride))  
191 M: occ(h)hei. allora: que:sto però ti dice tanto il colore  
192 de[gli interni]  
193 W: [però (.) è ] grande ((indica il monitor))  
194 M: cento metri quadri questo (..) vabbè insomma (.) a è un  
195 open-space questo qua  
196 W: mi piace l'open-sp- (.) è il mio ((ride))  
197 (.)  
198 W: zona pranzo con forno a microo:nde, soggiorno,  
199 M: sì ma è tutto lì, voglio dire  
200 (.)  
201 W: dici:  
202 M: [e sì]  
203 W: [a ma] allora opto per l'etnico=  
204 M: =e: (.) anch'io (.) là!  
205 W: [((annuisce))]  
206 W: [que:sto ]  
207 M: [fatta? ] (.) confe?rma  
208 W: sì.  
209 M: bon ((ride))  
210 S: occhei adesso vi faccio (un po' di domande)/(qualche  
211 domanda) io  
212 M: [((ride))]  
213 W: [((ride))]  
214 S: per quale caratteristica avete scelto l'appartamento  
215 cioè cosa vi ha spi:nto a scegliere quello piuttosto che  
216 (..) un altro?  
217 W: [(perché)]  
218 M: ((guarda W)) be:: credo [(..) il ] comfort e  
219 l'arredamento  
220 W: e anche perché è bello grande perciò  
221 S: m: m:  
222 (.)

223 W: [se dobbiamo viverci in due ]  
224 M: [eravamo indeci- ] eravamo indecise tra open-  
225 space e:: (.) quest'altro (.) però abbiamo deciso che (.)  
226 con l'open-spa:ce magari c'era meno: (.) intimità. (.)=  
227 S: |m m: |  
228 M: =[meno pri|vacy]|  
229 W: [(esatto) (.)] era tutto là: (.) mentre questo  
230 S: sì. (.) quindi:: avete: cioè la scelta si è basata sia  
231 sulla gradevolezza dell'appartamento che sull'utilità:  
232 cioè sul:: (.) la possibilità di poter utilizzare al  
233 meglio gli spa:zi  
234 M: [sì]  
235 W: [sì]  
236 M: e:: vabbè non era precisata la zona quindi[::: ]=  
237 S: [m m:]  
238 M: =(.) vabbè (.) ins[omma (..) non è un problema]  
239 W: [be aveva la do:ccia (.) ] bagno  
240 cioè nel senso (.) vasca aveva tutti e due quindi sì:  
241 S: m m:. (.) quindi tra i du:e, (..) quello che avete  
242 sc(hh)elt[o, (.) a]veva in più c(h)osa  
243 W: [((ride))]  
244 (..)  
245 M: e aveva:: (.) più: (..) comodità e più=  
246 M: =s:p[azi anche ]=  
247 W: [spazi (.) m m:]=  
248 M: =[divisibili]  
249 W: =[esatto. ]  
250 S: m m:  
251 W: poi: (.) era vicino o non era: vicino (.) [agli istit-]  
252 M: [no non era ]  
253 precisato se fosse vicino o no però vabbè: o:=  
254 S: [m m:]  
255 M: =[(..)] [( )]  
256 W: [((ride)) ]  
257 S: e nella scelta invece (.) come avete proceduto cioè  
258 (.) c'è stata una delle due che aveva::: (..) la scelta::  
259 (.) più (.) preponderante [che quindi] ha portato=  
260 W: [((ride)) ]  
261 S: = l'a:ltra verso quella scelta oppure eravate[:]

262 W: [b]e (.) le  
 263 abbiamo guardate tu:tte (.)=  
 264 W: =[però man mano abbiamo escluso quello che (..)]  
 265 M: [(prima le abbiamo guardate tutte:) secondo me]  
 266 questo: [e secondo me]  
 267 S: [m m: ]  
 268 (.)  
 269 M: [( )]  
 270 W: [escluderei que:sto] (.) esclud- escluderei quello (.)  
 271 poi alla fine erano quei due:  
 272 M: alla fine andavano bene: a entra[:mbe] più o meno  
 273 S: [m m:]  
 274 S: [m m:]  
 275 W: [e ] quello che ho escluso i:o andava bene anche a le:i  
 276 insomma [da e]scludere  
 277 S: [m m:]  
 278 M: sì  
 279 (.)  
 280 S: ho capito (.) va bene!  
 281 W: basta?  
 282 S: grazie mille!  
 283 W: pre:go!  
 284 R, W: ((si alzano))  
 285 M: [((guarda la videocamera))]  
 286 M: [e:::? ]  
 287 W: cia:o:  
 288 A,W: ((ridono))  
 289 S: ((ride))

## Second disagreement: “you decide: we sleep together or we don't”

D3C2MWnr

M, W: participants

S1, S2: experimenters

1 S1: you pretend that university of pa:dova, gives you a o:ne  
 2 year scholarship, (.) a::nd with this scholarship you: c-  
 3 m: you can aff- er::: (..) you can pay rent for (.) a  
 4 whole year, (.) for a flat and your task is to choose the  
 5 fla:t among those listed  
 6 W: o[:-]

7 M: [so] as students (.) [in padova]  
8 S1: [yes as st]udents yes  
9 (..)  
10 S1: and try to:: (.) decide together=  
11 S1: =[which fla:t is]=  
12 M: [((nods yes)) ]  
13 S1: =the more suitable for your n[eed s ]  
14 M: [°(okay)°]  
15 (...)  
16 W: ((nods towards the computer)) alright (...) oka:y=  
17 W: =[((looks at M)]  
18 M: |okay |  
19 W: =[(..|. shall we] go=  
20 M: [yes]  
21 W: =flatma:[te ]  
22 W, M: ((laugh))  
23 (...)  
24 M: [((looks to the monitor))]  
25 M: okay [( )]  
26 W: okay.  
27 (...)  
28 W: okay (...) °well° i go to the second [one]  
29 M: [m: ] yes  
30 (...)  
31 M: (°m:°)  
32 (.)  
33 W: m:? (...) beautiful the kitchen  
34 M: yes  
35 (...)  
36 W, M: ((look at the monitor))  
37 W: ((scratches her neck)) ((scratches her back)) ((clicks))  
38 oka:y  
39 M: (°m:°)  
40 (..)  
41 W: what do you say?  
42 W, M: ((laugh))  
43 (..)  
44 M: [((laughs))]  
45 W: so:: (.) wait er: [(.) i want] to see again thi:s one:

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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46 M: yes the second one was nice isn't it  
47 (...)  
48 W: m::? also because there's the little inner courtyard=  
49 M: =m:  
50 (...)  
51 W: one hundred square metres is large  
52 (...)  
53 M: but there isn't internet  
54 W: exactly  
55 (...)  
56 W: right but we call fastweb ((laughs)) and they  
57 bring us it (...) ((reads part of description very  
58 quickly and quietly)) bedroom (.) but it has got one  
59 room. (.) there are:: (...) two:? that have two rooms m:  
60 (.) or one i don't remember anymore  
61 M: er i don't remember as well  
62 (...)  
63 W: it seems to me this one (.) it has two rooms (...) m::?=  
64 W: =[two bed]rooms=  
65 M: [two rooms yes]  
66 W: =(.) and it could [also be nice ]  
67 M: [it's very small anyway.] (.) but  
68 M: [for two people (you stay cosy)/(you stay in a cosy=  
69 W: [yes if- (.) exactly ]  
70 M: =way).  
71 (...)  
72 M: a little dull isn't it  
73 W: m:. (...) this is one  
74 M: m m:  
75 (...)  
76 W: it's that one that was the coolest (.) isn't [i:?? ]  
77 M: [(° ]  
78 °)  
79 (...)  
80 M: yes m: (.) it could seem so [but]  
81 W: [yes] it doesn't say you how=  
82 M: [er: ]  
83 W: =many square metres it is though (.[.) it's] given by the  
84 perfect planimetry of the flat itself what does it mean:?



85 W: [( )]  
86 M: [( ) ]  
87 W: large living room (.) with lunch area double bedro[om]  
88 M: [th]  
89 ere's just one bedroom  
90 W: exactly (.) bathroom and toilette for guests. (..)  
91 bathroom and toilette for guests and for us (.) ((reads  
92 the description very quietly)) central area is cosy isn't  
93 i:t?  
94 (.)  
95 M: yes but if one would like to study it's a little  
96 uncomfortable (.) [because ]  
97 W: [yes yes it's tr]ue no it's true  
98 (.)  
99 M: [this one is very uncomfortabl]e  
100 W: [yes i lived in ] an open-space don't talk  
101 of it (..)  
102 W: [((smiles)) (hhh) ]  
103 M: [yeah: (.) i imagine ]  
104 W: ((smiles))  
105 W: three bedroo:m (.) kitchen dishwasher living room and  
106 bed[room ]  
107 M: [still] one  
108 (.)  
109 W: just one has two bedrooms.  
110 M: m:  
111 W: fifty square metres. (..) o: bike parking wow it's  
112 important  
113 (.)  
114 M: u but if one is we:ll connecte:d (.) they said that all=  
115 W: [o::: it's true]  
116 M: =[anyway they]'re connected with  
117 (..)  
118 M: pardon is this one the last  
119 W: yes  
120 W: entrance large living room beautiful sight on internal  
121 garden cooking area o:ffice (.) large ba:throom  
122 (..)  
123 M: double sofa b[ed so ] (there were) three rooms

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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124 W: [no (.)]  
125 W: no (.) this one no i don't want to sleep in the living  
126 room  
127 M: then nothing ((*in Italian it means: then this one no*))  
128 W: i don't know (.) then we discarded this one and that one  
129 M: m:  
130 (..)  
131 W: so we said that this one has two bedrooms [but]  
132 M: [i'd] focus on  
133 those that have exactly two bedrooms  
134 W: er there's just this one that has two bedrooms  
135 M: (g(h)od)/(g(hh)) (..) right  
136 (..)  
137 W: ((*croons*) °then°  
138 M: it's very dull anyway maybe i don't know  
139 W: if he furnished [it]  
140 M: [ye]s exactly  
141 (.)  
142 W: you know i prefer functionality  
143 M: do you say that this one is more functional  
144 W: i mean (.) it depends because if we sleep together (..) and if afterwards i invite your boyfriend and not- i mean  
145 i call my boyfriend and you your ((*laughs*))  
146 (we couldn't)  
147 M: ((*laughs*)) (..) n:(h)o(h) i'm too paranoid ((*laughs*))  
148 W: then we choose the coolest (.) but the less functional  
149 that's this o(hh)ne or ((*laughs*)) in my opinion this is  
150 [the newest] that's to say (.) i think=  
151 [m: ]  
152 M: =[that] the serviette heater anyway i mean  
153 W: [(m:)]  
154 M: well (.) that one is useful  
155 W: ye:s (.)  
156 M: m:  
157 W: bathroom and toilette for guests but °i d(h)on't give a  
158 fuck about g(hh)uests°  
159 M: in f(h)act. (..) given that moreover there's just one  
160 bedroom  
161 er: (.) but moreover the bedroom isn't even double in my

163 opinion (.) the comfort of this flat is given  
164 [bla bla bla bla ]  
165 M: [((reads the description))] wi[th double bed]  
166 W: [bedroom yes:.]  
167 W: then you decide (.) or we sleep together or we don't  
168 sleep together.  
169 (.)  
170 M: ((looks at W))  
171 W: [((looks at S2))]  
172 S2: [((laughs) )]  
173 M: it's better if we don't i['d s(h)ay ]  
174 W: [i make him] sc(hh)a::ry  
175 S2: ((laughs and nods yes))  
176 W: and then this is the o(h)nly one (.) and we furni- w(h)e  
177 make it more beautiful  
178 M: no[:]  
179 W: [o]ka:~y (.) [er no]  
180 M: [it's ]be:tter for you (.) (it's)- it's  
181 oka:y  
182 W: er:: but it's the only one with two bedrooms you kno:w  
183 M: m: (.) we:ll m: for me it would be (.) necessary to have  
184 my bedroom  
185 W: yes for me too  
186 M: u: okay  
187 W: because if you sno:re then i mean (.) rea[lly you know]=  
188 M: [(okay) ]  
189 W: =((laughs))  
190 M: no i don't sn(h)ore ((laughs))  
191 W: ((laughs)) it was a joke. shall we choose this one the:n?  
192 M: yes  
193 W: okay confirm ((literally: shall we light it, maybe it's a  
194 reference to a tv game when participants have to turn on  
195 a light by pressing a button in order to confirm their  
196 answers))  
197 M: okay  
198 S1: okay now i ask you some questions. (..) we already  
199  
200 understood b(hh)ut (.) basically which was the  
201 characteristic that brought you to choose this flat in

*Appendix C – Full transcriptions*

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202 relation to the o:thers

203 W: two [bedrooms ]

204 M: [the two bed]rooms ((*laughs*))

205 S2: and so:: when you saw all flats [(.) which is th]e=

206 W: [m: ]

207 S2: =dimension (.) that was the most important for you (.) i

208 mean flat's appeara:nce, the use you could

209 [make of i:t,]

210 W: [fun|ction]ali|ty=

211 M: |m: (.)yes|

212 W: =[yes the use ]

213 M: [|((*nods yes*))]

214 S2: m: m:

215 (.)

216 W: [|((*looks at M*))]

217 W: [in my opinion ]

218 M: yes sure (.) [a:-]

219 S2: [als]o in your opinio:n

220 M: yes. (.) also because the: most important thing i think=

221 W: [|((*nods yes*)) (..) exa:ctly]

222 M: in fact was the[: independence the possibi]lity o:f (.)=

223 W: [exactly]

224 M: [anyway ] studyi:ng to have your own space

225 S2: m: [m:]

226 W: [in] fact

227 S2: and about the choice on the contrary: (.) there was one=

228 W: [|((*nods no*))]

229 S2: =of you: that chose: and brought the othe:r [let's say ]=

230 W: [m: (...) i'd say no ]

231 S2: =to choose it[s s(h)ame house or you c]hose together

232 W: no:::?

233 (..)

234 W: [|((*laughs*)) ]

235 S2: were you m(hhh)ore or less in agr[(hh)ee:m|ent] |

236 M: [|((*nods yes*))]|

237 M: |yes |

238 S2: yes[:]

239 W: [y]es okay

240 M: [|((*looks at W*))]

241 M: we think- [(.) i think so]  
242 W: ye::s  
243 S2: yes. (.) okay  
244 W: [((looks at S2))]  
245 W: [we were in agre]ement about the necessity of having two  
246 be:drooms  
247 S2: okay.  
248 W: [((looks at M)) ]  
249 W: we were in agreement about consi[dering it uglier] but  
250 any [way]  
251 M: [yes] (.) but we furnished it  
252 S2: m m:  
253 W: exactly  
254 S1: [okay. (.) tha]nks a lot  
255 S2: m: m: (.) perfect (.) [thanks a lo|:t|]  
256 M: [tha]nks ( )  
257 EE: [((stand up)) ]  
258 W: [how's great t]his experim(hh)ent  
259 S2: ((laughs))  
260 W: but so after all (.) what are you going to look fo:r  
261 S2: we look fo::r (.) well this experiment if part of a:::- a  
262 bigger research  
263 W: m:  
264 S2: a:::nd what was already do:ne  
265 ((end of cassette))

### D3C2MWnr-ita

#### M, W: partecipanti

#### S1, S2: sperimentatrici

1 S1: fate finta che l'università di pa:dova, vi dia un borsa  
2 di studio per un a:nno, (.) e:: con questa borsa di  
3 studio voi: vi- m: potete perm- e::: (..) potete pagare  
4 l'affitto per (.) un intero anno, (.) per un appartamento  
5 e il vostro compito è quello di scegliere l'appartamento:  
6 tra quelli elencati  
7 W: o[:~]  
8 M: [qu]indi come studenti (.) [a padova]  
9 S1: [sì come ]studenti sì  
10 (..)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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11 S1: e cercate di:: (.) decidere insieme=  
12 S1: =[quale appartamento: è]=  
13 M: [((annuisce) )]  
14 S1: =più adatto per le vostre esi[genze ]  
15 M: [°(occhei)°]  
16 (...)  
17 W: ((fa un cenno con la testa al computer)) va bene (...)  
18 ocche:i=  
19 W: =[((guarda M))]  
20 M: |occhei |  
21 W: =[(..|. ) pro]cediamo=  
22 M: [sì]  
23 W: =coinquili:[no]  
24 W, M: ((ridono))  
25 (...)  
26 M: [((indica il monitor))]  
27 M: occhei [( )]  
28 W: occhei.  
29 (...)  
30 W: occhei (...) °nsomma° vado alla second[a ]  
31 M: [m:] sì  
32 (...)  
33 M: (°m:°)  
34 (.)  
35 W: m:? (...) bella la cucina  
36 M: sì  
37 (...)  
38 W, M: ((guardano il monitor))  
39 W: ((si gratta il collo)) ((si gratta la schiena))  
40 ((clicca)) occ:hei  
41 M: (°m:°)  
42 (..)  
43 W: cosa dici?  
44 W, M: ((ridono))  
45 (...)  
46 M: [((ride))]  
47 W: allora:: (..) spetta e [(.) io v]oglio rivedere que:sto:  
48 M: sì la seconda era cari:na no  
49 (..)

50 W: m::? anche perché c'è il cortiletto interno=  
51 M: =m:  
52 (.)  
53 W: cento metri quadri è gra:nde  
54 (..)  
55 M: però non c'è internet  
56 W: esa:tto  
57 (..)  
58 va be ma chiamiamo quelli di fastw(h)eb che ce lo port(hh)ano  
59 (hhh) (..) ((legge velocemente e a voce bassa)) la camera da  
60 le:tto (.) però ha una camera. (.) ce ne sono:: (..) du:?e  
61 che hanno due camere m: (.) o una non mi ricordo più  
62 M: e non me lo ricordo neanch'io  
63 (.)  
64 W: mi sembra que:sto (.) ha due camere (..) m::?=  
65 W: =[due camere da] letto=  
66 M: [due camere sì]  
67 W: =(..) e potrebbe [anche essere carina ]  
68 M: [è piccolina comunque.] (.) però  
69 M: [per due persone (sta)i=  
70 W: [sì se- (.) esatto ]  
71 M: =tranquillo)/(stai tranquillamente).  
72 (..)  
73 M: un po' triste no  
74 W: m:. (...) questa u:na  
75 M: m m:  
76 (..)  
77 W: questo è quello più figo (.) [no:? ]  
78 M: [(° ] °)  
79 (..)  
80 M: sì m: (.) sembrerebbe [ma]  
81 W: [sì] non ti dice quanti metri=  
82 M: [e: ]  
83 W: =quadri è però (.[.] è] dato dalla perfetta planimetria  
84 dello stesso cioè:?  
85 W: [( )]  
86 M: [( ) ]  
87 W: ampio soggiorno (.) con zona pranzo camera da  
88 letto matrimonial[e]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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89 M: [c]amera ce n'è solo uno  
90 W: esatto (.) bagno e toilette per gli ospiti. (..) bagno e  
91 toilette per gli ospiti e per noi? (.) ((legge la  
92 descrizione con voce non udibile)) zona centro in zona  
93 centro sì sta bene e:?  
94 (.)  
95 M: sì però se uno vuole studiare è un po' scomoda (.)  
96 [perché ]  
97 W: [sì è ve]ro no è vero  
98 (.)  
99 M: [questo è scomodissim]o  
100 W: [sì io sono stata in] un open-space lasciamo stare  
101 (..)  
102 W: [((sorride)) (hhh)]  
103 M: [e: (.) immagino ]  
104 W: ((sorride))  
105 W: triloca:le (.) cucina lavastoviglie soggiorno e ca[mera]  
106 M: [semp]  
107 re una  
108 (.)  
109 W: solo uno ha due camere.  
110 M: m:  
111 W: cinquanta metri quadri. (..) a: posto bici però è  
112 importante  
113 (.)  
114 M: a ma se è uno è collegato: be:ne (.) han detto che tutti=  
115 W: [a::: è vero]  
116 M: =[comunque so]no messi collegati a  
117 (..)  
118 M: questa qua è scusa l'ultima  
119 W: sì  
120 W: ingresso ampio soggiorno bella vista sul giardino interno  
121 angolo cottura stu:dio (.) ampio ba:gno  
122 (..)  
123 M: divano letto matrimonia[le qu]indi (c'erano) tre camere  
124 W: [no (.)]  
125 W: no (.) questo no non voglio dormire in salotto  
126 M: allora niente  
127 W: bo: (.) allora abbiamo scartato questo e questo



128 M: m:  
129 (..)  
130 W: allora questo abbiamo detto che ha due camere [però ]  
131 M: [io mi]  
132 focalizzerei su quelli appunto con due camere  
133 W: e c'è solo questo con due camere  
134 M: (d(h)io)/(d(hh)) (..) vabbè  
135 (..)  
136 W: ((canticchia)) °allora°  
137 M: è tristissimo però magari non lo so  
138 W: se lo arre[da]  
139 M: [sì] infatti  
140 (.)  
141 W: sai io sono più per la funzionalità  
142 M: dici che questo è più funziona:le  
143 W: cioè (.) dipende perché se dormiamo assieme (..) e se  
144 dopo io chiamo tuo moroso e non- cioè chiamo il mio  
145 moroso e tu la tua ((risata))  
146 M: (non potremmo)  
147 W: ((ride)) (..) n:(h)o(h) sono troppo paranoica ((ride))  
148 allora o scegliamo il più figo (.) ma meno funzionale che  
149 è que(hh)sto ((risata)) secondo me questo [è q]uello più=  
150 M: [m: ]  
151 W: =nuovo cioè (.) penso [che ] lo scalda salviette insomma=  
152 M: [(m:)]  
153 W: =voglio dir(h)e  
154 M: vabbè (.) quello è comodo  
155 W: e: (.)  
156 M: m:  
157 W: bagno e toilette per gli ospiti per gli ospiti ma °a  
158 m(h)e degli o(hh)spiti non me ne frega un c(h)azzo°  
159 M: ma inf(h)atti. (..) visto che c'è una: camera da letto  
160 sola poi  
161 W: e: (.) ma poi la camera da letto non è manco matrimoniale  
162 secondo me (.) il comfort di questo appartamento è dato  
163 [bla bla bla bla ]  
164 M: [((legge la descrizione))] co[l letto mat]rimoniale  
165 W: [camera sì:.]  
166 W: allora decidi (.) o dormiamo assieme o non dormiamo

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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167            assieme.  
168            (.)  
169 M:        ((guarda W))  
170 W:        [((guarda S2)) ]  
171 W:        [((risata))     ]  
172 M:        meglio di no di[r(h)ei]  
173 W:                            [lo st]o spavent(hh)a::ndo  
174 S2:        ((ride e annuisce))  
175 W:        e allora questo è l'u(h)nico (.) e lo arredia- lo  
176            abbelliamo n(h)oi  
177 M:        no[:]  
178 W:        [ocche:?i] (.) [e no ]  
179 M:                            [ti va] me:glia (.) ti (sta)- ti sta  
180            be:ne  
181 W:        e:: ma è l'unico con due camere sa:i  
182 M:        m: (.) be: m: per me sarebbe (.) fondamentale avere la  
183            mia camera  
184 W:        sì anche per me  
185 M:        a: occhei  
186 W:        perché se poi ru:ssi cioè (.) pro[prio gua]rda ((ride))  
187 M:                            [(occhei)]  
188 M:        no non r(h)usso ((ride))  
189 W:        ((ride)) stavo scherzando. allora scegliamo questo:?  
190 M:        sì  
191 W:        occhei la accendiamo  
192 M:        occhei  
193 S2:        occhei adesso vi faccio qualche domanda io. (..) s'è già  
194            capito per(hh)ò (.) fondamentalmente qual è stata la  
195            caratteristica che vi ha portato a scegliere questo  
196            appartamento rispetto agli a:ltri  
197 W:        due [camere     ]  
198 M:        [le due cam]ere ((ride))  
199 S2:        e quindi:: nel momento in cui voi avete guardato tutti=  
200 W:                            [((annuisce))]  
201 W:        [m:             ]  
202 S2:        =gli appartamenti [(.) qual è l]a dimensione (.) a cui  
203            davate più importanza (.) cioè l'aspetto  
204            dell'appartame:nto, l'utilizzo che potevate  
205            [fa:rne, ]

206 W: [la fu|nz]ionali|tà=  
207 M: |m: (.) sì|  
208 W: =[sì l'utilizzo]  
209 M: [((annuisce)) ]  
210 S2: m: m:  
211 (.)  
212 W: [((guarda M))]  
213 W: [secondo me ]  
214 M: sì infatti (.) [a:-]  
215 S2: [anc]he per te:  
216 M: sì. (.) anche perché la: cosa più importante credo=  
217 W: [((annuisce)) (..) esa:tto]  
218 M: =appunto fosse la[: l'indipendenza il fatto] di poter:=  
219 W: [esatto]  
220 M: =(.) [comunq]ue studia:re per avere i propri spazi  
221 S2: m: [m: ]  
222 W: [di ] fatti  
223 S2: e nella scelta invece: (.) c'è stato uno dei du:e che ha=  
224 W: [((fa no col capo))]  
225 S2: =scelto: e ha portato l'altro: [diciamo a ]=  
226 M: [m: (...) direi di no]  
227 S2: =scegliere la st(h)[essa sua casa o avet]e scelto insieme  
228 W: no::?  
229 (..)  
230 W: [((ride)) ]  
231 S2: siete stati p(hhh)iù o meno con[c(hh)o:r|di] |  
232 M: |((annuisce))|  
233 M: |sì |  
234 S2: sì[:]  
235 W: [s]ì dai  
236 M: [((guarda W))]  
237 M: crediamo- [(.) credo di] sì  
238 W: sì::  
239 S2: sì. (.) occhei  
240 W: [((guarda S2))]  
241 W: [eravamo conco]rdi sul fatto di avere due ca:mere  
242 S2: occhei.  
243 W: [((guarda M))]  
244 W: eravamo concordi sul fatto che [fosse più br]uttino che

245 pe[rò]  
 246 M: [sì] (.) però ce lo arredavamo  
 247 S2: m m:  
 248 W: esatto  
 249 S1: [occhei. (.) gra]zie mille  
 250 S2: m: m: (.) perfetto (.) [grazie mi:l|le ]  
 251 M: |grazi|e ( )  
 252 TT: [(*si alzano*)]  
 253 W: [che forte sto] esperim(hh)ento  
 254 S2: ((*ride*))  
 255 W: ma quindi alla fine (.) voi cosa dovete vedere:  
 256 S2: noi guardiamo:: (.) be questo esperimento fa parte di  
 257 un:::- una ricerca più ampia  
 258 W: m:  
 259 S2: e::: è già stato fatto:  
 260 ((*fine cassetta*))

### Third disagreement: “it's a single bed! I sleep on the ground!”

D4C1MWr

M, W: participants

S: experimenter

1 S: ((*adjusts the camera*))  
 2 W: i:'d like a room for my bea:(h)sts:: and you::?  
 3 ((*laughs*))  
 4 M: (...) i'm among you:r beasts as well anyway  
 5 W: do you know that i got a bell for my ra:bbi:t ((*laughs*))  
 6 M: ( )  
 7 W: you should see i:t:  
 8 S: okay guys you can sta:rt, the expe:riment, (.) as i said  
 9 you earlie::r (.) you pretend that university of padova  
 10 gives you (.) er::: a scholarship for one vea:r (.) and  
 11 you ca:n rent (.) regardless of price all those:: (.)  
 12 those flats you find in the li:st a::nd (.) your task is  
 13 to choose. (..) together  
 14 (..)  
 15 W: ((*holds the mouse*))  
 16 W: let's go  
 17 (.)

18 M: m: m: (...) go on with the first one  
19 W: [((looks at M)) ]  
20 W: [u::h (.) beau:tiful (i want one with an attic)]  
21 M: [((points to the monitor))]  
22 M: [no look they're stai:rs ]  
23 W: rea:lly  
24 M: no no it's true  
25 W: it's with an a:ttic (...) open-spa:ce (...) and a=  
26 W: [((looks at M))]  
27 W: =microwave oven [lik(hh)e it ] was necess(hh)ary isn't  
28 it i'd sa(h)  
29 M: ((smiles)) we:ll to coo:k  
30 W: well i'd write instead (.) as first thing (.) washing  
31 machi::ne (hhhhh) (.) and dishw(hh)asher ((laughs))  
32 M: [((holds the mouse))]  
33 M: [o here they are ]  
34 W: yes but (.) (it doesn't mention them). (...) studio flat  
35 ri::?ght flat ((reads the description very quietly))  
36 connected to university buildings (.) by- (.) to  
37 university buildings by public transport services (.)  
38 M: m: (.) beau[tiful]  
39 W: [well:] beau:tiful!  
40 M: even if (.) claustropho:bic  
41 W: yeah: in fact but it doesn't seem  
42 M: okay shall we go on with conFI:rm or we see all of them?  
43 S: no no you see all of them the:n at the end (.) you decide  
44 M: o: okay  
45 S: and when you finish to decide (.) you click confirm  
46 W: (m::?) (° °)  
47 M: si:ze, bedroo:m ( ) (.) shower (.) °it seems really  
48 large this one°  
49 (..)  
50 W: it's a:ll here (.) well i don't know  
51 M: right its fittings doesn't- [shou:ldn't be ]  
52 W: [i d- i don't li:::ke them]  
53 M: then here you can't see anything ((that is interesting))  
54 W: yea:h in fact (..) eth(hhh)nic style (h) (..) holy shit  
55 how cool it is! (hhhh) yeah! (hhh)  
56 M: o:: this one has an internal courtyard

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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57 W: (m:)  
58 ((mobile ring))  
59 M: m:  
60 (..)  
61 W: bath[tub with-]  
62 M: [one hundr]ed square metres!  
63 W: shit it's very large (...) so first one tw- is this the  
64 third one?  
65 M: yes  
66 W: (..) well (.) this one is the most beautiful in my  
67 opinion (..)  
68 M: the same (...) i::::::::::. (...) there's also a bathroom  
69 for guests  
70 W: beautiful beautiful  
71 M: (f::) for guests (..) again a large balcony °>walls were  
72 recently re-painted by using a particular pa:stel color<°  
73 (.) central area  
74 W: well (.) it is the fourth?  
75 M: yes  
76 W: so first third fou:rth (...) m:: (...) m: a three roo:m  
77 (...)  
78 M: square washbasin ri:ght  
79 W: (so:rry?)  
80 M: (...) here it i:s this is mine  
81 W: (...) ((retracts her face. disappointment?))  
82 (...)  
83 M: no this one hasn't even the be:d (..) a::nd a:nd  
84 W: (m:)  
85 M: i'd (.) reject this one imme::diately  
86 W: yeah i liked the fou:rth  
87 M: (.) three four (...) there's there's yes (.) yes yes yes  
88 W: ((nods yes))  
89 (..)  
90 M: absolutely (..) but even this one  
91 W: what do you want (to refu:se me)  
92 (...)  
93 M: (hhh) that there's an internet connection  
94 W: (hhh) here it is yes [thi-]  
95 M: [yeah] the first and the fourth yes

96 W: this is another important thi::ng (...)  
97 M: er:  
98 W: ((brightens up her voice))  
99 M: and the square washbasin ex[cuse me]  
100 W: [u yes ] in fact sugar  
101 (...)  
102 M: bu::?t this one:  
103 (..)  
104 W: ((makes faces))  
105 M: large ba:lcony (...) °large living room with lunch area  
106 (.) bedroom with double bed (.) bathroom° (..) i don't  
107 dislike this one as well  
108 W: (m:) ((brightens up her voice)) (...) i like this one (.)  
109 ((turns her head towards M)) it's more:[:: ]  
110 M: [ye:ah] me too (.)  
111 one two:: this one has also bike parkings [(..) ]=  
112 W: [(they lacked)]  
113 M: ='cause (.) you wait for a week otherwise  
114 W: and the second o:ne we too:k  
115 M: no there's not- there's not compa[rison]  
116 W: [no no] the fi:rst one  
117 was sm- too sma:ll the thi:rd one?  
118 (...)  
119 M: no (.) this is far (..) this was the ethnic that anyway  
120 had a (small garden) b[ut (..)] hust this (...)=  
121 W: [m: ]  
122 M: =pouff.  
123 W: (mh) (..) well right (.) the fourth  
124 (.)  
125 M: but also thi:s one  
126 (..)  
127 W: this one he:re?  
128 (.)  
129 M: this one here  
130 (...)  
131 W: but (..) it's a (.) it's a (.) it's a single be:d! (.) i  
132 sleep on the gro:und!  
133 M: yes come on (..) i bring it ((another bed)) eventually  
134 (.) we have chosen

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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135 (...)   
136 S: okay, you click confi:rm please   
137 M: m:   
138 W: m:   
139 M: (...) confirmed   
140 (...)   
141 S: okay (.) now i ask you (...) a very sho:rt (.) a very   
142 short intervieu:w (..) okay: which characteristics brought   
143 you to choose that kind of fla::?t   
144 (..)   
145 M: well a series [o:f of things ]   
146 W: [structu:re ] |size, |   
147 W: |((looks at M))|   
148 M: ye:s,   
149 W: [((looks at S))]   
150 M: [((looks at S))]   
151 W: [furnishings ]   
152 W, M: [((look each other in his/her eyes))]   
153 M: [(..) f(h)u:rnishings ]   
154 W: furnishings there's a beautiful ki:tchen, we::lt re:d   
155 (hh) (..) a:::nd yes structure the::n (.) where it's   
156 located (..) er::   
157 (.)   
158 W: [((looks at M))]   
159 M: [((looks at S))]   
160 M: [size: ] (.) of the flat so (.) a good ratio   
161 between (.) the number of bedrooms and its size=   
162 W: [m: ]   
163 M: =[(..)] there was one of them very large but with (.) two   
164 bedroo:m[s (.)] and one (.) sma:ll with eighteen small=   
165 W: [m m: ]   
166 M: =bedrooms (..) a:nd and the bathroom also (..) there   
167 there was a beautiful flat bu:::t (.) (it was)   
168 residential area, you can't know where it was (...) and   
169 nothing more   
170 S: er in your opinion these characteristics are more related   
171 to::: (.) aesthetics, (.) did you consider more   
172 aesthetics o:::r functionality (..) of this flat   
173 W: |((looks at M))|



174 W: well a little bit and a little bit mo[|:re] |  
175 M: [er::] a little bit  
176 and a little bit more (.) a ri:ght a r[ight compro]mise=  
177 W: [a ri- er:]  
178 M: =(.) obviou:sly (.) it depends [on you:] the right=  
179 W: [m: ]  
180 M: =compromise (...) i ((preferred, the verb is implicit in  
181 Italian)) a little mo:re functionality  
182 W: ye:s suppose that i looked a little more to aesthe:tics  
183 but you kno:w ((laughs))  
184 M: e o:  
185 W: each to his o:wn (...) but yes after all i looked a little  
186 to both of the:m anywa:y (...)  
187 S: a::nd in your opinio:n (.) who of you decided  
188 W: toge:ther  
189 M: (m::) ((points to W so that she does not see him)) (.)  
190 we:ll if we consider the two flats we liked mo::re (.) we  
191 began to look at their main characteri:stics (.)  
192 actually: (..) there was (h) a magic word but this one  
193 has a double bedroom  
194 W: exa::ctly! (hh) (.) so:: o yes after all toge:ther we  
195 evaluated toge:ther (.) pros and cons, what you found and  
196 what you didn't find after all (.) we agreed that that  
197 one was the flat th-  
198 M: yes together with giuseppina come on  
199 W: it matCHED more ((than the others)) those characteristics  
200 we were looking for anywa:y (m:)  
201 S: ((looks at M)) and you:r (.) your nee:ds, which were your  
202 most important nee?ds  
203 M: we:::ll (..) comfortableness of the fla:t (.) per se  
204 [(..)] so:: (.) that it wa:sn't o: how's beautiful bu:t=  
205 S: [(m:)]  
206 M: =(.) a a a very small place ((literally from Italian: a  
207 hole))  
208 W: and that was also a comfortable place in which we could  
209 li:ve i mea:n  
210 (..)  
211 S: oka:y (...) stop  
212 M: good

213 W: ((looks at the camera)) hi (.) hi::: ((shakes her hand))  
214 S: late::r (.) i'll watch you again

#### D4C1MWr-ita

M, W: partecipanti

S: sperimentatrice

1 S: ((mette a punto la videocamera))  
2 W: io: vorrei una stanza per le mie be:(h)stie:: tu::?  
3 ((ride))  
4 M: (...) io sono fra le tu:e bestie però anche  
5 W: sai che ho messo il campanello al coniglio: ((ride))  
6 M: ( )  
7 W: dovresti vede:re:  
8 S: occhei ragazzi potete inizia:re, l'esperime:nto, (.) come  
9 vi ho detto prima:: (.) fate finta che l'università di  
10 padova vi dia (.) e::: una borsa di studio per un anno:  
11 (.) e potete: affittare (.) indipendentemente dal prezzo  
12 tutti quei:: (.) quegli appartamenti presenti nella  
13 li:sta e:: (.) il vostro compito è quello di scegliere.  
14 (..) insieme  
15 (..)  
16 W: ((prende il mouse))  
17 W: procedia:mo  
18 (.)  
19 M: m: m: (...) vai con la prima  
20 W: [((guarda M)) ]  
21 W: [o::h (.) be:lla (voglio mansardato)]  
22 M: [((indica il monitor)) ]  
23 M: [no guarda che è una sca:la]  
24 W: verame:nte  
25 M: no no è vero  
26 W: è mansarda:ta (..) open-spa:ce (...) e un forno a=  
27 W: [((guarda M))]  
28 W =microo:nde [c(hh)ome se ] fosse indispens(hh)abile no  
29 dire(h)  
30 M: ((sorrìde)) be: per cucina:re  
31 W: vabbè metterei piuttosto (.) come prima cosa (.)  
32 lavatri::ce (hhhhh) (.) e lavastov(hh)iglie ((ride))  
33 M: [((prende il mouse))]

34 M: [a eccoli qua ]  
35 W: sì ma (.) (non li menziona). (..) monocale e::?  
36 appartamento ((*legge la descrizione con voce inaudibile*))  
37 collegata agli istituti (.) da- (.) in istituti da  
38 servizi pubblici (.)  
39 M: m: (.) be[llo]  
40 W: [be:] be:llo!  
41 M: anche se (.) claustro:fobico  
42 W: e: infatti ma non sembrerebbe  
43 M: occhei andiamo con conFE:rma o le giriamo tutte?  
44 S: no no girate tutte e poi: alla fine (.) decidete  
45 M: a: occhei  
46 S: e quando avete finito di decidere (.) schiacciate  
47 conferma  
48 W: (m::?) (° °)  
49 M: dimensio:ni, camera da le:tto ( ) (.) doccia (.) °sembra  
50 bella grande questa°  
51 (..)  
52 W: è tutto qua: (.) ma non lo so  
53 M: vabbè le finiture non- [non dovrebbero essere:]  
54 W: [n- non mi pie::cciono]  
55 M: poi qui non si vede niente  
56 W: e: infatti (..) stile etn(hhh)ico (h) (..) cazzo che  
57 figata! (hhhh) yeah! (hhh)  
58 M: o:: questo ha un cortiletto interno  
59 W: (m:)  
60 ((*squillo di cellulare*))  
61 M: m:  
62 (..)  
63 W: vasca da [bagno con- ]  
64 M: [cento metri] quadri!  
65 W: minchia è grandissimo (...) quindi primo uno du- cos'è il  
66 terzo questo?  
67 M: sì  
68 W: (..) be: (.) questo è il più bello secondo me (..)  
69 M: lo stesso (...) i::: (..) il bagno c'è anche per  
70 gli ospiti  
71 W: bello bello  
72 M: (p::) per gli ospiti (..) sempre un'ampia terrazza °>le

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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73 pareti sono state recentemente riverniciate con una  
74 raffinata tinta paste:llo<° (.) zona centro  
75 W: beh (.) cos'è il quarto?  
76 M: sì  
77 W: quindi primo terzo qua:rto (...) m:: (...) m: un  
78 triloca:le  
79 (...)   
80 M: lavandino quadrato e:  
81 W: (e:?)  
82 M: (...) eccolo qua: questo è il mio  
83 W: (...) ((*retrae il muso. non le piace?*))  
84 (...)   
85 M: no questo non c'ha neanche il le:tto (..) e:: e:  
86 W: (m:)  
87 M: questo lo (.) boccerei s::ubito  
88 W: eh a me piaceva il qua:rto  
89 M: (.) tre quattro (...) c'è c'è sì (.) sì sì sì  
90 W: ((*annuisce*))  
91 (..)   
92 M: assolutamente (..) ma anche questo  
93 W: te cos'è che intendi (nega:rmi)  
94 (...)   
95 M: (hhh) che c'è la connessione a internet  
96 W: (hhh) ecco sì [quest-]  
97 M: [eh il ]primo e il quarto sì  
98 W: questa è un'altra roba importante:: (hh)  
99 M: e:  
100 W: ((*schiarisce la voce*))  
101 M: e il lavandino quadrato scu[sami]  
102 W: [eh s]ì infatti cavolo  
103 (...)   
104 M: pe::rò? questo:  
105 (..)   
106 W: ((*smorfie col muso*))  
107 M: ampia terra:zza (...) °ampio soggiorno con zona pranzo  
108 (.) camera con letto matrimoniale (.) bagno° (..) anche  
109 questa non mi dispiace  
110 W: (m:) ((*si schiarisce la voce*)) (...) a me piace questa  
111 (.) ((*si volta verso M*)) è più:[::]

112 M: [e:] anche a me (.) uno  
113 due:: questa c'ha anche i posti bici [(..) ] ché=  
114 W: [(mancavano)]  
115 M: =(.) perdi una settimana sennò  
116 W: e il seco:ndo avevamo pre:so  
117 M: no non (.) non hanno parag[one ]  
118 W: [no no] il pri:mo era pi-  
119 troppo pi:ccolo il te:rzo?  
120 (...)  
121 M: no (.) questo è distante (..) questo era l'etnico che  
122 però aveva (giardinetto) m[a (.)]solo questo (...)=  
123 W: [m: ]  
124 M: =pouff.  
125 W: (mh) (..) bo via (.) il quarto  
126 (.)  
127 M: ma anche que:sto  
128 (..)  
129 W: questo qua:?  
130 (.)  
131 M: questo qua  
132 (...)  
133 W: ma (..) è un (.) è un (.) è un letto si:ngolo! (.) io  
134 dormo per te:rra!  
135 M: sì dai (..) me lo metto su io event- (.) abbiamo scelto  
136 (..)  
137 S: occhei, schiacciate pure confe:rma  
138 M: m:  
139 W: m:  
140 M: (...) confermato  
141 (...)  
142 S: occhei (.) ora vi farò (...) un brevissima: (.) una  
143 brevissima intervi:sta (..) occhei: quali caratteristiche  
144 vi hanno portato a scegliere quel tipo di appartame:nto:?  
145 (..)  
146 M: be (.) tutto un insieme [di: di cose ]  
147 W: [la struttu:ra] |la grandezza,|  
148 W: |((guarda M)) |  
149 M: sì:,  
150 W: [((guarda S)) ]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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151 M: [((guarda S)) ]  
152 W: [l'arredamento ]  
153 W, M: [((si guardano negli occhi))]  
154 M: [(..) l'arredame:(h)nto? ]  
155 W: l'arredamento c'è una bella cucina, ecco:: ro:ssa (hh)  
156 (..) e::: sì la struttura poi:: (.) dov'è collocato (..)  
157 e::  
158 (.)  
159 W: [((guarda M))]  
160 M: [((guarda S))]  
161 M: [l'ampiezza: ] (.) dell'appartamento quindi (.) un bel  
162 rapporto tra (.) quante camere e quanto grande fosse=  
163 W: [m: ]  
164 M: =[(..)] ce n'era uno enorme ma con (.) due camere[: (.)]=  
165 W: [m m: ]  
166 M: =e uno (.) piccolo: con diciotto camerette (..) e: e i  
167 servizi anche (..) poi ce n'era uno molto bello ma::: (.)  
168 (era) zona residenziale, chissà dov'era (...) e basta  
169 S: e secondo voi queste caratteristiche vengono più  
170 inquadrate nell'ambito:: (.) dell'estetica, (.) avete  
171 considerato di più l'estetica o:: la funzionalità (..) di  
172 quest'appartamento  
173 W: |((guarda M))|  
174 W: ma un po' e un po'[: ] |  
175 M: [e:] un po' e un po' (.) il giusto: il  
176 giu[sto compro]messo (.) ovviamente: (.) è=  
177 W: [il giu- e:]  
178 M: =person[a:]le il giusto compromesso (...) io un pochino=  
179 W: [m:]  
180 M: =più: la funzionalità  
181 W: sì: metti che io ho un po' più guardato all'este:tica ma  
182 sai com'è ((ride))  
183 M: e o:  
184 W: i gusti sono gu:sti (..) però sì alla fine guardo un po'  
185 tutti e du:e insomm:a (...)  
186 S: e:: secondo voi: (.) chi ha deciso tra i due  
187 W: insieme  
188 M: (m::) ((indica W senza che ella lo veda)) (.) be: fra i  
189 due appartamenti che ci piacevano di più:: (.) ci siamo

190 messi a:: (.) a guardare le caratteristiche principa:li  
191 (.) effettivamente: (..) c'è stato (h) la parola magica  
192 ma questo c'ha la camera matrimoniale  
193 W: esa::tto! (hh) (.) quindi:: massi alla fine insie:me  
194 abbiamo valutato insie:me (.) i pro e i contro, cosa  
195 c'era e cosa non c'era alla fine (.) abbiamo concordato  
196 che quello è l'appartamento ch-  
197 M: sì insieme alla giuseppina dai  
198 W: rispecCHIAva di più le caratteristiche che cercavamo noi  
199 insom:a (m:)  
200 S: ((*rivolta a M*)) e i tuoi: (.) le tue esige:nze, maggiori  
201 quali erano?  
202 M: be::: (..) la comodità dell'appartamento: (.) in sé e=  
203 S: [(m:)]  
204 M: =per sé[(..)] quindi:: (.) che non fosse: a:: che bellino  
205 però: (.) un un un buco  
206 W: e fosse anche comodo dove dobbiamo anda:re insom:a  
207 (..)  
208 S: ocche:i (...) basta  
209 M: bene  
210 W: ((*guarda la videocamera*)) ciao (.) ciao::: ((*saluta*))  
211 S: poi:: (.) vi rivedrò

#### **Fourth disagreement: “it's paid for by University anyway”**

D4C4MWr

M, W: participants

S: experimenter

1 S: okay right (.) you can have a sit he:re (.)  
2 M, W: ((*approach the computer used for the experiment*))  
3 S: and here in fact begi:ns (...) your ta::sk  
4 M: m m:  
5 S: as i alrea:dy explained you ((*your task is*)) to choose  
6 your ideal flat. (.) you can also: (.) make your decision  
7 or talk alou:d (..) ((*you can*)) do whatever you want in  
8 short  
9 (..)  
10 M: so shall we begin with all different [houses?]  
11 S: [yes] (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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12 [yes yes] yes (.) please you follow=  
13 M: [good. ]  
14 S: =instructi[o:ns]  
15 M: [ oka]:y  
16 W: o o  
17 S: what's up?  
18 (.)  
19 M: we already lost the house (.) the first house  
20 (.)  
21 S: u: because if three of them are open here (.) so (.) it  
22 doesn't work properly ((clicks)) (...) okay (..) here you  
23 are okay  
24 M: and let's begin (...) so:: (.) first house (..) open-  
25 space its size is about thi:: uh (.) °very small° (a fo-)  
26 W: sh(hhh) !  
27 M: ((looks at W))  
28 W: (...) °don't you spea:?k°  
29 (...)  
30 M: [((looks at W)) ]  
31 M: [m (.) with an at]ti:c (.) (may) you like it (..) (now  
32 with-)  
33 W: a little small  
34 M: small (..) thirty five square metres  
35 W: ((not hearable utterance)) °(i know) but for me the  
36 living room ( ) (.) well  
37 (..)  
38 M: (well)/(how come) it doesn't suit us right  
39 (..)  
40 W: er °this one is a little uglier°  
41 M: less bright it seems to me isn't i?t  
42 W: (hhh) ((laughs))  
43 M: [((points to the computer))]  
44 M: [just artificial light ] evidently there's not a  
45 window  
46 W: °( ) la::rge (.) and moreover it has a garden°  
47 (..)  
48 M: moreover there's already a bed to ma:ke again  
49 M: [u:: (.) ethnic style]  
50 W: style [( ) ] ( ) in the picture



*The experimental web simulation*

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51 (...) °wai-° (...) but (.) it has a small courtya:rd, a  
52 beautiful so:fa [(..)] it's very large  
53 M: [m m:]  
54 M: one hundred square metres ((nods yes)) (..) larger than  
55 ours  
56 W: how many be:drooms?  
57 M: you clean it quicker  
58 W: just one bedroom anyway (..) stra:nge (..) well (.)  
59 let's go  
60 M: hhhhh  
61 W: [(points to the computer)]  
62 W: °<wait>° (..) [in this one there's a bath]room that's a  
63 little bigger (.) and also the kitchen is beautiful (but  
64 wait)  
65 (...)  
66 W: [(nods yes)]  
67 M: [(nods yes)]  
68 (...)  
69 M: m: (..) large window  
70 W: yes i like very much this o:ne (.) it seems to me ni:cer  
71 (.) u:?  
72 M: small crazy-paving bathroom (.) bathroom [for guests]  
73 W: [yes but mo]  
74 reover it has a large ba:::lcony, it ha::s (.) it seems  
75 to me a little [cooler this one ]  
76 M: [right in pole po]sition this one then.  
77 W: yes  
78 (.)  
79 M: e::r (..) three bedroo:m (..) the bathroom is very narrow  
80 W: where is it written?  
81 M: can't you see i:t? (.) more narrow here  
82 W: wait (.) °kitche::[:n (.) ( ) washbasin (.)]=  
83 M: [fifty square metres then ]  
84 W: =total size°=  
85 M: there's an internet connection that's useful  
86 (..)   
87 W: you find it also within that one:  
88 M: university buildings area while the other was in central  
89 area (..) last

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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90 (..)  
91 M: the sa:me: (.) large bathroom (.) °double sofa bed°  
92 M: sofa be:d  
93 W: °but wai- (.) it has a la:rge bathroom, o:ffice,  
94 ( )°  
95 M: yes but look chea:p ba::throom tiles [also (.) ]  
96 W: [°no::° (h)] (why  
97 they're there)  
98 M: uh mo come on also the kitchen tiles are cheap the-  
99 W: that i:s ( ) (.) well large balcony, dishwasher,  
100 [PArking- ]  
101 M: [la:rge balcony ten square metres  
102 (..)  
103 W: bi:ke parking (.) in the center (.) no in my opinion on  
104 the contrary thi:s one shouldn't be discarded  
105 M: no, (we should) ((chooses another flat)) er::  
106 W: wait (.) bla bla bla bla bla (.) living roo:m, lunch  
107 area, dou:ble bedroom, two bathroo:ms  
108 M: it's paid by university a[nyway]  
109 W: [the b](h)alcony ((laughs))  
110 M: ((laughs)) exactly. (..) central area (.) la:rge  
111 W: |((points to the computer)) |  
112 W: yes this one is |[cooler (.) then [(..) ]| that one==  
113 M: [confi:rm]  
114 W: =no wait (.) the next one:  
115 M: ((laughs)) th(h)i?s  
116 W: yes (.) how's i:::t (...) that one  
117 M: with a bathroom (..) that seems for anchovies (.) this  
118 one is very hi:gh the wa:ll: (.) fat friends can't have a  
119 shower  
120 W: [|((points to the computer))]  
121 W: [then wait (..) let's see ] all of the:m ri:?ght  
122 M: all of them?  
123 W: ye:s (...) this one anyway is more particular you love  
124 parti:cular things  
125 M: yes particular but it's also small  
126 W: [|((moves her handbreadth in the air, by tracing a  
127 diagonal line from a point on the top until another point  
128 on the bottom left)) ]

129 W: [no:: but it has a slo]ping ro]of [m:: (...) er: ]  
130 M: [yes (.) exactly slo]  
131 ping roof means (.) less cubage (.) thirty fi:ve square  
132 metres  
133 (.)  
134 W: very small  
135 M: kitchen  
136 W: let's say that this one is a li:ttle ne:st  
137 W: [((laughs)) ]  
138 M: exactly [(.) given tha]t (.) it's university that pays i  
139 want [a big ne:st (..) ] why not and it's this==  
140 W: [((laughs)) (.) co::ome o:n]  
141 M: =one (.) why no:t (.) (excuse me) (.) value for mo:ney  
142 (... ) (come on)/(you know) i could look for another=  
143 M: [((looks at W))]  
144 M: =[flatmate (you:] know)/(come on)  
145 M: ((laughs))  
146 W: ((laughs))  
147 W: (hhh) (..) for your fla?t  
148 M: exactly and also for my studies  
149 (..)  
150 M: ((looks at W)) (..) [((nods yes))]  
151 W: [okay |right|]  
152 M: |er: c|razy paving excuse me  
153 but (.) look (..) large (.) and (.) bright (.) windows=  
154 M: [((looks at W)) ]  
155 M: =(.) (here) (.) toilette for guests [(.) it's for us who]  
156 have many pa:rties (.) i confi:rm  
157 (..) ((looks at W))  
158 W: oka:y  
159 M: confirmed.  
160 S: okay not i a::sk you (..) short questions  
161 M: hhh here you are  
162 S: er: which characteristics brought you to choose this  
163 fla?t  
164 M, W: [((look in each other's eye))]  
165 W: [well the size (..) of the  
166 fla:[:t]  
167 M: [((nods yes))]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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168 W: cause there was one:: more bathroom one more small ( )  
169 M: central area  
170 W: central area  
171 M: bri:ght  
172 W: bright: (.) balcony (.) (..) er: the bathroom that seemed  
173 to be very nice there he did ( ) in all other  
174 bathrooms there were very ugly o:ld tiles while that one  
175 was a little new sty:le:[:] with the little mosaic (.)=  
176 M: [e]  
177 W: [((looks at S)) ]  
178 W: [((opens her arms and keeps one handbreadt in front of  
179 the other)) ]  
180 W: =al[so the kitchem see]med la:rge nice while (.)=  
181 W: [((points to the computer))]  
182 W: =[others had some ] [small kitche:ns] (.)=  
183 W: [((looks at M)) ]  
184 W: [((opens a little her arms,  
185 less than before and keeps one handbreadth in front of  
186 the other ))]  
187 W: =e:mpy (.) there wasn't internet ri:ght here  
188 M: m:  
189 (.)  
190 W: [((looks at M))]  
191 W: this one i think (...) [but we've ] an internet key  
192 [we connect the same]=  
193 M: [who cares ]  
194 W: =er:::: (.[.) sto]::p  
195 M: [stop ]  
196 M: m:  
197 S: how much aesthetic characteristics influenced (.) and how  
198 much on the co:ntrary (.) characteristi:cs (.) that are  
199 related to functionality (...) which of them [brought y-]  
200 W: [we've been]  
201 influenced a little also by aesthetics (..) ((in a louder  
202 voice)) this one i mean (.) this one seemed to us a good  
203 compromise because it was la:rge and it was nice (.)  
204 isn't it ((looks at M))  
205 M: m:  
206 W: >for instance< (.) the first one was thirty five square

207 metres it seemed to me very nice when i saw it and also  
208 the ide:a (.) but i don't ( i don't know) (..) this  
209 one maybe was less parti:cular but (.) it was bigge:r and  
210 anyway it was well mantained (..) the e:thnic one for  
211 instance we (.) [ no] (h) (.) so::  
212 M: [don't li:ke it]  
213 (..)  
214 M: [((looks at W))]  
215 M: [sixty to ] functionality fourty percent to: (.)  
216 aesthetics  
217 W: m m:  
218 S: who of you made the cho:ice  
219 (...)  
220 W, M: [((look in each other's eye))]  
221 W: [in my opinion it's you ]  
222 M: [i gave you the ] kiss of death yes (.) m:  
223 W: (sure) (...) (strange)/(well done)  
224 M: m:?  
225 S: er:[::]  
226 W: [we] should do more often experiments like this ( )  
227 S: er:: do you live together no?w  
228 M: ye:s  
229 (.)  
230 S: okay. (.) er:: in: (.) which characteristics: (.) did you  
231 consider to choose: your house  
232 W: ((laughs)) i left him choose ((points to M))  
233 (..)  
234 S: [so which a:re]  
235 M: i mean [i already liv]ed alone and so::=  
236 S: [m: ]  
237 M: =[(.)] the: (.) the choice was we:: (..) area (.)  
238 comfortable in the center er:: (..) and also the fact  
239 that was a: (.) a flat ready to be used (..) and it did  
240 not need much renovation  
241 W: i (.) i don't know if everybody chose this hou::se  
242 S: yes  
243 W: er:: i chose it as well (.) so that is was in the middle  
244 between the center and the university (..) and in fact it  
245 is in corso gariba:ldi i mean to say near corso

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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246 gariba:ldi and so: (.) it's strate::gic (..) a:::nd (.)  
247 and then what what else (.) also there we've two  
248 bathrooms (.) er:: (that are) very sma:ll (.) the single  
249 be:droom (.) i think (.) it was a little (a discriminant)  
250 (..) then (.) in reality they were into a fourth and half  
251 floor without an elevator on the contrary for that one  
252 the a:rea (.) didn't influence me (.) a little of ill  
253 repute because: (.) in via trieste (.) central but no::t  
254 very beautiful but (.) it was interesting for me that it  
255 was a comfortable area [(..)] er::: (.) this things=  
256 S: [m m:]  
257 W: =let's say (.) a- and the flat was enough la:rge (.) a:nd  
258 furnishings wasn't beautiful at all (.) but it wasn't  
259 boring on the contrary sometimes we found (.) flats maybe  
260 nicer but that seemed to belong to gra:ndma (.) and then  
261 m:: (.) those flats no  
262 S: okay  
263 W: these were the criteria  
264 S: how long have you been in a relationshi:p?  
265 W, M: [(look in each other's eye) ]  
266 M: [(°two°) ]  
267 W: [(two ye:ars) and three months]  
268 M: ((looks again at W and nods yes))  
269 S: okay thanks  
270 (..)  
271 M: alright (.) ((looks at W)) you biographer

### D4C4MWr – Ita

M, W: partecipanti

S: sperimentatrice

1 S: occhei a posto (.) vi potete accomodare qui: (.)  
2 M, W: ((si avvicinano al computer dell'esperimento))  
3 S: e da qui infatti inizia: (...) il vostro co:mpito:  
4 M: m m:  
5 S: come vi ho già spiegato pri:ma di scegliere il vostro  
6 appartamento ideale. (.) potete pure: (.) prendere la  
7 decisione comunque parlare pure a voce alta: (..) fare  
8 quello che volete insomma

9 (...)
10 M: quindi cominciamo con le varie [case?]
11 S: [sì ] (.) [sì sì] sì=
12 M: [bene.]
13 S: =(.) seguite pure le istruz[io:ni]
14 M: [ocche]:i
15 W: o o
16 S: che c'è?
17 (.)
18 M: abbiamo già perso la casa (.) la prima casa
19 (.)
20 S: a: perché se ne sono aperte tre qua (.) perciò (.) non va
21 bene ((clicca)) (...) occhei (...) ecco occhei
22 M: e cominciamo (...) a::llora (.) prima casa (...) open-
23 space misura circa tre:: ah (.) °piccolino° (un fo-)
24 W: sc(hhh)!
25 M: ((guarda W))
26 W: (...) °non pa:rli?°
27 (...)
28 M: [((guarda W)) ]
29 M: [m (.) mansarda]:to (.) (ti) può piacere (...) (adesso
30 con-)
31 W: un po' piccolo
32 M: piccolo (...) trentacinque metri quadrati
33 W: ((enunciato inaudibile)) °(lo so) però io il soggiorno
34 ( ) (.) vabbè
35 (..)
36 M: (va be)/(come mai) non funziona dai
37 (..)
38 W: e °questo è un po' più brutto°
39 M: meno luminoso mi sembra no?
40 W: (hhh) ((ride))
41 M: [((indica il computer))]
42 M: [tutta luce artificiale] non c'è la finestra e si vede
43 W: °( ) gra::nde (.) e poi c'ha il giardino°
44 (..)
45 M: poi c'è anche già il letto da rifa:re
46 M: [a:: (.) stile etnico]
47 W: lo stile [( ) ] ) in foto

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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48 (...) °aspet-° (...) però (.) c'ha il cortile:tto, un bel  
49 diva:no [(..)] è grandissimo  
50 M: [m m:]  
51 M: cento metri quadrati ((*annuisce*)) (..) più grande del  
52 nostro  
53 W: quante ca:mere?  
54 M: fai prima a pulirlo  
55 W: una camera sola però (..) stra:no (..) vabbè (.) andiamo  
56 M: hhhhh  
57 W: [(*indica il computer*)]  
58 W: °<spetta>° (..) [questa ha un bagno più] grandino (.) e  
59 anche la cucina è bella (però aspetta)  
60 (...)  
61 W: [(*annuisce*)]  
62 M: [(*annuisce*)]  
63 (...)  
64 M: m: (..) finestra ampia  
65 W: sì questo mi piace ta:nto (.) mi sembra più cari:no (.)  
66 e:?  
67 M: bagnetto a mosaico (.) bagno [per l' o]spite  
68 W: [sì ma poi] c'ha una grande  
69 terra::zza, c'ha:: (..) mi sembra un po'  
70 [più figo questo ]  
71 M: [va ben in pole po]sition questo allora.  
72 W: sì  
73 (.)  
74 M: e:: (..) triloca:le (..) il bagno è strettissimo  
75 W: dov'è scritto?  
76 M: no si vede:? (.) più stretto qui  
77 W: aspetta (.) °cucina::[: (.) ( ) lavandino (.) ]=  
78 M: [cinquanta metri quadri poi]  
79 W: =superficie complessiva°=  
80 M: =c'è la connessione a internet che è comoda  
81 (...)  
82 W: ce l'ha anche quello::  
83 M: zona istituti mentre l'altro era in centro (..) ultimo  
84 (...)  
85 M: lo ste:sso: (.) ampio bagno (.) °divano letto  
86 matrimoniale°



87 M: divano le:tto  
88 W: °asp- però (.) c'ha il bagno gra:nde, lo stu:dio,  
89 ( )°  
90 M: sì ma guarda le:: mattonelle del bagno dozzina:li  
91 [anche (.) ]  
92 W: [°no::° (h)] (che ci fanno)  
93 M: ma no ma dai anche le mattonelle della cucina è dozzinale  
94 que-  
95 W: quello è: ( ) (.) beh la terrazza grande, la  
96 lavastoviglie, il [POsto-]  
97 M: [terraz]za gra:nde dieci metri quadri  
98 (..)  
99 W: il posto bi:ci (.) in centro (.) no secondo me invece  
100 que:sto non è da scartare  
101 M: no, (dobbiamo) ((*seleziona un altro appartamento*)) e:  
102 W: spetta (.) bla bla bla bla bla (.) soggio:rno, zona  
103 pranzo, camera matrimonia:le, due bagni:  
104 M: tanto ce lo paga l'univer[sità]  
105 W: [la t]err(h)azza ((*ride*))  
106 M: ((*ride*)) e appunto. (..) zona centro (.) gra:nde  
107 W: |((*indica il computer*))|  
108 W: sì questo è più |[figo (.)poi [(..) | ] quello- no=  
109 M: [confermia:mo]  
110 W: =aspetta (.) quello dopo:  
111 M: ((*ride*)) ques(h)to?  
112 W: sì (.) com'è::: (...) quello  
113 M: con un bagno (..) da acciughe (.) questo è alti:ssimo la  
114 pare:te: (.) gli amici grassi non si fan la doccia  
115 W: [((*indica il computer*))]  
116 W: [poi aspetta (..) guard]iamoli tu:tti no:?  
117 M: tutti?  
118 W: sì: (...) questo però è più particolare a te che ti  
119 piacciono le robe particola:ri  
120 M: sì particolari solo che è piccolo anche  
121 W: [((*porta il palmo della mano, diagonalmente, dall'alto*  
122 *fino in basso a sinistra*))]  
123 W: [no:: ma c'ha il tetto spio]vente [m:: (...) e:]  
124 M: [sì (.) appunto t]etto  
125 spiovente vuol dire (.) cubatura inferiore (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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126 tre:ntacinque metri quadri  
127 (.)  
128 W: piccolino  
129 M: cucina  
130 W: diciamo questo è un pi:ccolo ni:do  
131 W: [((ride)) ]  
132 M: esatto [(.) e sicco]me (.) paga l'università io voglio=  
133 M: =(.) un [gra::nde nido (..) ] come no che è questo qui=  
134 W: [((ride)) (.) d::a:i]  
135 M: =(.) come no: (.) (e scusa) (.) qualità pre:zzo (...)  
136 (dai)/(sai) che mi trovo un altro=  
137 M: [((guarda W))]  
138 M: =[compagno (ve:]di)/(via)  
139 M: ((ride))  
140 W: ((ride))  
141 W: (hhh) (..) in appartamento?  
142 M: esatto e anche in corso di studi  
143 (..)  
144 M: ((guarda W)) (..) [((annuisce))]  
145 W: [sì |dai| ]  
146 M: |e: | bagno col mosaico scusa ma  
147 (.) guarda (..) ampia (.) e (.) luminosa (.) finestre=  
148 M: [((guarda W)) ]  
149 =(.) (qua) (.) toilette degli ospiti [(.) per noi che]  
150 siamo festaio:li (.) confe:rmo  
151 (..) ((guarda W))  
152 W: ocche:i.  
153 M: confermato.  
154 S: occhei ora vi faccio:: (..) brevi domande  
155 M: hhh ecco  
156 S: e: quali caratteristiche vi hanno portato a scegliere  
157 questo appartamento?  
158 M, W: [((si guardano)) ]  
159 W: [allora la grande]zza (..) dell:[:'appartamen]to  
160 M: [((annuisce))]  
161 W: il fatto che ci fosse un:: bagno in più un piccolo ( )  
162 in più  
163 M: zona centro  
164 W: zona centro

165 M: lu:minosò  
166 W: lumino:so (.) il terrazzo (..) e: (.) il bagno che  
167 sembrava molto carino visto da lì lui ha fatto ( )  
168 negli altri bagni c'erano delle bruttissime mattonelle  
169 ve:cchie invece quello era un po' stile nuo:vo:[:] con=  
170 M: [e]  
171 W: [((guarda S)) ]  
172 W: [((allarga le braccia con i  
173 palmi delle mani uno di fronte all'altro))]  
174 W: =il mosaichetto (.) la cu[cina anche se]mbrava=  
175 W: [((indica il computer))]  
176 =gra:nde carina mentre (.) [altri avevano delle ]=  
177 W: [((allarga leggermente le braccia, meno di prima, con i  
178 palmi uno di fronte all'altro))]  
179 W: =[cucine minu:scole ] (..) senza nie:nte (.)=  
180 W: [((guarda M))]  
181 =[non c'era in]ternet giu:sto qua  
182 M: m:  
183 (.)  
184 W: [((guarda M))]  
185 W: questo mi pare (...) [però noi c'a]bbiamo la chiavetta  
186 W: [(ci colleghiamo)]=  
187 M: [che ci frega ]  
188 W: =e::: (. [.] ba]sta::  
189 M: [basta]  
190 M: m:  
191 S: quanto hanno influenzato le caratteristiche estetiche (.)  
192 quanto invece: (.) le caratteristiche: (.) che derivano  
193 dalla funzionalità (...) quali [vi hanno p- ]  
194 W: [ci ha influen]zato un po'  
195 anche l'estetica (..) ((a voce più alta)) questo cioè (.)  
196 questo ci sembrava un buon compromesso perché era gra:nde  
197 e era carino (.) giusto? ((guarda M))  
198 M: m:  
199 W: >ad esempio< (.) il primo che era trentacinque metri  
200 quadrati a me sembrava molto carino anche a vederlo anche  
201 come ide:a (.) però non ( non lo so) (..) questo forse  
202 era meno particola:re però (.) era più gra:nde comunque  
203 era tenuto bene (..) quello e:tnico ad esempio a noi (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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204 [ no ] (h) (.) quindi::  
205 M: [non pia:ce]  
206 (..)  
207 M: [((guarda W))]  
208 M: [sessanta la ] funzionalità quaranta per cento il: (.)  
209 l'estetica  
210 W: m m:  
211 S: chi dei due ha sce:lto  
212 (...)  
213 W, M: [((si guardano negli occhi))]  
214 W: [secondo me te ]  
215 M: [t'ho dato il ] colpo di grazia io sì (.)  
216 m:  
217 W: (certamente) (...) (strano)/(bravo)  
218 M: m:?  
219 S: e:[:: ]  
220 W: [dovre]mmo farne più spesso di questi esperimenti ( )  
221 S: e:: vivete insieme attualmente?  
222 M: sì:  
223 (.)  
224 S: occhei. (.) e:: nell': (.) quali sono state le  
225 caratteristiche: (.) che avete considerato per scegliere:  
226 la vostra casa  
227 W: ((ride)) lasciarle a lui ((indica M))  
228 (..)  
229 S: [cioè quali sono:]  
230 M: cioè [io vivevo già da] solo e quindi::=  
231 S: [m: ]  
232 M: =[(.)] le: (.) la scelta è stato be:: (..) la zona (.)  
233 comoda al centro e:: (..) e anche il fatto che fosse una:  
234 (.) un appartamento già pronto per essere abitato (..) e  
235 non aveva bisogno di grosse ristrutturazioni  
236 W: io (.) non so se tutti quanti abbiano scelto la casa  
237 qua::  
238 S: sì  
239 W: e:: anch'io sì l'ho scelta (.) che fosse una via di mezzo  
240 fra il centro e l'università (..) e infatti praticamente  
241 è in corso gariba:ldi cioè vicino a corso gariba:ldi e  
242 quindi: (.) strate::gica (..) e::: (.) e poi che che

243 altro (.) anche li abbiamo due bagni (.) e:: (che sono)  
244 molto pi:ccolo (.) la stanza si:ngola (.) ho trovato che  
245 (.) è stata un po' (un discriminante) (..) poi (.) in  
246 realtà erano in un quarto piano e mezzo senza ascensore  
247 invece quello non mi ha: (.) condizionato la zona (.) un  
248 po' malfamata perché: (.) in via trieste (.) centrale ma  
249 non:: bellissima però (.) mi interessava che fosse=  
250 S: [m m:]  
251 =comoda come zona [(..)] e::: (.) questo diciamo (.) e- e  
252 l'appartamento era abbastanza gra:nde (.) e:  
253 l'arredamento non era affatto bello (.) però non era cupo  
254 cioè (.) era era da stude:nti (.) però non era pesante  
255 invece a volte abbiamo trovato (.) appartamenti magari  
256 più carini però un po' da no:nna (.) e allora m:: (.)  
257 quelli no  
258 S: occhei  
259 W: questi erano i criteri  
260 S: da quanto tempo dura la vostra relazio:ne?  
261 W, M: [(*si guardano negli occhi*)]  
262 M: [(°due°) ]  
263 W: [(due a:nni) e tre mesi ]  
264 M: ((*guarda ancora W e annuisce*))  
265 S: occhei grazie  
266 (..)  
267 M: bene (.) ((*guarda W*)) biografa

### **Fifth disagreement: “but we had to decide together”**

D6C6WW

RA, RR: participants

S1, S2: experimenters

1 RA: ((*reads instructions and holds the mouse*)) let's go to  
2 the fi:rst  
3 RR: yes  
4 RA: er:: ni:::ce [(..) ] an open spa:ce  
5 RR: [(*laughs*)]  
6 RR ((*reads the description of the first flat*)) (..) ((*looks*  
7 *at RA*)) just o:ne: (.)  
8 RA: ((*looks at S1*)) when we see a fla:t: what: (.)

*Appendix C – Full transcriptions*

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9 S1: you can also see all [the others] you c- it's you who=  
10 RR: [u okay: ]  
11 S1: =decide the method and the strategy=  
12 S1: =[tha:t's (.) mo:re ]  
13 RA: [((nods yes)) m m: (.) okay]  
14 RR: [((points to the monitor and looks at RA)) ]  
15 RR: [look here (do you see the) ba:throm (hhhhh)]  
16 RA: [((points to the monitor)) ]  
17 RA: [m: (..) anyway (.) ( )]  
18 RR: m:..  
19 ((RA and RR look at the monitor))  
20 RR: hhhhhh[hhhhhhh]  
21 RA: [modern ] fla:t, functiona:l, it consists of living  
22 room kitchen ( ) (.) bathtub with sho:wer (.) and  
23 its total size is sixty squa[re metres] ( )  
24 RR: [m: (.) ] (i already had)  
25 interne:t. (..) it's mo:re [(.) simple. ]  
26 RA: [(let's go there) ]  
27 RA: [((points to the monitor))]  
28 (...)  
29 RR: [((holds the mouse and clicks on another house))]  
30 RA: [so:: ]  
31 RR: ( ) (..) hhhh (.) we can make a ( ) (.)  
32 this ((reads the description)) ( )  
33 ethnic sty:le (.) ((reads the description)) ((looks at RA  
34 and shakes her right thumb, forefinger and middle finger)  
35 (..) ((RA and RR talk with a inaudible voice))  
36 RR: beau::tiful:  
37 (...)  
38 RA: pardon  
39 (...)  
40 RR: but it's in the central area (...)  
41 RA: (don't you like central area)  
42 RR: ((shakes her head)) i don't like it  
43 RA: ((laughs))  
44 RR: ((reads a description)) central area.  
45 RA: ( ) (..) me too i don't even know when ( )  
46 RR: i don't know but it's central area ((looks at RA))  
47 ((laughs)) for me it's not g(h)ood.

48 RA: ( )  
49 RR: ((laughs))  
50 RA: ((reads a description)) three-room flat (.) kitchen with  
51 dishwa:sher (.) living room and (bedr-) room ((continues  
52 to read)) but excuse me our flat is okay ( )  
53 RR: ((looks at RA)) i dunno: (..) ((clicks on another flat))  
54 (..) let's do first ((reads the description)) ((looks at  
55 RA, then clicks on another flat)) central area. ((raises  
56 up and down her right hand)) ((holds the mouse))  
57 ( )  
58 (.)  
59 RA: ((nods yes)) (.) ((holds the mouse and clicks on another  
60 flat))  
61 RA: (here we're here) ( ) (.) at least  
62 (.)  
63 RR: but it's central a:rea  
64 RA: (and we have to see also other ) [(.) i don't know]  
65 RR: [(laughs) ]  
66 RA: (..) ((clicks))  
67 RA: ((looks at RA, laughs)) i don't know  
68 RR: ( ) (..) [(points to the monitor) ]  
69 RR: [(let's go with) this one (.)] i  
70 don't know  
71 RA: (this one:)/(sto:p) (.) ((chooses the house they see in  
72 the monitor))  
73 S1: [(stands and approaches RR and RA) ]  
74 RR: [(looks at RA, laughs) (i don't kn(hhh)ow)]  
75 S1: [which characteristic: or which: characteristics brought  
76 you: to choose this fla::t ]  
77 RR: [(looks at RA and laughs) come o(hhhhhhhh)n ]  
78 RA: right (the choice i:s)/(i chose it) (..)=  
79 RR: [(noth(hhhh)ing) ]  
80 RA: =[through the kitchen (..)] then okay the central area  
81 also  
82 RR: but we h(h)ad to decide together this was the ta:sk (.)  
83 ((laughs))  
84 RA: ((looks at RR)) right okay it was better than the other  
85 anyway  
86 (..)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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87 RR: no (.) ((laughs)) the area was okay anyway:  
88 RA: and the other was near university buildings (.) we'd have  
89 been far  
90 RR: okay but there wasn't any central area so  
91 RA: right  
92 (.)  
93 RR: ((laughs, raises her hands))  
94 S1: so:  
95 (.)  
96 RR: ((raises up her hands, laughs)) (yes i:) ((laughs))  
97 S2: would you like to retract your choice=  
98 S2: [it seems to me(hhhh)]  
99 EVB: [((laugh)) ]  
100 RR: ((looks at RA)) no it was ok it ha::d (.) all comforts so  
101 (.) it had everything that was needful: (.) it was a  
102 little the area: [(..) ]  
103 RA: [((nods yes))]=  
104 RA: =[((nods yes)) ]  
105 RR: [((raises up her head))] but [it's nice]  
106 S2: [would you] have chosen  
107 another flat  
108 (..)  
109 RR: ((looks at S2)) er::[:::: ]  
110 RR: [((looks at RA))]  
111 RA: [ you]'d have chosen the  
112 first because of the area (for sure)  
113 RR: [( )]  
114 RA: [( ) ] the first and the:: (.)  
115 RR: ((looks at RA)) or that one technical (.) er:: technical  
116 (.) ethnic it wasn't ugly  
117 RA: (come on it was horrible)  
118 RR: okay:  
119 S1: which was the first one:  
120 RA: the first one that's to say:: (.) you saw a very large=  
121 RA: =room [( )] (.)  
122 S2: [so ] the open spa:ce  
123 S1: the open space yes  
124 RR: (..) it was very nice that way (.) no that one was for me  
125 a little the ce:ntral a:rea (.) and where do i study (.)



126 psychology and nothing else  
127 RR: it was (a )  
128 RA: and it was (or here or) in the ce:nter (...)  
129 S1: so what makes you agree is the ce:ntral area (.)  
130 RA: no it's right that one that doesn't make us agree (...)  
131 ((laughs))  
132 S1: you mean you'd have preferred that one near university  
133 buildi::ngs she on the contrary in central a[:rea]  
134 RR: [ye:s] (.)  
135 yes  
136 RA: anyway it's a (beautiful) [flat ]  
137 RR: [no the] flat yes (.) for  
138 services fo:r [(.)] comfort [(..)] i mean it was also=  
139 RA: [m: ]  
140 RR: =simple in rela:tio to (.) the deco:r (.)  
141 (...)  
142 S2: so[::]  
143 S1: [yo]ur choic[e was] determined more by an aesthetic=  
144 S2: [a: ]  
145 S1: =factor [o:r ] functiona:l (.)  
146 RA: [yes ]  
147 RR: [(looks at RA)]  
148 RA: no no aesthetic. [(.) no ] i liked very much the=  
149 RR: [(laughs)]  
150 RA: =kitchen there was the bathroom wi:::th (.) i don't know=  
151 =with the [( )]  
152 RR: [(with the mosaic)]  
153 RA: yes ( ) everything i'd say  
154 S1: who was between the two of you that one who dec(hh)i:ded  
155 RR: ((laughs and points to RA with her right forefinger))  
156 she::?  
157 RA: ((laughs, raises down her head while still laughing))  
158 S2: while:: (.) ((to RR)) you'd have chosen considering which  
159 characteristic alway::s (.)  
160 RA: primarily services no::t (.) not too much cheap and not  
161 too much expe- (.) more on co:sts [the a: ( )]  
162 S1: [( )]  
163 RA: it depends also on how much this way i do:n't (.)  
164 S1: no no but for you:: (.)the rental was no::t interesting i

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

165 mea[::n (.) ]=  
166 RA: [yes i know but (.)]  
167 S1: =you shouldn't choose according to rental because[::(.) ]  
168 RA: [yes but]  
169 to choose aesthetically without rental anyway yes  
170 it's one of the ni:ce:st (.) anyway for su:re  
171 (.)  
172 S1: m m: (.) okay.  
173 RA: so it's central area if it was not the:re (.) i'd have  
174 chosen for sure that one  
175 S2: alright  
176 S1: okay tha:nks

### D6C6WW-ita

#### RA, RR: partecipanti

#### S1, S2: sperimentatrici

1 RA: ((*legge le istruzioni e impugna il mouse*)) andiamo alla  
2 prima:?  
3 RR: sì.  
4 RA: e:: cari::no [(..) ] un open spa:ce  
5 RR: [((ride))]  
6 RR: ((*legge la descrizione del primo del primo appartamento*))  
7 (..) ((*guarda RA*)) solo u:no: (.)  
8 RA: ((*guarda S1*)) quando abbiamo visto un appartame:nto:  
9 cosa: (.)  
10 S1: potete pure visionare [gli altri] pote- decidete voi il=  
11 RR: [a occhi:]  
12 S1: =metodo e la strategia che [vi è: (.) più: ]  
13 RA: [((*annuisce*)) m m: (.) occhi:]  
14 RR: [((*indica il monitor e guarda RA*)) ]  
15 RR: [guarda qua (lo vedi il) ba:gno (hhhhhh) ]  
16 RA: [((*indica il monitor* ))]  
17 RA: [m: (..) cioè (.) ( ) ]  
18 RR: m:.  
19 ((*entrambe guardano il monitor*))  
20 RR: hhhhhh[hhhhhhh]  
21 RA: [apparta]mento mode:rno, funziona:le, composto di  
22 soggiorno cucina ( ) (.) vasca con do:ccia (.) e  
23 superficie complessiva di sessanta me[tri quadri] ( )

24 RR: [m: (.) ] (avevo  
25 già) interne:t. (..) è più: [(.) semplice. ]  
26 RA: [(andiamo là) ]  
27 RA: [((indica il monitor))]  
28 (...)  
29 RR: [((impugna il mouse e clicca su un'altra casa))]  
30 RA: [allora:: ]  
31 RR: ( ) (..) hhhh (.) possiamo fare un ( ) (.)  
32 questo ((legge la descrizione)) ( )  
33 stile etnico: (.) ((legge la descrizione)) ((guarda RA e  
34 scuote pollice, indice e medio della mano destra in  
35 aria))  
36 (..) ((entrambe parlano a un volume non udibile))  
37 RR: be::llo:  
38 (..)  
39 RA: scusa  
40 (..)  
41 RR: però è zona centro (..)  
42 RA: (zona centro non ti piace)  
43 RR: ((scuote la testa)) a me non mi va  
44 RA: ((ride))  
45 RR: ((legge una descrizione)) zona centro.  
46 RA: ( ) (..) non so neanch'io quando ( )  
47 RR: non so però è zona centro ((guarda RA)) ((ride)) a me non  
48 va b(h)ene.  
49 RA: ( )  
50 RR: ((ride))  
51 RA: ((legge una descrizione)) appartamento trilocale (.)  
52 cucina con lavastovi:glie (.) soggiorno e (came-) camera  
53 ((continua a leggere)) ma scusa il nostro appartamento va  
54 bene ( )  
55 RR: ((guarda RA)) bo: (..) ((clicca su un altro  
56 appartamento)) (..) facciamo prima ((legge la  
57 descrizione)) ((guarda RA, poi clicca su un altro  
58 appartamento)) zona centro. ((solleva e abbassa la mano  
59 destra)) ((impugna il mouse)) ( )  
60 (.)  
61 RA: ((annuisce con la testa)) (.) ((impugna il mouse e clicca  
62 su un altro appartamento))

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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63 RA: (qua siamo qua) ( ) (.) almeno  
64 (.)  
65 RR: però è zona ce:ntro  
66 RA: (e dobbiamo guardare anche altre ) [(.) non so]  
67 RR: [(ride) ]  
68 RA: (..) ((clicca))  
69 RA: ((guarda RA, ride)) non so  
70 RR: ( ) (..) [((indica il monitor))]  
71 RR: [(facciamo) questa (.)] non so  
72 RA: (questa:)/(basta:) (.) ((sceglie la casa che stanno  
73 vedendo))  
74 S1: [((si alza e si avvicina a RR e RA))]  
75 RR: [((guarda RA, ride)) (non s(hhh)o) ]  
76 S1: [quale caratteristica: o quali: caratteristiche vi hanno  
77 portato: a scegliere questo appartame:nto:]  
78 RR: [((guarda RA e ride)) dai(hhhhhhhh) ]  
79 RA: allora (la scelta è:)/(l'ho scelto io) (..)=  
80 RR: [(nie(hhhh)nte )]  
81 RA: =[tramite la cucina (..)] poi va be la zona in centro  
82 anche  
83 RR: però dovev(h)amo decidere insieme era questo il compito:  
84 (.) ((ride))  
85 RA: ((guarda RR)) va be dai era più bello dell'altro comunque  
86 (..)  
87 RR: no (.) ((ride)) andava bene però la zona:  
88 RA: e l'altro era zona istituti (.) saremmo stati lontani  
89 RR: e va be non c'era zona centro scusa  
90 RA: va be  
91 (.)  
92 RR: ((ride, solleva le mani))  
93 S1: quindi:  
94 (.)  
95 RR: ((solleva le mani, ride)) (sì io:) ((ride))  
96 S2: volete ritrattare la scelta=  
97 S2: =[mi sa(hhhh)]  
98 TT: [((ridono)) ]  
99 RR: ((guarda RA)) no andava bene aveva:: (.) tutti i comfort  
100 così (.) l'indispensabile ce l'aveva: (.) era un po' la  
101 zona: [(..) ]

102 RA: [((annuisce con la testa))]=  
103 RA: =[((annuisce con la testa))]  
104 RR: [((solleva il capo ))] però [è carina ]  
105 S2: [avresti scel]to un  
106 altro appartamento tu  
107 (..)  
108 RR: ((guarda S2)) e::[:::: ]  
109 RR: [((guarda RA))]  
110 RA: [ avre]sti scelto il primo per  
111 la zona (sicuramente)  
112 RR: [( )]  
113 RA: [( ) ] il primo e il:: (.)  
114 RR: ((guarda RA)) o quello tecnico (.) e:: tecnico (.) etnico  
115 non era brutto  
116 RA: (ma sì era orrendo)  
117 RR: va be:  
118 S1: il primo qual era:  
119 RA: il primo cioè:: (.) si vedeva una sala molto spazio:sa=  
120 RA: [( )] (.)  
121 S2: [quindi ] l'open spa:ce  
122 S1: l'open space sì  
123 RR: (..) era molto carino così (.) no quella lì per me era un  
124 po' la zo:na in ce:ntro (.) e io dove faccio (.)  
125 psicologia e basta  
126 RR: era (un )  
127 RA: e mi veniva (o qua o) in ce:ntro (...)  
128 S1: quindi la caratteristica che vi accomuna è la zona  
129 ce:ntro (.)  
130 RA: no quella proprio non ci accomuna (..) ((ride))  
131 S1: cioè tu avresti preferito quello in zona istituti:: lei  
132 invece in zona ce[:ntro]  
133 RR: [sì: ] (.) sì  
134 RA: però come appartamento è [(bello) ]  
135 RR: [no come app]artamento sì (.)  
136 come servizi come: (.) comfort [(..)] cioè era anche=  
137 RA: [m: ]  
138 RR: =semplice come: (.) come arredamento: (.)  
139 (..)  
140 S2: quindi[::]

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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141 S1: [la] tua scelt[a è] stata determinata più da un=  
142 S2: [a: ]  
143 =fattore este:tico [o: ] funziona:le (.)  
144 RA: [sì ]  
145 RR: [(*guarda RA*)]  
146 RA: no no estetico. [(.) no ] mi è piaciuta moltissimo la=  
147 RR: [(*ride*)]  
148 RA: =cucina c'era il bagno con::: (. non so con la=  
149 RA: =[ ( ) ]  
150 S1: [(col mosaico)]  
151 RA: sì ( ) tutto praticamente  
152 S1: chi delle due ha dec(hh)iso:  
153 RR: ((*ride e indica RA col dito indice della mano destra*))  
154 lei::?  
155 RA: ((*ride, abbassa il capo mentre ancora ride*))  
156 S2: mentre:: (. ((a RR)) tu avresti scelto in base a quale  
157 caratteristica sempre:: (.  
158 RA: più che altro servizi non:: (. no troppo sull'economico  
159 e non troppo costo- (. più sui pre:zzi [le a: ( ) ]  
160 S1: [( ) ]  
161 RA: dipende anche su quale prezzo così non: (.  
162 S1: no ma no a te:: (. il prezzo non:: ti interessava  
163 cioè[: (. )]=  
164 RA: [e lo so però (.)]  
165 S1: =non dovevi scegliere in base al prezzo perché[: (.)]  
166 RA: [sì ma ]  
167 scegliere senza il prezzo esteticame:nte comunque sì è  
168 una delle più cari:ne: (. comunque sicuramente:  
169 (..)  
170 S1: m m: (. occhei.  
171 RA: e per cui è zona centro se non c'era: (. ecco avrei  
172 scelto sicuramente quella  
173 S2: va bene  
174 S1: occhei grazie

### Sixth disagreement: “how can you say 'come on'”

D6C8MWr

M, W: participants

S1, S2: experimenters

1 S1: and also bills. (.)  
2 M: any: (.) rental  
3 S1: yes yes anyway you don't see any re:ntal because: (.)  
4 anyway it's university that pay so it's no:t  
5 (.)  
6 W: it's not what we should lo[ok at]  
7 S1: [n:o. ] (.) you should decide  
8 toge:ther and you can (.) also speak alou:d, as you  
9 prefer in short (..) [ok(h)e:y? ]  
10 W: [((laughs)) (alright)] per[fect: ]  
11 S1: [wish y]ou  
12 a good job  
13 W: [tha:nks ]  
14 M: [right (.)] i hold the mouse:  
15 W: yes.  
16 M, W: ((look at the monitor))  
17 W: a(hhhh)  
18 M: ( )  
19 W: (right a check come on)  
20 M: ( )  
21 (..)  
22 M: (balcony) with kitchen and living room (.) kitche:n, (.)  
23 two bedroo:ms (..)  
24 W: m:: (.) sixty square me:tres (.) it's ugly:  
25 M: it's not very much  
26 (.)  
27 W: no (.)  
28 M: bu[::~:~:t (...)]=  
29 W: [no no (.) no (.) no (.) no (.) no ]  
30 M: [((looks at S2))] ]  
31 M: =[i mean it's just both of us who should be:]  
32 S2: yes.  
33 (.)  
34 S1: yes yes.  
35 (..)  
36 M: flat decored. (.) (big windows fu) with=  
37 M: =roo[ms ]

*Appendix C – Full transcriptions*

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38 M: |((points to the monitor))|

39 W: °fa]ces (.) | due a delectable

40 cour[t(h)yard° ]

41 M: [((laughs))] (..) (with) (.) bathub with sho:wer

42 W: [((points to the monitor)) ]

43 W: u [but] the bathtub [but look there's ( )]

44 M: [m: ]

45 M: e:r

46 W: [((points to the monitor))]

47 W: [loo:k (.) embraceable eth]nic style

48 M: m:

49 (.)

50 W: do you like it

51 M: no i don't like it ( ) bathroom with shower (.)

52 W: and this one with sho:wer

53 M: no: just showe:r (.) i do:n't know shower bathroom

54 W: °look what a beautiful bathroom here° (..) look how

55 beautiful this i:s (.)

56 M: ( )

57 W: it comes from- (.) from the perfect pla:nimetry (.)

58 M: ba:throom and toilette (.) on the east side you see a

59 large ba:lcony: (.) particular pastel color (.) central

60 a:rea (..) °wow°

61 W: it's beautiful also thi:s one:?

62 (.)

63 M: m: (.) bu:t it doe:sn't say how many metres is it

64 W: okay yes but who cares

65 M: ((laughs)) o yes (.) [(see also) the r ]oo:ms:

66 W: [(it doesn't scare me)]

67 W: no one roo- dou:ble bedroom ((looks at M))

68 M: u:: (.) yes excuse me indeed (.) this one wa:s (.) two

69 roo:ms: (..) excuse me this one was two roo:ms (.) no

70 [this one no.]

71 W: [no (.) ] two bedrooms (.) no [this one no ]

72 M: [already removed] (.)

73 this one:, (.) this one: (.) o::

74 W: m:

75 (.)

76 M: o:



77 (.)  
78 W: u::[::]  
79 M: [we]ll: (.) yes thirty five square metre:s  
80 W: o::  
81 (.)  
82 M: no too many ( ) they are  
83 (...)  
84 M: [((looks at W)) ]  
85 M: [this one (hopefully with the)] (.) ( )  
86 W: ((laughs))  
87 M: ( ) (.) ( ) ((looks at W))  
88 W: (so) (.) (this one) (.) residential a:rea ((laughs)) (.)  
89 right go down (.) house si:x  
90 M: this one nothing=  
91 W: =no  
92 M: m:. (..) th:ree-room flat (.) kitchen with °dishwasher°  
93 living room and bedroom  
94 (.)  
95 W: fifty square metres  
96 M: i wouldn't s- (.)  
97 W: near university buildings  
98 M: ( )  
99 W: [((looks at M))]  
100 W: u:: but excuse me (.) we didn't see [(.) whi:ch (.)] in  
101 which area that one we saw before was  
102 M: e:r (.) it didn't say it  
103 (..)  
104 W: we:ll and then i::f (.) [if-]  
105 M: [but] here there's (.) i:nternet  
106 (.) ( )  
107 (..)  
108 W: come o::n  
109 (..)  
110 M: but here it doesn't say any[thing]  
111 W: |((points to the monitor)) |  
112 W: |[no ] here (.)this one [no] |  
113 M:  
114 [th]is one nothing  
115 (..)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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116 M: here [it doesn't say where it is:]  
117 W: [this one (.) it doesn't ] say where it is  
118 M: this one is in the ce:nter  
119 W: this one is in the ce:nter  
120 (..)  
121 M: this one:[:::]  
122 W: [thi]s is an are[a (th)at's ext-) no::  
123 M: [no:: ]  
124 M: so these two nothi:ng  
125 W: and this (. [.] n:o:]  
126 M: [n:o ]  
127 M: do you say this one:  
128 (.)  
129 W: fifty square me:tre:s (.) ((looks at M)) (.) [no::]  
130 M: [well]  
131 (.) well come o:n  
132 W: but how can you say come o(hh)n  
133 M ((laughs))  
134 W: [((juts her head))]  
135 W: come on look at [that ]  
136 M: [((looks at the camera))]  
137 M: [( ) ]  
138 W: ((laughs))  
193 M: do you know i lost train (.) times (.)  
140 W: but can you give me this information la:ter: (.) ( )  
141 ( ) (.) double: (.) central a:rea (.) hold on but  
142 (.) it's behind there a little: (.)=  
143 W: =[try thi- ] (.) try thi:s that's another:=  
144 M: [bike pa:rking]  
145 W: =[ ( ) (.) come o(h)n::]  
146 M: [((laughs))] (.) ((laughs)) ]  
147 M: also to me the kitchen- (.) [(it's) beau]:tiful this==  
148 W: [yes: ]  
149 M: =but the kitchen [(.)] seems to be that u:  
150 W: [m: ]  
151 (.)  
152 W: but excuse me (.) if you see in fact this is (.) the  
153 cooking area:  
154 M: m[:]

155 W: [but it's the same cooking and kitchen right]  
156 W: |((looks at M)) |  
157 (..)  
158 M: come on it's beautiful the ((living)) room right  
159 (..)  
160 W: [((points to the monitor)) ]  
161 W: but moreover excuse me (.) [i mean- there's the double]  
162 sofa bed there's not a ((bed)) room:[:?m (..) i mean (.)]=  
163 M: [((laughs))it's true:]  
164 W: [((points to the monitor)) ]  
165 W: =excuse me:? (..) [if they don't write it it doesn't]  
166 exist (.)  
167 M: so no this one no[:? (.)]  
168 W: [so ] thi[s- this one no: ]  
169 W: [((points to the monitor))]  
170 M: well (.) this two after all:  
171 (..)  
172 W: u (but even here) because then we don't know where we  
173 go::  
174 (.)  
175 M: well come on  
176 W: but- [considering that] (.) well but if it's large it=  
177 M: [( )]  
178 W: =means that:t (.) er: ((laughs))  
179 M: |((looks at W)) |  
180 M: |the connection has difficulties| but ((smiles)) (.) no  
181 [(.) come on then come on]  
182 W: [no (.) sixty hundred metres] but it's in the arse end  
183 of the world (.)  
184 (.)  
185 M: okay it's out of the way:. no (.) neither this one:  
186 W: [((points to the monitor))]  
187 W: no: no no. (.) [look ] (.) no the=  
188 M: [this ]  
189 W: =second one  
190 M: right this one then. (.)  
191 W: er. (.) you see central area  
192 M: the balcony:  
193 (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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194 W: one doesn't know how many: (.) look one doesn't know how  
195 much it is large (.) but anyway:  
196 M: we(h)ll come on there's (.) the double roo::m:: (..)=  
197 M: [((looks at W))]  
198 M: =° ( [ ] )°  
199 W: °come on ( )°  
200 M: ((laughs)) (..) come on this one: [(.)] ri:ght (.)  
201 W: [yes]  
202 W: it has every:thing ri:ght (.)  
203 M: (..) it lacks i:nternet (.)  
204 W: it lacks internet but we can have it  
205 M: wha:t?  
206 W: it lacks internet but we can have i:t  
207 M: m:  
208 W: [((points to the monitor))]  
209 W: [but look how's beautiful ] new in my opinion  
210 M: m: (.) then this one right (.) i mea:n (.)  
211 W: [((points to the monitor))]  
212 W: [(but) (.) e:r (.) total a]rea where i:s  
213 (..)  
214 M: i don't kno:w  
215 W: come on [(.) let's finish and let's take] the small one  
216 M: [come on this one then ]  
217 M: [((chooses the flat)) ]  
218 S1: okay i ask you a short que:stion (.) e::r qhich  
219 characteristics brought you to choose this fla::?t  
220 W: [((looks at M))] [((looks at S1)) ] [((looks at M)) ]  
221 W: [the a:rea, ] [(.) it wa:s (...)] [for me the a:rea]  
222 M: ye:s (.) then well (.) given that there wa::s a bedroom  
223 in relation to the others. (.) a little the pictures  
224 maybe  
225 W: the new bathroo:m it seemed new  
226 S1: how much influe::nced (.) how much you: decided by  
227 considering aesthetic factors and how er:: (.) factors  
228 (.) functional  
229 M: m::: [more fu- maybe more fuctional (.)] i mean (..)=  
230 W: [no more functiona:l ]  
231 M: =after all (.) if (.) right then there were some- i mean  
232 er: maybe some flats were discarded because of:: pictures

233 but (.) among those about which we were doubtful not for:  
234 (.) pictures anyway  
235 W: that's to say there was that one ethnic that was nice:r  
236 (.) but you couldn't know where it wa:s  
237 (..)  
238 S1: okay. (.) so yo[u discarded it because] (.)=  
239 W: [very beau:tifu:l ]  
240 S1: you didn't [kn]ow its area  
241 W: [n:]  
242 W: n:o:. (..) on the contrary this one was a little ugly- i  
243 mean it seemed a little ugly:e:r (..) but it wa:s in the  
244 ce:nter  
245 W: [((looks at M)) ]  
246 M: and then [well (there was)] (.) the ba:throo:m,=  
247 W: [more comfortable]  
248 M: =the ki[tche:n, (.) ] the balcony also  
249 W: [m: yes yes ]  
250 W: [((looks at S1))]  
251 W: the balcony.  
252 S1: okay. (..) e:::r who decided between the two of you: (.)=  
253 W: [((looks at M, rubs her hands, nods yes)) ]  
254 S1: =[you decided toge:ther, there was someone who]  
255 influenced more (.) during the choice  
256 (..)  
257 W: >bo[h]th of u]s isn't i:t< ((laughs))  
258 M: [( )]  
259 M: it's you the one who decide:d  
260 W: no:  
261 M: ri:ght  
262 W: together  
263 M: ye:s yes  
264 (.)  
265 S1: u:. toge:ther  
266 M: that's to say (.) maybe then each of us disca:rded (.)  
267 some:thing and then after all tw:o ((flats)) remained (.)  
268 ((flats)) remained and we chose that one  
269 S1: you: pointed to what (.) mostly.  
270 M: no:: but (.) right yes i di:d (.)  
271 S1: there's a characteristic that was important for you

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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272 M: bu:t (.) i mean the fact that ha::d three roo:m, kitchen  
273 living roo:m (.) a:nd (.) bedroom that hopefully (.)  
274 [o- other flat]s=  
275 W: [((nods yes)) ]  
276 M: =ha[:dn't (.) ] then moreover it ha:d (.) what=  
277 S1: [others hadn't]  
278 M: =had it the balcony: (.)  
279 W: m:  
280 M: then right it was anyway in ce:ntal area ( )  
281 S1: [((looks at W)) ]  
282 S1: ((nods yes)) and for [on the contrary which] was the: (.)  
283 fundamental characteristic  
284 W: th: (.) the a:rea: ((looks at M))  
285 M: o yes (you told me)  
286 W: m:  
287 S1: oka[y]  
288 W: |((looks at M, then at S1, then quickly: M, S1, M))|  
289 W: |[ba]throom a:rea |  
290 M: yes. (.) and- [and in reality::] i don't know (..) it=  
291 W: [that's nice ]  
292 M: =was possible to know of it also for all other flat i  
293 don't know (..) [it was not written there anyway ]  
294 W: [well right considering: (.) all thi]ngs  
295 that were written there  
296 S1: yes yes yes  
297 (..)  
298 W: it was not so much  
299 S1: oka:y so i ask you a quest(h)io:n (..) ((laughs)) are  
300 you::: a real couple:  
301 (.)  
302 W: [((looks at M))]  
303 W: [yes ]  
304 M: yes  
305 S1: oka:y how lo::ng (.) have you been in a relationship  
306 W: [((looks at M)) ]  
307 W: [for a couple of years]  
308 S1: oka:y:, (.) perfect do you l- do you actually live  
309 toge:ther  
310 W: no.

311 S1: okay. (.) alright (.) thanks.

### D6C8MWr-ita

M, W: partecipanti

S1, S2: sperimentatrici

1 S1: e anche le spese di gestione. (.)  
2 M: qualsiasi: (.) prezzo  
3 S1: sì sì comunque voi non vedete nessun prezzo perché: (.)  
4 comunque paga l'università quindi non è:  
5 (.)  
6 W: non è quello che dobbiamo guar[dare]  
7 S1: [n:o.] (.) dovete decidere  
8 insie:me e potete (.) pure parlare a voce alta:, come  
9 volete insomma (..) [occh(h)e:i? ]  
10 W: [((ride)) (va be)] per[fetto:]  
11 S1: [buon l]avoro  
12 W: [gra:zie]  
13 M: [dai (.)] prendo io il mouse:  
14 W: sì.  
15 M, W: ((guardano il monitor))  
16 W: a(hhhh)  
17 M: ( )  
18 W: (dai un controllo va)  
19 M: ( )  
20 (..)  
21 M: (veranda) con cucina e soggiorno (.) cuci:na, (.) due  
22 camere da letto: (..)  
23 W: m:: (.) sessanta metri qua:dri (.) è brutto:  
24 M: non è tanto  
25 (.)  
26 W: no (.)  
27 M: m[a::::: (...)]=  
28 W: [no no (.) no (.) no (.) no (.) no]  
29 M: [((guarda S2)]  
30 M: =[cioè dobbiamo essere solo noi due:]  
31 S2: sì.  
32 (.)  
33 S1: sì sì.  
34 (..)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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35 M: appartamento arredato. (.) (vetrate fu) con le=  
36 M: =came[re ]  
37 W: |((indica il monitor))|  
38 W: |[°si] affaccia | (.) su un delizioso  
39 W: corti[l(h)etto]°  
40 M: [((ride))] (..) (con le) (.) vasca da bagno con  
41 do:ccia  
42 W: [((indica il monitor)) ]  
43 W: a [ma] la vasca da bagno [però guarda c'è ( )]  
44 M: [m:]  
45 M: e:  
46 W: [((indica il monitor))]  
47 W: [guarda: (.) avvolgent]e stile etnico  
48 M: m:  
49 (.)  
50 W: ti piace  
51 M: no a me non piace ( ) il bagno con doccia (.)  
52 W: e questo con la do:ccia  
53 M: no: solo doccia: (.) bo: doccia bagno  
54 W: °guarda che bello il bagno qua° (..) guarda che bello  
55 questo: (.)  
56 M: ( )  
57 W: è dato dal- (.) dalla perfetta pla:nimetria (.)  
58 M: ba:gno e toilette (.) sul lato est si apre un ampio  
59 terra:zzo: (.) raffinata tinta pastello (.) zona ce:ntro  
60 (..) °caspita°  
61 W: è bello anche que:sto:?  
62 (.)  
63 M: m: (.) però: n:on dice quanti metri sono  
64 W: ma sì ma chi se ne frega  
65 M: ((ride)) e sì (.) [(vedi anche) le s]ta:nze:  
66 W: [(non mi spaventa)]  
67 W: no una sta- camera con letto matrimonia:le ((guarda M))  
68 M: a:: (.) sì in effetti scusa (.) questo qui era: (.) due  
69 sta:nze: (..) scusa questo qui era due stanze (.) no  
70 [questo qui no.]  
71 W: [no (.) ] due camere da letto (.) [no questo no ]  
72 M: [già eliminati]  
73 (.) questo:, (.) questo: (.) a::



74 W: m:  
75 (.)  
76 M: a:  
77 (.)  
78 W: u::[::]  
79 M: [be]: (.) sì trentacinque metri quadrati:  
80 W: a::  
81 (.)  
82 M: no troppi ( ) sono  
83 (..)  
84 M: [((guarda W) ) ]  
85 M: [questo (magari con la)] (.) ( )  
86 W: ((ride))  
87 M: ( ) (.) ( ) ((guarda W))  
88 W: (allora) (.) (questo) (.) zona residenzia:le ((ride)) (.)  
89 dai vai giù (.) casa se:i  
90 M: questo niente=  
91 W: =no  
92 M: m:. (..) tri:locale (.) cucina con °lavastoviglie°  
93 soggiorno e camera da letto  
94 (.)  
95 W: cinquanta quadrati  
96 M: non lo di- (.)  
97 W: in zona istituti  
98 M: ( )  
99 W: [((guarda M))]  
100 W: a:: però scusami (.) non abbiamo visto [(.) che: (.)] in  
101 che zona era quello di prima  
102 M: e: (.) non lo diceva  
103 (..)  
104 W: be: e allora se:: (.) [se-]  
105 M: [ma ] qui c'è (.) i:nternet (.) (  
106 )  
107 (..)  
108 W: ma dai::  
109 (..)  
110 M: qua non dice nul[la]  
111 W: |((indica il monitor)) |  
112 W: |[no] qui (.) questo [no]|

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

113 M: [qu]esto niente  
114 (..)  
115 M: qua [non dice dov'è:]  
116 W: [questo: (.) non] dice dov'è  
117 M: questo è in ce:ntro  
118 W: questo è in ce:ntro  
119 (..)  
120 M: questo qui:[:::]  
121 W: [qu]esto è zon[a (e]ste-) no::  
122 M: [no::]  
123 M: allora questi due nie:nte  
124 W: e questo (. [.] n:o:]  
125 M: [n:o ]  
126 M: questo dici:  
127 (.)  
128 W: cinquanta metri quadra:ti: (.) ((guarda M)) (.) [no:..]  
129 M: [be ]  
130 (.) be dai:  
131 W: ma come dai(hh)  
132 M: ((ride))  
133 W: [((sporge la testa))]  
134 W: dai guarda [quello ]  
135 M: [((guarda la videocamera))]  
136 M: [( ) ]  
137 W: ((ride))  
138 M: sai che ho perso gli orari (.) del treno (.)  
139 W: ma puoi dirmelo do:po: (.) ( ) ( ) (.)  
140 matrimoniale: (.) zona ce:ntro (.) aspetta ma (.) si  
141 trova indietro là un po': (..)=  
142 W: =[prova que- ] (.) prova que:sto che è un altro:=  
143 M: [posto bi:ci]  
144 W: =[ ( ) (.) da(h)i::]  
145 M: [((ride)) (.) ((ride))]  
146 M: anche a me la cucina- (.) [(il) be]:llo questo- ma la=  
147 W: [e: ]  
148 M: =cucina [(.)] sembra quella e:  
149 W: [m: ]  
150 (.)  
151 W: però scusa (.) se vedi infatti questo è (.) l'angolo

152           cottura:  
153 M:        m[:]  
154 W:        [p]erò è uguale cottura e cucina: no ]  
155 W:        |((guarda M))                     |  
156           (..)  
157 M:        be: è bella la sala dai:?  
158           (..)  
159 W:                                    [*((indica il monitor))*]  
160 W:        ma poi scu:sami (.) [cioè- c'è il divano letto  
161        matrimoniale non c'è una sta:nz[a:? (..) cioè (.)]=  
162 M:                                    [*((ride))* è vero: ]  
163 W:                                    [*((indica il monitor))* ]  
164 W:        =scusa:? (..) [se non lo scrivono non] c'è:? (.)  
165 M:        allora no questo no[:? (.)]  
166 W:                                    [allora] quest[o- questo no:             ]  
167 W:                                    [*((indica il monitor))*]  
168 M:        be: (.) questi due alla fine:  
169           (..)  
170 W:        e (ma neanche di qua) che poi non sappiamo dove andiamo::  
171           (..)  
172 M:        e va be dai  
173 W:        ma- [considerando che:] (.) be ma se è grande vuol dire=  
174 M:           [ (                     ) ]  
175 W:        =che:: (.) e: (*ride*)  
176 M:        |(*guarda W*)                     |  
177 M:        |la connessione è difficoltosa| però (*sorride*) (.) no  
178        [ (.) dai allora su ]  
179 W:        [no (.) seicento me]tri quadrati ma è in cu:lo: (.)  
180           (..)  
181 M:        dai è fuori:. no (.) questo neanche:  
182 W:                                    [*((indica il monitor))*]  
183 W:        no: no no. (.) [guarda:                     ] (.) no il secondo:  
184 M:                                    [questo:                     ]  
185 M:        dai questo qui allora. (.)  
186 W:        e:. (.) vedi zona ce:ntro  
187 M:        la terra:zza:  
188           (..)  
189 W:        non si sa quante: (.) vedi non si sa quanto è grande (.)  
190        però comunque:

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

191 M: be(h) dai c'è (.) il matrimonia::le:: (..)=  
192 M: [(guarda W)]  
193 =° ( [ ] )°  
194 W: °dai ( )°  
195 M: ((ride)) (..) dai questo qui: [(.)] no: (.)  
196 W: [sì ]  
197 W: ha tu:tto no: (.)  
198 M: (..) manca i:nternet (.)  
199 W: manca internet ma possiamo metterlo  
200 M: e:?  
201 W: manca internet ma possiamo metterlo:  
202 M: m:  
203 W: [(indica il monitor)]  
204 W: [però guarda che bello] nuovo secondo me  
205 M: m: (.) allora questo qua no (.) cioè: (.)  
206 W: [(indica il monitor)]  
207 W: [(ma) (.) e: (.) super]ficie complessiva e dov'è:  
208 (..)  
209 M: ma non lo so io:  
210 W: dai [(.) concludiamo e prendiamo] quello piccolo  
211 M: [dai questo qui allora ]  
212 M: [(sceglie l'appartamento) ]  
213 S1: occhei vi faccio io una breve doma:nda (.) e:: quali  
214 caratteristiche vi hanno portato a scegliere questo  
215 appartame:nto:?  
216 W: [(guarda M)] [(guarda S1)] [(guarda M) ]  
217 W: [la zo:na, ] [(.) era: (..)] [per me la zo:na]  
218 M: s:i (.) poi va be (.) dato che c'era:: la camera rispetto  
219 agli altri. (.) un po' le immagini forse  
220 W: il bagno nuovo: sembrava nuovo  
221 S1: quanto ha influito:: (.) quanto avete: deciso in base a  
222 fattori estetici e quanto a:: (.) fattori:: (.)  
223 funzionali  
224 M: m::: [più fu- forse più funzionali (.)] cioè (..) alla=  
225 W: [no più funziona:li ]  
226 M: =fine (..) se (.) va be poi c'erano del- ciè e: magari  
227 qualche appartamento scartato per: immagini però (.) tra  
228 quelli che avevamo in dubbio non per: (.) immagini  
229 insomma

230 W: cioè c'era quello etnico più cari:no: (.) però non si  
231 sapeva dov'era:  
232 (..)  
233 S1: occhei. (.) quindi l'a[вете scartato] perché (.)=  
234 W: [molto be:llo:]  
235 S1: =non [sa]pevate la zona  
236 W: [n:]  
237 W: n:o:. (..) invece questo qui era un po' più bru- cioè  
238 sembrava un po' più brutto: (..) però era: in ce:ntro  
239 W: [((guarda M) ) ]  
240 M: e poi [va be (c'era)] (.) il ba:gno:,,=  
241 W: [più comodo ]  
242 M: =la cu[cina:, (.) ] la terrazza anche  
243 W: [m: sì sì ]  
244 W: [((guarda S1))]  
245 W: la terrazza.  
246 S1: occhei. (..) e::: chi ha deciso tra i du:e (.)=  
247 W: [((guarda M, sfrega le mani tra di loro, annuisce))]  
248 S1: =[avete deciso insie:me, c'è stato qualcuno che ha ]  
249 influito maggiormente (.) nella scelta  
250 (..)  
251 W: >tu[tt(h)'e du]e no:< ((ride))  
252 M: [( )]  
253 M: che hai deciso tu:  
254 W: no:  
255 M: a:  
256 W: insieme  
257 M: sì: sì  
258 (.)  
259 S1: a:. insie:me  
260 M: cioè (.) magari poi ognuno ha scartato: (.) qualco:sa e  
261 poi alla fine è rimasto (.) son rimasti du:e e abbiamo  
262 scelto quello  
263 S1: tu: a che cosa puntavi (.) di più.  
264 M: no:: ma (.) ma sì ho fatto: (.)  
265 S1: c'è una caratteristica che per te era importante  
266 M: ma: (.) cioè il fatto che avesse:: le tre sta:nze, la  
267 cucina il soggiorno: (.) e la: (.) la camera da letto=  
268 S1: [((annuisce))]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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269 =che magari (.) [a- altri app]artamenti non=  
270 =ave[vano: (.) ] poi aveva in più: (.) cosa aveva=  
271 S1: [altri non avevano]  
272 =la terrazza: (.)  
273 W: m:  
274 M: poi va be era comunque in zona ce:ntro ( )  
275 S1: [((guarda W))]  
276 S1: ((annuisce)) e per [invece qual ] era la: (.)  
277 caratteristica fondamentale  
278 W: l: (.) la zo:na: ((guarda M))  
279 M: e sì (mi hai detto)  
280 W: m:  
281 S1: ocche[i ]  
282 W: |((guarda M, poi S1, poi più velocemente: M, S1, M))  
283 W: |[zo]na il ba:gno |  
284 M: sì. (.) e- [e in realtà::] non so (..) si poteva sapere=  
285 W: [che è carino ]  
286 M: =anche degli altri appartamenti bo (..)=  
287 M: =[lì non c'era scritto insomma]  
288 W: [be insomma in base: (.) a tu]tto quello che c'era  
289 scritto lì  
290 S1: sì sì sì  
291 (..)  
292 W: non era tanto  
293 S1: ocche:i allora vi faccio una domand(h)a: (..) ((ride))  
294 siete::: una coppia: reale voi  
295 (.)  
296 W: [((guarda M))]  
297 W: [sì ]  
298 M: sì  
299 S1: occhei da quanto tempo:: (.) avete una relazione  
300 W: [((guarda M) )]  
301 W: [da un paio d'anni]  
302 S1: ocche:i:, (.) perfetto vive- vivete attualmente insie:me  
303 W: no.  
304 S1: occhei. (.) va bene. (.) grazie.

## The research team

### Multiple histories and competencies

09-01-08-ita

336 AR:       bisogna distinguere forse in questo caso:: tra i:- per  
337               esempio i mo:duli e i documenti che:: [e i volantini         ]  
338 LC:   [no: (.) io direi (.)]  
339               sì ma non ci si può disperdere. io direi che bisogna fare un  
340               elenco dei moduli che sono disponibili=  
341 AR:       =sì ma una cosa è i moduli (.) cioè il modulo ha una reto-  
342               ciò- può essere tradotto male però ha una retorica che è  
343               quella delle pratiche amministrative  
344 LC:       ma che ne sappiamo io non lo so: (..)  
345 AR:       cioè se loro devono tradurre un at[to amministrativo]  
346 LC:   [senti (se io)       ] vado in  
347               questura e dice (.) di scrivere il sottoscritto oppure di  
348               scrivere no (.) cioè ci sono (.) anche dei moduli nostri (.)  
349               che sono moduli burocratici i: (.) e: in uso per gli: gli  
350               autoctoni (.) ci sono molti modi diversi di rivolgersi alla  
351               stessa persona  
352 AZ:       sì però lei la distinzione che lei voleva:: sottolineare è  
353               che [(.)]  
354 LC:   [era] tra i tipi di moduli  
355 AZ:       sì. (.) cioè ci sono volanti:ni che hanno (.) l'obiettivo di  
356               lanciare un messaggio no di:: sponso- pubblicizzare  
357               un'iniziativa. ci sono del delle: dei moduli per cui (.) uno  
358               deve capire che cosa deve mettere per (.) (fa) l'iscrizione  
359               all'asilo nido  
360 LC:       esatto  
361 AZ:       e lì non c'è (.) non si tratta di retori[che ]  
362 LC:   [ecco] (.) si tratta  
363               proprio di capire cosa significa  
364 AZ:       sì praticamente (.) [pragmaticamente]  
365 LC:   [ma ecco (.)       ] ma (.) questo è un  
366               discorso allora volantini senz'altro (.) gli altri moduli  
367               siamo in grado di fare un'analisi di questo secondo me questo  
368               rientra in quello che abbiamo chiamato procedure in relazione  
369               ai servizi cioè quelli lì sono dei pezzetti di procedure per

370           cui- (...) no nello schemino che ho davanti (cioè)  
371           l'etnografia di sfondo, entra il signore, si mette lì, io  
372           videoregistro, sento cosa hanno detto eccetera c'è un oggetto  
373           in cui devo farlo mettiamo che sia (.) l'iscrizione all'asilo  
374           allora lì entra il modulo dentro quella procedura=  
375 LC:       =[(.)] non è che facciamo l'analisi della modulistica in=  
376 AZ:       [si ]  
377 LC:       =generale (..) per cui le procedure più diffuse che saranno  
378           l'iscrizione al nido, (..) cose di questo genere due o tre  
379           non possono essere più di tante noi le analizziamo dentro la  
380           procedura sono strumenti (..) ((guarda AR)) m:?  
381 AR:       m m:

## Acting as individuals and acting as institutions

05-12-07

264           (..)  
265 LC:       ho how- how we go o:n u(h) (..) so. we said that first we  
266           work on the ce:ntral side then we work u:::(h)? and then  
267           we'll work on specific issues no (..) that it's not worth to  
268           identify now. (..)du:: (.)dur- during ini:tial(.) initial (.)  
269           initial visits of (...)it's necessary to say more or less (.)  
270           given that our- our leader will be obviously ali (.) er::  
271           it's necessary:: essentially: (..) to introduce ourselves and  
272           make us accept by them without formalizing(.)too much because  
273           otherwise you blo::ck them then to do a moment of participant  
274           observation of the waiting room or whenever they are, (.) of  
275           introd- i mean anyway you introduce yourself (..) you  
276           introduce yourself to offices (..) because it beco::mes (..)   
277           not to ask for an authorization=  
278 AZ:       =yes yes yes y[es]  
279 LC:       [to] ask them (..)=  
280 LC:       =[if they've (.) ( ), (.) (concerns) no]  
281 AZ:       [so (.) but (.) here (.) on] this side anyway (.) er: we lack  
282           a formalization that we made with the:: (.)  
283 LC:       but if it is not needed neither by the council and then: er::  
284           (.) i mean by saying look i a::nd? it mea::ns (..) i've the  
285           authorization of your boss i stay here i'm a pain in the butt  
286           (.) but if you say we're:: a grou::p from university, we're  
287           doing a research project on- (.) on communication::, so



288 afterwards:: (.)  
289 AZ: m: (.)  
290 LC: we'll- we'll ask you, if you have any idea you say us, i mean  
291 (..) you can't arrive with a sheet in your hand ((he lifts a  
292 sheet where he took notes and he shows it)) you should not to  
293 do it right.  
294 (...)  
295 LC: so to sum up it's necessary to m- to know the environment to  
296 acquaint yourself with (..) to introduce yourself to: (. ) to  
297 the people at the counters (..) in this sense i would like to  
298 come as well or rather (.) i think i have to come (before i  
299 hadn't) (..) a::nd and then you adapt very much yourself to  
300 ((looking at AR)) do you remember that time we went to  
301 ghiacciai?  
302 AR: ((nods yes with her head))  
303 AZ: m m:=  
304 LC: =we:: adapted yourself very much also to:: to what they sa:id  
305 you if they give you any suggest- (.) it could happen that no  
306 suggestions come- (.) it would be very normal that staff  
307 attended a little their:: (..) then to say if somebody said  
308 yes, i'm interested, how, i we:nt to the: conferen-, (.) i  
309 don't know no a:nd (.) you make us of opportunities that one:  
310 one (create)/(will create) [(.) a::nd]=  
311 AZ: °[(sure) ]°  
312 LC: =and after o:ne or two times we go there to do participant  
313 observation we de- we identify <exactly> (..) it would be  
314 ideal meanwhile to make small interviews that at lea:st with  
315 staff (.) but it's necessary a little that they come to us i  
316 mean like other times (you go there and you observe) next  
317 time (.) can we come to ask you a little which are the  
318 proble:ms (..) that's it by saying but we should reco:rd  
319 because it's part of a research no but (.) it's used ju:st  
320 (.) that's it but (..) an excess of formalization scares  
321 a:::nd and makes worried because it's not tha:t (.) m: we  
322 don't go there to judge their (..) and i think that if we go  
323 wi:th ali (.) these times no so (.) so that (...) what do  
324 you say ali  
325 AZ: yeah yeah (..) i mean (.) a::nd yes and no because: (.)=

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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326 AZ: =[if: (.) yes and no in the sense that er: these:-]  
327 LC: [((laughs)) (.) ((laughs)) ( ) ]  
328 AZ: ((laughs)) (..) n::o it's go:od not to formalize with staff  
329 and all but there there is a head of sector [(.) tha:t ]  
330 LC: [and it's ne]ces  
331 sary to go immediately to talk with the head of s- [he]ad=  
332 AZ: [yeah]  
333 LC: =of sector  
334 (..)  
335 AZ: the head of sector is a go:od person indeed tha[:t by]=  
336 LC: [ye:s ]  
337 AZ: =the way: (.) the important thi:ng i::s i mean that's==  
338 AZ: =that w- that when we go there [(.) that he kno]ws it=  
339 LC: [ab:solute:ly ]  
340 AZ: =[(.) the:n (.)] the rest we can=  
341 LC: [absolutely ]  
342 AZ: =[also: (.) to go over. ]  
343 LC: [or rather (..) w- we g]o there, (.) if you agree we go  
344 toge::ther we:: (..) we: (.) °all five°  
345 AZ: m:  
346 LC: °(for obvious reasons morning or in the afternoon)° (.) and-  
347 we arrive let's say you cannot talk to the head of sector yes  
348 look (.) (we [want to speak with])  
349 AZ: [yes but we can also] anticipate this thing make  
350 an appointment with [(.) head of secto:r]  
351 LC: [m: could you sa:y ] him (.)  
352 AZ: yes ((he takes notes)) tomo:row (..) °yes (here) we are°  
353 (..)  
354 LC: i call him if you give me the telephone nu:mber (.) i w- it's  
355 better if it's you who talk with him or if i talk with him  
356 AZ: (..)  
357 LC: both of us.

358 (.)

359 MR: but y- you already know him you said

360 (.)

361 AZ: yeah yeah yeah (..) [a::nd]

362 AR: [but ] (de- dega:n)

363 (.)

364 AZ: no e:r melotti (.)

365 AR: a:: i u- [a:: ( )]

366 AZ: [melotti. (.)] that's to say there's a councillo:r

367 (.) th:en the councillor is new (.) and i:: instead of ((he

368 looks at LC)) him we ha::d (.) ha:d mastroianni (..) who was

369 your colleague

370 LC: ((nods yes with his head))

371 AZ: a::nd and now there's zappat a:nd (..)

372 AR: no it's another but we sent him a l[etter ]

373 LC: [zappat] works at school

374 services

375 AZ: a: [(.) a: yes ]

376 AR: [because he's] the c- the councillor for decentralization

377 [ri:ght]

378 AZ: [m: yes] francesco something gomie==

379 AR: =gomier[o.]

380 AZ: [a:] gomiero.

381 (..)

382 AR: because martin is that one o::f m: [of decentralization]=

383 AZ: [of decentralization]

384 AR: =this one instead to demographic s-(.)ervices.

385 (..)

386 AZ: well i'd say tha:t (.) if we care about thi:s aspect o:f (.)

387 councillor head of sector we have the green light for all the

388 rest because a:ll i mean it's one- (.) e::r the registration

389 office is a situation [ver]y structured that's to say=

*Appendix C – Full transcriptions*

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390 LC: [ ( ) ]  
 ((lines 391-392 omitted: AZ describes some characteristics of the places participants are going to study))  
 393 =(..) but (it's necessary-)/(we have to) it's  
 394 necessary to have the o[k. ]  
 395 LC: [definitely] definitely. what shall we  
 396 do. (..) we make a call to: this one  
 397 AZ: yes a::nd what do you say e:r we make: a step for:: (.)  
 398 cause i could also go me antonie:tta i don't know to >to to<  
 399 to the councillo:r (.) or to the: (.) to the head of sector  
 400 (.) then maybe- or we go to the councillor and then .hh we  
 401 se::nd (.) u::h with o::? [ ( | ) ] |  
 402 AR: [may|be ] to go | through the=  
 403 MR: |>so now but-<|  
 404 AR: =councillor (first right)=  
 405 MR: =but it's ne[cessary (the authorization)-]  
 406 AZ: [it would be more- (..) ] m:: still more::  
 407 (.) more e:asy that:: the politician (.) makes us go to the  
 408 administrative [(.) wh- a:? ]  
 409 MR: [but don't we run the risk] given that we're  
 410 already speaking with sangati then we switch to another  
 411 councill(h)o:r  
 412 (.)  
 413 AZ: no no no no no (.) because (.) there: (.) there we spoke  
 414 about mi:ci  
 415 (.)  
 416 MR: ok.  
 417 AZ: that's to say (.) the the mici are ((he looks at LC))=  
 418 AZ: =one- one thing of [(.) i mean we caREd about until no]w=  
 419 LC: [ye:s ye:s ye:s yes ]  
 420 AZ: =(.) we didn't care about registration office side a::s go-  
 421 ahead let's say also one: (.) thi:ng (..) because we arrive

422           there: we a::nd there we've: (.) much to do: (.) we go in  
423           grou:ps and so it's better that: (.) er::  
424           (.)  
425 LC:       what to do it's- m:: (..) have you got- there's a- a  
426           telephone of (.)  
427 AZ:       ye::::ah i could look for him (or maybe i ca:ll) directly:  
428           [(     )]  
429 AR:       [you c-] you can connect here to: marian isn't i:t  
430           (.)  
431 MR:       yes  
432 AR:       psicologi:a (.) no w:i f:i psy?  
433           (.)  
434 MR:       yes you type your::: (.) your novell data (..) as username  
435           and as password (.) novell data i mean do:t (     ) =  
436 LC:       =((*looking at AZ*)) hh i'll call him tomorrow the councillor  
437           if you give me the number  
438           (.)  
439 AZ:       m m  
440           (.)  
441 LC:       yes given that they're: organizations strongly bureaucratic  
442           it's always be- .hh  
443           (..)  
444 AZ:       so differently from mici where there we can go and do: i mean  
445           that is- they're more: (.) less established as offices  
446           registration office is a- an organization. (.) so when we  
447           have the go-ahead of the others they get started on b- staff  
448           start to speak staff (.) i mean it's enough that you say we  
449           already talked with, we have the authorization they calm down  
450           (..)  
451 LC:       definitely=  
452 AZ:       =a::nd furthermore [the:n then i ca::n (..) ] make way=  
453 LC:       [.hhh the:n (.) i mean if-]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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454 AZ: =easier by ask- (.) to ask to:- to operators an intervi:ew  
455 (.) i mean i i know them personally  
456 (..)  
457 LC: ok. (.) so we ha::ve er:: there's- there's the telephone  
458 number so that i call (tomorrow)  
459 (..)  
460 AR: now i'm looking for it  
461 AZ: °there's als[o:]°  
462 AR: [li]sten [er:: (..)]=  
463 AZ: [( )]  
464 AR: =for insta:nce but for mi:ci (.) respect to what we said also  
465 last time we could maybe meanwhile:: (.) to conta::ct m-  
466 the:: migra:ntes (..) no:?  
467 (.)  
468 AZ: yes=  
469 AR: =to make the interview they that no:t- they are:n't  
470 (.)  
471 AZ: they are some: er: how i could say they send their operators  
472 together with:: ((the:)) mediators and they make many mici  
473 (in neighborhood)/(in neighborhoods)  
474 AR: but they're not employees of the [(council) so ] perhaps=  
475 AZ: [no no no (.) no]  
476 AR: =with them meanwhile there's something we cou:ld [(.) ]  
477 AZ: [yeah]  
478 definitely  
479 AR: not immediately but we could talk of it  
480 AZ: yes yes definitely  
481 (..)  
482 AR: hold on then the cou:ncil (..) i manage u:(h) (..) i-  
483 AR: [manage ] (..) ((laughs)) councillors (..) business=  
484 LC: [(laughs)]  
485 =tourism (.)

*The research team*

---

486 MR: ok  
487 AR: phe:w i don't remember any mo:re  
488 MR: ( )  
489 AR: [institutions section ]  
490 LC: [how do you m- how do you m[anage to] be connected ]=  
491 AZ: [(he stands up and goes to AR)]  
492 LC: =now  
493 (.)  
494 AR: er because there is: [the wi fi: ]  
495 MR: [there is a wire]less lan here around  
496 LC: really:?  
497 (.)  
498 MR: [you access it |with- with novell username and password|]  
499 AR: [(she looks for something in her pc and talks with AZ)]  
500 AR: |(ros:si), (..) (ros:si)|  
501 LC: ((he lifts his head through MR))  
502 MR: you access it with novell usernames and password  
503 (..)  
504 LC: that's to say the same of my office:  
505 MR: yes  
506 (..)  
507 LC: ((he shakes his head))  
508 MR: ( )  
509 LC: si:nce  
510 (.)  
511 MR: maybe it's i don't know it has been up for four months five=  
512 MR: =months i think (.) i found it by chance (..)=  
513 MR: =i fou[nd it- m  
::rco:: ]  
514 AR: [yea(h) it has not been] advertised much  
515 (.)  
516 MR: yes sure (.) well rightly.

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

---

517 LC: [be:tter no ]  
518 AR: [why rightly]  
519 (.)  
520 MR: because er: cause- because this way there's more broadband  
521 yeah.  
522 FZ: ((she laughs))  
523 (.)  
524 MR: i found it by chance ((he brings his hand close to his mouth,  
525 with his thumb and his little finger that are one  
526 perpendicular to the other and with the other fingers that  
527 are closed)) ma::rco how does this thing wo:rk=  
528 AR: i(h)n united states on the co:ntrary  
529 (..)  
530 EVB: ((smile))  
531 LC: she stole broadband. she went to the park and stole  
532 broadband.  
533 AR: ((she laughs)) it's not t(h)rue(hh)  
534 LC: o yes you also wro:te it to us  
535 (..)  
536 AR: [((laughs))]  
537 AZ: [zero fou]r nine eight [two: ( )-]  
538 LC: [(and then)] ((he looks at FZ))  
539 there were two or three:: (.) american companies that become  
540 bankrupt for-  
541 AR: ((she smiles and looks at FZ))  
542 FZ: ((she smiles)) because of you.  
543 AR: if you don't setup a password in: in your: (.)  
544 FZ: (if you don't protect it yea(h))  
545 MR: (they're his/her business definitely)  
546 (.)  
547 LC: do you understand (they'd also to put) [( )]  
548 AR: [(generous- )]



*The research team*

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549 AR: no (.) but i didn't do any damage indeed  
550 MR: yeah we know that in truth you make brute force attacks and::  
551 ((moves his hand from left to right and traces one line in  
552 air))  
553 FZ: you ju:st scrounged  
554 (.)  
555 AR: i scrounge but it's right if one puts of- but- but over there  
556 is one[:]-  
557 LC: [( ) from her house electric power ((he moves his  
558 left hand forward)) she connected herself outside  
559 AR: but- no but what does that ha:ve to do with it (.) it's not  
560 that i do- i do them [( )]  
561 LC: [(laughs)]  
562 LC: come on i'm(h) making f(h)un of you  
563 (..)  
564 AR: but at university anyway there was free access for everybody  
565 that was won[derfu:l ]  
566 FZ: [but also]:: in venice=  
567 FZ: =[(. if you live near to t]he university building you=  
568 AR: [moreover it was wa:rm outside]  
569 FZ: =could connect from there thanks to the university (.) you  
570 could connect from there thanks to the university ( )  
571 AR: also at palazzo moroni ((head office of the council)) then  
572 maybe  
573 FZ: it's normal  
574 AR: ((talking to AZ)) did he wri:- er::: (..)  
575 AZ: it is already possible to call. (.) m: (.)  
576 MR: er: i write to final year students a:nd  
577 LC: ((he looks at AR and AZ)) yes. (..) the problem is that i am  
578 deaf however-  
579 AR: gomie:ro  
580 AZ: gomiero francesco

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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581 (.)  
582 AR: seven one three one  
583 AZ: eight [two]  
584 LC: [thi]s is the council[lo:r (..) ]  
585 AR: [ze:ro? (..)]  
586 AZ: yes. (three zero zero) nine o:ne (.)  
587 AR: twenty seven  
588 AZ: twenty seven.  
589 (..)  
590 AZ: ((he types the number of the councillor in his mobile, he  
591 presses the call button and gives the mobile to LC))  
592 LC: [((he takes the mobile and approaches it to his left ear))]  
593 LC: [thanks. ]  
594 (..)  
595 LC: ((he introduces himself and asks to talk to the councillor))  
596 AZ: what does s/he say?  
597 (..)  
598 LC: pardon- (.) no er he was talking at the phone somewhere else  
599 s/he says to call back later after ten minutes=  
600 MR: =meanwhile he already knows that we'll do the research and  
601 this is already a step ((literally: it's already something))  
602 (.)  
603 LC: can you give my the number ( ) so i save it  
604 (...)  
605 AZ: er:::  
606 (.)  
607 MR: he's officially informed that we'll do the research  
608 FZ: [((laughs))]  
609 AR: [((laughs))]  
610 AZ: [((laughs))]  
611 MR: ((he lifts up and down quickly his head)) ok  
612 LC: [((he takes notes)) ]

613 AZ: [one three six ] (.) seven six (.) two four three (.)  
614 twenty two  
615 MR: m:: could you give:: me the ad[dress]  
616 AR: [or ] two six  
617 (.)  
618 AZ: or two six  
619 MR: could you give me the address o::f of- of irene is that how  
620 she's called right  
621 AR: [( )]  
622 LC: [so he's the coun]cillor:  
623 (.)  
624 AZ: so he's gomie::ro (..) francesco gomiero (.) yes

#### 05-12-07-ita

264 (..)  
265 LC: allora co- come ci muovia?mo no (..) allora. abbiamo detto  
266 che prima facciamo la parte ce:ntro poi facciamo e:::? e poi  
267 andremo a fermarci su problematiche specifiche no (..) che è  
268 inutile stare a identificare adesso. (..) nel:: (.) nel-  
269 nelle prime: (.) le prime (.) le prime visite di (...)  
270 bisogna grosso modo dire (.) tra che l- la nostra guida sarà  
271 naturalmente ali (.) e:: bisogna:: sostanzialmente: (..)  
272 presentarsi farsi accettare senza formalizzare (.) troppo  
273 perché se no blocchi:: quindi fare un momento di osservazione  
274 partecipante della sala d'aspetto o dove che sia, (.) di  
275 pres- cioè comunque ti presenti (..) di presentarsi agli  
276 uffici (..) perché diventa:: (..) non per chiedere  
277 un'autorizzazione=  
278 AZ: =sì sì sì s[i]  
279 LC: [p]er dirgli (..)=  
280 LC: =[se hanno: (.) ( ), (.) (riguardi) no]  
281 AZ: [quindi ^^^(.) però ^^^(.) qui (.) ^^^(da] questa parte però  
282 (.) e: siamo in difetto di una formalizzazione che abbiamo  
283 fatto con la:: (.)  
284 LC: ma se non ne ha bisogno neanche il comune e poi: e:: (.) cioè  
285 arrivare lì col guardi io e::? vuol dire:: (..) c'ho il

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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286 permesso dei tuoi superiori sto qui ti rompo le palle (.)  
287 invece dire siamo:: un gruppo:: dell'università, stiamo  
288 facendo una ricerca sul- (.) sulla comunicazione::, così  
289 dopo:: (.)  
290 AZ: m: (.)  
291 LC: v- vi chiederemo, se voi avete idee diteci, cioè (..) non  
292 devi arrivare col foglio in mano ((*solleva un foglio con dei*  
293 *suoi appunti e lo mostra*)) questo tu devi fare no.  
294 (...)  
295 LC: cioè in sostanza bisogna f- conoscere l'ambiente  
296 familiarizzarsi (..) presentarsi alle: (.) alle persone degli  
297 sportelli (..) in questo senso verrei molto volentieri  
298 anch'io anzi (.) credo di dover venire anch'io (prima no)  
299 (..) e:: e poi si sta molto ((*rivolgendosi a AR*)) ti ricordi  
300 quella volta che andavamo a ghiacciai?  
301 AR: ((*asserisce muovendo il capo alternativamente in alto e in*  
302 *basso*))  
303 AZ: m m:=  
304 LC: =si:: stava molto anche a:: a quello che loro ti di:cono se  
305 ti danno dei suggerime- (.) può darsi che non vengano i  
306 suggerimenti- (.) sarebbe normalissimo che gli impiegati se  
307 ne stessero un po':: (..) poi per dire se uno dicesse sì, mi  
308 interessa, come, son venuto al: conve-, (.) che ne so no e:  
309 (.) si sfruttano le opportunità che si: si (creano  
310 no)/(creeranno) [(.) e::]=  
311 AZ: °[(certo)]°  
312 LC: =e dopo una o due volte che andiamo lì a fare l'osservazione  
313 partecipante de- identifichiamo <esattamente> (..) l'ideale  
314 sarebbe nel frattempo fare delle piccole interviste che  
315 almeno: col persona:le (.) però bisogna che ci arrivino un  
316 po' loro ecco tipo le altre volte (si va lì e guardi) la  
317 volta prossima (.) possiamo venire a chiedervi un po' quali  
318 sono i problemi: (..) ecco dicendo però dobbiamo registra:re  
319 perché fa parte di una ricerca no però (.) viene usata solo:  
320 (.) ecco ma (..) l'eccesso di formalizzazione spaventa e:::  
321 e preoccupa perché non è che: (.) m: non andiamo lì a  
322 giudicare il loro (..) e io penso che se andiamo co:n ali  
323 (.) queste volte no quindi (.) in modo che (...) cosa dici  
324 ali

325 AZ: sì sì (..) cioè (.) e:: sì e no perché: (.)=  
326 AZ: =[se: ^^^^ (.) sì e no nel senso che e: questi:-]  
327 LC: [((ride)) (.) ((ride)) ^^^^^^^^^ ( )]

328 AZ: ((ride)) (..) n::o va bene: non formalizzare con i dipendenti  
329 e tutto però lì c'è un caposettore [(.) che:]  
330 LC: [e bisogn]a andare subito  
331 a parlare col capos- [ca]posettore  
332 AZ: [e:]  
333 (..)

334 AZ: il caposettore è una persona bra:va insomma che[: pe]rò: (.)=  
335 LC: [s:i ]

336 AZ: =l'importante: è:: ciè che lo- che q- che quando giriamo  
337 lì [(.) che lo- che lo s]appia lui=  
338 LC: [ass:solutame:nte ]

339 AZ: =[(.) poi: (.) ] il resto possiamo=  
340 LC: [assolutamente]  
341 AZ: =[anche: (.) superare.]

342 LC: [cioè anzi (..) a- an]diamo lì, (.) se siete d'accordo  
343 andiamo insieme:: noi:: (..) noi: (.) °cinque°  
344 AZ: m:  
345 LC: °(per ovvi motivi mattino o il pomeriggio)° (.) e- arriviamo  
346 diciamo non si può parlare col caposettore sì guardi (.)  
347 (vo[gliamo parlare con])

348 AZ: [sì però possiamo an]che anticipare questa cosa qui  
349 prendergli un appuntamento con [(.) caposetto:re]

350 LC: [m: glielo puoi ] di:re (.)

351 AZ: sì ((scrive)) doma:ni (..) °sì ecco (qui)°  
352 (..)

353 LC: gli telefono se mi dai il numero di tele:fono (.) v- meglio  
354 che gli parli tu o che gli parli io  
355 AZ: (..)  
356 LC: tutti e due.

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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357 (.)  
358 MR: ma t- tu già lo conosci hai detto  
359 (.)  
360 AZ: sì sì sì (..) [e::]  
361 AR: [ma ] (de- dega:n)  
362 (.)  
363 AZ: no e: melotti (.)  
364 AR: a:: ca- [a:: ( )]  
365 AZ: [melotti. (.)] cioè c'è l'assesso:re (.) poi:  
366 l'assessore è nuovo (.) e a:: al posto ((*guarda LC*)) suo  
367 c'avevamo:: (.) avevamo: mastroianni (..) che era un suo  
368 collega  
369 LC: ((*annuisce muovendo il capo in alto e in basso*))  
370 AZ: e:: e adesso c'è zappat e: (..)  
371 AR: no è un altro però gli abbiamo mandato la l[ettera]  
372 LC: [zappat ] è ai  
373 servizi scolastici  
374 AZ: a: [(.) a: sì]  
375 AR: [perché è ] l'a- l'assessore al decentramento [giu:sto]  
376 AZ: [m: sì f]=  
377 =rancesco qualcosa gomie=  
378 AR: =gomier[o.]  
379 AZ: [a:] gomiero.  
380 (..)  
381 AR: perché martin è quello della:: m: [del decentramento]=  
382 AZ: [del decentramento]  
383 AR: =invece questo ai s-(.)ervizi demografici.  
384 (..)  
385 AZ: no direi che: (.) se curiamo questa parte qua: dei: (.)  
386 assessore caposettore abbiamo il via libera per il tutto  
387 perché tutti: cioè è una- (.) e:: l'anagrafe è una situazione  
(*righe 388-390 omesse, AZ descrive alcune caratteristiche*)

dei luoghi oggetto di studio))

- 391 =(..) però (bisogne-  
392 )/(bisogniamo) bisogna avere l'oc[chei.]  
393 LC: [certo] certo. come facciamo.  
394 (..) telefoniamo a: questo qua  
395 AZ: sì e:: cosa dici e: facciamo: un passaggio per:: (.) perché  
396 potrei anche andare io antonie:tta non so da >da da<  
397 dall'assesso:re (.) o anche dal: (.) dal caposettore (.) poi  
398 magari- oppure andiamo noi dall'assessore e poi .hh  
399 mandiamo:: (.) e:: con u::? [( | )] |  
400 AR: [for|se ] passa|re per=  
401 MR: |>cioè ma-<|  
402 AR: =l'assessore (prima è giusto)=  
403 MR: =ma ser[ve (l'approvazione)-]  
404 AZ: [sì sarebbe più- (..)] m:: ancor più:: (.) più  
405 age:vole che:: il politico (.) ci passi all'amministratore  
406 [(.) co- a:? ]  
407 MR: [ma non è che rischiamo] che siccome stiamo già parlando con  
408 sangati poi si passa da un altro assess(h)o:re  
409 (.)  
410 AZ: no no no no no (.) perché (.) lì: (.) lì abbiám parlato dei  
411 mi:ci  
412 (.)  
413 MR: occhei.  
414 AZ: cioè (.) i i mici sono ((guarda LC))=  
415 AZ: =una- una cosa di [(.) cioè che abbiamo cuRato fino ade]sso=  
416 LC: [sì: sì: sì: sì ]  
417 AZ: =(.) non abbiamo curato la parte dell'anagrafe come:: nulla  
418 osta diciamo anche una: (.) cosa: (..) perché arriviamo lì:  
419 noi e:: lì abbiamo: (.) molto da fa:re (.) andiamo in gru:ppi  
420 e quindi è meglio che: (.) e::  
421 (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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422 LC: come si fa va- m:: (..) ce l'hai- c'è un- un telefono di (.)  
423 AZ: s:::::ì potrei cercarlo (o magari chiamo:) direttamente:  
424 [( )]  
425 AR: [si- ] ci si collega qui a: marian vero:  
426 (.)  
427 MR: sì  
428 AR: psicologi:a (.) no w:i f:i psy?  
429 (.)  
430 MR: sì inserisci il tuo::: (.) i tuoi dati novell (..) come nome  
431 utente e come password (.) i dati novell intendo pu:nto ( )=  
432 )=  
433 LC: =(guardando AZ) hh gli telefono domani l'assessore se mi  
434 date il numero  
435 (.)  
436 AZ: m m  
437 (.)  
438 LC: sì siccome sono: organizzazioni fortemente burocratiche è  
439 sempre me- .hh  
440 (..)  
441 AZ: cioè a differenza dei mici dove possiamo lì andare e fa:re  
442 cioè che è- sono più: (.) meno consolidate come realtà  
443 l'anagrafe è una- un'organizzazione. (.) quindi quando noi  
444 abbiamo il via libera degli altri cominciano a s- parlare i  
445 dipendenti i dipendenti (.) cioè basta che lei gli dica  
446 abbiamo già parlato con, abbiamo l'autorizzazione loro si  
447 tranquillizzano  
448 (..)  
449 LC: certo=  
450 AZ: =e:: poi [lì: lì posso:: ^(..) ^^]^agevolare la strada chie==  
451 LC: [.hhh allora: (.) ce se-]  
452 AZ: =(.) chiedere: a:- agli operatori l'intervi:sta (.) cioè lì li  
453 conosco personalmente



454 (..)  
455 LC: occhei. (.) allora abbiamo:: e:: c- c'è il numero di telefono  
456 che chiamo (domani)  
457 (..)  
458 AR: adesso lo sto cercando  
459 AZ: °c'è anch[e:]°  
460 AR: [as]colta [e:: (..)]=  
461 AZ: [( )]  
462 AR: =per ese:mpio però per il mi:ci (.) rispetto a quello che  
463 abbiamo detto anche l'altra volta potremmo magari intanto::  
464 (.) contattare:: m- i:: migra:ntes (..) no:?  
465 (.)  
466 AZ: sì=  
467 AR: =per fare l'intervista loro che non:- loro non sono:  
468 (.)  
469 AZ: sono dei: e: come dire mandano i loro operatori insieme a::  
470 i: mediatori e fanno i mici (nel quartiere)/(nei quartieri)  
471 AR: però non sono dipendenti dal [(comune) per cui] forse con=  
472 AZ: [no no no (.) no]  
473 AR: =loro qualcosa intanto potremmo: [(.)]  
474 AZ: [sì ] certo  
475 AR: non subito però parlarne  
476 AZ: sì sì certo  
477 (..)  
478 AR: aspetta allora il comu:ne (..) ci arrivo e: (..) ce=  
479 LC: [(ride) ]  
480 AR: =[la faccio] (..) ((ride)) la giunta (..) l'impresa il  
481 turismo (.)  
482 MR: occhei  
483 AR: uffi: non mi ricordo più:  
484 MR: ( )  
485 AR: [angolo istituzioni]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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486 LC: [come f- come f|ai a] essere collegata| adesso  
487 AZ: |((si alza e va da AR))|  
488 (.)  
489 AR: e perché c'è: [il wi fi: ]  
490 MR: [c'è una rete wi]reless qua in giro  
491 LC: sì:?  
492 (.)  
493 MR: [si accede |con- con utente e password di novell |]  
494 AR: [((cerca qualcosa sul computer mentre parla con AZ))]  
495 AR: |(ros:si), (..) ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^(ros:si)|  
496 LC: ((solleva il capo in direzione di MR))  
497 MR: si accede con nomi utenti e la password di novell  
498 (..)  
499 LC: cioè con quella dell'ufficio:  
500 MR: sì  
501 (..)  
502 LC: ((muove il capo))  
503 MR: ( )  
504 LC: da qua:ndo  
505 (.)  
506 MR: forse da: non so quattro mesi cinque mesi credo (.) l'ho=  
507 MR: =beccata per caso (..) l'ho b[eccata- ma::rco:: ]  
508 AR: [sì non è che è molto]  
509 pubblicizzata  
510 (.)  
511 MR: ma infatti. (.) be giustamente.  
512 LC: [me:glio no]  
513 AR: [perché giu]stamente  
514 (.)  
515 MR: perché e: per- perché così c'è più banda dai.  
516 FZ: ((ride))  
517 (.)

518 MR: l'ho beccato per caso ((avvicina alla bocca la mano, col  
519 pollice ed il mignolo aperti l'uno perpendicolarmente  
520 all'altro e le altre dita chiuse)) ma::rco come funzio:na  
521 questa cosa=  
522 AR: ne(h)gli stati uni:ti inve:ce  
523 (..)  
524 TT: ((sorriono))  
525 LC: lei rubava la banda. andava ai giardinetti e rubava la banda.  
526 AR: ((ride)) non è v(h)ero(hh)  
527 LC: e sì ce lo scrive:vi  
528 (..)  
529 AR: [((ride))]  
530 AZ: [zero qua]rantanove ottanta[du:e ( )-]  
531 LC: [(e allora)] ((guarda FZ)) c'erano  
532 due o tre:: (.) società americane che sono fallite per-  
533 AR: ((ride e guarda FZ))  
534 FZ: ((sorridente)) per colpa tua.  
535 AR: se uno non mette la password nel: nella sua: (.)  
536 FZ: (se non la protegge sì)  
537 MR: (problemi suoi infatti)  
538 (.)  
539 LC: capisci (dovevano anche mettere) [( )]  
540 AR: [(generosame-)]  
541 AR: no (.) ma io non gli do mica dei danni  
542 MR: e noi in realtà sappiamo che tu facevi i brute force attack  
543 e:: ((muove la mano in aria velocemente da sinistra a destra  
544 tracciando una linea))  
545 FZ: scrocchi so:lo  
546 (.)  
547 AR: scrocco ma è giusto se uno mette di- ma- ma la è uno[:]-  
548 LC: [( )]  
549 da casa sua l'energia elettrica ((sposta il braccio destro in



582 *tasto di avvio chiamata e porge il cellulare a LC)*  
583 LC: [*((prende il cellulare e lo avvicina all'orecchio sinistro))*]  
584 LC: [grazie. ]  
585 (..)  
586 LC: (*si presenta e chiede via telefono di parlare con*  
587 *l'assessore)*)  
588 AZ: che dice?  
589 (..)  
590 LC: come- (.) no e stava parlando al telefono da un'altra parte  
591 dice di richiamarlo tra dieci minuti=  
592 MR: =intanto sa già che faremo la ricerca è già qualcosa.  
593 (.)  
594 LC: mi dai il numero ( ) così lo memorizzo  
595 (...)  
596 AZ: e::::  
597 (.)  
598 MR: è ufficialmente informato che faremo la ricerca  
599 FZ: [*((ride))*]  
600 AR: [*((ride))*]  
601 AZ: [*((ride))*]  
602 MR: (*solleva e abbassa velocemente il capo*) vabbé  
603 LC: [*((scrive))*]  
604 AZ: [uno trenta]sei (.) settantasei (.) due quarantatre (.)  
605 cinquantadue  
606 MR: m:: mi dai:: l'in[dirizzo]  
607 AR: [oppure ] ventisei  
608 (.)  
609 AZ: oppure ventisei  
610 MR: mi dai l'indirizzo di:: di- di irene si chiama giusto  
611 AR: [( )]  
612 LC: [dunque lui è ass]essore:  
613 (.)

614 AZ: allora lui è gomie::ro (..) francesco gomiero (.) sì

## When the organisational level is mistaken for the interpersonal

12-03-08-1-ita

1 LC: (.) ops. (.) ((a MR)) senti (.) non è proprio necessario che  
 2 tutt(h)o (.)  
 3 MR: be: ma non scriverò:: insomma vabbé (.)  
 4 LC: (.) per me: toglie la spontaneità adesso: (.) facciamolo  
 5 tacere per una mezz'oretta e:? (.)  
 6 MR: (..)  
 7 LC: com'è che non vuoi:  
 8 MR: e no: perché:: per p- p- p- p:oi mi dice che non ho un corpus  
 9 per la ricerca  
 10 LC: io:?  
 11 MR: e: p- poi mi dice che non c'è un co[rpus]  
 12 LC: [a: p]erché secondo te uno  
 13 dovrebbe registrare tutto anche se uno va in ba:gno  
 14 MR: [(.) no ] q- quello che si riesce  
 15 LC: [(allora!)]  
 16 LC: be: ma se io- se adesso io dico preferisco togliere tu  
 17 dovresti togliere senza difficoltà no  
 18 MR: va be ((*si sentono suoni di pulsanti, avvicina*  
 19 *la mano al registratore audio per spegnere*))  
 20 LC: no invece lascialo andare non me ne importa niente ma (.) è  
 21 una visione un po::: (.) cioè non è che noi dobbiamo avere  
 22 (.) tutta[::]  
 23 MR: [no] ma se ho un minimo di continuità (.) è meglio  
 24 per:  
 25 LC: (lo vedo) ma perché hai registrato:: [(.) qualsiasi=  
 26 MR: [due ore]  
 27 LC: =mome:nto  
 28 MR: due ore finora  
 29 LC: sì (.) non come quantità (.) come continuità sarà il cento  
 30 per cento no:  
 31 MR: (.) s:[i]  
 32 LC: [n]o (.) be dai va be (.) va be.

## The interplay between liability and a shared theoretical perspective

12-03-08-3-ita

- 119 LC: senti dovre- dovremo fargli fare (.) quattro perco:rsi. (.)  
120 per cui loro dovrebbero avere (.) in comune una visio- (.)  
121 questa qua è una cosa che sta sullo sfondo che ha la nancy no  
122 (.) loro lo sanno ma non è oggetto della loro tesi. .hh poi  
123 dovrebbero avere un'idea (.) di queste pratiche no (.) e poi  
124 descrivere dei percorsi particolari no (.) tra l'altro  
125 facendo (.) il clinico va benissimo che si concentrino sul  
126 caso no  
127 (.)  
128 MR: quindi dovrebbero andare su delle interviste:  
129 LC: bisognerebbe che adesso una o due interviste  
130 MR: attualmente non ce le abbiamo perché ci aveva detto [di non]=  
131 LC: [certo ]  
132 MR: =andare sugli utenti  
133 (.)  
134 LC: come:  
135 MR: attualmente non ce le abbiamo: perché ci aveva detto di non  
136 andare sugli utenti quindi (.)  
137 LC: sì. (.) cioè avevamo deciso no (.) o::[: (.) anch]e: (.) mi=  
138 MR: [sì sì sì sì]  
139 LC: sembra di aver detto a(hh) (.) cioè ne abbiamo parlato  
140 insieme no=  
141 MR: =sì. (.) no io avevo espresso qualche perplessità [( )]=  
142 LC: [sì:? ]  
143 MR: =(.) perché s- s- sapevo che non avremmo avuto nie(h)nte d-  
144 di utile se non saremmo andati s- si ricorda che avevo che=  
145 MR: =[ (.) ] che forse=  
146 LC: [sì ]  
147 LC: =ma io ero molto ( ) non (è il problema no) (.) però  
148 adesso direi (.) poi c'erano dei momenti sembrava che appunto  
149 la struttura avesse difficoltà ad accoglierci e tra l'altro  
150 (.) le difficoltà sono state adesso superate (.) di fatto (.)  
151 ma non abbiamo ancora la convenzione nonostante tutti: no  
152 [(.)] per cui:: (.) cioè io ho una responsabilità verso=  
153 MR: [m: ]  
154 LC: =queste persone domani mi telefona: (.) (una persona) e dice

155 (.) perché siete qui non abbiamo neanche firmato una  
156 convenzione (.) è ve:ro che ci siamo parlati con l'assessore  
157 eccetera però (.) è mio dovere essere prudenti in questo  
158 camp[o ([.)]] e:: certe volte m: antonietta per esempio era=  
159 AR: [m m[: ]]  
160 MR: [m::]  
161 LC: =molto perplessa ultimamente invece mi sembra (.) che i  
162 contatti con gli operatori son diventati molto: cordiali  
163 proprio no (.)  
164 AR: sì essenzialmente:: (.) all'anagrafe (..) è più: (.)  
165 tranquillo perché c'è sempre ali (.) le volte che andiamo  
166 generalmente c'è ali e (poi abbiamo) degli appuntamenti.  
167 (.) al mici della urp c'è sempre sto problema che non si sa  
168 (.) e: (.) e in più con la giacomelli non si è capi- (.) cioè  
169 adesso: (.) bo:.

## How methodology and time shape decisions and interaction

### 19-12-07-ita

322 LC: occhei (.) allora può andar bene così:?  
323 (.)  
324 AR: m::a (.) noi parliamo con: (.) con gli opera- gli operatori  
325 del mici non con con gli impiegati della anagrafe  
326 LC: ma io direi a questo punto di parlare con tutti non puoi dire  
327 (.) tu: sei (.) no tu non sei per-  
328 AR: cioè ma sono (.) due posti ben di- cioè voglio dire (.) noi  
329 con gli impiegati per esempio del (.) dell'urp a parte quelli  
330 che c'erano nella sala di consultazione: [( )]  
331 LC: [ma la mia] domanda  
332 è e::: questi altri gestiscono:: e:: conversazioni con gli  
333 immigrati:  
334 (.)  
335 AR: e no (.) non lo so nella misura in cui gli immigrati:  
336 (.)  
337 LC: appunto. nella misura in cui vengono e toccano anche loro ci  
338 interessano  
339 AR: sì ma loro non sanno niente di (.) ciè-  
340 LC: appunto (andiamo domandi e lì vedi)  
341 (..)



342 AR: m:  
343 LC: cioè questi qua sono- (.) gli impiegati ti hanno visto  
344 l'altra volta anzi si sentiranno fortemente esclusi no  
345 AR: no il: quelli che sono [arrivati]  
346 LC: [tu vai l]i parli con tre persone non  
347 vuoi gli altri due (.) non dobbiamo [(chiedere)/(credere)]  
348 AR: [quelli che so]no  
349 in sala di consultazione e: un:: uno (.) con uno ci siamo  
350 presentati prima di andare via veramente perché non avevamo  
351 cioè  
352 LC: appunto quindi cioè  
353 AR: e gli altri sono molto impegnati non è che possiamo andare  
354 allo sportello e dire scusate loro non sanno niente, non  
355 hanno parlato con nessuno, non (.) cioè non ho non non solo  
356 LC: o anto senti allora  
357 (..)  
358 AR: non hanno nessuna relazione con la giacomelli voglio dire  
359 sono due  
360 LC: a noi non ce ne frega niente no che abbiamo una relazione con  
361 giacomelli cioè (...) allora (...) cioè allora n: dentro il  
362 comune ci sono: (.) molte linee di differenza cioè allora (.)  
363 questo servizio che è il mici dipende da una signora che si  
364 chiama giacomelli che fa capo a un assessorato che si chiama  
365 (.) quello che è::? (..) che è quello della sangati. poi ci  
366 sono l'anagrafe invece. allora ci sono queste distinzioni no  
367 (..) che da un lato è molto importante ten- considerare no  
368 (.) allora noi abbiamo avuto l'occhei e un (.) dialogo con  
369 (..) sta giacomelli, (.) gli altri li abbiamo cercati non  
370 abbiamo ancora con- (..) non abbiamo avuto ancora degli  
371 occhei formali eccetera (.) però (.) da un altro punto di  
372 vista qui: (.) e: sono persone che lavorano con appartenenze  
373 diverse nello stesso contesto (.) e allora dal punto di vista  
374 metodologico la cosa corretta cioè noi non siamo degli  
375 impiegati che so::, delle imposte che devono andare, loro  
376 hanno autorità nel settore a: o nel settore bi: noi (.) dal  
377 momento in cui andiamo lì quello lì è un ambiente di lavoro  
378 per noi allora (..) la caratteristica di un (.) di un lavoro  
379 etnograficamente orientato (.) è di lavorare (.)  
380 fondamentalmente sulla relazione chiarificando (..) cosa si è

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

381           lì a fare perché è un dovere (.) e quindi presentandosi come  
382           avete fatto l'altra volta presentando anche figure nuove via  
383           via che arrivano (.) presentandole a voce ma anche nei fatti  
384           per esempio il fatto di tornare la settimana dopo invece che  
385           due mesi dopo è una presentazione no arrivano altre figure  
386           potrebbe esserci addirittura l'allarme cioè (invece di due ne  
387           vengono) ((ride)) altre e diventano cinquanta e offrire agli  
388           altri la possibilità di presentarsi loro no ovviamente se  
389           questi hanno da fare (..) e io li lascerò lavorare però  
390           l'idea è di cercare di dire senta quando ha un minuto le  
391           spieghiamo perché siamo qui allora che (.) poi loro non  
392           parlino con voi perché non possono (.) è una cosa che loro  
393           non parlino con voi perché voi non vi rivolgete a loro è  
394           un'altra no e quindi (come dire) (..) e:: quanto più diventate  
395           delle presenze visibili tanto più (..) potete a: scavalcare  
396           queste barriere:: (...) ma pur dicendo cioè abbiamo parlato  
397           con la giacomelli e la:: però (.) molte volte ci sono lavori  
398           che la gente fa insieme no (e allora) io sono di qua loro  
399           sono di là (.) quindi non è che (.) io passo e io parlo no-  
400           (.) parlo con loro e non con voi perché sarebbe addirittura  
401           una forma di esclusione (.) questo io penserei. (.) e:: (.) e  
402           quindi direi di coinvolgere (.) nella misura del possibile se  
403           non sono lì che lavorano certo=  
404 LC:        =non vado lì [(e dico)    ] giusto=  
405 LC:    [[((batte il pugno destro sul tavolo))]  
406 LC:        =chiaro  
407 AR:        sì sì no nel senso volevo dire che sono due (..) sono due  
408           >sono due funzioni completamente=  
409 AR:        =di[verse< il cis]i è ospitato lì de:ntro ma è=  
410 LC:        [ho capito però]  
411 AR:        = (.) non ci interazioni cioè non non non [sono]  
412 LC:    [ma c]osa ne  
413           sappiamo sei andata una volta e già sai che non ci sono  
414           interazioni  
415 AR:        cioè fanno (.) no voglio dire fanno cose completamente  
416           diverse [cioè ( )]  
417 LC:    [va be' se]nz'altro si vedono no vedono la ragazza  
418           che è venuta l'altra volta cioè (.) in un ambiente di lavoro  
419           quanto meno la curiosità no cosa son venuto cosa hanno fatto

420           (.) se non gestiscono problemi di::<: immigrazione (..) e be e  
421           non c'è motivo ma anche così (.) è più giusto dirglielo no a  
422           dire noi stiamo qui seguendo le pr- anche noi però certe  
423           volte oppure dice noi purtroppo ci occupiamo solo di (..)  
424           allora (..) no (.) però vanno coinvolti lasciando a loro la  
425           scelta del (.) come posizionarsi, se possibile questa volta  
426           se valutate opportuno (.) magari ((guarda MR)) registrare  
427           qualcosa e provare a sentire qualcosa: (..) cioè il punto che  
428           indebolisce un po- no il punto: molto positivo è che siete  
429           due tre (.) senza ali no il punto che indebolisce un  
430           pochino ma è anche un bene (.) è che non c'è ali se no si  
431           poteva già cominciare a parlare con (.) però una certa  
432           gradualità non è che bisogna: aggredire no (.) e:: e poi  
433           bisognerebbe fare un pochino il piano per subito dopo natale  
434           no (.) e dopo la (.) la befana insomma no in modo da (.) far  
435           lavorare anche queste signorine (.) no (.) va bene (.) va  
436           bene così o dobbiamo dire o fare altro (.) io credo queste  
437           cose (.) più di tanto non possono essere pre programmate cosa  
438           dici francesca

### When the unsaid makes a difference

21-05-08

1    LC:       (.) ok so we've an introduction [then (.) ]  
2    MR:                                        [(it's not] just) the  
3           introduction because he say:s that chap (..) excuse me er: if  
4           i interrupt you. (.) he says th:- there are ma:: because we'd  
5           like to focus exactly by starting from this paper this is why  
6           i insist (.) hh he says that there are three modalities o::  
7           of intercultural mediation it seems to me. (.) one (.) in  
8           which mediators act as an interface (.) betwee::n migrants  
9           and organization (..) the other in which they want::<:  
10          tha[t:::]  
11   LC:        [this]: (.) panareda  
12   MR:        yes this (.) [th:: the]  
13   LC:                                        [that an]yway is no:t [(panareda)] (.) he's=  
14   AR:                                        [may i            ]  
15   LC:        =called augustì  
16   MR:        m. (.) the other in [in ie: (.) th:- (.) i:-]=  
17   LC:                                        [his surname is augustì ]

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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18 MR: =the o:: the other in which (.) in which you want that mi-  
19 that migrants adapt (.) themselves to social syste::m of::  
20 (.) of host society he uses exactly host society, (.) and the  
21 other that that that is one- that:: that is the ideal one  
22 that says there would be a modality (.) in which mediators  
23 act as a third figure to allow (.) to change also  
24 organizations.  
25 (.)  
26 AR: no bu::t (.) excuse me [maybe ]=  
27 MR: [tell me tell me]  
28 AR: =one by- essentially from the organization's point of v- of  
29 host society that- [(.) ] the other from migrants point of=  
30 MR: [yeah]  
31 AR: =view i mean almost he talks almost about a reques::t (.)  
32 e:r:: a trade union request [let's say a] claim  
33 MR: [e:r ]  
34 MR: ok. a::nd and and he says there: there's a- there's a- there  
35 are there are these ones and the third one: that:: one about  
36 modifying also organization (.) which in his opinion would  
37 be the ideal one is never put into practice. (..) in::  
38 in:: in our opinion as much as we saw (.) there's a missing  
39 step that he doesn't do (..) that's to say why no:- why these  
40 one are put into practice and why the other one is not  
41 put into practice. (..) because in our opinion he does not  
42 take into consideration that (.) and here we'd we'd like to  
43 use it also in the title, that mediation is a situated  
44 context. that's to say to understand what kind of mediation  
45 is the best within a certain system (..) it's necessary first  
46 to consider the type of organization in which mediation is  
47 situated (..) and here we'd like to start and go on (.)  
48 beginning by this thing that he doesn't say.  
49 (...)  
50 LC: right you left out (.) the (..) martinez. [(.)]=  
51 MR: [m::]  
52 LC: =knowingly or not?  
53 AR: no.  
54 MR: no no (.) you cou[ld put it]  
55 LC: [not know]ingly? so you [can also put it=  
56 AR: [no we thought of=

57 LC: =again?]

58 AR: =i::t ] actually it's no::t written but we thought of it  
59 where we say (.) mediation approaches in literature (.) and  
60 an intercultural position=yes we haven't specified it (.) but  
61 near to panareda or:: augustí right (..) will be martinez and  
62 then you see what else there i::s i mean noth- little but (.)  
63 there's (.) something in italia:n

64 LC: yes ok (..) so now we have to see if it's better to write it  
65 this way but anyway we have all data isn't it? (..) because  
66 now it's necessary to see (.) i mean exactly how i'd see it  
67 i'd see first (...) interculture (...) that's to say the  
68 introduction (.) it says just how's the arti[cle]=

69 AR: [yes]

70 LC: =(names) concepts we have to introduce (.) we think  
71 interculture, (..) because of interculture: (..) er:: the  
72 object, (..) and methodo:logies (..) are territory, (...) i  
73 mean this one for me (..) is a strong discourse (.) this is  
74 the discourse you did.

75 MR: m: [m: ]

76 AR: [but] do you mean (.) that this one how: [mh:: s/he's=

77 LC: [it derives=

78 AR: =speaking]

79 LC: =from ] interculture's principle

80 AR: right but the:: the structure of the (.) paper [or::: ]

81 LC: [yeah yeah]

82 i'm talking about the article's structure.

83 AR: but it's the argumenta- mh: (.) i mean this would be all  
84 paragraphs or it's:

85 LC: no it's the concept

86 AR: uh ok

87 LC: yes paragraphs. (.) not not not sections always but [(.)]=

88 AR: [m: ]

89 LC: =paragraphs that's to say-=

90 MR: =what should be there

91 LC: one concept at a time [right]

92 AR: [m: ]

93 LC: so (.) would we like to do a work on inter- on intercultural  
94 mediation. for this reason we have i'd begin what's  
95 interculture (.) and what's territory then (.) it's a link

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

96 very (.) strong isn't it  
97 AR: yes (.) we thought of it like this (.) thing here  
98 LC: yes (.) yes yes i see i'm rephrasing it [(.) ] in my=  
99 AR: [yes yes yes]  
100 LC: =way right (...) yes (.) it's this one  
101 AR: yes right i: i i:: i wondered basically=  
102 AR: =[this way or more:: ]  
103 LC: [er this way (.) right] just you'll see how [it becomes,]=  
104 AR: [uh ok ]  
105 LC: =what it's necessary to do: (.) e::r in my opinion the  
106 problem is too see what's (.) the way all steps right [(.) ]  
107 AR: [m: m:]  
108 LC: that's to say what it justifies right (...) a::nd then here  
109 so there's a discourse on mediation and there are (...)  
110 models  
111 AR: (...) yes exactly here we wondered what is the link and  
112 exactly:-  
113 LC: er er: right so you say we'd like to do a work on  
114 intercultural because [(.) ] that's what comes=  
115 AR: [m: m:]  
116 LC: =first right [(.)] then mediation (.) models and here=  
117 AR: [yeah]  
118 LC: we've different sources of models right (...) even if  
martinez  
119 summarized them into three models do you remember?  
120 (...)  
121 AR: yes  
122 LC: (then)/(they were) those ones .hhh ok so mediation there are  
123 these models (...) we::: which one do we choose  
124 AR: we which one do we choose (.) exactly here [we thought ]=  
125 LC: [no no(.)no(.)yes]  
126 AR: =i mean approaches and then the intercultural vision on  
127 media[tion]  
128 LC: [o:ur]  
129 AR: our  
130 LC: yes (..) we say the same thing (..) [there's ( )]  
131 AR: [no i'm saying the]=  
132 AR: =logic [is ]  
133 LC: [yes] it means (..) yes situated ((*english*)) yes

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134 AR: let's say the intercultural vi- our view of mediation  
135 LC: i mean given that- so mediation is carried on these and those  
136 ways (.) this way this way this way (...) m: m: when we  
137 present them we say where we position ourselves [right?]  
138 AR: [yes ]  
139 perfect  
140 LC: this is o:k (.) this is like the observation you did right?  
141 MR: yes  
142 LC: it's necessary to avoid to (.) foul up too much by the way  
143 [(..)] so let's say we then we've this model right?=  
144 AR: [( )]  
145 LC: =(..[.] we]ll then three (...) er::: organization no (...)=  
146 AR: [m m: ]  
147 LC: =er here i'd say not to talk of cultural psychology that (.)  
148 has been introduced right? then we write (.) third concept  
149 is organization (the) council (.) right? (.) and? [(..)]=  
150 AR: [a:::]  
151 LC: =and then inside (...) [(that o- that other)]  
152 AR: [but (..) how's ] tha:t? i mean  
153 we thought organi- [er::: ]  
154 LC: [yes (.)] this cultural psychology of  
155 organizations (...) well now (.) [i mean st- ]  
156 AR: [yes from a theoretical  
157 perspective (.) not [to introduce a specific=  
158 LC: [yes yes (.) yes yes yes (.) yes yes=  
159 AR: =object ]  
160 LC: =( )] (...) ok it seems to me that these are let's call  
161 them all general theoretical parts right (.) theoretical  
162 methodological no wait (...) then there's a part (..) more  
163 situated [(..) of research (.) yes (.)]=  
164 AR: [er: but it's lacki:::ng the pa::rt (.)]=  
165 AR: =[of c d a ]  
166 LC: =[of critical] discourse analysis yes (...) so here we pu:t  
167 (..) these are theoretical references that are good in  
168 general [right?]  
169 AR: [m: m: ]=  
170 MR: =yes.  
171 LC: so here (.) you say (.) our research object now i don't know  
172 you: name it this way but [(..)] what is (..) so: (...)=

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173 AR: [m: ]  
174 LC: specific methodology well here it's better to write cultural  
175 psychology and (...) ↓°critical discourse analysis° ( )  
176 (...) well here we say yes (.) research fi:eld i mean the  
177 object right? (.) the research where (.) you are more  
178 detailed then here (.) we've to see (...) i mean some things  
179 about the council and so on you cannot write them here wh-  
180 what to write there and what to put here right?  
181 AR: m:  
182 LC: but there it's necessary that you find some general  
183 references here council, (...) counters and so son and so son  
184 the rese:arch right? corp:us a::nd so on right? (..) i'd say  
185 AR: yes we ha- i don't know we thought (.) to put c d a here  
186 before corpus but n: yes [maybe ]  
187 LC: [but no] it's ok: in both cases by  
188 the way (.) then you see [i mean ]  
189 AR: [i mean to (.)] do er depe- (.) u:  
190 ok. (..) cause we thought this one of psychology of- (.) of  
191 organizations as (.) let's say [the link between- ]  
192 LC: [yes yes yes (.) right] i  
193 understood a- as a discourse [yes i understood perfectly]  
194 AR: [but yes the:n (.) whe]n we  
195 [write about it we see where it's]  
196 LC: [no because otherwise (.) yes so ] at a certain point-  
197 moreover also zuccheromaglio uses discourse and so on e:nd  
198 (..) it depends on how we d[o it i] mean we can do it (.) i:=  
199 AR: [m: ]  
200 LC: =in such a way that this one is (...) less then one pa:ge  
201 (..) so that we already explained a:ll (.) or we can write  
202 something more here. (.) now we see.  
203 AR: we tried to have a loo:k a little to=  
204 AR: =[structure of- of article:s ]  
205 LC: [i mean (.) the important thing] it that there are some data  
206 right= (.) no we must not m: insist too much on this because  
207 this is- (..) or you say look it's important because padova  
208 is important a unique thing (...) i mean it's not like that  
209 we don't have any reason right? ↓on the contrary italy is a  
210 backward country from this point of vie (..) so:: you should  
211 it me::ans given that we studied here right? ↓anyway we



212 we'll see it at a second moment in time. (.) anyway here  
213 there is [all data (.) ] that refer to our specific  
214 research=  
215 AR: [m: (.) i understood]  
216 LC: =and there some general issues more (.) er:: i think that in  
217 the previous article we manages to s- to: (.) first to do  
218 some introductions well also a little::: (.) >because< there  
219 was citizenship and so on but (.) before general discourses  
220 we said also we are here ok? (..) well (.) right (.) but wh-  
221 what i cared about was that (.) there's a logic:: and (.)  
222 also (..) also (.) some contents i mean we've- we'll have  
223 something to say right (...) what does presentation of  
224 results mean.  
225 (.)  
226 AR: e:r (.) well because we had a look a little to the structure  
227 of articles: (.) of human relations and after they do (.)  
228 after the section of (..) er they call:: i don't know: data  
229 and methods i don't know (.) they make a findings section  
230 where (..) they present (.) let's say results and  
231 afterwa::rds [(.) th]ere's a sort of presentation (.)  
232 MR: [( )]  
233 LC: gene[ral ( )]  
234 AR: [general and t]hen they mak[e:: their di]scussion=  
235 MR: [it's=a (.) it's=a]  
236 AR: =(.) the argumentation  
237 MR: it's a format that comes from a different kind that they u-  
238 they use almost always within this journal  
239 LC: yes [yes]  
240 AR: [to ] orient let's say the argumenta[::: ]  
241 LC: [yes yes] instead of  
242 doing it later as discussion  
243 MR: no they do it also later [it's just that here] they write a=  
244 AR: [they do it al- ]  
245 MR: little page  
246 LC: y[es]  
247 MR: [t]o: (to) say main results are these now we show them.  
248 AR: but [by the way]  
249 LC: [so th]en but now the problem is this one (...)  
250 MR: and here there's what we said with ali in practice (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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251 that comes out  
252 (...)  
253 AR: there's our mediation ri::ght  
254 MR: yes (.) our mediation [between (.) between] what ali said=  
255 AR: [(laughs) ]  
256 MR: =and a (.) and an [outline ]  
257 AR: [(laughs)] (and)/(it's) we say t(h)at.  
258 LC: so it's a body ( ) national of what mediators are (.)  
259 brilliant (...) yes so then basically (.) what we n- i read  
260 here what you said before  
261 MR: yes (.) that's what >we [cen-< ]  
262 LC: [yes yes] so oversimplifying (...) yes  
263 right it's ↓unnecessary to repeat it (...) [so (.) ]=  
264 AR: [then there's t-]  
265 LC: =national documents laws right (.)  
266 AR: and here there's the issue that there's not almost anything  
267 LC: ok (.) who [cares]  
268 MR: [let's ] say  
269 AR: no no exact- i say the argumentation  
270 LC: yes [yes (.)]  
271 AR: [is that] but (.) there's a empty  
272 LC: it's its' already very interesting  
273 AR: yes yes right i'm [telling the thesis ]  
274 LC: [yes (.) yes yes yes]  
275 AR: not as [a problem ]  
276 LC: [yes yes yes] yes yes exactly empty (...) then local  
277 documents (...) that's filled as best one can right?  
278 AR: and here there's the discourse excuse me if (.) i introduce  
279 (al)so here we wrote locali:st model (.) that answers partly  
280 to what also we (...) thought:: with the discourse about  
281 neighborhoo:ds, that's to say of (.) of town level, about  
282 which we wrote also in the last cha:pter, that:: by quoting  
283 amin:, (.) town as pla:ce of- of let's say defini:tions o::f-  
284 (.) of politi:cs, of: place of meeting and so on. (.) er:::  
285 o::ne thing that ali said is exactly that's a:: (.) let's  
286 say a:: sociolo:gical the:ory a sociolo:gical model according  
287 to which (.) er:: it's called exactly localist model  
288 according to which for immigratio:n (.) as ↓i understood  
289 (...) er: let's say th:: m: (.) it arrives first the: loca:l

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290 (.) for making some: (..) some s- (..) m: so- some decisio:ns  
291 some solutions (..) and then later there's let's say a:  
292 comeback to la:[w (..) so there's a delay by la:w ]  
293 LC: [yes yes (..) (it's better) if we look at: (..) this liter]  
294 ature on localist model ri:ght=  
295 MR: =m: m:  
296 AR: yes. (..) by the way i found something but it's better:  
297 LC: yes yes (..) we see. alright so here it's ok then (..) all  
298 (..) byla:ws (..) these are general documents (..) then bylaws  
299 right  
300 (.)  
301 MR: m: m: ,  
302 AR: yes  
303 LC: (..) bylaws and so on (...) listen but at this point does the  
304 model co:me [out ri:::ght]  
305 AR: [((coughs)) ]  
306 (...)  
307 LC: i mean what (..) i'd:: wonder if this thing doesn::'t happen  
308 AR: ((coughs))  
309 LC: (hey) allergy (..) you too?  
310 AR: er i don't know i should have:: a consultation  
311 (...)  
312 LC: no what i wondered was so w:- we what we'll do when we have  
313 all these docume:nts (...) some pieces obviously we really  
314 don't need right (.)=  
315 MR: [yes (..) yes yes ( )]  
316 LC: =we us[e then some little pie]ces (..) er::: so we c- could  
317 write down a- (..) a model the model and a map (..) a model  
318 and a organisational map so we say (..) based on what we said  
319 (..) national laws a::?nd what (..) exists in padova in name  
320 only is this model (..) that we situate in relation to those  
321 we saw before right?  
322 MR: o: o:  
323 LC: and this way this organisational structure is implemented  
324 (..) mici:, things, right?  
325 MR: y[:es ]  
326 LC: [it's]? this way: [(.)] and then wait=  
327 MR: [m::]  
328 LC: =[ (.) ] because then this is the heart=

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329 MR: [m: ]  
330 LC: =of the pa[per] (.) and then interviews with mediators=  
331 MR: [er:]  
332 LC: =and ethnographic observations say us (.) what actually  
333 happens (...) you can't say that something diffe:rent happens  
334 but anyway:: (.) what the heck is going on during these  
335 moments (.) it's corre:ct?  
336 (.)  
337 LC: no.  
338 MR: n:o er::: the th- the th- the thing would be (.) in li- in  
339 literature these are expected (.) in literature in last  
340 articles we say (.) and a- also here he says there are plenty  
341 of them it's us- just these three (.) are used what a pity  
342 that it doesn't- [it doesn't]-  
343 LC: [but ] excuse me usually they're  
344 alternative models right (.) so it's not true that all of  
345 them should be used. there're options right? (.) [(i me)an]  
346 AR: [bu::t]  
347 MR: yes [but]  
348 AR: [but] you consider that here he by the way (.) saw a w-  
349 wi- wide range also of services. [(.) i] mean mediators=  
350 LC: [y:es ]  
351 AR: =within different services  
352 LC: yes  
353 AR: and he looks at mo[de:l]s (.) and also to modalitie:s (.)=  
354 LC: [(ao)]  
355 AR: =that have been adopted by (.) by mediators i mean [(.)] the=  
356 LC: [yes]  
357 AR: =model of mediation and also (.) in quotes techniques [the:]  
358 LC: [yes ]  
359 yes yes but i mean so it doesn't make too much sense to say  
360 but then why they don't do also that other mediation because  
361 they are doing this one (...) do i make myself clear? no  
362 (.)  
363 AR: yes ok i mean he says there's a loss of balan- that's to say  
364 what lacks let's say is the intercultural (..) version of  
365 mediation that it that one that (.) apart from let's say from  
366 (..) simplifying to one one a::: operativity: of  
367 assimi[lation that's to say (..)] of normalization in quotes=

368 LC: [i understood i understood]  
369 AR: =also a (.) modality that e:r brings to discuss or=  
370 AR: =[to rethink modalities ]=  
371 LC: [i understood i understood]  
372 AR: =of- (.) of institution=  
373 LC: =[i understood]  
374 MR: [nearly to ] [nea- ]  
375 LC: [and t]his thing you said would be based on  
376 what (.) on the model on both on the model that comes out hhh  
377 from documents and also on that one that then you see::  
378 MR: exactly  
379 LC: is it [like that? is it t]his one: (.)  
380 MR: [al alm- ]  
381 (.)  
382 AR: [yes (it's)]  
383 LC: [i mean ] the:: t:: the element of interest is a  
384 comparison between what comes out from documents (.) and on  
385 the other side (.) what we saw during interview:s and during  
386 observations (.) or (.) between (.) these two thing  
387 considered together and the general picture that has been  
388 created be:fore?  
389 (...)  
390 MR: perhaps a different third thing [(.)] er:: (..) m: i er: (.)=  
391 LC: [o::]  
392 MR: =i explain it by starting from what ali said because we  
393 it's from there that we came there (..) here all all all all  
394 mediators have b- have been hired as mediators (..) foh: as:  
395 figures that in theory are external. (.) they found  
396 themselves within an organisational context in which (.) they  
397 have a big need::: for operators (.) and where in practice  
398 they work as dependent employees because they've a boss  
399 they've set working hours and so on (.) and so er::: the:::  
400 the kind of mediation that's expected (.) when they're hired  
401 is not applied but (..) it's appl- another one is applied and  
402 this thing could be (.) argued by all documents that ali  
403 mentioned (..) and here we'd like to say also to this paper::  
404 m:: er:: (.) that (.) that underlines that some models are  
405 used instead of some others (.) why because it's necessary to  
406 consider the organisational context (.) and mediation has to

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407 be re-thought of as a situated concept  
408 LC: what has to do with it has to be re-thou- sorry ri:ght if i  
409 interrupt you i i say [ho- be]cause because i lose the=  
410 MR: [please]  
411 LC: =thread very much [(.)] so we made (.) a reasoning in which=  
412 MR: [yes]  
413 LC: =first we say (..) there's a wide literature that says x y z  
414 and we take position let's say ↓for us this is good right?  
415 hhh (...) then well er:: we say we do the research results as  
416 results (.) we say here there's a: (.) series of documents  
417 that say us that here mediation is (.) a (.) a certain thing  
418 ( ) and one right? then we did also a series of different  
419 observations (..) ↓let's call them ethnographic interviews  
420 and so on (.) that say us what do they say us the same thing  
421 (.) or the same thing in a different manner (..) or (.) in a  
422 way they contest these documents (..) they show their  
423 inadequa:cy or  
424 (.)  
425 AR: i see (..) a m ze:ro that is (.) the empty in which that (.)  
426 partly apart from the model let's say of (.) i mean apart the  
427 issue (.) of situated mediation (..) as a theoretical aspect  
428 there's also the consideration that given that there's a m  
429 zero that's to say a mo- given that there's not a clear model  
430 that's defined at a institutional (.) level (..)=  
431 AR: =[at a loca:l level ]  
432 LC: [yes let's call it le]vel one right (.) so model one that is  
433 lacking so this  
434 AR: yes there's not a model[: one: (.) shared so (.) in ]=  
435 LC: [yes ok you got it i understood (so)]=  
436 AR: =[practice there there are (..) it's not (.)] there's not a=  
437 LC: =[it's what it is (.) yes then ]  
438 AR: =law you should follo[w here]  
439 LC: [i unde]rstood so let me understand so  
440 when you take all these documents and: (.) you say here  
441 there's a model let's call it one to say that (.) it's that  
442 one used here right?  
443 AR: the loca:l one so.  
444 LC: yes (..) that (..) is in counter- i mean:: it's inadequate  
445 respect to all we said before right? (...) but when you said

446 that's a model zero you meant that it's inadequa[te]  
447 AR: [no] model  
448 zero i referred to the lacking of (..) e::r (..) of a national  
449 shared picture on mediatio:n i mean there's not a figure  
450 [a profession, there's not a law (..) the †lo]cal:=  
451 LC: [i understood i understood (..) but at a certain point]  
452 AR: =(.) model is an answer to lackings of=  
453 AR: =[the national model in specific wa:ys]  
454 LC: [exa:ctly yes yes this one (..) th]is thing we already  
455 said right the localist model and so on we said even before  
456 (..) if i'm not wrong right?  
457 AR: yes bu::t [(.) (i saw:) ]  
458 LC: [o right. (..) so] now (..) you take you these  
459 documents and you say look (..) as (..) as by the way we  
460 expected from locali:st model (..) er::: national documents  
461 are generic local documents on the other side specify what  
462 you have to do (..) then now we from: (..) from (..) docume:nt  
463 we've a (..) paper organization (..) right (..) a [(.) pa]per=  
464 AR: [ye:s ]  
465 LC: =model of the service [(.) ] to which we can then=  
466 AR: [that is]  
467 LC: =compare or add (..) the model that is instead let's call it  
468 ethnographic. (..) what i'd rather like to understand (..) then  
469 (..) later (..) is (..) you want to construct them as coherent  
470 that's to say (..) the ethnographic model explains what (..  
471 docume:nts say you (..) or almost (..) in a certain way  
472 they're alternative.  
473 AR: as::: m:  
474 MR: alternative  
475 AR: yes alt- (..) as distant  
476 LC: as a critic(..)so t- the ethnographic part criticizes what (..  
477 so then documents say that a b c d should happen (..) and you  
478 could say (..) it's not correct according to our theoretical  
479 model but it's a critic that's also weak (..) instead the  
480 strong critic is (..) and in fact ethnographic observation  
481 shows that. is it correct:  
482 AR: yes. (..) let's say that models: (..) in my opinion models:  
483 local papery are (..) partly by the way: (..) e::r i mean  
484 partly incomple- i mean partly (..) in themselves incoherent

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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485 that's to say that there are some things (.) like::: e:::r  
486 (.) the use for instance of different terms in a manner:: (.)  
487 more or less alternative:, they talk of cultura:l mediators,  
488 intercultura:l, (.) and: sociocultura:l, (..) e::r (..)  
489 partly incomplete (.) [so no no not:]=  
490 LC: [ok perfect ]  
491 AR: =(.) and party inco[herent (.)] that's to say they say=  
492 LC: [wait. ]  
493 AR: =there's a need for a mediat[o:r (.)]  
494 LC: [i under]stood wait. (.) stop  
495 there (.) so (.) we got all these documents we lay them  
496 together (...) right then you say what results from these  
497 documents is a loca:l model (.) incoherent (.) for all  
498 reasons we said (.) and incomplete. right. (.) correct:  
499 (.)  
500 LC: but you said that: (.) you just said  
501 AR: er:: yes.  
502 LC: right. (.) so now at a certain po:int (.) that probably will  
503 be two paragraphs but here we go on like it was nothing (.)  
504 let's write ethnographic data and the model that results. is  
505 it correct:  
506 (.)  
507 MR: m m:  
508 (.)  
509 AR: m m:  
510 LC: m:?  
511 MR: yes.  
512 (...)  
513 LC: that's the model: (.) let's call it actua:l and it's this one  
514 that will form (.) the true critic (..) of local or  
515 localistic model that (.) if you say (.) this local model  
516 that doesn't take into acco:unt of: and the:n it's not  
517 supported (.) at a nationa:l level, it hasn't any  
518 consciousne:ss of all these (pese::) and in fa::ct no (.) so  
519 it becomes a sort of (.) er: empirical confirmation of  
520 lackings right (.) and moreover it would be a discourse (.)  
521 really intellectual if we said (.) there are these models  
522 here there's a concrete experience (.) but given that it  
523 doesn't know all models then it's not good right ( )



524 (...) instead (...) er:: you say there's this concrete  
525 experience that is (...) a naive experience because it  
526 doesn't take into account:: in fact (...) this way right (...)  
527 m: (...) where so the key element will be to show where  
528 inconsistencies and incompletenesses are (...) this becomes (...)  
529 if you show it through (...) these ethnographic data (...) more  
530 than through theoretical discourses (...) [is ] it ok (.)=  
531 MR: [m:-]  
532 LC: =is it correct (.) ]  
533 MR: [and a:-] (...) and it will be also:: to show  
534 anyway because this last model we mentioned (...) makes sense  
in  
535 this particular kind of organization because it answers (...)  
536 to particular necessities (...) like: (...) lacking of staff (...)  
537 or to parti- or to particular situations:: (...) the fact that  
538 mediators (...) work like all- all- all others operators (...)  
539 and it's not expected: n:- neither by their hiring contracts  
540 and so on (...)  
541 LC: the conclusion could be mediation as situated activity=  
542 LC: =[ (...) ]=  
543 MR: [it's the title]  
544 LC: =that's to say we throw (...) yes (...) [i saw it but:]=  
545 MR: [ok(h) (hh) ]  
546 LC: =we decided together i think right (...) the title  
547 MR: we changed it  
548 LC: you changed it  
549 AR: no we changed it  
550 MR: we ch(h)anged it  
551 LC: uh then you should say it to me.  
552 MR: ((laughs))  
553 LC: wait then (...) m:: at the end could be::  
554 AR: m:: maybe (...) in discussions [(.) i made it explicit ]  
555 MR: [yes yes (...) first point.]  
556 (...)  
557 MR: that's- that's exactly the step about which (...) about which i  
558 told you that is lacking here  
559 (...)  
560 AR: 'cause marian that's more:: [(.)] schematic you managed: (.)=  
561 MR: [m:?]

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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562 AR: =i get lost  
563 MR: you get lo:st ( )  
564 LC: that one that so we use as element in the discussion (.) and  
565 also::: (.) as conclusion right [(..) ] conclusion (.)=  
566 MR: [exactly]  
567 LC: =that's to say that so to situate within the context and to  
568 situate within the organization right (.)  
569 MR: m m:  
570 (..)  
571 LC: here we'll have to study it a little in a more detailed  
572 manner but (.) at the moment it seems to me that there's this  
573 line: right (..) what do you say (.) to see the title so now  
574 right (.) well by the way we see (that one) afterwards

### 21-05-08-ita

1 LC: (.) occhei allora abbiamo un'introduzione [poi (.)]  
2 MR: [(non è ]solo  
3 l'introduzione perché dice: il tipo (..) scusi e: se la  
4 interrompo. (.) dice c:- ci sono ta:: perché volevamo  
5 concentrarci proprio a partire da questo articolo in questo  
6 senso insisto (.) hh dice che ci sono tre modalità d:: di  
7 mediazione interculturale mi pare. (.) una (.) in cui i  
8 mediatori fanno da interfaccia (.) tra:: i migranti e  
9 l'organizzazione (..) l'altra in cui si vuole::: ch[e::]  
10 LC: [que]sto:  
11 (.) panareda  
12 MR: sì questo (.) [l:: la]  
13 LC: [che poi] non è: [(panareda)] (.) si chiama=  
14 AR: [posso ]  
15 LC: =augusti  
16 MR: m: (.) l'altra in [in ie: (.) l':- (.) i:-]=  
17 LC: [il cognome è augusti ]  
18 MR: =l'a:: l'altra in cui (.) in cui si vuole che i mi- che i  
19 migranti si (.) adattino al sistema sociale:: della:: (.)  
20 della società ospite usa proprio società ospite, (.) e  
21 l'altra che quella che è una- che:: che è quella ideale che  
22 dice ci sarebbe una modalità (.) in cui i mediatori fanno da  
23 figure terze per poter permettere (.) di modificare anche le  
24 organizzazioni.

25 (.)  
26 AR: no però:: (.) scusa [forse ]=  
27 MR: [dimmi dimmi]  
28 AR: =una da- sostanzialmente una dalla parte dell'organi- della  
29 società ospite che- [(.)] l'altra dalla parte dei migranti=  
30 MR: [e: ]  
31 AR: =nel senso quasi lui parla quasi un'istanza:: (.) e:hm::  
32 sindacale diciam[o d]i rivendicazione.  
33 MR: [e:m]  
34 MR: occhei. e:: e e dice ci: c'è u- c'è u- ci sono ci sono  
35 queste qua di cui la terza: quella:: di modificare anche  
36 l'organizzazione (.) che secondo lui sarebbe quella ideale  
37 non viene mai applicata. (..) se:: se:: secondo noi da quello  
38 che abbiamo visto (.) manca un passaggio che lui non fa (..)   
39 ossia perché no:- perché vengono applicate queste e perché  
40 l'altra non viene applicata. (..) perché secondo noi non  
41 considera il fatto che (.) e qua vo volevamo giocarcelo anche  
42 sul titolo, che la mediazione è un contesto situato. cioè per  
43 capire quale tipo di mediazione è più adatta in un certo  
44 sistema (..) occorre innanzi tutto considerare il tipo di  
45 organizzazione dove va a situarsi la mediazione (..) e qua  
46 volevamo cominciare a giocare e andare avanti (.) da questo  
47 che lui non dice.  
48 (...)  
49 LC: dunque avete lasciato fuori (.) il (..) martinez. [(.)]=  
50 MR: [m::]  
51 LC: =deliberatamente o no?  
52 AR: no.  
53 MR: no no (.) ci può [sta ]re  
54 LC: [non ]deliberatamente? cioè si [può anche=  
55 AR: [no lo=  
56 LC: =rimettere? ]  
57 AR: =pensavamo::] in realtà non è:: messo ma lo pensavamo nella  
58 parte in cui diciamo (.) mediazione approcci in letteratura  
59 (.) e una posizione interculturale=sì non abbiamo::  
60 specificato (.) però accanto a panareda o:: augustí insomma  
61 (..) sarà martinez e poi vedere cos'altro c'è:: cioè nie-  
62 poco però (.) c'è (.) qualcosa di italia:no  
63 (..)

### Appendix C – Full transcriptions

64 LC: sì occhei (..) adesso poi dobbiam vedere se conviene metterlo  
65 così ma comunque coi materiali c'è no? (..) perché adesso  
66 bisogna vedere (..) cioè proprio come la vedrei io vedrei  
67 prima (...) intercultura (...) cioè l'introduzione (..) dice  
68 solo com'è l'artico[lo]=  
69 AR: [sì]  
70 LC: =(nomina) i concetti da introdurre noi (..) pensiamo  
71 l'intercultura, (..) per via dell'intercultura: (..) e::  
72 l'oggetto (..) e le metodologi:e (..) sono il territorio,  
73 (...) cioè questo per me(..)è un discorso forte (..) questo è  
74 il discorso che avete fatto voi.  
75 MR: m: [m:]  
76 AR: [ma] nel senso (..) che questo come: [mh:: sta parlando]  
77 LC: [discende dal ]  
78 principio dell'intercultura  
79 AR: no ma la:: la struttura del (..) articolo [o::: ]  
80 LC: [sì sì] sto parlando  
81 della struttura dell'articolo.  
82 AR: ma come argomenta- mh: (..) cioè questo sarebbero i vari  
83 paragrafi o è:  
84 LC: no il concetto  
85 AR: ah occhei  
86 LC: sì paragrafi. (..) non non non le sections sempre ma [(.)]=  
87 AR: [m: ]  
88 LC: =paragrafi nel senso di=  
89 MR: =quello che ci dev'essere  
90 LC: un concetto alla volta [no]  
91 AR: [m:]  
92 LC: allora (..) vogliam fare un lavoro sull'inter- sulla  
93 mediazione interculturale. per questo abbiamo comincerem  
94 cos'è l'intercultura (..) e cos'è il territorio allora (..) è  
95 un legame molto (..) stretto no  
96 AR: sì noi lo avevamo pensato come questo (..) cosa qui  
97 LC: sì (..) sì sì l'ho visto sto riformula:ndo [(.) ] a modo=  
98 AR: [sì sì sì]  
99 LC: =mio no (...) sì (..) è questo qua  
100 AR: sì no m: mi mi:: mi chiedo sostanzialmente [così o più:: ]  
101 LC: [e così (..) no]  
102 proprio si vede come [viene, ]=

103 AR: [ah occhei]  
104 LC: =cosa c'è bisogno di fa:re (.) e::m per me il problema è di  
105 vedere qual è (.) il percorso le tappe no [(.) ]  
106 AR: [m: m:]  
107 LC: cioè che cosa giustifica no (...) e::: poi qui allora c'è il  
108 discorso sulla mediazio:ne e sono (...) i modelli  
109 AR: (...) sì infatti qua ci chiedevamo qual è il collegamento e  
110 appunto:-  
111 LC: e e: no allora tu dici vogliamo fare un lavoro  
112 sull'intercultura perché [(.) ] quello è che quello che=  
113 AR: [m: m:]  
114 LC: =come primo no [(..)] poi la mediazione (.) modelli e qui=  
115 AR: [sì ]  
116 LC: =abbiamo diverse fonti di modelli no (...) per quel che a sua  
117 volta martinez prende e li portava a tre ti rico:rdi?  
118 (...)  
119 AR: sì  
120 LC: (e allora)/(erano) quelli di là .hhh occhei allora  
121 mediazio:ne ci sono questi modelli (...) no:::i quale  
122 prendia:mo  
123 (..)  
124 AR: noi quale prendiamo noi (.) appunto qua [pensavamo ]=  
125 LC: [no no (.)no (.) sì]  
126 AR: =nel senso gli approcci e poi la visione interculturale sulla  
127 media[zione ]  
128 LC: [no:stra]  
129 AR: nostra  
130 LC: sì (..) è la stessa cosa che diciamo (..) [c'è ( )]  
131 AR: [no dico il ]=  
132 AR: =ragionamento [è ] (...)  
133 LC: [sì] cioè (..) sì situated sì  
134 AR: diciamo la visione intercult- la nostra visione  
135 interculturale della mediazione  
136 LC: cioè dato- allora la mediazione è affrontata in questi e  
137 questi modi (.) così così così (...) m: m: nel presentare noi  
138 diciamo dove ci mettiamo noi [no?]  
139 AR: [sì ] perfetto.  
140 LC: c'è questo che va be:ne (.) questo che è come l'osservazione  
141 che hai fatto tu no?

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

142 MR: sì  
143 LC: bisogna evitare di (.) incasinarsi troppo però [(..)]=  
144 AR: [( )]  
145 LC: =per cui diciamo noi allora abbiamo questo modello no?=  
146 LC: =(..[.] be]ne poi tre (...) e::: organizzazione no=  
147 AR: [m m: ]  
148 LC: =(...) e qui io direi di non stare a parlare di psicologia  
149 culturale che (.) viene introdotta no? allora mettiamo (..)  
150 terzo concetto è organizzazione (il) comune (.) no? (..) e?  
151 [(..)]=  
152 AR: [a:::]  
153 LC: =e poi dentro (...) [(quell'a- quell'altro)]  
154 AR: [ma (..) in ] che se:nso? cioè  
155 noi pensavamo organi- [e::: ]  
156 LC: [sì (.)] questo psicologia culturale  
157 delle organizzazioni (...) be adesso (.) [cioè st-]  
158 AR: [sì nel s]enso  
159 teorico (.) non nel [senso di presentazione di uno]=  
160 LC: [sì sì (.) sì sì sì (.) ]=  
161 AR: =[specifico ogge:tto]  
162 LC: [sì sì ( ) ] (...) occhei a me sembra che queste  
163 sono un pò le parti chiamiamole teoriche generali no (.)  
164 teoriche metodologiche no aspetta (...) poi c'è una parte  
165 (..) più situata [(..) della ricerca (.) sì (.) ]=  
166 AR: [e: però manca::: la parte:: (.)]=  
167 AR: =[della ci di a ]  
168 LC: =[della critical] discourse analysis sì (...) allora qui  
169 mettiamo: (..) questi son dei riferimenti teorici che  
170 varrebbero in generale [no? ]  
171 AR: [m: m:]=  
172 MR: =sì.  
173 LC: allora qui (.) dici (.) il nostro oggetto di ricerca adesso  
174 non lo: enunci così ma [(.)] che è (..) allora: (...)=  
175 AR: [m: ]  
176 LC: =la metodologia specifica be qui conviene dire psicologia  
177 culturale e (...) ↓critical discourse analysis° ( )  
178 (...) beh qui diciamo sì (.) l'a:mbito della ricerca insomma  
179 l'oggetto no? (.) la ricerca dove (.) si entra più nei  
180 dettagli poi qui (.) è da vedere (...) cioè alcune cose sul

181 comune eccetera non le puoi mettere qui co- cosa mettere là e  
182 cosa mettere qua no?  
183 AR: m:  
184 LC: però là devono esserci dei riferimenti generali qui comune,  
185 (...) sportelli eccetera eccetera la rice:rca no? il corp:us  
186 e::ccetera no? (...) direi.  
187 AR: sì noi aveva- non so avevamo pensato (.) il ci di a metterlo  
188 qui prima del corpus però n: sì [forse]  
189 LC: [ma no] ci sta: in entrambi i  
190 casi comunque (.) poi si vede [insomma ]  
191 AR: [cioè per (.)] farlo e dipe-  
192 (.) a: occhei. (...) ché noi avevamo pensato questo della  
193 psicologia delle- (.) delle organizzazioni come (.) diciamo  
194 [il gancio tra- ]  
195 LC: [sì sì sì (.) no] l'ho capito c- come un discorso (.) sì  
196 [sì ho capito benissimo]  
197 AR: [però sì poi: (.) quand]o lo [scriviamo si vede dove sta]  
198 LC: [no siccome poi (.) sì cioè] a  
199 un certo punto- a parte che anche zucchermaglio usa il  
200 discorso eccetera e: (...) dipende da come lo facciam[o c]ioè=  
201 AR: [m: ]  
202 LC: =noi possiamo farlo (.) ne: nel senso che questa sia solo  
203 (...) meno di una pa:gina (...) nel senso che abbiamo già  
204 spiegato tu:tto (.) oppure riprendere alcune cose qui. (.)  
205 adesso vediamo.  
206 AR: abbiamo provato a dare un occhio:: un pò alla=  
207 AR: =[struttura degli- degli articoli:]  
208 LC: [cioè (.) quello che è importante] è che il materiale c'è  
209 no? (.) no non bisogna andare troppo a: m pastugnare questo  
210 perché questo è- (...) o tu gli dici guarda è importante  
211 perché padova è importante una cosa unica (...) cioè non è  
212 così non abbiamo un motivo al mondo no? ↓anzi l'italia è un  
213 paese arretrato sotto questo profilo (...) allora:: devi vuol  
214 dire:: mi sembra il caso che abbiamo studiato qui no?  
215 ↓comunque lo lo vediamo un momento. (.) comunque qui c'è  
216 [tutti i dati (.)] riferiti alla particolare ricerca e là=  
217 AR: [m: (.) ho capito]  
218 LC: =delle ragioni generali più (.) e:: io penso che nel  
219 precedente articolo siamo riusciti a s- a: (.) prima a fare

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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220 delle premesse be anche un pò::: (.) >perché< c'era la  
221 cittadinanza eccetera però (.) prima dei discorsi generali  
222 poi abbiamo detto noi siamo qui no? (..) va be (.) insomma  
223 (.) però qu- quello che mi interessava era che (.) un filo  
224 logico c'è:: e (.) anche (..) anche (.) dei contenuti cioè  
225 abbia- avremmo delle cose da dire no (...) cosa vuol dire  
226 presentazione dei risultati.  
227 (.)  
228 AR: e:m (.) cioè perché abbiamo dato un'occhiata un po' alla  
229 struttura degli articoli: (.) di human relations e dopo  
230 averla fatta (.) dopo la parte di (..) diciamo loro  
231 chiamano:: bo: data and methods non so (.) fanno una parte  
232 findings in cui (..) presentano i (.) diciamo i risultati e  
233 poi:: [(.) c']è una specie di presentazione (.)  
234 MR: [( )]  
235 LC: gene[r]ale ( )]  
236 AR: [generale e po]i fann[o:: il ra]gionamento (.)=  
237 MR: [è=un (.) è=un]  
238 AR: =l'argomentazione  
239 MR: è un format che arriva da altro tipo ma che mant- che  
240 mantengono quasi sempre in questa rivista  
241 LC: sì [sì ]  
242 AR: [per] orientare diciamo l'argomentazio[::: ]  
243 LC: [sì sì] si invece di  
244 farlo dopo come discussione  
245 MR: no lo fanno anche dopo [solo che qua] fanno una paginetta  
246 AR: [lo fanno an-]  
247 LC: s[i]  
248 MR: [d]i: (di) dire i principali risultati sono questi adesso ve  
249 li mostriamo.  
250 AR: però [insomma]  
251 LC: [ecco all]ora però adesso il problema è questo qua  
252 (...)  
253 MR: e qua c'è tutto il discorso che si è fatto con ali  
254 praticamente (.) che viene fuori  
255 (...)  
256 AR: c'è la nostra mediazione e::  
257 MR: sì (.) la nostra mediazione [tra (.) tra] quello che diceva=  
258 AR: [((ride)) ]



259 MR: =ali e una (.) e una [scaletta]  
260 AR: [((ride))] (e)/(lo) diciamo n(h)oi.  
261 LC: allora è un organo ( ) nazionale di cosa siano i  
262 mediatori (..) benissimo (...) sì cioè allora in sostanza (.)  
263 quello che s- leggo qui è quello che dicevi tu prima  
264 MR: sì (.) che che è quello che >noi [cen-<]  
265 LC: [sì sì] allora  
266 semplificando molto (..) sì insomma è ↓inutile ripeterlo  
267 (...) [allora (.)]=  
268 AR: [poi c'è l-]  
269 LC: =normativa documenti nazionali no (.)  
270 AR: e qui c'è il discorso che non c'è quasi niente  
271 LC: va bene (.) cosa ce ne [frega ]  
272 MR: [diciam]o  
273 AR: no no propr- dico l'argomentazione  
274 LC: sì [sì (.)]  
275 AR: [è che ] ma (.) c'è un vuoto  
276 LC: è è già molto interessante  
277 AR: sì sì no sto [dicendo la tesi]  
278 LC: [sì (.) sì sì sì]  
279 AR: non come [problema]  
280 LC: [sì sì sì] sì sì infatti vuoto (...) poi documenti  
281 locali (..) che è riempito alla meno peggio no?  
282 AR: e qui c'era il discorso scusi se (..) lo introduco (an)che  
283 qua mettevamo come modello locali:sta (.) che risponde in  
284 parte a quello che (..) avevamo pensato:: anche noi col  
285 discorso dei quartie:ri, cioè del (.) del livello della  
286 città, che avevamo messo anche nell'ultimo capi:tolo,  
287 quello:: citando amin:, (.) la città come luo:go del- (.) del  
288 diciamo definizio:ni della::- (.) delle politiche:, della:  
289 luogo d'incontro eccetera. (.) e::: u::na cosa che diceva  
290 ali appunto che è un:: (..) diciamo una:: teori:a  
291 sociolo:gica un modello sociolo:gico per cui (.) e:: chiamato  
292 appunto modello localista secondo cui nell'immigrazio:ne (.)  
293 a ↓quello che ho capito (..) em: diciamo le:: m: (.) arriva  
294 prima il: loca:le (.) nel prendere delle: (..) delle s- (.)  
295 m: de- dei provvedime:nti delle soluzioni (.) e poi in un  
296 secondo momento c'è diciamo il: ritorno nella=  
297 AR: =[normati:va (.) per cui c'è un ritardo nella normati:va]

### Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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298 LC: [sì sì (.) (ci conviene) guardarci: (.) questa letter]  
299 atura sul modello localista no:=  
300 MR: =m: m:  
301 AR: sì. (.) io qualcosa appunto l'ho trovato però meglio:  
302 LC: sì sì (.) vediamo (noi). occhei allora qui va bene poi (..)  
303 le (..) delibere (.) questi sono i documenti generali (.) poi  
304 le delibere no  
305 (.)  
306 MR: m: m: ,  
307 AR: sì  
308 LC: (..) delibere eccetera (...) sentite ma a questo punto non  
309 vie:ne fuori il [modello e:::]  
310 AR: [((tossisce))]  
311 (...)  
312 LC: cioè quello (.) che mi:: chiedo e se no::n non succede questo  
313 AR: ((tossisce))  
314 LC: (uè) allergia (.) anche tu?  
315 AR: eh non lo so devo farmi:: gli esami  
316 (...)  
317 LC: no quello che mi chiedevo è che allora n:- noi cosa facciamo  
318 allora quando abbiamo tutti questi docume:nti (...) dei  
319 pezzettini ovviamente non è che ci serve no (.)=  
320 MR: [sì (.) sì sì ( )]  
321 LC: =utiliz[ziamo poi dei pezz]ettini (.) e::: allora noi pos-  
322 possiamo mettere giù una- (..) un modello il modello e una  
323 mappa (.) un modello e una mappa organizzativa cioè dire (.)  
324 sulla base di quello che è stato detto (.) normativa  
325 nazionale e:::? quello che (.) sulla carta esiste a padova è  
326 questo modello (.) che andiamo a situare rispetto a quelli  
327 che abbiamo visto prima no?  
328 MR: a: a:  
329 LC: e con questa è implementata questa struttura organizzativa  
330 (..) mici:, cose, no?  
331 MR: s:[:i]  
332 LC: [è ]? così: [(.)] e poi aspetta=  
333 MR: [m::]  
334 LC: =[ (.)] perché allora è questo il cuore=  
335 MR: [m: ]  
336 LC: =dell'artico[lo] (.) e poi le interviste con i mediatori=

337 MR: [e:]  
338 LC: =e le osservazioni etnografiche ci dicono (.) in realtà  
339 succede (...) non è detto che succeda dive:rso ma comunque::  
340 (.) cosa cavolo succede all'interno di questi momenti (.) è  
341 così:?  
342 (.)  
343 LC: no.  
344 MR: n:o eh::: la co- la co- la cosa sarebbe (.) in le- in  
345 letteratura sono previsti questi (.) in letteratura negli  
346 articoli che abbiamo visto (.) e a- anche qui dice ce ne sono  
347 tanti viene utilizza- vengono utilizzati (.) solo questi tre  
348 peccato che non sia- [sia]-  
349 LC: [ma ]scusa di solito son modelli  
350 alternativi no (.) quindi non è che dovrebbero essere  
351 utilizzati tutti. sono delle opzioni no? (.) [(cio]è)  
352 AR: [ma::]  
353 MR: sì [ma]  
354 AR: [ma] consideri che qua lui appunto (.) visto un'a- am-  
355 ampia gamma anche di servizi. [(.) c]ioè i mediatori in=  
356 LC: [s:i ]  
357 AR: =vari servizi  
358 LC: sì  
359 AR: e guarda i mo[de:l]li (.) e anche le modalità: (.) adottate=  
360 LC: [(ao)]  
361 AR: =dai (.) dai mediatori cioè [(.)] il modello di mediazione=  
362 LC: [sì ]  
363 AR: =e anche (.) tra virgolette le tecniche [le:]  
364 LC: [sì ] (.) sì sì ma  
365 cioè allora non ha molto senso dire ma allora perché non  
366 fanno anche quell'altra mediazione perché stanno facendo  
367 questa (...) non mi spiego? no  
368 (.)  
369 AR: sì no nel senso che dice c'è uno sbilanc- cioè manca diciamo  
370 la versione (..) interculturale della mediazione che è quella  
371 che (.) oltre diciamo a m (..) semplificando a una una o:::  
372 operatività: assimila[toria cioè (..) ] di normalizzazione=  
373 LC: [ho capito ho capito]  
374 AR: =tra virgolette anche una (.) modalità che e:m porta a  
375 mettere in discussione o [a ripensare le modalità]=

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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376 LC: [ho capito ho capito ]  
377 AR: =del- (.) dell'istituzione=  
378 LC: =[ho capito]  
379 MR: [quasi a ] [qua- ]  
380 LC: [e que]sta cosa che hai detto tu la pogeresti  
381 su cosa (.) sul modello su entrambi sia sul modello che viene  
382 fuori hhh dai documenti che da quello che poi vedi::  
383 MR: esatto  
384 LC: è [così? (.) è q]uesto: (.)  
385 MR: [qua qua- ]  
386 (.)  
387 AR: [sì (è)]  
388 LC: [cioè ] il:: l:: l'elemento di interesse è il confronto tra  
389 quello che viene fuori dai documenti (.) e dall'altro lato  
390 (.) quello che abbiamo rilevato nelle interviste: e nelle  
391 osservazioni (.) o (.) tra (.) queste due cose messe insieme  
392 e il quadro generale che è stato creato pri:ma?  
393 (...)  
394 MR: forse una terza cosa ancora [(.)] eh:: (..) m: lo e: (.) lo=  
395 LC: [a::]  
396 MR: =spiego partendo da da quello che diceva ali perché tanto  
397 da lì ci siamo arrivati (..) qua i i i i mediatori ven-  
398 vengono vengono assunti in quanto mediatori (..) peh: come:  
399 delle figure in teorie esterne. (.) si ritrovano in un  
400 contesto organizzativo in cui (.) hanno tantissima penuria::  
401 di operatori (.) e dove di fatto lavorano come lavoratori  
402 subordinati perché rispondono a un capo hanno degli orari  
403 fissi eccetera (.) e quindi eh::: la::: la tipologia di  
404 mediazione prevista (.) a livello di assunzione non viene  
405 applicata ma ne (.) ma ne vie- ne viene applicata un'altra e  
406 questo sarebbe (.) argomentabile dai vari documenti che ci  
407 diceva ali (..) e qua gli gli vogliamo dire in più a  
408 questo articolo:: m:: e:: (.) che (.) che sottolinea che  
409 vengono usati alcuni modelli e non altri (.) perché perché  
410 occorre considerare il contesto organizzativo (.) e la  
411 mediazione va ripensata come un concetto situato  
412 LC: cosa c'entra va ripensa- scusa e: se ti interrompo ti ti  
413 dico [co- per]ché perché ti perdo molto=  
414 MR: [(prego)]

415 LC: =[(.)] allora noi abbiamo fatto (.) un un percorso in cui=  
416 MR: [sì.]  
417 LC: =prima diciamo (..) c'è tutta una letteratura che dice ichs  
418 epsilon zeta e noi prendiamo posizione diciamo ↓per noi va  
419 bene così no? hhh (...) poi be e:: diciamo facciamo la  
420 ricerca i risultati come risultati (.) noi diciamo qui c'è  
421 tutta una: (.) serie di documenti che ci dicono che qui la  
422 mediazione è (.) una (.) una una certa cosa ( ) e uno no?  
423 poi abbiamo fatto anche una serie di altre osservazioni (..)  
424 ↓chiamamole etnografiche interviste eccetera (.) che ci  
425 dicono cosa ci dicono la stessa cosa (.) o la stessa cosa in  
426 un modo diverso (.) o (.) in un certo senso contestano questi  
427 documenti (..) ne mostrano l'inadeguatezza o  
428 (.)  
429 AR: io vedo (..) un emme ze:ro che è (.) il vuoto entro cui che  
430 (.) in parte oltre al modello diciamo della (.) cioè oltre al  
431 fatto (.) della mediazione situata (..) come aspetto teorico  
432 c'è anche il fatto che essendoci un emme zero cioè un mo- non  
433 essendo un modello chiaro definito a livello (.)  
434 istituzionale (..) [a livello loca:le ]  
435 LC: [sì chiamamolo liv]ello uno no (.) allora  
436 il modello uno che è carente questo quindi  
437 AR: sì non c'è un modello[: uno: (.) condiviso per cui (.) di ]=  
438 LC: [sì va bene ce l'hai ho capito (cioè)]=  
439 AR: =[fatto ci ci sono (.) non è (.)]non c'è u- (.) una norma a=  
440 LC: =[è quello che è (.) sì allora ]  
441 AR: =cui risponder[e qui]  
442 LC: [ho ca]pito allora fammi capire allora quando  
443 tiri fuori tutti questi documenti e: (.) dici qui c'è un  
444 modello chiamamolo uno per dire che (.) è quello usato qui  
445 no?  
446 AR: quello loca:le dunque.  
447 LC: sì (..) che (..) è in conto- cioè:: è inadeguato rispetto a  
448 tutto quello che abbiamo detto prima è così? (...) ma quando  
449 tu dicevi che è un modello zero vuol dire che è inadegua[to]  
450 AR: [no]  
451 il modello zero mi riferivo alla mancanza di (..) e::m (.) di  
452 un quadro nazionale condiviso sulla mediazio:ne cioè non c'è  
453 la figura [professionale, non c'è la legge (.) il

## Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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454           ↑mo]dello:=  
455 LC:                   [ho capito ho capito (.) ma a un certo punto]  
456 AR:           =(.) locale risponde alle mancanze del=  
457 AR:           =[modello nazionale in particolari mo:di]  
458 LC:           [esa:tto sì sì questo (.)                   que]sto lo abbiamo già  
459           detto no il modello localista eccetera lo abbiamo detto sopra  
460           addirittura (.) se non sbaglio no?  
461 AR:           sì ma:: [(.) (ho visto:)    ]  
462 LC:           [a ecco. (.) allora] adesso (.) tu prendi tu questi  
463           documenti e dici guarda (.) come (.) come del resto ci  
464           aspettavamo dal modello locali:sta (.) e::: i documenti  
465           nazionali sono generici quelli locali invece specificano cosa  
466           si fa (..) allora a questo punto noi dai: (.) dai (..)  
467           docume:nti abbiamo una (.) organizzazione cartacea (.) no (.)  
468           un [(.) mo]dello cartaceo del servizio=  
469 AR:           [sì:    ]  
470 AR:           [cioè (.)]  
471 LC:           =[(.)       ] a cui possiamo poi confrontare o aggiungere (.)  
472           il modello che è invece chiamiamolo etnografico. (.) quello  
473           che invece voglio capire (.) poi (.) dopo (.) è (.) voi li  
474           vedete li volete costruire come coerenti cioè (..) il modello  
475           etnografico illu:stra quello che (.) ti dicono i docume:?nti  
476           (.) o quasi (.) in un certo senso in alternativa.  
477 AR:           come::: m:  
478 MR:           alternativi  
479 AR:           sì alt- (.) come scostati  
480 LC:           come una critica (.) cioè l- la parte etnografica critica  
481           quello che (.) cioè allora i documenti dicono dovrebbe  
482           succedere a bi ci di (.) che tu puoi dire (.) non è giusto  
483           secondo il nostro modello teorico però è una critica anche  
484           debole (.) invece la critica forte è (.) e infatti  
485           l'osservazione etnografica mostra che. (.) è così:  
486 AR:           sì. (.) diciamo che i modelli: (.) secondo me i modelli:  
487           locali cartacei sono (.) in parte comunque: (.) e:::m cioè in  
488           parte incomple- cioè in parte (.) in sé incoerenti nel senso  
489           che ci sono alcune cose (.) tipo::: e:::m (.) l'utilizzo per  
490           esempio di terminologie diverse in maniera:: (.) più o meno  
491           alternativa:, si parla di mediatori cultura:li,  
492           intercultura:li, (.) e: sociocultura:li, (..) e::m (..) in

493 pa:rte incompleti (.) [cioè no no non:]=  
 494 LC: [no perfetto ]  
 495 AR: =(.) e in parte incoe[renti (.)] nel senso che dicono=  
 496 LC: [aspetta. ]  
 497 AR: =c'è bisogno di un mediat[o:re (.)]  
 498 LC: [ho capit]o aspetta. (.) fermati lì  
 499 (.) allora (.) noi abbiamo tutti `sti documenti li mettiamo  
 500 insie:me (..) no e poi dici quello che risulta da questi  
 501 documenti è un modello loca:le (.) incoerente (.) per le  
 502 ragioni dette (.) e incompleto. no. (.) giusto:  
 503 (.)  
 504 LC: ma l'hai detto tu: (.) l'hai appena detto  
 505 AR: e:: sì.  
 506 LC: ecco. (.) allora a questo pu:nto (.) che probabilmente  
 507 saranno due paragrafi ma qui andiamo avanti come niente fosse  
 508 (.) mettiamo i dati etnografici e il modello che ne risulta.  
 509 è così:  
 510 (.)  
 511 MR: m m:  
 512 (.)  
 513 AR: m m:  
 514 LC: m:?  
 515 MR: sì.  
 516 (...)  
 517 LC: che è il modello: (.) chiamiamolo effetti:vo ed è questo che  
 518 costituirà (.) la vera critica (..) del modello locale o  
 519 localistico che (.) se tu dici (.) questo modello locale che  
 520 non tiene co:nto di: e po:i non è sostenuto (.) sul piano  
 521 naziona:le, non ha consapevole:zza di tutti questi (pese::) e  
 522 infa::tti no (.) quindi diventa una specie di (.) e: conferma  
 523 empirica delle carenze no (.) e tra l'altro sarebbe un  
 524 discorso (.) terribilmente intellettualistico se noi  
 525 dicessimo (.) ci sono questi modelli qui c'è un'esperienza  
 526 concreta (.) però siccome non conosce i modelli allora non va  
 527 bene no ( ) (..) invece: (.) e:: dici c'è  
 528 quest'esperienza concreta che è (...) è un'esperienza nai:ve  
 529 perché non tiene con: e:: infa:tti (.) così no (.) m: (.)  
 530 dove allora l'elemento chiave sarà mostrare dove sono le  
 531 incoerenze e le incompletezze (.) questo diventa (.)

Appendix C – Full transcriptions

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532 mostrandolo attraverso (.) questi dati etnografici (.) oltre  
533 che dai discorsi teorici (.) [va ] bene (.)=  
534 MR: [m:-]  
535 LC: =è cos[i: (.)]  
536 MR: [e a:- ] (.) e sarebbe anche:: m:ostrare però perché  
537 questo ultimo modello che abbiamo detto (.) ha senso in  
538 questo particolare tipo di organizzazione perché risponde (.)  
539 a particolari necessità (.) tipo: (.) carenza di personale  
540 (.) o a parti- o a particolari situazioni:: (.) il fatto che  
541 i mediatori (.) lavorino alla stessa stregua degli- degli-  
542 degli altri operatori (.) non previste: a:- anche dai  
543 contratti di assunzione eccetera (.)  
544 LC: la conclusione può essere la mediazione come attività situata  
545 [(..) ]=  
546 MR: [è il titolo]  
547 LC: =cioè tiriamo (.) sì (.) [l'ho visto ma:]=  
548 MR: [occ(h)ei (hh) ]  
549 LC: =l'avevamo fissato insieme credo no (.) il titolo  
550 MR: l'abbiamo cambiato  
551 LC: l'avete cambia:to  
552 AR: no l'abbiamo cambiato  
553 MR: l'abbiamo cambi(h)ato  
554 LC: a allora dovete dirmelo.  
555 MR: ((ride))  
556 LC: `spetta allora (.) m:: in finale può essere::  
557 AR: m:: forse (.) nelle discu:ssioni [(.) l'ho esplicitato ]  
558 MR: [sì sì (.) primo punto.]  
559 (...)  
560 MR: che è- che è esattamente il passaggio che (.) che le dicevo  
561 che manca qui  
562 (..)  
563 AR: che marian che è più:: [(.)] schematico sei riuscito: (.)=  
564 MR: [m:?]  
565 AR: =io mi perdo  
566 MR: tu ti per:di ( )  
567 LC: che quindi usiamo come elemento nella discussione (.) e  
568 anche::: (.) come conclusione no [(..) ] conclusione (.)=  
569 MR: [esatto.]  
570 LC: =nel senso che allora di situare nel contesto e situare



571           nell'organizzazione no (.)  
572 MR:       m m:  
573           (..)  
574 LC:       qui bisognerà un po' studiarlo più nei dettagli però (.) al  
575           momento mi sembra che c'è questa linea: no (..) cosa dite (.)  
576           vedere il titolo allora adesso no (.) be tanto poi (quello)  
577           lo vediamo col tempo



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