Dog walk encounters:
Openings between unacquainted persons walking their dog in public space

Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde einer Doktorin der Philosophie

vorgelegt in *Cotutelle de thèse* der
Philosophisch-Historischen Fakultät der Universität Basel
und der
Faculteit Letteren van KU Leuven

von

Julia Anna Schneerson

aus
Zürich

Bern, Juni 2024
Druckerei Sedruck

Abstract

This thesis presents a comprehensive investigation into chance encounters between people walking their dogs in open spaces. These unplanned interactions occur as dog-guardian formations converge, resulting in inherently mobile encounters that are intertwined with the progression and coordination of the walk. Rooted in ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA), the study explores the gradual development of interactional openings, focusing on what constitutes a 'proper' beginning to such encounters.

During dog walks, guardians engage in multiple courses of action, monitoring and instructing their dogs while also preparing for safe interactions with oncoming walkers. The development of an interactional space between mutually approaching dog-guardian formations is crucial for negotiating how the encounter will unfold. This also considers the conditions of possible contact between the dogs since the type of action initiated by guardians also depends on their assessment of whether the dogs are compatible. Moreover, the study examines how guardians publicly display their expertise and make relevant their dogs' competence, revealing normative and moral aspects associated with walking a dog.

The interactional order and public accountability in these encounters are shaped by methodic practices achieving normativity, orderliness, and intersubjectivity. Adopting a praxeological approach within EMCA, the study transcends traditional ontological divisions between animal and human. The embodied manifestations of dogs interacting with humans are treated as significant phenomena, revealing how intelligibility and understanding emerge during the everyday activity of dog walking. The analysis of dog walk encounters thus highlights the active participation of dogs as ratified participants in interactions with humans.

This thesis enriches our understanding of human-dog interactions and offers valuable insights into the dynamics of chance encounters during dog walks in open spaces. It contributes to the broader field of interspecies interaction and provides a deeper understanding of the interactional intricacies that shape social encounters between individuals and their canine companions. The findings advance our knowledge of how humans and dogs engage with each other within the context of walking, illuminating the complex and nuanced ways in which interspecies communication and coordination take place.

Acknowledgments

I express my deepest appreciation to all those who generously provided their knowledge, expertise, and inspiration, making this thesis possible.

First and foremost, I am immensely grateful to my supervisor and mentor, Lorenza Mondada, for her invaluable guidance and unwavering support throughout this journey. Her proficiency and encouragement have played a crucial role in shaping this research. I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Elwys De Stefani, whose insights and feedback have been invaluable in refining this work.

I am deeply grateful to the members of our research team in Basel: Sofian Bouaouina, Guillaume Gauthier, Philipp Hänggi, Yeji Lee, Mizuki Koda, Lorenza Mondada, Hanna Svensson, and Burak S. Tekin. The valuable support they provided in data collection, and during data sessions and workshops has been pivotal to the success of this study. You taught me the importance of good teamwork – our time together is unforgettable and invaluable to me.

I am thankful to Federica D'Antoni and Thomas Debois for their support, especially during my stay in Belgium. I would also like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Eric Laurier and Chloé Mondéme for their inspiring work and helpful observations. I am indebted to Alexa Barnby for her precise proofreading, which has improved the quality of this thesis.

Furthermore, I want to express my sincere gratitude to the guardians and their dogs, which we accompanied during their walks, as well as all other participants we met during field work, for their valuable time and willingness to participate in this research.

Last but not least, I extend my warmest thanks to my family, especially my parents and husband, for their unwavering belief in me, constant encouragement, and moral support throughout this journey. I would also like to recognize the inspiration given by our dog Motti, who uplifted and motivated me during challenging times.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Theoretical and methodological background

Chapter 2: Becoming co-present and coordinating to pass by

Chapter 3: Negotiations of dog-dog contact

Chapter 4: Guardians' claims and attributions of knowledge

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Appendix: Transcription conventions

References

Chapter 1: Theoretical and methodological background

1.1 Introduction

This thesis offers a detailed study of chance encounters between people walking their dogs in open spaces. My initial interest in the topic came from my experiences as a dog guardian and, consequently, a dog walker. On walks with my small terrier, I often get into brief and spontaneous conversations with people. This supports the advice my aunt gave to a friend who had separated from her partner: "Get yourself a dog, and you will meet new people every day." However, most of the people who I encounter regularly only recognize me by my dog (which I realize when I am no longer recognized without him). Walking with a dog implies being categorized as a dog guardian. In one of his lectures, Harvey Sacks tells how, as a teenager, he walked the streets late at night and was regularly stopped by the police to justify his walk. His solution: "If you bought a dog, that was the end. You never got stopped" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 24).

While getting a dog may be one way of avoiding interaction with the police, many dog guardians will probably bear testimony to the occurrence of social interactions with others while out walking their dogs. Therefore, I was curious to discover what was behind the stereotype that people with dogs are likelier to talk to each other. I was able to transform this curiosity into a topic of study thanks to the project "The first five words: Multilingual cities in Switzerland and Belgium and the grammar of language choice in public space" (in short F5W) (2019–2024), directed by Prof. Lorenza Mondada (University of Basel) and Prof. Elwys De Stefani (KU Leuven) and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF / project no 100012L_182296/1) beside the Flanders Research Foundation (FWO). The F5W project studies chance encounters between unacquainted persons in multilingual cities in Switzerland and Belgium through detailed, situated analyses of video recordings. It addresses fundamental research questions in the fields of linguistics and human and social studies, such as interactions in public space among strangers, the organization of such openings, and the choice of language in multilingual settings. It also proposes innovative solutions concerning methodological issues related to fieldwork and video-recordings in open space (see, e.g., D'Antoni et al., 2022; D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Debois & De Stefani, 2022; De Stefani, 2019, 2022; De Stefani & Mondada, in prep.; Hänggi, 2022; Merlino et al., 2022; Mondada, 2021a, 2021b; Mondada et al., 2020, 2022). This study is nourished by the general concepts and problematization of the project, incorporating many insights that have framed the project since its beginning and

emerged through the collective work. At the same time, it is a contribution to the project and aims to present new findings unique to the particular setting considered.

1.2 State of the art

Drawing on a multimodal conversation analytic approach, the F5W project is interested in how unacquainted persons engage in focused interactions in public spaces, how people identify themselves as possible future interactants, how they establish the newly emerging interactional space of/for their encounter in a coordinated way, and how they possibly negotiate a common language. This study builds on the general framework of the project in order to investigate the interactional practices of dog guardians and their dogs when they are on a walk, treating them as particular but also perspicuous situations in which strangers come to interact together. Walking the dog is one among "the concerted activities of daily life" which are accomplished "with the ordinary, artful ways of that accomplishment being by members known, used, and taken for granted" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 1). In other words, the particularities of an ordinary activity like dog walking are constituted "from within" by the members themselves as they take part in it (1967, p. viii). The recent "embodied turn" in social sciences has introduced theoretical re-conceptualizations of corporeal aspects of agency (Mondada, 2016), which include animals and their silently embodied actions. The multimodal analyses of this study thus cast light on the emergence of mobile face-to-face interspecies encounters by investigating systematic practices developed and employed by participants 'along the way,' revealing how dog guardians and dogs are locally positioned and categorized within embodied and publicly visible engagements (C. Goodwin, 2007). By looking at how they manage chance encounters with unacquainted others, this study contributes to the central issues addressed by the F5W project.

Encounters between unacquainted dog walkers happen in open spaces and are characteristically unplanned. They often emerge when individual walkers (guardians and dogs) move toward each other, and their convergent trajectories become projectable. Hence, dog walk encounters are inherently mobile, and the organization of interactional openings is intertwined with the progression and coordination of the walk. The transient and ephemeral character of these encounters invites reflection on what a 'proper' interactional beginning may be, showing that openings develop gradually. This enables a contribution to the issue of how initial actions are treated as accountable and relevant for the joint organization of an anticipated encounter. The analysis of dog walk encounters sheds light on how dogs, in interaction with humans, are treated as ratified participants instead of objectivized facilitators of sociality. Within an

"ordinary hermeneutics" (Mondémé, 2022a), human participants make sense of the dogs' embodied manifestations as initiating and responding to actions. More generally, this study contributes to the growing interest in interspecies interaction, pro-sociality between 'strangers,' interactional research on face-to-face openings in mobile settings, and the conceptual frameworks of multimodality and micro-sequentiality. This shows not least the indexicality of linguistic resources, highlighting the perspective that linguistic practices are sequentially-specific and embodied actions. On a methodological level, this study shows both the promising possibilities and the limitations of video analysis in open, unstructured landscapes.

This study is organized into three analytical chapters. Chapter 2 addresses how individuals dynamically start adjusting to each other by relying on visible features such as gaze and body movements, postures, and orientations, transitioning from merely being co-located to being co-present. These adjustments are essential for the next steps in the encounter, which are to negotiate and determine its modalities. This issue is addressed by Chapter 3, which deals with the way in which guardians manage the contact with and between their dogs, for instance whether the dogs stay on a leash or walk freely. Looking at the linguistic patterns that establish epistemic authority and rights, Chapter 4 focuses on exchanges of turns-at-talk between guardians in which they position themselves within the canine epistemic domain, orienting to each other's categories as guardians. The overall findings of the study are summarized and discussed in Chapter 5.

The remainder of this introductory section is dedicated to a presentation of the current state of research in the field. First, I explain the basic methodological approach of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (EMCA), which constitutes the conceptual framework for this study (Section 1.2.1). The subsequent section focuses on inputs from the literature about human–animal interaction (Section 1.2.2). I then discuss relevant studies on the issue of moving around in public settings and interacting with other individuals (Section 1.2.3). Finally, I present the terrain and the data that formed the basis for the analyses (Section 1.3).

1.2.1 Theoretical background

This study originates from an overall interactional approach to language and social action and is more specifically rooted in the disciplines of ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA). Ethnomethodology, as introduced by the sociologist Harold Garfinkel (1963, 1967), seeks to understand the practical methods of common-sense reasoning used by members of society in the conduct of everyday life. By treating people's "indexical

expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments" (1967, p. 11), Garfinkel emphasizes their practices or methods for producing order and rationality in their social worlds, acknowledging that participants in interaction reflexively establish their actions as *accountable*, meaningful, and intelligible. Social action is thus recognizable for the participants themselves as a relevant part of the interaction, contributing to the sequential organization of the event (C. Goodwin, 2000, p. 1492).

Influenced by Garfinkel's unique perspective on everyday activities, CA developed under the impetus of Harvey Sacks with his colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (e.g., Jefferson, 1973; Sacks, 1995b; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Within the framework of a praxeological approach to *action* as the situated foundation of social order, CA emerged as a distinctive approach in sociology with an interest in how intelligibility is embodied in actions and activities, and jointly accomplished in an organized manner (Heritage, 1984b; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). CA aims to "discover the natural living order of social activities as they are endogenously organized in ordinary life, without the exogeneous intervention of researchers" (Mondada, 2013c, p. 34). One of the distinctive approaches of CA to the analysis of interaction is *unmotivated inquiry* (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), which requires the researcher to put aside predetermined assumptions, categories, or hypotheses.

CA has developed precise analytical tools for formally describing the organization of an activity while showing that participants themselves orient to the formal character of the activity as they produce it. The first systematic analyses in CA were based on audio recordings of "natural conversations" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 698) between people on the telephone. The detailed transcription of vocal conduct revealed how these conversations emerge collaboratively and sequentially, instead of being constituted by isolated linguistic forms. Such a perspective on language as being interactive, indexical, and situatedly anchored serves as the basis for describing the organization of everyday interaction.

A fundamental principle of CA is that "there is order at all points" (Sacks, 1984, p. 22). This *normative orderliness* is produced and maintained by the participants through their orientations to social expectations and constitutes an essential resource for members (and analysts) to make sense of what is happening. The orderliness of social interaction is thus considered the product of publicly available shared methods which exhibit the interactants' reasoning and mutual understanding. These members' methods are interactional *practices*

which participants assemble and organize locally, thereby accomplishing social action (e.g., Heritage, 2010; Schegloff, 1997).

Interaction unfolds over time. This is crucial for the concepts of turn-taking and sequence organization, which account for the orderly distribution of speakership. *Turn-taking* refers to the collaborative organization of transitioning to the "next speaker" within an ongoing conversation by coordinating the ending of one turn with the start of the next one (Sacks et al., 1974). Turns are composed of one or more *turn-constructional units* (TCU) and are recognizable as complete utterances within the local ecology. *Sequence organization* addresses the "contingent connections between a turn and its prior, and the contingencies one turn creates for a subsequent (responsive) turn" (Drew, 2013, p. 138). This shows how the succession of TCUs forms coherent courses of action (Schegloff, 2007). A basic form of sequence organization is the *adjacency pair*, consisting of a *first pair part (FPP)* that projects and makes conditionally relevant a *second pair part (SPP)* (Schegloff, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The sequential analysis thus sheds light on participants' orientation to expectations, both prospective ('what's next') and retrospective ('what was before'), and on relationships of dependence and mutual relevance between performed actions.

The production and timing of responsive actions by participants are contingent on their observable recognition of a first action (Jefferson, 1983). Hence, the ways in which participants respond show their interpretation of the type of action that has been performed, as well as their expectation concerning the type of action that is due in that sequential relationship. How a turn is formatted and how action is ascribed to that turn in concordance with constitutive relevance rules are essential for the *accountability* of conduct (Deppermann & Haugh, 2022; Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016). Everything occurring in a "sequence-in-progress," every element in the composition of a sequence, "is in principle accountable by reference to it" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 249). The accountability (and intelligibility) of social action may converge with intention attributions but does not necessarily need or imply them. The question is not how cognitive processes, such as intention and understanding, motivate and generate action but "at what point cognitive ascriptions, such as to understand, to know, or to feel something, become relevant in social interaction for the participants and how they come to be displayed" (Deppermann, 2012, pp. 747–748). According to Macbeth, "[t]o take a turn is to *evidence* understanding" (Macbeth, 2011, p. 440). Hence, understanding is considered a collective achievement, as an endogenous feature of interaction, constantly managed by the participants within the emergent sequential organization of turns and displayed in a multimodal way (Mondada, 2011c).

While language is ubiquitous for producing and recognizing social action, it is used with multiple other resources within a "contextual configuration" (C. Goodwin, 2000). The development of video technology represented a way to strengthen the focus of CA on naturally occurring interactions, recorded in their original setting, without being elicited by researchers (Mondada, 2016). Using video recordings for analysis made it possible to expand the view beyond the use of vocal resources in phone conversations.

The interplay between vocal elements, gaze, gestures, and body orientations was, from early on, investigated by Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin, based on video recordings of interactions in workplaces and households (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1980; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1996, 2004; M. H. Goodwin, 2006). The social dimension of language and interacting bodies is fundamental in the way these authors rethink the notion of *participation* (C. Goodwin, 2007; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004). Starting with Goffman's (1979, 1981) idea to deconstruct the *speaker* into an interdigitation between *animator, author, principal,* and *figure*, the Goodwins developed both a constructive and a critical approach to Goffman's concept of a *participation framework*. They demonstrated that any action addresses issues of participation through the way it is locally formatted, e.g., with respect to lexical and syntactical choices, mutual positioning in space, and joint coordination of activities (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004). From this perspective, forms of participation are fluid and transformable, constantly evolving with the interaction and the organization of its sequentiality (Mondada, 2021b).

Participation in interaction is not based on an individual's "linguistic competences" but on the ability to build action by using practices drawn from the available repertoire to precisely fit the constraints and contingencies of specific emerging environments (C. Goodwin, 2010). Hence, participation is considered an interactional achievement, and participants are fundamentally defined by their role in shaping the course of the interaction, which may be embodied in small details. In other words, participants are defined not only based on their turns-at-talk or on their status as an explicit recipient, but through their configuring role in the unfolding interaction. This allows us to take into consideration forms of participation that are independent from the production of linguistic elements (Mondémé, 2022b).

By now, a substantial body of work exploring the *multimodality* of social interaction has thrived, describing how a wide range of resources is mobilized by speakers in an ordered and situated way (e.g., De Stefani & Mondada, 2007; Mondada, 2007a, 2014c, 2018b, 2020b; on the history of video-based multimodal studies, see Mondada, 2021d; for conceptual

reflections, see Deppermann, 2013; Mondada, 2016). The notion of multimodality concerns "the emergent moment-by-moment contingent unfolding in time of social interaction in its multiple dimensions" (Mondada, 2022a, p. 42). Language is considered one among many resources distributed by participants without a predetermined priority of one type of resource over another (Mondada, 2014c). Every detail can potentially become a resource for participants to shape accountable and intelligible action. Multimodal resources may be assembled in *complex multimodal Gestalts* which progressively emerge in response to the contingencies of the context and the interaction (Mondada, 2014c).

From a multimodal perspective, the principles of both *sequentiality* and *simultaneity* are constitutive of the production of interactive orderliness (Mondada & Schmitt, 2010). Unlike the linearity of turns-at-talk, the temporalities of embodied conduct can happen isochronously. Mondada observed that "studies focused on multimodally accountable action highlight forms of sequentiality that integrate and intertwine multiple simultaneous sequentialities and temporalities, within which complex forms of projective and responsive actions are organized" (2016, p. 341). Hence, from a multimodal perspective sequentiality does not rely on a linear succession of turns-at-talk, but on "subtle ways of arranging and adjusting prior and next actions in real time" (2016, p. 346). In other words, the progressivity of an action is *reflexively* organized moment by moment with respect to the co-participants' embodied and vocal responses.

Based on the understanding that the participants' multimodal conduct is coordinated and happens in simultaneous and reflexively intertwined ways (Mondada, 2016), the notion of *micro-sequentiality* conceptualizes the reflexive moment-by-moment adjustments between emergent unfolding actions, affecting each other's progression (Deppermann & Schmidt, 2021; Mondada, 2021a). In contrast to forms of sequence organization defined by well-delimited adjacent actions, micro-sequential adjustments are based on multiple temporalities, enabling dynamic and constant adaptations to ongoing contingencies (Mondada, 2022a). Hence, embodied responses can be projected and produced even before the previous action has started, raising questions about which action may be considered as 'first' or 'prior' and which one as 'next' or 'second' (Deppermann et al., 2021).

The praxeological approach taken by EMCA enables the analysis of social interaction without having to rely on classic ontological divisions, such as nature vs. culture, or animal vs. human (Mondémé, 2019). The embodied manifestations of animals interacting with humans are treated as significant phenomena for the unfolding of the interaction (Mondémé, 2022a).

This makes it possible for researchers to show, for instance, to what extent humans and dogs produce intelligibility and understanding together as they are engaging in an everyday activity: going for a walk.

1.2.2 Dog walking as a social activity

Walking the dog is a routine practice that involves interactions with the dog as a fellow companion and interactions with oncoming – mostly unacquainted – walkers. Research on dog walking shows a strong focus on its presumed benefits for physical and mental health (Costa et al., 2022; Ham & Epping, 2006; Hart, 2010; Hart & Yamamoto, 2016; Johnson et al., 2011), while some studies have aimed at confirming the role of dogs as potential facilitators of social interaction and how dog walking may lead to increased participation in the community (Amberson, 2023; Bueker, 2013; Edwards & Knight, 2006; Robins et al., 1991; Wood et al., 2015; Wood & Hayley, 2011). Relying not only on fieldwork and interviews but crucially on video material, EMCA provides a different focus on the details of the emergence of transient and mobile encounters between walkers, allowing us to explore what practices and resources are mobilized moment by moment, including the interactional role of dogs as ratified participants. Dog walking provides thus a "perspicuous setting" (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992, p. 184) to better understand the fine-grained organization of emerging social interactions between co-present walkers in open spaces.

Walking with the dog involves close interactions between dogs and humans. More broadly, it touches on the study of human–animal interaction which has been tackled by multiple disciplines, approaches, and methodologies (for a review, see Kulick, 2017). Terms like *anthropozoology*, *human–animal studies*, *animal studies*, and *critical animal studies* are often used synonymously, even though they are not equivalent, pursuing different objectives and having developed from distinct multidisciplinary perspectives (Barona Collado et al., 2023). Therefore, in this section, I touch on the most important approaches in research on human–animal communication before narrowing down the focus to examine studies with an interactional and praxeological approach.

Until the 20th century, occidental theologians and philosophers supported the idea of the human being as a special creation, standing above all other living beings. Ingold (1994) considered that the image of humans' uniqueness is accompanied by a devaluation of all that is not human: "Every attribute that is claimed we uniquely have, the animal is consequently supposed to lack; thus, the generic concept of 'animal' is negatively constituted by the sum of these deficiencies" (1994, p. 3). To this day, a division prevails with, on the one hand, the

animal, belonging integrally to nature, governed mechanically by its instincts and its body, and, on the other hand, the human being, positioned on the side of culture, possessing the aptitude of language (Guillo et al., 2015, p. 24). Such a distinction is often taken as a starting point for answering one of the enduring questions of the Western intellectual traditions: What makes us human, and how are we different from other animals? (Byrne, 1996; Premack & Woodruff, 1978; Tomasello, 2019).

Although it is widely recognized that humans' interactive skills are not solely linguistic, a logocentric and anthropocentric perspective on social interaction still prevails. The linguistic and communicative abilities of *Homo sapiens* are often considered substantial for their uniqueness. In fields such as cognitive science, psychology, evolutionary biology, and modern ethology, the investigation of the evolutionary origins of human communication is deeply anchored in a comparative approach based on a "dual-modality view" on language (Kendon, 2000), which focuses principally on vocalizations and gestures. Testing the "communicative behavior in nonhuman species" (Hauser et al., 2002), animals' (in)abilities to participate in language, culture, and communication is viewed as a way to extract possibly unique human features and characteristics. Our nearest cousins, the great apes, are a prime focus when studying the origins of language and the evolution of cooperation (Tomasello, 2008). They have been experimentally tested in terms of, for instance, their linguistic performance (Savage-Rumbaugh et al., 1998), gaze following (Tomasello et al., 2007), and referential pointing (Call & Tomasello, 1994; Leavens et al., 1996; Miklósi & Soproni, 2005; Tomasello, 2006). A comparison with humans is carried out mainly by experimentally creating conditions as similar as possible and comparing the apes' performance with that of small children.

In contrast to studies based on experiments, some research on primate communication uses the concept of turn-taking, initially developed to account for the orderly distribution of speakership within a conversation (see Section 1.2.1), to investigate social interactions among non-human primates as they occur naturally. The analysis of sequential structures in primate social interaction is the basis for the "interaction engine hypothesis" (Levinson, 2016, 2019), which assumes that the interactive abilities of humans are distinct from and phylogenetically older than their language capacities. The interaction engine hypothesis is considered a possible way to reconstruct the evolution of human language and sociality (Fröhlich, 2017; Fröhlich et al., 2016; Heesen et al., 2021, 2022; Levinson, 2016; Mondada & Meguerditchian, 2022; Rossano, 2013b, 2018; Rossano & Liebal, 2014; Wilkinson et al., 2012).

Whereas studies with primates focus on intraspecific interactions, relating and comparing animals' communicative abilities or interactional conduct with those of humans, studies involving domestic animals focus more on interspecific interactions. Studies with dogs are remarkably dominant, while pets like cats or birds remain marginal. For instance, some research in the fields of cognitive science and animal communications aims at understanding the ontogeny of the *Canis familiaris* and how its close connection with humans evolved. The dog's communicative behavior has been compared to that of its ancestor, the wolf (Gácsi et al., 2005; Virányi et al., 2008), and to that of humans, often of small children (Moore et al., 2015; Pettersson et al., 2011). Related to this is the focus on the dog's comprehension of "human forms of communication" to gain insight into evolutionary processes (Kaminski & Nitzschner, 2013). Hiding food or toys is a typical experimental setting to test the dog's abilities to read communicative cues, such as gaze direction and referential pointing (Gácsi et al., 2009; Gaunet & Deputte, 2011; Hare & Tomasello, 1998, 1999, 2005; Riedel et al., 2008). Other studies have tested the dog's ability to recognize and distinguish between familiar and unfamiliar persons (Huber et al., 2013; Kerepesi et al., 2015), analyzed the dog's "social play" (Bradshaw et al., 2015), and their "greeting behavior" in a park (Ward, 2020).

Other studies have sought to test and expose the social-cognitive abilities that enable dogs to communicate with humans in unique ways. For instance, Worsley and O'Hara (2018) provided a coding framework of referential gestures observed in communication with humans, such as "head turn," "paw reach," "flick toy," and so forth, to which intentionality is attributed, like "Scratch me!" or "Open the door!". Gaunet explored how dogs use gaze alternation to "ask" their owners for food (Gaunet, 2008) and toys (Gaunet, 2010). Similarly, Simonen and Lohi (2021) explained the use of touch, gaze, and vocalizations by dogs as being performed in the search for attention from humans.

Another central question is whether interactions with dogs make it possible to infer humans' cognitive processes, intentions, and feelings. Rooted in the fields of psychology and animal studies, Mitchell (2001) drew attention to similarities and differences between talking to young infants and talking to dogs, concluding that "baby talk" has the function, among others, to communicate with or to control the attention of a recipient with "limited understanding," and to indicate friendliness and affection. Based on these findings from research on talking to infants, Mitchell (2004) compared how women and men play with familiar or unfamiliar dogs. He claimed that when playing with an unfamiliar dog, people use the "baby talk speech register," suggesting they are more attentive to appearing friendly and

pretending to converse. Likewise, the observation of occurrences of laughter during dog–human play led Mitchell and Sinkhorn (2014) to explain its function as sharing amused recognition of social incongruities or shifting frames.

While these studies tell us about how humans tend to interpret a dog's actions, they help little to understand how humans and dogs interact daily in intelligible ways. The sociologists, Michalon et al. (2016), distinguish between two scientific agendas that tackle the issue of living together with animals: on the one hand, a "sociology of animals and animal societies" is concerned with describing and understanding the social relationships between animals (intraspecies relations), while on the other hand, a "sociology of human–animal relations" seeks to account for the sociality that exists between individuals and groups of different species, with humans as the primary focus (interspecies relations). Within the realms of animal protection and animal ethics, the latter often serves to re-problematize the relationships humans have with nature and animals. Hence, Michalon et al. (2016) argue for a different approach, a "sociology *with* animals," that consists of describing and analyzing how humans and animals "live together de facto," documenting the relations which unite humans and animals as they participate, ecologically, politically, and interactionally, in the same social space (see also Servais, 2015).

Such a view is supported in research that is rooted in symbolic interactionism and human–animal studies and aims to expand the sociological understanding of how the "mind" emerges as the outcome of social interaction and in what ways the world of animals and humans converge (Sanders, 2007). The animal is considered a social construction, visible in humans' interpretations and understandings of an animal's subjective experience (Arluke & Sanders, 1996; Sanders & Arluke, 1993). Activities like play, mutual gaze, and "speaking for" animals were discussed by Sanders (1993, 2003) as critical elements of human–animal interaction and as central to the process by which caretakers express intersubjective connections with their animals. He concluded: "[W]e may build a rich and nuanced understanding of how nonhuman minds and selves are constructed and operate within the context of intimate exchanges with their human companions" (Sanders, 2007, p. 330). Hence, the study of interspecies relationships is considered a window into human thinking and needs, and the non-human other is viewed as "resources for self-construction" (Irvine, 2004, pp. 162–166).

Moreover, in contrast to Mead's language-centered concept of "the self" (Mead, 1934), mind may be viewed as an intersubjective accomplishment, as the outcome of an interaction between humans and animals. According to Sanders, the analysis of human–animal interaction

"offers a route to expanding the conventional sociological conception of mind as a language-dependent, internalized conversation" (Sanders, 2003, p. 331). Interaction is viewed as evidence of animals' selfhood, for it reveals features of agency, affectivity, and coherence, and the capacity for intersubjectivity (Irvine, 2004). For instance, the routinized mooing of dairy cows may open the interaction with a human newcomer in their barn (Cornips, 2022). Another example was provided by Amberson (2023), who described humans and dogs on their walk as merging to form "hybridized selves." Such a perspective is less interested in knowing *whether* the animal is an actor than in determining *in what way* such and such a species can be one, that is, in identifying the empirical properties specific to its mode of acting and interacting (Guillo, 2015).

Epistemological questions about the transparency or the opaqueness of an animal's conduct for a human observer are fundamentally related to the issue of anthropomorphism which is widely understood as the attribution of human mental states, such as thoughts, feelings, motivations, and beliefs, to animals (Crist, 1999; Serpell, 2005). The ascription of human mental experiences is often viewed pejoratively as an erroneous equating of animals and humans, and "the relative privacy of meaning of human action ostensibly becomes absolute inscrutability in the case of animal action" (Crist, 1996, p. 830). However, observing an animal already implies an understanding of what it is doing, and when describing an animal's conduct, the scientists use words which often intrinsically suggest the idea of a goal. For instance, in ethological writings, the use of words like threaten, greet, hide, and run away imply that the human observer perceived what the animal *intends* to do, while other words such as courageous, noble, deceitful, and reliable are avoided (Crist & Lynch, 2022, p. 29).

In relation to the problem of anthropomorphizing language in studies involving animals, there seems to exist a "dilemma between empathy and objectivizing distance" (Rémy, 2015) for humans who work with animals, such as in animal farms, slaughterhouses, or laboratories. The issue of a tension between considering the animal as an object while interacting with it daily was tackled by two ethnographic workplace studies by Wieder (1980) and Lynch (1988), inspired by Garfinkel's early problematization of a "behaviorizing" of actions in sociological studies (1967, pp. 102–103). Wieder (1980) observed two distinct co-existing orders in a laboratory for behavioral research on chimpanzees: the "behavioristic operationalism" and the "life-world." The former refers to the primatologists' work of conducting experiments on the apes' cognition and behavior, describing them in their reports as scientific objects. In contrast, the latter refers to the fact that the researchers live alongside

those same animals as fellow subjects, "counting on this subject-to-subject relationship [...] to conduct experiments that are reportable in behavioristic-operationalist terms" (1980, p. 77). Hence, ordinary conversations between the lab technicians about the animals, and also with the animals, disappear in scientific reports, in which the chimpanzees are instead objectivized and behaviorized. Lynch (1988) investigated how rats are "sacrificially" put to death in a laboratory of neurosciences for the needs of the experiment. He argued that the body of the animal is transformed into a scientific object and that the "naturalistic animal" becomes an "analytical animal" in and through the very process of killing: "While the mundane laboratory animal is not transformed into a 'sacred' object per se, its material body and the interpretive sense of that body are radically transformed through a series of preparatory practices which turn the animal into the bearer of a generalized knowledge" (Lynch, 1988, p. 266). Those studies index a tension between a behaviorist conception driven by the researchers' scientific position on the one hand and the ordinary and routine knowledge they have of the animals on the other.

The relationship between humans and animals is radically different in settings where domestic animals are considered to be and treated as part of the family, such as in private households or veterinary clinics. Drawing on ethnomethodology and discourse analysis, Bergmann (1988) and Tannen (2004) showed how people in household settings use co-present pets as resources in mediating and supporting their interactions with each other. For instance, pets have the potential to set in motion new interactive processes, allowing human participants to shift away from potentially delicate topics (Bergmann, 1988). Similarly, Tannen observed that "talking through pets allows speakers to distance themselves figuratively from their own utterances" (2004, p. 417). Roberts (2004) traced the function of utterances directed at or said on behalf of animals in a veterinary clinic, pointing out that they "were not in the service of the medical activities of the clinic but facilitated social interaction among humans" (2004, p. 440). These studies reveal how humans deploy the animal's presence as a resource in managing both institutional and everyday dilemmas of interaction. Overall, the focus is on what the interactions and relationships between pets and humans can tell us about the characteristics of humans' sociability, showing how interactions between people may be facilitated and mediated through animals without, however, considering them as active participants of the interaction.

Laurier et al. (2006) and Goode (2007) were among the first to conduct ethnomethodological studies focusing on the sequentially ordered character of interactions between dogs and humans. Walking in a city park (Laurier et al. 2006) and playing together (Goode, 2007) are revealed as complex practical activities. They are jointly produced by the

human participant and the companion dog, and made mutually intelligible through gaze exchanges and bodily arrangements. Communicative and meaningful practices are approached as becoming visible in activities that are observable in ordinary interaction rather than by means of experimental protocols (Mondémé, 2016).

Treating human–animal interactions as constituted by coordinated, reciprocal and meaningful actions – other than *responsive* actions on the one hand, and *reactive*, instinctive behaviors on the other – means treating the animal as a ratified participant (Goffman, 1979), leading to questions of "animal agency" (Guillo, 2015) and "participation" (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004). From an EMCA perspective, participation is not based on static categories constructed by the analyst but on forms of temporally unfolding, interactively organized action through which participants demonstrate their understanding of the events in progress (C. Goodwin, 2007). Hence, participation is dynamically transformed throughout the interaction, revealing how, in a particular activity, animals and humans alike are locally positioned and categorized within embodied and publicly visible commitments (Mondada, 2021b).

Showing the animals' ratified participation in social interaction implies detecting how their manifestations, or the actions they produce, can be sequentially matched with the actions and turns-at-talk of their human co-participants (Mondémé, 2022b, p. 9). Mondémé identified a variety of sequential formats in human–animal interaction, for instance assessment sequences initiated by a dog's gaze toward the human participant (Mondémé, 2019), sequences of strokes evoked by a horse or a pet through diverse embodied resources (Mondémé, 2020b), and sequences of request and offer revolving around food issues in interactions between Barbary macaques and tourists (Mondémé & Guillo, 2021). In interactions between dogs and caretakers, a dog's gaze is considered a paradigmatic phenomenon of its agency and ability to shape the ongoing action as a ratified participant or even initiate new actions (Mondémé, 2013, p. 206). The analytical demonstration of sequential formats shows how animals and humans accomplish complex interactional tasks cooperatively, based on mutual adjustments and reflexive responsiveness: "Two species need to adjust to one another, admittedly building on the particularities of their species-typical behavioral repertoires, but procedurally trying to make sense out of it, thus creating emergent ways of interacting and acting together" (Mondémé, 2021, p. 3). Hence, the notion of sequentiality provides a conceptual and analytical framework that allows us to move away from a logocentric perspective and show in detail how the actions of animals emerge in real-time, how they are finely coordinated, and how they mutually shape each other (cf. Mondada & Meguerditchian, 2022). Furthermore, such a

perspective enables us to let go of regarding animal cognition or intentionality as a scientific problem (Mondémé, 2020a).

However, not every movement, gaze, gesture, or the like is consequential for the unfolding of an interaction. This applies equally to human and animal participants. The question is about the "functional relevance" of particularly distributed resources, that is, the "production of meaning in a sequence of action that is treated as such by the participants" (Mondémé, 2021, p. 14). The relevance and consequentiality of an animal's action may be observable in the ways in which humans respond and talk to them. For instance, MacMartin et al. (2014) showed how veterinary practitioners shape their actions as a response to companion animals' vocal and visible signals of distress. Mondémé (2018) identified three principal formats of dog-directed talk, namely "animal talk" or "baby talk" by altering the normative forms of interlocution (Mitchell, 2001); "ventriloquism," consisting of a fictive form of reported speech in which human participants embody the animal's voice to make it speak (Tannen, 2004); and "morphism," in which people "mimic" the modes of communication supposedly belonging to the animal. Similarly, Harjunpää (2022) demonstrated how caretakers interact with and respond to their pets' conduct, for instance by making use of reduplicated recycling or prosodically matching their vocal responses to the sounds produced by a parrot or a cat. In that sense, the human participants retrospectively deploy the pet's vocalization as the source for their own actions by how they respond. In her analysis of horse-riding lessons, Szczepek Reed (2023) showed how trainers distinctively design their talk as a way of ascribing agency to both the rider and the horse, treating them as a "multi-species recipient pair" performing a joint action.

Elaborating on the reflexive responsiveness between humans and animals, Mondémé (2022a) went beyond the question of how human participants make sense of their animal interactants in how they speak to them or make accounts. She focused on the embodied responses and mutual adjustments between animals and humans, showing that animals often initiate actions by mobilizing diverse multimodal resources. Hence, human–animal interaction happens within an "ordinary hermeneutics" that relies on the spontaneous readability of embodied phenomena, showing that people interpret the physical manifestations of their animals as more than just random movements, seeing them rather as meaningful and as constituted by significant actions (Mondémé, 2022a, p. 62).

Dog walking also relies on such an ordinary hermeneutics, allowing the dog and its guardian to mutually display understanding for each other's movements. Their belonging

together is publicly available through their coordinated walking, their bodily configuration, pace, and positioning in space. Terms such as "dog-human with" (Sanders, 1990), "hudogledog" (human-doglead-dog) (Michael, 2000), "binomial" (Mondémé, 2019), or "interspecies assemblage" (Due, 2021) have been adopted to describe the dyadic character of a guardian and a dog walking together side by side, in proximity, and on a leash. However, on an ordinary dog walk, the "mobile formation" (McIlvenny et al., 2014) constituted by the bodily configuration of the participants constantly changes. While it is possible to attribute certain actions to the *guardian–dog formation* (see Section 1.3.2), the transformations of these actions as they unfold often enable and generate the emergence of individual participants. A dog and a guardian may walk closely side by side, appearing as one synergy through the subtle coordination of steps and movements, but they can also move as two individuals at a distance from each other. For instance, Laurier et al. (2006) used the term "to yo-yo" to describe the dogs' going ahead, stopping, falling back, catching up, overtaking, and falling back again. They highlighted direction and pace as two features related to maintaining proximity to secure the sense of seeing the dog and guardian as belonging together. Furthermore, the dogs visibly check on their guardians by stopping and turning the anterior, performing "over-the-shoulder looks" (Laurier et al. 2006, p. 7). Guardians orient to their dog's gaze and body orientation as a manifestation of attention or disengagement (Mondémé, 2019). The belonging together between a guardian and a dog remains thus publicly available while their mobile formation continuously transforms, sometimes in drastic ways.

The interdependence between a guardian and a dog is not only practical but also categorial. The presence of the dog alongside the human makes the category of 'guardian' a salient category for the human. Conversely, the guardian's presence makes the dog a singular companion animal, representative of moral values (Camus, 2022, referring to Jayyusi, 1984). In line with considerations in recent studies, I have purposely chosen not to refer to 'pet dog' and 'owner' in my descriptions. As Hart and Yamamoto noted, "pet dogs [are] often referred to as companions and family members [...]. Reflecting the changing status of dogs, sometimes terms such as 'caregivers,' 'guardians' or 'handlers' are used rather than 'owners.'" (Hart & Yamamoto, 2016, p. 248). I chose to go in accord with Goode (2007) by using the term 'guardian' which, as opposed to 'owner,' does not imply possession. It nevertheless reflects the asymmetric relationship between the dog and the human walker. The latter is the primary decision-maker regarding the activity's global progressivity. In that respect, a distinction is to be made between the "temporal progressivity of the activity" and the "bodily progression of

the walk" (Mondada, 2018d, p. 165). Taking a stroll is done for the sake of walking, and the progressivity of the activity is not only related to but even realized by the progression of the walk. Moreover, the guardian generally embodies leadership, guidance, and responsibility, for instance by monitoring the scenery, leashing, or unleashing the dog, or changing trajectories in orientation to oncoming walkers. The guardian thus takes decisions that address issues of safety, surveillance, and control. Such aspects of surveillance and control are embodied in the guardians' persistent *monitoring* of the dogs (cf. Heath & Luff, 1992). The action of accountably 'monitoring the dog' is different from merely 'gazing or looking at the environment.' The latter describes a non-targeted or unspecified way of gazing into the air, which is often not made interactionally relevant. In contrast, the former describes the accountable tenacious monitoring by guardians that display their awareness of the dog's movements, their responsibility, and their readiness to intervene if necessary (see Chapter 3).

The guardians' familiarity with their dogs and their knowledge about their conduct in response to particularities in the local environment allow them to anticipate potential trouble. Brown and Dilley (2012) suggested that a guardian's responsibility relies on "anticipatory ways of knowing," arguing that "being 'response-able' in access with dogs entails the ability to form an adequate response to the possibilities and precursory configurations of disruptive events as much as the events themselves" (2012, p. 40). They distinguished between "preparation," a mutual attunement of dog and guardian during training sessions for "developing anticipatory competency," and "pre-emption," the enacted sensibilities and skills for achieving and maintaining attention between guardian and dog as they are on the move (Brown & Dilley, 2012). This study addresses the latter aspect by analyzing the sequential and multimodal details of how guardians and dogs respond to oncoming walkers, showing that their 'response-ability' is a joint achievement and that sociable moments between a guardian and a dog are not restricted to the controlled training environment but happen on the go and in the wild. Inspecting the data, one can observe sequential patterns previously learned in training, such as the command *heel*, which requires the dog to walk directly next to the guardian instead of behind or in front (see Image 1.1). This bodily configuration can be maintained with the dog on or off the leash, creating a formation publicly available to other walkers. It is often established in response to a projected passing-by (see Section 2.3). A command frequently employed before putting the dog on a leash is *sit*, which requires the dog to sit before the guardian attaches the leash. This highlights that attaching the leash is based on the cooperation

achieved between the guardian and their dog, instead of merely catching the dog and bringing it under control.

Image 1.1 Dogs walk with the guardians in a heel position.

Walking with a dog on or off the leash are two very different configurations important for encountering others. Commonly, dog trainers recommend avoiding contact between dogs on a leash (see, e.g., Madson, 2019; Tucker, 2021), and in their comparative study on the effect of using a leash, Westgarth et al. (2010) suggest that if either dog were on the leash, then the likelihood of interaction with the other dog would be reduced. That matches the observations made based on the data obtained in this study, where no contact between two leashed dogs is documented. Far from making a statistical statement, guardians seem to show a preference for creating symmetry in engagements with either both dogs being on the leash, thus preventing dog–dog contact, or both being off the leash (see Sections 2.4 and 3.4).

The leash thus plays a crucial role in the identification of a dog–guardian formation. Walking with a leash hanging over one's shoulders may indicate the guardian category, creating the expectation that a dog is nearby and publicly exhibiting a connection with it. In interactions among humans, Goffman describes handholding or walking arm in arm as "tie-signs," which provide third parties with evidence of participants' relationships (Goffman, 1971, p. 194). Similarly, the leash creates a visible connection between the dog and the guardian. However, it is a momentary "relationship marker" (Goffman, 1971, p. 43) that says nothing about their degree of intimacy. Walking with a dog on a leash may seem like an expression of control that the guardian exerts on her/his companion dog. However, the leash may also be considered a mutually relevant artifact, allowing both the guardian and the dog to sense each other's movements in space and giving them a means of guiding one another's walking (Laurier et al., 2006, p. 13). The leash thus constitutes a concrete material connection that contributes

to the public availability of a 'collective' which is locally embodied in the leash, the dog, and the guardian (Mondémé, 2019).

In sum, dog walking relies fundamentally on the interaction between humans and dogs and touches on one aspect of the relationship between the two species. This study aligns with interactional and praxeological approaches to interspecies relationships and aims to empirically show how guardians and dogs locally and cooperatively achieve intelligibility as they engage in interaction. Their shared understanding is visible, for instance, in their coordinated walking – whether connected through the leash and the subtle synchronization of steps or as free-walking individuals recognizable as walking together. The fundamental principle of sequentiality allows for the guardians' and the dogs' actions to be considered as shaping, and being shaped by, the unfolding interaction, without relying on ascriptions of intentions or cognitive states. The activity of dog walking in open space is different from situations in which the dog and human interact in experimental settings or in private households. It involves joint adaptation to local contingencies, such as other walkers, while maintaining mobility. This is why, in the subsequent section, I review work that addresses issues of mobility in open public spaces.

1.2.3 Mobility and interaction in open spaces

Public space is an important aspect of the F5W project (De Stefani & Mondada, in prep.). One way to look at *public space* is to focus on speaking in public. Public talk during a political event is revealed in the detailed way in which turns-at-talk are allocated and how the systematic organization of embodied, situated, interactional practices contributes to the configuration of participatory democracy (McIlvenny, 2017; Mondada, 2011a, 2013b). Other activities involved speaking in public: For instance, market pitchers use rhetorical formats and interactional practices to manage sales (C. Clark, 1995; Pinch & Clark, 1986). Another way to address public space is in terms of the material surroundings in which social action takes place and the mobility of the participants orienting to its public aspect, its possibilities and constraints (Mondada & Tekin, submitted). This aspect is addressed by the current study. Hence, in what follows I develop some of the rich literature on mobility in open public spaces from an interactional perspective.

In the 1960s, the sociologist Erving Goffman introduced a new interest in everyday life observable in urban public space. One fundamental topic he addressed is the conduct and interaction of people in city streets (Goffman, 1963, 1971), describing public space as being a "normalcy show" in which "all participants have the task of acting unfurtively" (1971, p. 282).

He observed in fascinating detail how individuals construct a particular image of themselves, deal with moments of embarrassment, and how others respond to and coordinate with them.

For Goffman, mobility is a crucial dimension of public space. Referring to pedestrians' navigational practices, he introduced the notion of a "pedestrian traffic system" in which the individuals move as distinct "vehicular units." People's relationships are recognizable from the "structure of social gatherings," consisting of "singles" and "withs" that form separate "participation units" (Goffman, 1971, p. 225). Goffman also raised the issue of displaying mutual trust that makes the coordination of movements possible. The informal understanding between different vehicular units is based on the readability of their direction, pace, and projectable trajectory, allowing others to anticipate it. Goffman observed that pedestrians' "routing practices" may result in a partition of the path with the dynamically changing "dividing line" near its middle (Goffman, 1971, p. 9).

Inspired by Goffman's original descriptions, early ethnomethodological work investigated how the public character of urban spaces is accomplished through the socially organized uses and practices of members in which walking is constituted as a collectively organized practice (Lee & Watson, 1993; Lofland, 1973; Quéré & Brezger, 1992; Relieu, 1999; Ryave & Schenkein, 1974; Mondada 2022a, 2023). As Lee and Watson (1993) pointed out, public space is characterized by an organized, dynamic, and identifiable "flow file," constituted by pedestrians moving in space. The walkers' awareness of their and others' immediate projected trajectory incorporates the relevance of pace and direction.

Studies based on the analysis of video material provide empirical evidence of walking as an interactional achievement organized in detail and in time. For instance, walking has been shown to be a conduct systematically coordinated with talk-in-interaction (Broth & Mondada, 2013; Mondada, 2014a, 2017) and related to the situated achievement of participants' membership categories (Mondada, 2020a). Walking requires interactional and coordinative work between participants, for example when crossing a street together (Merlino & Mondada, 2019) or when walking in a group while reading a map (Laurier et al., 2016). These studies document and describe types of "mobile formations" (McIlvenny et al., 2014) that are accomplished interactionally by participants as a constitutive part of their walking practices.

When people walk together in a group, they often do so while talking to each other. Walking and talking have been described as a form of *multiactivity*, referring to the concurrent performance of several activities by highlighting the practical accomplishment of simultaneously progressing two or more courses of action (Haddington et al., 2014).

Participants adjust their multiple courses of action so that they can be simultaneously coordinated, produce discontinuities, or be mutually exclusive, revealing the prioritization of one action over the other. Mondada (2014d) conceptualized these multiple temporalities and the heterogeneity of courses of action by showing a continuum of methodical practices through which multiactivity is managed. In a *parallel order*, multiple courses of action run simultaneously without interfering with each other; in an *embedded order*, they are organized in an intertwined and alternating way; and in an *exclusive order*, they are organized hierarchically, and one activity is suspended or even definitively abandoned (Mondada, 2014d).

Studies in various settings have addressed the reflexive coordination between walking and the organization of talk. Participants adjust their turns-at-talk to contingencies in the walking, for example, as caused by a narrowing corridor (Relieu, 1999). In guided visits, there are systematic relations between sequences of talk (e.g., question/answer), mobile and stationary interactional space, and forms of participation (Best, 2012; De Stefani, 2010; De Stefani & Mondada, 2014; Mondada, 2017, 2018d; Stukenbrock & Birkner, 2010). Multiple layers of practices and resources with several intertwined forms of progressivity are employed that are based on three sequential organizations: syntactical and prosodic resources, movement and walking, as well as gaze and gesture (Mondada, 2014a, p. 307). As has further been shown, leaving a stationary position and walking away constitutes an embodied way of achieving completion and transitions (Broth & Mondada, 2013) or of producing a delayed departure, thus revealing the crucial relation of walking to the progressivity of talk, actions, and activities (Mondada & Broth, 2019). These studies of guided visits highlight how walking practices within a multiparty framework are accountable and meaningful in that they are timely coordinated and intertwined with the organization of talk and used by participants to organize their actions according to the surrounding space and unexpected events (see Section 2.5).

Furthermore, architectural and spatial features can affect the projectability of the walking direction. The participants' orientation to the "pre-structured space" is visible in their following a path, a road, a sidewalk, and the like, which suggests the more probable direction of walking (Hausendorf & Schmitt, 2022). Depending on the interactive requirements and momentary constraints, participants can dynamically change their configuration at any time such as, for instance, by stepping off the path. The "walkability" of a surface is thus realized within the ad hoc interpretation of the walker's situated and continuous routing practices (Hausendorf & Schmitt, 2016).

Adjusting and changing one's walking trajectory is a fundamental practice through which members display their mutual perception, avoid collisions, and prepare for an encounter with oncoming walkers. Smith (2017) uses the notion of "attention displays" to describe the publicly exhibited and inspectable attention that bears a procedural consequentiality for the mutual organization of movement. For instance, changing the trajectory may be recognizable as responsive to the walk of other individuals; thus, it is a public and accountable acknowledgment of their co-presence and their ways of walking. Another example is provided by Laurier, Maze, and Lundin, who observed that guardians initiate a "side-by-side walk" (with their dogs in a heel position, see Section 1.2.2) when meeting others in head-on encounters on a path, often creating a "dog-to-outside arrangement" (Laurier et al., 2006, p. 14). In that sense, the guardian's trajectory change may be exploited to simultaneously connect with their dogs and establish a side-by-side walking formation that prepares them for a smooth passing-by (see Section 2.3).

Lee and Watson consider public space to be "dynamic configurations of membership categories" and distinguish between "category flow" and "category articulation" (Lee & Watson, 1993, p. 4). Whereas the former describes people's movement and their organization relative to one another (e.g., to avoid passing through an established interactional space between two people), the latter labels the exhibited and observable ways in which people identify with and orient to member categories (e.g., identifying passersby as 'lost tourists' by approaching them and offering help). Such a view allows for reflecting on public space in a way that does not reduce it to a simple background location or parameter that intervenes in the description of people's conduct, but rather as an entity that is constantly being established and elaborated by the individuals themselves, through their practices, which constitute the very features of that entity (Mondada, 2002). In other words, the categories through which people identify and interact with each other constitute a fundamental dimension of the intelligibility of a place itself.

1.2.4 Among strangers? The significance of categorial practices

Such a perspective on the use of public space in its perceptual and social dimensions is related to the *accessibility* and *witnessability* of individuals' actions. Categorial identities are used by members themselves to produce intelligible and accountable actions that are recognizable to others and, in return, to recognize and draw inferences on the actions produced by them. Watson spoke of two dimensions of social interaction complementing each other: "sequential organization" and "categorial organization" (Watson, 2005, p. 212). (Sequential)

orderliness is constituted by the members themselves and the recognizability (and categorizability) of social order is produced locally as an ongoing practical accomplishment within the course and relevance of people's activities. Hence, the ways in which people move may produce categorial identities, recognized and responded to by participants. Practices such as walking forward, stopping, turning, walking ahead, catching up, changing direction, and others constitute and sustain the intelligibility of what participants are doing and how they are related to one another (Mondada, 2014a). An interruption, suspension, or abandonment of a projected exhibited trajectory creates the need to resort to categories that can legitimize or account for it. For instance, suddenly freezing in a public square transforms the participants into 'performers' and the watching passersby into the 'audience' (Haddington et al., 2012; Stanley et al., 2020); people walking against the flow file of pedestrians may be associated with their work as 'activists' or 'street professionals' (Mondada, 2022a); and while pedestrians may see litter on the pavement but walk past it, street cleaners are required to display their perception and categorization of it as 'litter,' which makes them identifiable as responsible for its removal (Ablitt & Smith, 2019).

People's categorization practices relate to the fact that moving in public generally entails chance encounters between previously unacquainted individuals, often described as 'strangers' (Amin, 2012; Lofland, 1973; Schuetz, 1944; Simmel, 1905/1950). A stranger is an outsider, an unfamiliar 'wanderer' who has recently arrived and settled in a new place. Thus, paradoxically, the stranger is "a full-fledged member [of a community that] involves both being outside it and confronting it" (Simmel, 1950, p. 402). Similarly, Goffman (1963; 1971) conceptualized 'the stranger' as a category based on how members of a society are related to one another and interactionally orient to this relatedness. His description of "civil inattention" (Goffman, 1963, p. 83–88) is related to the interactional task of staying unknown, or, as Hirschauer (2005) puts it, a "practice of strangeness." Therefore, from a member's perspective, using the notion of 'stranger' may be problematic. As Goffman commented, referring to Harvey Sacks: "[o]ne usually means 'fellow user of a public place,' not merely any unacquainted other" (1971, p. 7, fn. 5; see also Sacks, 1995b, p. 406, on the use of 'stranger' as a category). This points to a fundamental understanding of social categories as being the result of people's observable practices and as constitutive of the expression of their sociability, which was developed and elaborated by Sacks (1967, 1972b). He noted: "You walk through the streets, and you're constantly classifying the persons you see" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 81).

Sacks (1972b) introduced a new form of analysis, membership categorization analysis (MCA), which considers categories to be a constant accomplishment by the participants. The relevance of membership categories is demonstrated as being locally observable in the organization of participants' conduct and consequential for their unfolding interactions. For instance, Sacks described how people's visual categorization is used as grounds for the police to select and decide on "deviant appearances" that need to be examined (Sacks, 1972a). In other words, individuals' social activities in public space are constantly oriented toward the categorization of the other, who is not a 'faceless stranger' without characteristics but treated as a temporary relevant member of some category, such as 'tourist,' 'companion dog,' 'child,' 'chestnut vendor,' and so on. Hence, categorization practices are often implicit, without the category being topicalized; instead, they are interactionally accomplished by those who produce their ordinary, recognizable – categorizable – appearances in expectable ways, and by those who display their understanding of and orientation to them.

The organization of walking as a sequential interactional phenomenon is thus accountable through "category-bound ways of walking" (Mondada, 2020a) – for example, 'leading' or 'following' is not the same as 'walking ahead' or 'behind' (2020a, p. 106; see also De Stefani & Mondada, 2014 on the reorganization of mobile formations by a 'guide' vs. the 'guided'). The relevance of these categories is embedded within the sequential organization of action on the basis of embodied evidence and participants' orientation to it. For instance, people subtly and precisely coordinate and adjust their recognizable trajectories, allowing them to anticipate collisions, pass by others and, in the case of a group of multiple walkers, maintain a display of "walking-together" (Ryave & Schenkein, 1974, p. 266). Merlino and Mondada (2019) distinguished between "practices of coordination within the mobile with" from "practices of management of the visibility and recognizability of the mobile with to others." In other words, participants organize their joint action both within their group and with respect to other passersby.

The categorial analysis of witnessable configurations in public space – "glance-available" in Jayyusi's (1984) words – is elementary for identifying possible co-participants and initiating talk-in-interaction. Goffman addresses the issue of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of approaching an unknown individual. He defines institutional categories of "open persons" who qualify for being approached and who are also "opening persons" in that they have a "built-in license" to approach others, such as police staff, shopkeepers in their shop, newsstand vendors, and the like (1963, p. 129; see also Ablitt, 2021, on work-oriented categorizations and

park rangers as "public approachables"). Furthermore, Goffman suggests that a person's comment to a child or a dog is a way of initiating contact with the accompanying caretaker. For him, children and dogs may constitute "bridging devices" between unacquainted people (1963, p. 126, fn. 3).

Whereas Goffman's argument was still shaped by a view of predefined categories with inherent normative rules that members follow, Sacks (1995a, 1995b) focused on how categorization is visible in the interactional practices of participants. For instance, instead of initiating an interaction by proffering a greeting, unacquainted persons use a "ticketed first utterance," which immediately solves the question of why they talk to each other, such as asking for directions or the time, thus implicitly categorizing the prospective interactant as, e.g., 'someone familiar with this place' (Sacks, 1995b, p. 195). Potential prospective participants thus assess their right to approach and talk to an unacquainted co-present person based on the moral and normative features of specific categories. Relieu (1994) provides an early empirical example, describing how passersby offer help to a visually impaired person, constituting the categorial relation of 'helper' and 'helped.' Within the realm of those relational pairs lies the legitimacy of an interactional approach by an unknown person. Through a detailed sequential analysis of itinerary requests in city streets, Mondada (2009a) shows how two requesters engage in joint categorization work before selecting and approaching a person to ask for directions. Moreover, in line with Sacks' definition of the 'ticket', she observed that "there is a preference for the production as soon as possible of the reason for the encounter, which dissipates possible doubts about the categorization of the participant initiating it and of the activity itself" (2009a, p. 1983). Hence, the first turn-at-talk makes a response possible or expectable and thereby establishes an incipient encounter.

These studies highlight that the work of categorization is exhibited very early in the interaction and may ground the legitimacy of the initiated activity. Members orient to a distinction between 'being acquainted' and 'being unacquainted' with each other as demonstrated by De Stefani and Mondada (2018). In their analysis of interactional openings in public and semi-public spaces, they empirically showed participants' orientation to a differentiation between *recognition* of an acquainted person ("ACQ-encounters") and *identification* of a stranger ("STR-encounter"). In the latter case, "the other is identified as a potential interactional partner for the project at hand" (2018, p. 251).

In general, opening sequences are the place in an interaction where contact between the participants is initiated and takes shape, where the context of and reason for the encounter are

defined, and where the participants agree on the type of activity in which they will engage (Mondada et al., 2004). Goffman provided terminology that invites us to reflect on where and how an interaction begins by acknowledging various intensities and durations of encounters. For instance, individuals may perform "civil inattention" by displaying acknowledgment of each other's co-presence without conveying interest or recognition (Goffman, 1963, p. 86), they may navigate and mutually adjust in an "unfocused interaction" or transition into a "focused interaction," i.e., jointly engage in an encounter by maintaining a single focus of attention (1963, p. 89). One of Goffman's remarkable insights is to think of reciprocity as a prerequisite for co-presence: "Each individual can see that he is being experienced in some way [...]. Further, he can be seen to be seeing this, and can see that he has been seen seeing this" (Goffman, 1963, p. 16). Hence, the shift from merely being co-located to being co-present is considered more than an individual's inner perception of another entity in the surroundings; rather, it is a mutually and publicly acknowledged interactional accomplishment. Practical tasks such as stepping aside or changing the walking trajectory may render visible the very first moments of mutual perception (see Chapter 2).

1.2.5 The organization of interactional openings

In order to understand how strangers or unacquainted persons meet in public spaces, the focus on openings of encounters is central. This is a fundamental aspect of the F5W project, and most of the studies developed within it address this issue (D'Antoni, 2023; D'Antoni et al., 2022; D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Debois, 2023; Debois & De Stefani, 2022; De Stefani, 2019, 2022; De Stefani & Mondada, in prep.; Hänggi, 2022, 2023; Mondada, 2021a, 2021b; Mondada et al., 2020, 2022).

In CA, openings have been largely studied in the context of telephone conversations (Schegloff, 1968, 1979, 1986), where participants engage in interaction in a sequentially ordered way: they establish attention and availability through the "summons-answer" sequence, identify, or recognize each other, engage in greetings, and express the reason for their call. Kendon and Ferber (1973) elaborated on this sequential pattern for face-to-face interactions, inspired by Goffman's observation of gaze exchange as a "clearance signal" that precedes the transition from an unfocused interaction to a focused interaction (1963, p. 91). They analyzed video material of guests at a garden party greeting each other. This allowed them to take into account the spatial distribution of future co-participants, showing how face-to-face openings are essentially related to the physical position and proximity of the interactants in space. Individuals perform a "sighting" of each other, exchange mutual gaze, smile, and

produce "distant salutations" (such as nodding, smiling, waving, and displaying a "head toss"), approach further, and converge, before engaging in "close salutations" (Kendon & Ferber, 1973, p. 172). Moreover, Kendon (1990) depicted the spatial configurations and bodily positionings by which participants are distinguished from non-participants and bystanders using the 'F-formation', as a basic spatial orientation with which individuals sustain focused interactions.

In her seminal article, Mondada (2009a) explored the systematic accomplishment of interactional openings between unacquainted pedestrians in a public space, demonstrating the importance of bodily movements and spatial distribution for the organization of talk. She showed how participants methodically mobilize various multimodal resources, such as walking trajectories, body positions and postures, unilateral glances, and mutual gazes, through which they achieve a common and dynamically changing *interactional space*. Participants create the mutual orientation of their bodies and gaze even before beginning to speak, and "the grammatical organization of the first turns is aligned with the dynamic movements of [the participants'] bodies in space" (Mondada, 2009a, p. 1994). Hence, moving into interaction is accomplished through publicly available and sequentially organized multimodal resources which are sensitive to their mutual spatial distance and witnessable form of mobility. The transition into and establishment of a new interactional space is achieved during the *pre-opening* (Mondada, 2010) by the ordered configuration of participants' bodies, actively and constantly shaped and sustained during the interaction. Such a conceptualization of pre-opening is similar to Schegloff's notion of *pre-beginning* which he reckons as being delimited by mutual greetings: "Greetings [are] the end phase of incipient interaction—what I referred to earlier as 'pre-beginnings'" (Schegloff, 1979, pp. 33–34).

During the last two decades, interest in dealing with the multimodal complexity of interactional openings has grown (e.g., Auer, 2017; Hoey, 2023; Kidwell, 2017; Mondada & Schmitt, 2010; Pillet-Shore, 2008; Rudaz et al., 2023). Some studies have focused on individuals entering private spheres (Pillet-Shore, 2012) or institutional places, e.g., how interactional space, availability, and service are managed in food shops (Harjunpää et al., 2018), how customers entering a café place their order (De Stefani, 2019), and how visitors and staff members of cafés display recognition of each other (D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022). By considering the spatial and temporal dimensions of such encounters, these studies showed how entering a room is literally the first step to coordinatively entering into interaction. Other studies on service encounters investigated how persons walking by are emergently transformed

into co-participants. For example, Mortensen and Hazel (2014) demonstrated how staff behind a help desk face the practical problem of distinguishing between prospective co-participants (i.e., students seeking help) and others who pass by the counter to access different offices. In the ecology of outdoor markets, Hochuli (2019) and Mondada (2022b) investigated how people strolling by the market stall are potentially transformed into customers as they stop and engage in interaction with sellers. These studies reveal how a change of trajectory, gaze direction, and body posture is intrinsically connected to displaying and selecting relevant social categories for the encounter. This also reflects an asymmetry that is characteristic of service encounters: whereas sellers or service providers are in a stationary position behind their desks, passersby are mobile within the local ecology, bearing the potential to transform into customers or not.

Contrary to this are settings in which individuals are entirely mobile; for instance, when tourists ask other pedestrians for route directions (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018; Mondada, 2009a), a street vendor tries to sell magazines to passersby (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008), or activists approach passersby to convince them to become new members of their organization (Mondada, 2022a). Because they are mobile, participants can dynamically adjust their trajectory, depending on their decision to engage or not in interaction. That ultimately shows that "the mobile micro-sequential adjustments between the two walking parties are crucial" (Mondada, 2022a, p. 62). Here, too, a form of asymmetry is reflected in how people approach or are approached. The encounters are initiated by one person addressing one or more other persons and proposing some kind of business transaction.

Research on encounters in public spaces, based on a more symmetric approach between participants, is still scarce. De Stefani and Mondada (2010, 2018) showed how chance encounters in a supermarket emerge as the participants reciprocally orient to each other and display mutual recognition. Focusing on how acquaintances greet in public and institutional settings, Mondada et al. (2020) demonstrated how people responded to the challenges of the Covid-19 outbreak, discussing a variety of tactile greetings, showing that participants engage in "elaborating the sociality of distant interaction" as they develop new and creative forms of greeting from a distance (2020, p. 25). In his study on encounters of incidentally co-present unacquainted people, Hänggi (2022) showed that participants appear attentive and take advantage of "overhearables" in the local soundscape by linguistically adjusting their first words when spontaneously engaging with others.

These studies extend our knowledge of how bodies, movement, space, and soundscape are fundamental to the organization and achievement of interactional openings. These involve

participants' negotiation of convergent spatial trajectories, a mutual orientation toward a common interactional space, gaze direction, and postural configurations. This not only applies to the human species, as Mondada and Meguerditchian (2022) disclosed in their analysis of social interactions between baboons. Focusing on openings, they showed that these primates manifest a very precise sense of sequence organization as they mutually adjust their trajectories and methodically approach one another.

Some of the abovementioned studies highlight the fleeting and transient nature and the situated order of minimal interactions, where individuals maintain mobility. They are crucially based on the "moving, cruising, walking, and mutual positioning of converging or diverging body trajectories" (Mondada, 2022a, p. 39). The project (Levinson, 2013) of street vendors or activists in search of new members is to build a sustained interactional space with other passersby; however, "possible not-yet-participants" may respond minimally and in misaligned ways, resulting in ephemeral interactions "on the fly" (Mondada, 2022a).

In contrast, in passing-by interactions, participants walk in parallel or opposite trajectories past each other and continue their way without stopping. As Ryave and Schenkein note, the volatile character of such fortuitous encounters is locally achieved by participants as they walk along: "[D]irection, pace, and body attitude were all mobilized to ensure that the moment when the passer was in precise physical co-presence with the one he was passing would only be a fleeting one" (Ryave & Schenkein, 1974, p. 273). Pedestrians who pass each other without entering a sustained interaction thus move in a way that minimizes their visible adaptations and the requirement for abrupt adjustments by others. This results in a series of momentary agreements *not* to sustain a joint focus of attention. As Kendon put it: "[W]e may observe two people co-ordinating their actions about a common objective, albeit in this case one that joins them in an agreement not to join" (Kendon, 1988, p. 25).

Nevertheless, these moments of passing by may be a locus in which people exchange glances and greetings. Goffman characterized "passing greetings" as a moment of engagement within a state of civil inattention (1963, p. 132), and according to Sacks, a mere exchange of greetings is a "minimal proper conversation" (Sacks, 1995a, pp. 553–554). De Stefani and Mondada (2018) showed that "greetings-only interactions" (Sacks, 1995b, p. 193) at a distance involve participants engaging in a minimal conversation without entering a stabilized form of interaction, allowing them to manage concurrent courses of action (2018, p. 260). An exchange of talk may not even be required for participants to achieve a form of intersubjectivity. According to Goffman, "recognitional or friendly glances" are the briefest exchange of

"interpersonal rituals" (1963, p. 101). For instance, crossing the street in an urban environment can be considered an interactional achievement between pedestrians and drivers (Merlino & Mondada, 2019). Likewise, space-offering by road users is accomplished not only through the recognizability of mobile actions, such as slowing down or pulling over, but also through gaze exchange and gestures, which are a constitutive part of face-to-face interactions (Haddington & Rauniomaa, 2014).

In this section, I presented the theoretical background of interactional studies that deal with public space, categorization practices, opening sequences, and pedestrians' mobility. The management and definition of space relies crucially on intersubjective and categorial work between walkers as a locally situated and practical accomplishment. It may involve navigating as a couple or a group and meeting other unknown people outside this dynamically constituted mobile formation. This study tackles these issues by investigating how guardians and dogs move in open spaces, continuously achieving their belonging together, and how they encounter other individuals. This may entail merely passing by other co-located individuals, but even navigating in the vicinity of others involves minimal interactional work. Fleeting encounters can be transformed into more stable and sustained, focused interactions. The individuals' orientation to locally accomplished social categories grounds the legitimacy of approaching and talking to each other: walkers identifiable in their category as guardians encounter each other as "proper conversationalists" who do not need a "ticket" to legitimize the initiation of talk (Sacks, 1995a, pp. 552–553). The issue of what type of encounter participants deal with is constantly negotiated and established in situ and already projectable in the way people walk toward each other.

1.3 Presentation of the data and methodological considerations

This study draws on EMCA as the methodological approach adopted by the F5W project. Audio and video recordings have been extensively used in EMCA for documenting social activities and for investigating how the situatedness of social interaction is embedded in local ecologies. The fundamental objective is to discover the living order of social activities as they are endogenously organized. The way in which data are collected (choice of activity type, settings, participants, technical material) is thus significant for the subsequent detection of phenomena and the analysis of systematic patterns. This section is dedicated to a description of data collection (1.3.1) and explains the transcription of data (1.3.2).

1.3.1 Collecting data on dog walks

EMCA is based on a naturalistic perspective on data collection, predominantly developed by Sacks (1984) in line with the notion of "naturally occurring social activities." Data are collected in their emerging context, based on the consideration that social practices are organized in a locally situated way that cannot be artificially transposed into an experimental setting (Mondada, 2006, 2013c). Hence, 'natural' refers to the endogenously produced practices and activities in social interaction and the possibility of natural observations of social life (for a critical discussion on the term, see Lynch, 2002; Speer, 2002). However, the video recordings are not treated as an objective record of what happened since the audible and visual access they provide is always partial (C. Goodwin, 1993, 2000). Video practices are considered an iterative process and a social accomplishment, which reflexively shape the objects they aim to document (Mondada, 2009b; Mondada et al., 2022). They imply, on the part of those who produce the images, a common-sense understanding of the action filmed, including the relevant participation frameworks.

The selection of recording equipment and ways of shooting are crucial epistemological choices that depend on the affordances of the setting. In addition, they are important for the later processing, transcription, and analysis of the data. Ultimately, the recordings of the unfolding activity should allow the analyst to reconstruct and account for the participants' production and displayed understanding of social actions. A limitation of video recordings is their restriction to visual and aural documentation, neglecting other senses. However, as Mondada notes, "these limitations are not arbitrary: vision, as well as hearing, represent a privileged access to social life that characterizes the members' perspective and their social engagements" (Mondada, 2021c, p. 86).

The camera person is considered to be a specific kind of participant who is actively present in the position of an observer (as opposed to being treated as invisible). Mondada explains that "the camera person has to recognize the new emergent action, to identify the object made relevant here and now, to follow and anticipate the emergence of a new interactional space, etc." (Mondada, 2019b, pp. 98–99). Hence, camera work is a real-time interpretation of what is happening, showing a proto-analytic interpretation of relevancies and participation while reflexively producing documentation that later enables the researcher to observe repeatedly and analyze in detail the complex distribution of the multimodal resources employed by participants within the sequential unfolding of their interactions (e.g., Camus, 2022; Heath et al., 2010; Mondada, 2006).

The empirical data on which this thesis is based are part of the corpus of the F5W project. The subset used for this thesis consists of about 21 hours of video-recorded dog walks conducted by at least two members of the team (one person filming while another person secured the informed consent) in four different cantons of the German-speaking part of Switzerland between 2019 and 2021. In total, 98 encounters were identified in the data, resulting from 14 dog walkers being shadowed with their informed consent. The activity of dog walking is inextricably tied to the setting in which it is found. In our fieldwork strategy we chose outdoor terrains in recreation areas, forests, and parks, which are common spots for guardians to go for their walks and are very different from walking with a dog in a crowded city, as the landscape is spacious and open. This often gives the participants a good, long-distance view (see, e.g., Images 1.2–1.5), allowing them to sight each other mutually and, consequently, makes early projection, anticipation, and adaptation of trajectories possible. A low number of people is also beneficial for the recording process, since large crowds risk blocking the visual recording process (cf. Weilenmann et al., 2014).

Image 1.2 CH_BS_DOGW_20191024

Image 1.3 CH_AL_DOGW_20200221

Image 1.4 CH_BS_DOGW_20191109

Image 1.5 CH_SC_DOGW_20200722

Video recordings were made in collaboration with 14 guardians who gave their consent to be shadowed with a camera on their walks with their dogs. In response to the ethical challenges relating to the recording of unplanned events involving 'not-yet-participants,' we

adopted a practice of asking for and documenting informed consent on the spot. Such a procedure was indispensable for not disturbing the natural course of an emergent interaction and preserving the 'fortuitousness' of the encounter. We used leaflets to introduce the project and talked personally to the persons recorded immediately after the end of each encounter, registering their consent. The fact that there were not many people around made it easier to engage in extended conversation. The feedback from people was generally positive, as most of them were very interested in the project and in collaborating with us. They were given the option not to feature in any treatment of the data, transcription, and analysis. All the participants featuring in this study gave their informed consent.

To adequately capture interactional work in these open settings, where the participants are mobile, we decided to keep our equipment as simple, flexible, and unobtrusive as possible. One researcher followed the guardian and the dog a few meters behind, carrying a mobile camera with an internal stabilizer specifically designed to keep the camera flat and to reduce the shakiness of images. Sound was recorded via audio sources from the camera as well as via a separate audio-recording device attached to the shadowed guardian with a clip-on microphone. This procedure allowed us to catch the audio well enough, even when participants were still at some distance.

The camera person is acknowledged to be a peripheral participant but is usually not ratified as an addressee (Mondada et al., 2021). When recording dog walks, however, the dogs occasionally oriented to the camera person as part of the activity. Likewise, oncoming walkers sometimes engaged in greetings or started to talk to the camera person. In the rare cases where this happened and where it was relevant to the encounters, the camera person is included in the transcription and analysis. The presence of the dogs led to additional challenges. Their spatial rearrangements and trajectories sometimes changed abruptly and unexpectedly, making it difficult for the camera person to follow the action. A "selection problem" (Mondada, 2021c, p. 110) did occur when the dogs broke out of the global participation framework, e.g., when running far away or staying behind. However, it rarely happened during emerging encounters because guardians tended to carefully keep their dogs within sight when approaching other walkers.

In general, the camera captures the public availability of individuals' practices, observable in their mutual reflexive responsiveness, allowing for a reconstruction of the participants' displayed orientation and understanding of social action. The limitation of working with only one mobile camera resulted in the asymmetrical perspective obtained. While

the guardian followed by the camera person is visible from behind, oncoming walkers are visible from the front. Furthermore, the sound is recorded continuously by one guardian, while oncoming persons are heard only when they get closer. Thus, whereas participants approach each other in symmetrical and reciprocal ways, the visibility and audibility of the recordings are made from and create an asymmetrical perspective. These aspects would be problematic if we considered the recordings to be transparent windows of reality, pretending that the camera was not even there. However, within the framework of EMCA, the analysis fully endorses the contingencies of the video production, considering possible asymmetries of perspective when reconstructing the local order of action (Mondada, 2013c).

1.3.2 Transcribing dog walk encounters

The textual and visual representation in the form of transcripts and screenshots is a fundamental research practice embedded in the analysis, allowing the identification of details with temporal precision, and the uncovering of locally relevant features of action. Transcriptions are a continuously evolving product based on repeatedly watching the video while analytically deciding on the granularity of the transcription. Transcribing means to "selectively elaborate the potentialities of video recordings" (Mondada, 2021c, p. 92) while detecting what the participants orient to as relevant for the intelligibility of the analyzed interactional phenomenon.

The most commonly used conventions for transcribing vocal conduct in talk-in-interaction have been developed by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson, 1973, 2004), whose transcription system is a way to represent talk while capturing the detailed nuances which participants make relevant and cannot be captured by a simple orthographic representation (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). Transcriptions show how the organization of social interaction is based on the fundamental principles of temporality and sequentiality, considering the participants' orientation toward the issues of "why that now?" and "what's next?" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

Although sequence organization has mainly been systematized based on turns-at-talk, showing the systematic and methodical organization of turns, actions, and sequences (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007), the primary object of CA is not language but rather social action (Sacks, 1984). Today, the availability of video allows for the reconstruction of multimodal aspects, including the entire body and the configuration of interactional space by participants. Based on the principles of sequential analysis in CA, Mondada (2018c) developed notations to transcribe the richness of embodied conduct, integrated in a systematic yet flexible convention,

which is applied in this study. A multimodal transcription enables the analyst to reveal how a diversity of multimodal resources is mobilized without prioritizing linguistic over embodied resources; talk is viewed as an important but not the primary resource or activity. A detailed multimodal transcription is the fundamental empirical tool for documenting and conceptualizing the temporality, projectability, and accountability of action in social interaction (Mondada, 2019a).

When selecting and segmenting interactional sequences of the data, I had to make decisions based on the questions: At what point does the interaction start? Which action can be considered the very 'first' one? Sequence organization relies on responsiveness, that is, relations of *firstness* and *secondness* or *previousness* and *nextness* (Mondada, 2021a). This responsive relation between a prior and a next action is crucial for developing an argument about the interactional openings that emerge within a mobile activity in unstructured outdoor spaces. The multimodal transcription enables a precise annotation of embodied conduct within the progression of the walk, potentially allowing an identification of the first moments of mutual responsiveness in an incipient encounter.

The data were transcribed using the software ELAN 6.4 and then transferred into a Word document according to Mondada's (2018c) conventions (for a comparison, see, Mondada, 2007b). Most of the encounters occurred in varieties of Swiss German dialects, where "Swiss German" is used as an umbrella term for the various existing dialects. The guidelines of Dieth (1938/1986) for transcribing Swiss German dialects were considered for transcription, but care was taken not to systematically superimpose grammatical guidelines in order to preserve the originality of the data. One guardian speaks (Swiss) German as a second language (as indicated at the beginning of the examples). Screenshots are an integral part of the transcription, illustrating the shape of movements and the ecology in which they are performed. In addition, the images are sometimes enriched by means of inserted arrows to indicate the participants' trajectories of gaze or other embodied conduct. Hence, screenshots and textual annotations complement each other. Whereas images offer a "synthetic visual representation of all resources at a precise instant," annotations show the "analytical relationships between distinct but interrelated timings of multimodal conducts" (Mondada, 2019c).

Participants' names have been replaced by pseudonyms. In order to indicate the relationship between a dog and a guardian, I chose pseudonyms that begin with the same letter (e.g., Berta is the guardian of Bello). This improves readability without forgetting that the

relevance of categories such as 'belonging together' should be revealed through the analysis. When the dog and the guardian are connected through a leash, their belonging together is quite evidently displayed. In those cases, their coordinated walk can be considered as one single and same action, creating an effect of collective and collaborative agency (Mondémé, 2019). In contrast, when they walk separately, their connectedness is visible in their mutual glances and bodily orientations. Furthermore, the guardian and dog still jointly coordinate their walk, even when walking separately and at a distance from each other.

I use the following terms to describe the different mobile formations (McIlvenny et al., 2014) which are observable in the data: A guardian and their dog together form a *dog-guardian formation*. In some cases, people are involved who do not have dogs with them, and they together form a *pedestrian formation*. Since mobile formations are locally accomplished through interaction (and should not be anticipated or predetermined by me as an analyst), I often use general terms like *walkers* or *oncomers* (Goffman, 1971), which include humans and dogs alike. The distinctive use of *individuals* and *participants* refers to the issue of co-participation. While individuals do not yet share a common interactional space and temporality, participants are considered as being engaged in interaction with others. Both terms embrace dogs and humans.

The practice of transcribing multimodal details raises the problem of how to describe a movement textually. It should neither impute intentions or cognitive states nor reduce the movement to its physiological features. From an emic perspective, the description provides a grasp of what participants are doing and what the co-participants can see them doing. During dog walks, for instance, the slightest reorientation of the head and body can index a shift in the 'visual axis' between participants. Different forms of visual perception may become relevant, such as *gazing*, *monitoring*, and *looking*, which are distinct activities that have different embodied formats. Therefore, I differentiate between the action of *gazing toward* and *looking at*. The former describes a non-specified gaze orientation publicly available to others (in the sense of the conceptualization of "copresence" by Goffman, 1963, p. 17). In contrast, the latter refers to instances in which the gaze is directional and consequential for immediate subsequent action, such as achieving mutual orientation before beginning to talk (C. Goodwin, 1981).

Issues of description become even more critical when the actions are carried out by human and animal participants. Animal actions have traditionally been described within an ethological paradigm, thus we have no vocabulary for the action of animals (Mondémé, 2019). Epistemological biases are embodied in lexical, syntactic, and stylistic choices (Crist, 1999).

For instance, describing an action with *looks at* ascribes a sense of perception while *turns the head* merely describes the physical movement. Such lexical choices reflect, and make visible, broader theoretical conceptions. Documenting a particular movement in terms derived from a behaviorist vocabulary reveals a conception of the dog as an object of ethological study. On the other hand, considering and describing the dog's movement as an action, treats the dog as a participant in social interaction. Hence, I avoid ethological descriptions where possible since they are often based on a behaviorist perspective. Instead, focusing on situated practical achievements embodied in activities, I describe the dog's conduct as it is available and recognizable to the human participants, and as visible in their orientation to and responses to it. From an EMCA perspective, interpretations and attributions regarding intentions or motives are avoided in principle (if not in practice) – whether they are about humans or animals. Rather, the analytical focus is on how reasoning, intelligibility, and mutual understanding are jointly accomplished in an orderly way. Such an approach allows for the integration of animals into the analysis without raising the question of intentionality (Mondémé, 2016). The challenge is to situate oneself on a continuum from the technical and physiological to an intentional description (for an extended discussion, see Mondémé, 2019).

1.4 Transition to the analysis

The analysis of dog walk encounters allows for the observation of a wide variety of social interactions between previously unacquainted individuals. The participants' sociability is witnessable in minor details of mutual adaptation and their organization of interactional space. For instance, guardians may silently pass by each other, engage in 'greetings-only interactions' (Sacks, 1995b, p. 193), initiate talk from afar, or engage in delayed greetings after the opening has already taken place. The dogs are part of the interactions as ratified participants. Video recordings enable revisiting the minute details of these interactions and transcribing and analyzing them. Therefore, this study constitutes a step forward in the documentation and empirical analysis of chance encounters in open spaces that are otherwise difficult to capture.

The subsequent analytical part is structured according to the temporal unfolding of encounters during a walk. Chapter 2 concentrates on how encounters emerge as the mobile formations move toward each other, and their trajectories are projected to converge at some point. It shows how the individuals display their acknowledgment of mutual co-presence and initiate the coordination of passing each other by. Systematically, guardians orient to the progressive approach of oncoming walkers by shifting attention to their dog (Section 2.2),

adjusting their trajectories (Section 2.3), and leashing or letting the dog off the leash (Section 2.4). On a walk with multiple guardians and dogs, adjustments, suspension, or abandonment of concurrent activities hint at the perception of oncoming passersby and reveal the complexities of organizing the prospective encounter (Section 2.5).

The gradual development of a shared interactional space between participants is the basis for the progressivity of the activity and decisive for the modalities of the projectable encounter. Guardians orient to an urgency to mutually agree on whether and how their dogs may come into closer contact – the management of 'dog–dog contact' is prioritized over the interactional engagement between the guardians. Chapter 3 thus addresses how guardians and dogs manage the negotiation of the modalities of an encounter. The ways in which participants approach and categorize each other are contingent on their categorizations of the dogs in terms of their 'friendliness' or 'aggressiveness.' Guardians can silently agree to leave the dogs off the leash, giving them the autonomy to approach each other freely (Section 3.2), or they may initiate talk from a distance to negotiate the modalities of dog–dog contact (Section 3.3). Uncertainty about whether the dogs will get along creates situations in which guardians display prevention of troublesome or delicate situations, or account for their decision to restrain their dogs or let them free (Section 3.4).

When it is established whether and in what way the dogs will come into contact, it may happen that the interactional space between participants is transformed into a more stable configuration, enabling a sustained exchange of talk between the guardians. That is the focus of Chapter 4, which addresses issues of opening turns and epistemic displays. The topical focus of the guardians' talk-in-interaction is related to the preceding management of their dogs. Participants create mutual displays of sociability by requesting information about a dog's breed and orienting to each other's categories as guardians (Section 4.2). Another practice of pro-sociality is observable in instances in which participants collaboratively account for a dog's marked or disapproved conduct by using the attribution 'young' (Section 4.3). Nevertheless, there are also situations in which a guardian's epistemic primacy is challenged by another guardian who displays expertise in canine knowledge. Participants constantly elaborate epistemic status and stance, which may lead to epistemic competitions (Section 4.4).

Chapter 2: Becoming co-present and coordinating to pass by

2.1 Introduction

When dog–guardian formations approach each other, and an encounter is projectable, they display a visual orientation to each other while still being at a distance and coming progressively closer. Both dogs and guardians display acknowledgment of oncomers, which makes it difficult to answer the question of when precisely the interaction begins. The individuals' "awareness" is not a stable frame of reference structuring the organization of conduct, but a practical accomplishment which arises in and through social action and activity (Heath et al., 2002). In this chapter, I aim to uncover the first moments in which individuals display acknowledgment of each other's presence and their mutual approach, showing how they move progressively into reciprocal responsiveness and how this may lead to the coordination of passing each other by.

'Becoming co-present' can be manifested in a guardian noticing the visual or audible availability of other walkers. To ensure the safety of the encounter, it is important for the guardians to establish a witnessable relationship with their dog and to understand projections and anticipations of the oncoming walkers. Practical tasks, such as turning to one's dog, changing the trajectory, and manipulating the leash, serve primarily to control the dog and to display responsibility as a guardian. At the same time, these actions serve to indicate the acknowledgment and recognition of a possible encounter with other mobile formations (McIlvenny et al., 2014) and are fundamental in establishing mutual coordination with them. The ensuing mutual responsiveness between each other's actions creates a shared spatiality and temporality that are crucial for the subsequent steps in the encounter. This aspect addresses the issue of negotiating 'interactional space' (Mondada, 2005, 2009a, 2012b), which is "constituted through the situated, mutually adjusted changing arrangements of the participants' bodies within space, as they are made relevant by the activity they are engaged in, their mutual attention and their common focus of attention, the objects they manipulate and the way in which they coordinate in joint action" (Mondada, 2014b, p. 250). Within the activity, interactional spaces are constantly (re-)established and transformed (De Stefani, 2010; De Stefani & Mondada, 2007; Mondada, 2009a, 2011a).

On a walk, individuals have to negotiate the interactional space of their approach but also that of their passing-by in ways that integrate the spatial relation with the dogs and the constraints of the environment. For instance, closer proximity between the guardian and the

dog takes less space, affords more control, and facilitates a passing-by. An interactional space between approaching mobile formations thus emerges as the individuals walk toward each other and begin to coordinate and respond to each other from afar. Even when 'merely' passing each other by, the (prospective) participants orient bodily to each other, forming a dynamic, constantly transforming, fleeting interactional space. Sometimes, the walkers stop and form a more stable interactional space.

In Section 2.2, I illustrate how turning toward one's dog is oriented to the progressive approach of other dog–guardian formations. When the dogs walk behind their guardians, the latter turn around, displaying a shift of attention to their dogs, while maintaining an orientation to the progression of their walk and to the projectable passing-by with the oncomers. This double orientation takes place through "mobile body torques" (Mondada, 2018d, in reference to Schegloff, 1998), which are potentially visible from a distance. In addition, guardians may call their dogs to gain their attention and request them to come to their side.

Another display of acknowledgement of each other's progressive approach is a change in walking trajectories. When individuals are on a "collision course" (Lofland, 1973), they adjust their trajectories accordingly. In Section 2.3, I show how the guardian and the dog move to the side to collaboratively organize and coordinate a passing-by with oncoming dog–guardian formations. In doing so, each party consisting of a guardian and a dog jointly organize their walk. An orientation to the "pre-structured space" (Hausendorf & Schmitt, 2022) may be observable, for instance, when both dog–guardian formations pass by each other along the edge of a road, displaying the creation of maximal distance. Nevertheless, the landscapes and suburbs through which the participants move belong to a "weakly structured setting" (Jucker et al., 2018), often containing routes with minimal and unspecified spatial affordances.

Such special affordances enable individuals an expansion of the walkable space if necessary. Changing the trajectory is a form of micro-sequential adjustment that orients to the pace and direction of the oncomers' walk (Mondada, 2022a), thus orienting not merely to their presence but to their way of walking. Furthermore, the guardian's adjustments are concomitant with guiding their dog, for instance when leading the dog and moving the leash from one had to the other to create a "dog-to-outside arrangement" (Laurier et al., 2006), thereby maximizing the distance between one's dog and the oncoming dog–guardian formation.

In Section 2.4, I demonstrate how guardians orient to oncoming walkers by leashing or unleashing their dog. Having the dogs on a leash or letting them run freely constitute two different walking configurations (see Section 1.2.1), and the manipulation of the leash by the

guardian projects the change between these two. As an artifact-in-use, the leash contributes crucially to the categorizability of the dog–guardian formation: leashing or unleashing one's dog happens continuously when adapting to and preparing for contextual affordances, such as a projectable encounter with other mobile formations. Guardians show a preference for symmetrical engagements in the sense that the approach happens with both dogs on the leash or both dogs off the leash. Therefore, when dog–guardian formations appear with a leashed vs. a free-running dog, a guardian may adjust to what they witness by leashing or unleashing their dog accordingly. Whether the dog is leashed or unleashed is based on how the guardians assess the compatibility of each other's dogs and their indication of whether they agree to let them come close (see Chapter 3).

These actions of turning toward one's dog, adjusting the trajectory, and manipulating the leash often happen concurrently. They are comprised of witnessable changes in body posture and positioning and are thus an accountable acknowledgment of, and adjustment to, the progressive approach of oncoming walkers. The last section of this chapter, Section 2.5, focuses on instances in which multiple persons engaged in talk-in-interaction walk together, which constitutes an extra activity to deal with. Guardians thus have to manage the 'multiactivity' (Haddington et al., 2014) of preparing for an encounter with other walkers, organizing the ongoing conversation, and navigating the space with the co-walkers. In order to deal with these 'plural temporalities' (Mondada, 2014d), participants adjust, suspend, or abandon their talk, thus prioritizing the management of the imminent encounter.

The practices described in this chapter happen when oncoming walkers are in sight of one another or within hearing distance. They are sequentially positioned in a temporal relationship with glances toward the oncomers, which makes them recognizable as acknowledging their presence and approach. Hence, these practices are fundamental for the gradual emergence of a shared interactional space between participants in coordination with their progression of their walk and the decreasing proximity. For the analyst, too, they are a way to show the "ascribability" (Nishizaka, 2022) of the guardian's awareness of oncoming walkers. The position of the camera privileges one party over the other, generating an asymmetrical perspective within an otherwise mutual approach (see Section 1.4.2). Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct the local order of action and the displayed orientation and understanding of social action, in particular by the walkers that the camera follows.

2.2 Shifting attention to the dog

This section examines two ways of shifting attention to one's dog. These are often employed concurrently as oncoming walkers are approaching. First, in a *visible* way, the guardians turn their upper bodies toward their dogs while maintaining their feet in the original walking trajectory and continuing their walk (Section 2.1.1). Second, in an *audible* way, they call their dog by producing simple one-word commands like 'come,' 'here,' the dog's name, and the like (Section 2.1.2). By turning to and calling their dogs, the guardians manifest their walking-together with them. By doing so, they also orient to issues of responsibility and of 'doing being in control,' which prevent the dog from running toward the other walkers. In some cases, a witnessable shift of attention to the dog can potentially index the dog's presence, giving oncoming walkers, in return, the possibility of responding accordingly. The mutual adjustments between the participants' bodies results in the emergence of a dynamic and fleeting interactional space, allowing them to pass by each other cooperatively.

2.2.1 Turning to the dog walking behind

This section focuses on instances in which at least one dog–guardian formation consists of the guardian walking ahead of the dog, i.e., the dog walking behind the guardian. In those cases, guardians acknowledge the approach of oncoming walkers by first turning their gaze toward them, then turning their upper bodies toward their dogs while maintaining their lower bodies in the walking direction. Such a mobile body torque confirms the guardians' orientation toward the presence of the oncomers while showing their anticipation of convergent walking trajectories and their preparation for an incipient encounter. This is illustrated in Extract 2.1, where Ava (AVA) walks with her dog Arno (ARN) following her. A movement can be seen behind the bushes in the distance – a few seconds later, it turns out to be Piet (PIE) with his dog Pepi (PEP) walking toward them on the same path (1).

(2.1) (CH_AL_DOGW_20200221_0.36.15)

```
1          (2.5) * (1.15) + (0.2) + (0.5) #
   pie         *appears behind trees, walking fwd->>
   ava   >>wks/gazes fwd+.......+turns twd ARN while walking->
   fig                              #fig. 1

2  AVA   chumm k.k.k.k.k.k >hop-op-op<
         come k.k.k.k.k >hop-op-op<
3          (0.8) + (0.4) +#  (1.6)   +   (1.5)
   ava        ->+.......+stops/gzs P+gazes twd ARN->
   fig              #fig. 2
```

As Ava follows the path, she notices Piet and Pepi, then torques her torso toward Arno behind her while slowly continuing her walk (1; fig. 1). The performance of a mobile body torque allows her to gain the attention of her companion dog while walking. Ava calls for Arno using an imperative and vocalizations (2). Eventually, she stops and turns her gaze forward again, in the direction of Piet and Pepi, who continue to approach them (3; fig. 2). Ava's gaze is not simply a byproduct of her body's "default orientation" (Mondada, 2012a) when walking forward; her stopping and then turning her head toward Piet and Pepi confirms her orientation toward them as co-present walkers. This, combined with her turning to and calling for Arno, shows Ava's anticipation of an incipient encounter.

In some cases, oncoming walkers are merely audible at first, prompting the guardian to orient to them without having visual access. That is the case in Extract 2.2, where Emma (EMM) is on a forest walk with her companion dog Eno (ENO). Eno walks off the path, sniffing the ground. Suddenly, voices coming closer become audible, which prompt Emma to jerk her head quickly to her left and then gaze forward to where the sound is coming from (1):

(2.2) (CH_AL_DOGW_20210113_4_0.06.56)

```
   ut/ul >>approaching voices hearable->>
1       (1.1) *   (0.5) +* (0.4)
   emm       ->*jerks hd L*gazes fwd->
   emm               ->+obliques L->
2       (2.3) #+* (0.7)  #*+   (0.4) #
   emm        ->*gazes back*gazes twd ENO->
   emm        ->+feet perpend+steps off path->
   fig         #fig. 1     #fig. 2     #fig.3
```

```
3   EMM    hey eno ch+umm mal zu mir,•
           hey Eno come PRT  to me
                   ->+side-step/feet fwd->
    ut/ul                          •walk forward->>
4          (0.5) +* (0.2)*
    emm        ->+walks fwd->
    emm         ->*......*gazes fwd->
5   EMM    pf-pf ((sucks air between teeth))
6          (0.7)
7   EMM    >chumm mal do,<
           come PRT here
8          (0.2) § (0.3) Δ (0.2)
    eno        ->§runs twd EMM->
    emm               ->Δputs RH in pocket->
9   EMM    >ts ts ts<
            ts ts ts
10         (0.7) *§# (0.5)
    emm        ->*gazes twd ENO
    eno          ->§parallel to EMM/slows down->
    fig           #fig. 4
11  EMM    ja su:per
           yes su:per
```


Emma's rapidly changing posture and redirected gaze make her orientation to the changing situated "soundscape" (Merlino et al., 2022) visible (1). Hence, her immediate subsequent actions are demonstrably based on this sound event. Her gaze remains directed forward for almost 3 seconds as she walks further to her left diagonally (fig. 1). She then gazes back,

possibly toward Eno, and pivots laterally, turning her feet perpendicular to the path and even stepping off it (2; fig. 2-3). Finally, she summons Eno while already beginning to reorient herself forward again, possibly responding to the fact that Eno has complied with her command and is running toward her (3). Only now, do Uli and Ute, two pedestrians without a dog, become visible as they walk around the corner (3). Eno runs toward Emma, and she puts her right hand in the pocket where she keeps treats for her dog, making a noise to call the dog's attention (8-9). Eno slows down when he is parallel to her, and Emma responds with a positive evaluation as they walk side by side toward Uli and Ute (10-11; fig. 4). Emma's evaluation of her dog's action at the end of the fragment indexes her orientation to a normative expectancy of how to pass by appropriately.

In the following example, two oncoming guardians consecutively turn around toward their dogs walking behind them. Their actions are performed as displays of acknowledgment of each other's approach. Basil (BAS) and his companion dog Bilbo (BIL) are walking along a river when Oleg (OLE) appears at a distance, walking toward them (1; fig. 1).

(2.3) (CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_2_0.13.29)

```
   bas    >>walks fwd->
1         (3.6) *#  (2.5) * (1.9) *•# (3.2) * (6.8)
   bas      ->*slows dwn*pivots-*wks backw*stops->
   bas                      ->•gazes twd BIL->
   fig          #fig. 1          #fig. 2
```



```
2         (2.8) *$ (0.8) •* (1.0)$# (5.0) §% (2.3) # (1.5)
   bas      ->*pivots---*walks fwd->
   bil      ->$overtakes BAS--$walks fwd->
   bas           ->•gazes fwd->
   ole                >>walks fwd->%stops->
   ole                      $torques backw->
   fig                      #fig. 3       #fig. 4ab
```

4b | 3 | 4a

Basil orients to Oleg's approach by turning toward Bilbo behind him. He slows down and pivots while taking two steps backward, gazing toward Bilbo (1; fig. 2). He stops and waits for his dog to come closer while keeping his feet perpendicular to the path. As Bilbo is about to overtake him, Basil turns forward, resuming his walk, finely adjusted to the dog's projected trajectory (2; fig. 3). Five seconds later, a similar action from Oleg is observable, possibly occasioned by Basil and Bilbo's approach. Oleg stops and torques his torso backward, gazing over his shoulder (2; fig. 4ab), which hints at his taking responsibility for a dog behind him. Basil and Oleg orient to each other's approach by turning toward their dogs which displays their acknowledgment of each other's presence. Their backward orientation is visible from afar and allows for the possible identification of them as guardians, even though the dogs may not yet be visible – their presence is made relevant and indicated by the guardians' turning their bodies toward them.

To sum up, in orientation to the progressive approach of other walkers, guardians turn their upper bodies toward their dogs walking behind them. They face the practical challenge of gaining visual access to the dog behind them while maintaining an orientation to the projectable encounter with other dog–guardian formations or pedestrian formations. This double orientation is solved through 'mobile body torques' (Mondada, 2018d) which are potentially visible from a distance. Hence, even though performed as a mere practical task, visibly shifting attention to one's dog may be a first action in achieving an interactional space between two mobile formations approaching each other.

2.2.2 Calling for the dog

While torquing the body toward one's dog constitutes a visible action acknowledging the approach of oncomers, guardians also employ vocal resources which are audible from a distance and thus recognizable to other walkers. Excerpt 2.4 illustrates how a guardian calls for

his dog in orientation to the approach of another dog–guardian formation. Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) walk through a forest. Bilbo runs down into a streambed on their left, and Basil's gaze follows him. Shortly afterwards, Sara (SAR) and her dog Simba (SIM), accompanied by Sofie, appear on the path as they turn the corner (1).

(2.4a) (CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.46.08)

```
1          (0.5) * (1.2) •≠ (0.6)
   bas         ->*gazes twd BIL->
   sar                •walks fwd->
   sim                 ≠walks fwd->
2  BAS    °jö::sses ◊ez chasch ändlich trinkä◊ du°
           ji:::zes  now you can finally drink you
   bil           ->◊enters the water--------◊wks in stream->
3          (1.6) # (1.3) * (0.5) #
   bas              ->*gzs twd SAR/SIM->
   fig        #fig. 1          #fig. 2
4          (0.3) *§ (0.4) § (1.0) §# (1.2)
   bas         ->§turns L§.......§kneels->
   bas         ->*gazes twd BIL->
   fig                            #fig. 3
```



```
5  BAS    ja(h)a was
           ye(h)s what
6          (3.7) † (0.4)
   sim         ->†runs twd BAS/BIL->
7  BAS    chumm,#
           come
   fig        #fig. 4
8          (0.2)
9  SAR → S◊IMB*A  #◊XXXXXX
           SIMBA      XXXXX
   bil    ->◊gzs BAS◊leaves streambed->
   bas       ->*gzs twd SAR/SIM->
   fig             #fig. 5
10         (0.3) †
   sim         ->†turns around->
11 SAR    HIER#
           here
   fig        #fig. 6
12         (0.6) † (0.2) ◊*
   sim         ->†runs twd SAR->>
   bil              ->◊reaches path->>
   bas               ->*gazes twd BIL->>
```

Basil interprets Bilbo's entering the streambed as an urgent need to quench his thirst (2). When voices become audible, he gazes toward Sara, Simba, and Sofie, keeping his lower body oriented to his left (3; fig. 1-2). Basil's torqued position thus shows his orientation to two different "intertwined relevancies" (Mondada, 2012a). Shortly afterward, he turns his entire body toward Bilbo and kneels next to the path (4; fig. 3). Simba accelerates his trot and runs forward (6). His change of pace may be heard by Basil, who calls for Bilbo with the imperative *chum* 'come' (7; fig. 4). When Sara calls Simba in a loud voice, Basil turns his head to his right in their direction (9; fig. 5). He continues to monitor Simba as the dog turns around and runs back toward Sara (10-12; fig. 6). Only once Simba has reached Sara does Basil turn his gaze back toward Bilbo, who has climbed out of the water and is jumping onto the path (12). Sara's shout is directed to her dog Simba and happens in response to him running toward Basil and Bilbo. In that sense, it also acknowledges the presence of Basil, of whom Sara has visual access. Furthermore, Sara's call constitutes an audible event in the environment that prompts Basil to turn his gaze in her direction.

The above scenario points to the fact that a guardian's call primarily addresses the dog, but it may also serve as an alert for oncoming walkers, allowing them to prepare for a possible encounter with a free-running dog. In Excerpt 2.5, Iris (IRI) and her dog Imo (IMO) are on a walk through the woods, accompanied by Jan and his wife, Jil. Lea (LEA), Liz (LIZ), and Lio (LIO) are three pedestrians, who turn the corner and walk toward them, possibly occasioning Iris to turn her head, gazing toward Imo, who walks beside the path on her left (1).

(2.5) (CH_FL_DOGW_20201220_1)

```
1          (0.2) * (0.8) #
   iri        ->*gazes twd L->
   fig                 #fig. 1
2  IRI → IMO%::#
          Imo::
   liz      %torques twd LIO->
   fig          #fig. 2
3          (0.8) § (0.4) %# (0.1) § (0.4) §
   lea        §torques twd LIO-§pivots-§stops->
   liz                ->%gazes L->
   fig                    #fig. 3
```



```
4          (0.1) + (0.2) * (0.1) % (0.2) #*% (0.1)
   imo        ->+runs fwd on the path->
   iri                ->*................*gazes fwd->>
   liz                      ->%pivots---%stops->>
   fig                              #fig. 4
5          (0.3) ¶ (0.2) #§¡ (0.7) ¶¡#
   lea        ¶stretches out LH-¶takes LIO's RH->>
   lea              ->§walks and gazes fwd->>
   lio              ->¡RH out--¡takes LEA's LH->>
   fig              #fig. 5      #fig. 6
```


Upon the approach of the oncoming pedestrians, Iris gazes toward Imo and calls out to him (1-2). Her call is produced in a loud voice, thereby revealing to the oncomers the presence of a dog that is being called (thus, one that is possibly running around freely). Liz immediately responds by torquing her torso toward the child, Lio, who walks a few steps behind (2; fig. 2). Shortly afterward, Lea also torques toward Lio (3; fig. 3), eventually stopping and waiting for him (4). Meanwhile, Imo jumps onto the main path, running forward, monitored by Iris, who

follows his movement with her head (4; fig. 4). Hence, Imo complies with Iris's summons in the sense that he decreases his proximity to his guardian. However, instead of running toward Iris, he runs in the direction of the pedestrians. Lea stretches out her left hand toward Lio, who comes to meet her with his right hand extended (5; fig. 5-6). Goffman describes holding hands as a "tie-sign" that makes the relationship between two persons publicly available (Goffman, 1971, p. 195) – in this case, the relationship between a protective adult and a child. This example illustrates how calling a dog may alert other individuals, allowing them to prepare for a projected encounter. Iris's call is a witnessable acknowledgment of the approach of the oncoming pedestrians, while Lea and Liz respond to Iris's action by turning toward Lio. Hence, previously independent individuals gradually enter a shared interactional space constituted by their changing bodily orientations, adjustments and mutual responsiveness.

I elaborate on this aspect in Extract 2.6. Upon the anticipated approach of oncoming walkers, Dina (DIN) silently instructs her dog, Duke (DUK), simply by showing her upward-facing palm. A little later, the oncoming guardians, Wim (WIM) and Wilma (WIL), also call for their dog in a loud voice. This eventually leads to the emergence of a shared interactional space. At the outset of the example, Duke walks ahead of Dina when moving bodies become visible in the distance further ahead, behind the leaves of the trees (1).

(2.6) (CH_BS_DOGW_20200619_1_0.05.31)

```
1        (3.9) • (0.3) * (1.1) § (0.8) *
   duk                      ->§gzs twd DIN->
   wim        •moving bodies further ahead visible->
   din             ->*slows down-----*obliques L->
2        (0.3) §+ (0.6) + (1.0) § (0.8) # (1.2) §
   duk      ->§wks across path-§--------------§stops/shakes->
   din          +.......+stretches out RH->
   fig                              #fig. 1
3        (1.5) +*§   (0.8)   *§
   din      ->+
   din       ->*stops-----*walks fwd->
   duk        ->§wks twd DIN§obliques R->
4        (0.7) • (0.9) + (0.4) *• (0.6) # (0.6)
   wim      ->•walks fwd-------•torques backward->
   din              +RH reaches for DUK->
   din                  ->*obliques R->
   fig                              #fig. 2ab
5   WIL  WO+ODY=+
        Woody
   din  ->+,,,,+
6   WIM  =WOODY
         Woody
7        (0.4) + (1.4) • (1.2) *•
   din          +grabs DUK by collar->>
   wim               ->•turns fwd•torques backw->>
   din                     ->*walks fwd->>
```

Dina slows down and walks obliquely to her left while Duke pivots, gazing toward her (1). Dina stretches out her right hand, commanding her dog to come to her side without using her voice (2; fig. 1). In response, Duke slowly walks back toward his guardian (2), and as he arrives next to Dina, they both resume their walk (3; fig. 2a). It is reasonable to suppose that Dina's instruction to Duke is oriented to the visibility of the oncoming walkers who are obscured behind the woods. Duke walks slightly to his right (3), occasioning Dina to try reaching for him (without success) while following him obliquely toward the middle of the path (4; fig. 2a). In the distance, Wim becomes visible as he steps out of the forest, walking straight ahead (4). He possibly now has visual access to Dina and Duke, occasioning him to torque his torso and gaze behind him (fig. 2b). Wilma, another guardian walking with Wim, copies his torque by calling for their dog, Woody (5); this is immediately repeated by Wim (6). In response to their call, Dina reaches again for Duke, grabbing him by the collar (7).

In this example, Dina's first acknowledgment of the approach of oncoming walkers happens as she probably sees them appearing from behind the trees. Her 'silent call' for her dog shows Dina's heightened awareness of the distant surroundings, which are part of her and Duke's projectable walking trajectory. A little while later, when Wim comes around the corner, gaining visual access to Dina, he publicly exhibits his noticing of her through his body torque toward Woody (see Section 2.2.1). That prompts his co-walker Wilma to call for Woody, thereby recognizing Wim's torque as turning to their dog. Dina's and Duke's creation of a side-by-side walking formation and Wim's body torque are actions that merely acknowledge the progressive approach of oncoming walkers. In contrast, at the end of the fragment, Dina grabs Duke's collar in response to Wim's and Wilma's calls. Hence, the increased proximity between the two dog–guardian formations leads to the progressive development of an interactional space, observable in the guardians' orientation to each other's approach and eventual responsiveness to each other's actions. Their mobilization of multimodal resources contributes

to the accountable and recognizable transition from one task (simply walking forward) to another (organizing the passing-by).

In short, the guardians' shift of attention to their dogs happens at moments when there is visual or aural availability of oncoming walkers. Their orientation to each other's approach is manifested by 'torquing to' and 'calling for' the dog. These actions orient to a guardian's tasks of securing the safety of a prospective encounter, and establish a witnessable connection between the guardian and the dog.

2.3 Adjusting the trajectory

In addition to turning toward their dogs, guardians often change their trajectories upon the anticipated approach of oncoming walkers. An individual's moving to the side is reflexively responded to by oncoming individuals, and this is evidence of the collaborative organization and coordination of the passing-by (Section 2.3.1). In addition, guardians need to coordinate the navigation of the encounter with their dogs. When on a leash, the trajectory adjustments happen concurrently with guiding the dog in a heel position close to the guardian, facilitating the passing-by (Section 2.3.2).

2.3.1 Coordinating spatial distribution by walking to the side

Stepping to the side is an adjustment that may manifest the walker's anticipation of the pace and direction of another's walking trajectory, thus constituting an element of the mutual coordination of passing by. Who walks where is not predetermined but established by the walkers' changing spatial distribution and trajectories. This is illustrated in Extract 2.7, where Dina (DIN) and Duke (DUK) are on a stroll in the city. They are about to encounter Pia (PIA) with her dogs, Prince (PRI) and Pearl (PEA). Upon their approach, Dina, while walking, guides her dog Duke to the right margin of the path.

```
(2.7) (CH_BS_DOGW_20200124_0.28.09)
   din    >>wks fwd, gzs down->
   pia    >>wks fwd, gzs down->
1         (0.3)
2  DIN    #°b*ra:*:%vo.°§ ((concludes a previous instructive sequence))
             bra::vo
   din    ->*...*gazes fwd->
   din          ->%obliques R->
   duk            ->§obliques R->
   fig    #fig. 1
3         (0.2) ¶ (0.3) •†# (0.4) † (0.4)
   pia       ->¶gazes fwd->
   pia             ->•obliques to her R->
   din              ->†lifts LH†holds leash w 2Hs->
   fig                 #fig. 2
```

```
4   DIN   un§d fu†::ss.
          and  hee::l
    duk   ->§walks fwd->>
    din        ->†shortens leash->
5          (0.3) %† (0.7) •
    din        ->%walks fwd->>
    din        ->†holds leash w 2Hs->>
    pia              ->•walks fwd->>
    fig        #fig. 3
6          (0.7)
7   PRI   >WHOO♣WHOO<# ((barks))
    pia        ->♣RH grabs PRIs leash->>
    fig              #fig. 4
```


At the beginning of this example, Dina and Pia turn their gazes down as they walk toward each other with their leashed dogs (1; fig. 1). Dina's positive evaluation in line 2 concludes an instructive sequence between her and Duke that has happened immediately before this. Concurrently, she raises her head and gazes forward. Immediately afterward, she begins to walk obliquely to her right, followed by Duke (2; fig. 2). Dina's walk to the side shows her anticipation of an encounter with the oncomers and projects a passing-by. In alignment with Dina's trajectory change, Pia walks diagonally to her right (3; fig. 3). Dina shortens the leash, commanding Duke to walk in a heel position, thus constituting a 'passing-by formation' with her dog (4). Finally, the participants walk along the opposite margins of the sidewalk, in

preparation for passing each other by (5-7; fig. 4). This example shows that participants orient to the relevance of dividing the path into two opposite walkways. Who walks on which side is an agreement interactively achieved between Dina and Pia. They have maximal visual access to each other's projected walking trajectories, enabling Dina to move toward her right and initiate a sequence of mutual coordination with Pia.

Similarly, in Extract 2.8, the participants are visible to each other from a distance, allowing them to coordinate their walking trajectories. Basil (BAS) and his dog Bilbo encounter Reto (RET) and his dog Rocky on a stroll. Both dogs walk behind their guardians.

(2.8) CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_2_0.04.41

```
    ret   >>walks fwd->
1         (1.7) #+ (1.4) # (0.3)
    ret        ->+obliques R/leaves the path->
    fig          #fig. 1  #fig. 2
2         +§• (0.9) # (0.4) • (0.4) § (0.4) §# (0.4)
    ret   ->+walks fwd->>
    ret      §torques twd ROC---------§,,,,,,,§gazes fwd->
    bas      ->•obliques R-----•torques twd BIL->
    fig             #fig. 3               #fig. 4
3   BAS   k.k. ((clicks tongue))
4         (0.3) • (0.4) •
    bas        ->•,,,,,,,•turns fwd->>
```
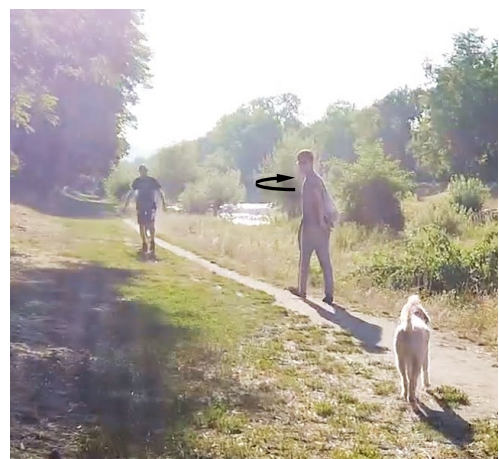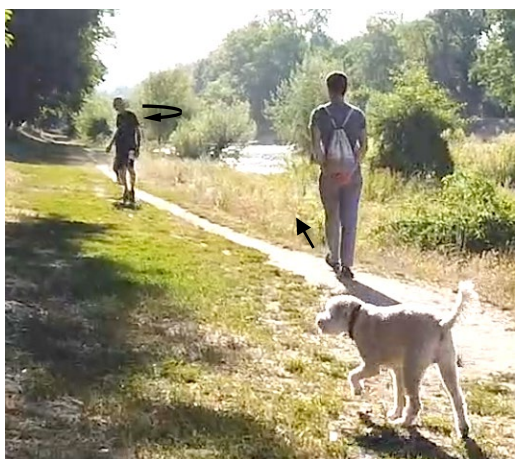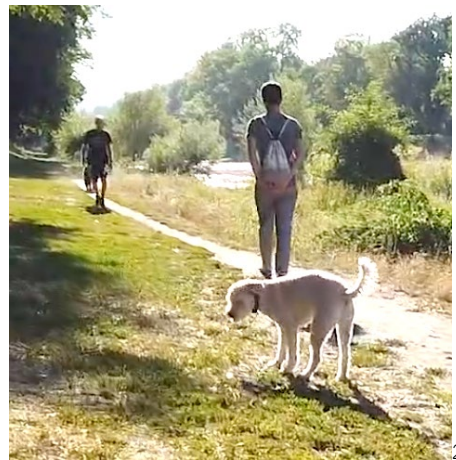
Reto moves to his right and leaves the path (1; fig. 1-2). Nevertheless, he still orients to the spatial structures as he continues straight ahead along beside the path. Basil responds by moving to his right, in line with, and adjusting to the initiated trajectory change (2; fig. 3). At the same time, Reto torques his torso and gazes back toward Rocky (see Section 2.2.1). Shortly after that, Basil mirrors Reto's action as he casts a glance over his shoulder at Bilbo, concurrent with a clicking sound to call him (2-3; fig. 4). Both guardians thus orient to the presence of their dogs in anticipation of the upcoming encounter and thus revealing themselves as responsible. Basil and Reto have mutual visual access and their dogs walk freely behind them, both walking along the same narrow path. Reto adapts to Basil's trajectory by stepping off the trail and enlarging the walkable space by involving the meadow around them. Basil immediately responds to Reto's move by also stepping to his right, almost off the path. Hence, Reto's step to the side is recognizable as the start of coordinating their path cooperatively, which makes expectable a response by Basil in the form of making a similar adaptation to his trajectory. They integrate the spatial relation with their dogs as well as environmental constraints by negotiating their emerging interactional space and projectable passing-by.

Sometimes, corrective steps and shifting from one side to the other show an orientation to uncertainty about how the walkers will pass each other by, as Extract 2.9 shows: Emma (EMM) and her dog Eno (ENO) are on a stroll, Eno walks behind Emma and is sniffing the ground. In the distance, guardian Zoe (ZOE) and her dog Zeus (ZEU) are approaching them on the same walking path.

(2.9) (CH_AL_DOGW_20210113_3_0.06.34)

```
1       (2.5)     + # (1.2) # +* (0.6) * (0.4)
    emm >>wks fwd+3 steps L--+walks fwd->
    emm                     ->*.......*torques L->
    fig             #fig. 1    #fig. 2
2   EMM  E:#NO
        E:no
    fig   #fig. 3
3   EMM  (0.3)
4   EMM  >chumm mal *da,<*
         come PRT   here
    emm           ->*,,,,,*turns torso fwd->
```

```
5          (0.8)    ¢%# (1.9) # (0.5) ¢* (0.4) ¢* (0.4) %¢
    emm              ¢grooms w RH------¢,,,,,,,,,¢.........¢RH in pocket
    zoe   >>wks fwd%obliques to opp side of the path--%walks fwd->
    emm                             ->*........*torques torso R->
    fig            #fig. 4 #fig. 5
```



```
6   EMM   #chumm emol do, •
           come   PRT here
    eno   >>wks behind EMM•trots twd EMM->
    fig   #fig. 6
7         (0.3)
8   EMM   *pf:*::
           pf:::
    emm   *,,,*turns torso fwd->
9         (0.3) + (0.2)
    emm       ->+2steps R->
10  EMM   un' lug mol  da s'+goodie,#
          an' look PRT here the treat
    emm                    ->+walks fwd->>
    fig                              #fig. 7
11        (0.5)%
    eno     ->%walks beside EMM->>
```

57

Acknowledging the approach of Zoe and Zeus, Emma takes three subtle steps to her left, toward the middle of the path (1; fig. 1-2). At the same time, she torques her torso backward, casting a glance over her left shoulder and calling for Eno (2; fig. 3). By walking and torquing toward the left, Emma projects a change to the opposite side of the path, thereby adapting to Zoe and Zeus who are walking on a collision course. Emma then turns her upper body forward and continues walking straight ahead while requesting Eno to come to her side (4). Now, Zoe crosses the path diagonally with large brisk steps and ends up on the opposite edge, while her dog Zeus carries on walking straight ahead (5; fig. 4-5). As a response, Emma torques her torso backward again, this time gazing over her right shoulder while calling Eno once more (6-8; fig. 6). Calibrated with the temporality of Eno's approach from behind, Emma turns her torso forward and takes two small steps to her right, keeping her gaze on Eno (8-10; fig. 7). Eventually, the guardian and her dog walk along the path margin side-by-side (11); hence, the adaptation of Emma's trajectory is intertwined with the creation of a heel position with Eno (see Section 2.3.2).

This example shows two ways of changing and adapting the trajectory on the approach of oncoming walkers. Whereas Emma adjusts her trajectory slightly by stepping to her left, but without moving to the opposite side of the road, and focusing on Eno behind her, Zoe performs a large, quick movement toward her right without her dog Zeus. This probably relates to the fact that the two dog–guardian formations are still a long distance from each other when they start repositioning, and the small movements of each are less clearly visible to the other. Emma adapts to Zoe's walk by changing her projected trajectory one more time and moving entirely to her right, even though Zeus remains on a collision course with her. Her step-by-step adjustments (Mondada, 2022a) orient to the ad hoc negotiability and indeterminateness of the partitioning of the path.

In sum, guardians may change their walking trajectories in orientation to the projectable approach of other walkers. On the one hand, walking diagonally to the side could be viewed as the participants' orientation to avoid collision (see Goffman, 1971, pp. 6–17). On the other hand, avoiding or sidestepping each other implies mutual agreement and bodily coordination. The changes of trajectory not only show the individuals' acknowledgment of the progressive nearing of oncomers but also highlight the relevance of mutual adaptation. These adjustments display an understanding of each other's pace and walking direction, which is the basis for negotiating interactional space that involves the participants' approach as well as their projected passing-by. The guardians' negotiation is done in ways that integrate the spatial relation with the dogs: they turn toward their dogs, increase their proximity to them, and create a side-by-side walking formation, which takes less space, affords better control, and thus constitutes a better 'passing-by-able.'

2.3.2 Changing the trajectory in combination with guiding the dog

The previous section has shown that guardians may walk to the side in order to manage a passing-by with oncoming dog–guardian formations. The examples showed that they coordinate their walk together with, and in relation to, their dogs. For instance, they instruct their dogs to walk beside them in a heel position, thereby constituting a 'passing-by formation' shaped by the guardian and the dog. Walking side by side and connected through a leash, the guardian and dog act as a hybrid entity with collective and collaborative agency (Mondémé, 2019).

Extract 2.10 illustrates that the guardian's trajectory adjustment happens in coordination with her dog's walk and concurrently with the organization of a side-by-side walking formation. Kamilla (KAM) is walking with her leashed companion dog Kiki (KIK) on her right-hand side. Ada (ADA) and her dog Apollo (APO) are approaching them head-on (1; fig. 1).

(2.10) (CH_AL_DOGW_20200221_0.39.45)

```
1        (1.5)    * (1.3) §
  kam    >>wks fwd*walks twd R->
  kik      >>strains twd R§walks fwd->

2        *+ (0.4) # (0.9) # (0.7) # *+ (0.3)
  kam    ->*4 big steps R------------*walks fwd->
  kam      +shortens leash-----------+
  fig              #fig. 1 #fig. 2 #fig. 3
3        + (0.5) *§# (1.3) # (1.1) +§#*
  kam    +guides KAL to her R------+
  kam          ->*walks R twd road----*walks fwd->>
  kik            ->§follows twd R----§walks fwd->>
  fig              #fig. 4 #fig. 5   #fig. 6
```
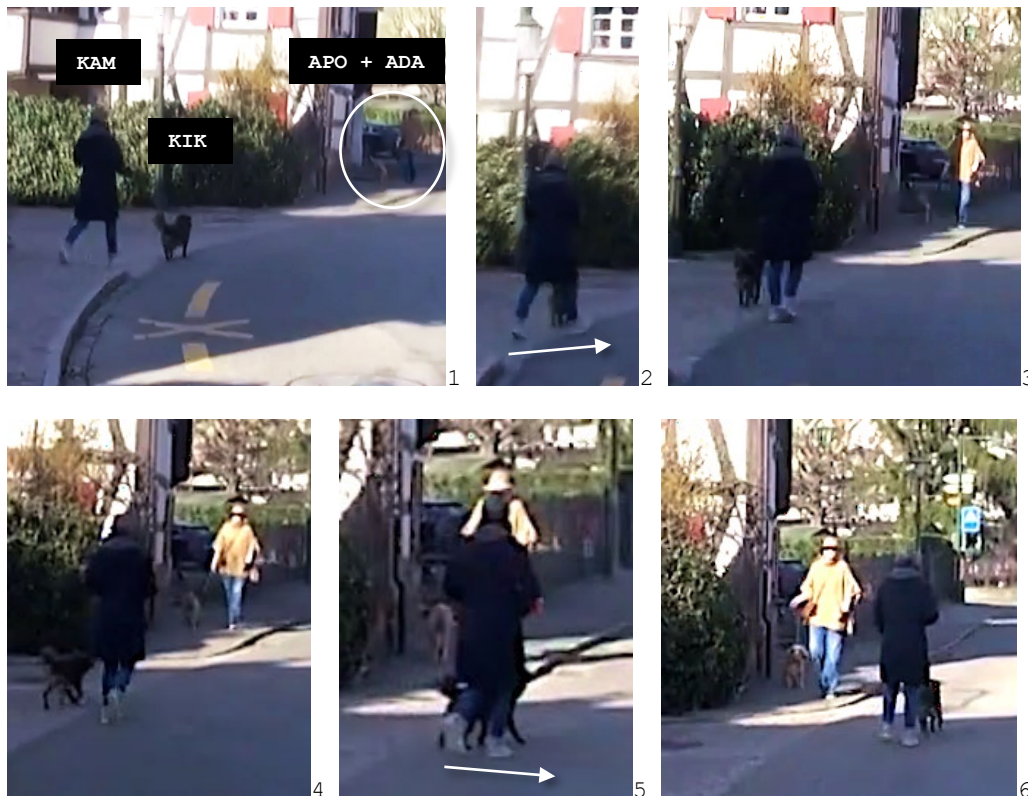
Kamilla takes four large steps to her right while shortening the leash (2; fig. 1-3). Stepping to the side allows her to guide Kiki into a heel position on her left (fig. 4). Kamilla then walks further to the right and together with Kiki creates a dog-to-outside arrangement in reference to Ada and Apollo (3; fig. 5-6). The closer Kamilla and Kiki come the oncomers, the further they walk toward the middle of the road. Leaving the sidewalk thus allows Kamilla to gain more space for coordinating her walk with Kiki and creates a considerable distance between them and the co-participants, publicly exhibiting avoidance of collision and dog–dog contact.

The practical problem of a guardian bringing her dog into a heel position while adapting their trajectory to oncoming walkers is also visible in Extract 2.11. Dina (DIN) is on a stroll with her dog Duke (DUK). Duke walks freely in front of her, steps off the path, and comes to a halt on a grassed area, while Dina comes out of an underpass, gaining visual access to the way ahead. They are about to meet Yvette (YVE) and her dog Yoku (YOK) in a head-on encounter.

(2.11) CH_BS_DOGW_20200124_0.12.28

```
1        (1.4) * (0.7) # (0.2) * (1.6) %
  din      ->*gazes twd Y----*gazes twd DUK->
  din                          ->%leashes DUK->
  fig              #fig. 1
```



```
2        (2.3) ¢ (0.4) ≠
  yae      ->¢accelerates->
  yae  >>leash in LH≠grabs leash w both hands->
3        (1.2)  ≠¢ (0.8) % (0.4) ¢•# (0.5)
  yae      ->≠shortens leash->
  yae  >>wks fwd¢walks L--------¢walks fwd->
  din              ->%
  yok                      ->•wks close beside YAE->
  fig                        #fig. 2
4        (0.5) ¢• (0.8) # (1.2) •¢#
  yae      ->¢4steps to the R--¢walks fwd->>
  yok      ->•follows YAE----•walks fwd->>
  fig              #fig. 3   #fig. 4
```


Dina orients to the approach of the other walkers by leashing her dog (see Section 2.4). She first gazes toward Yvette and Yoku, then turns toward Duke and leashes him (1; fig. 1). While Dina bends down, busy with leashing Duke, Yvette also prepares for the projectable encounter: She accelerates her pace to catch up with Yoku, allowing her to grab the leash with both hands and shorten it while stepping to her left to the opposite side of the path (2-3; fig. 2). Only once

Yoku is walking closely beside her does Yvette move obliquely to her right again, guiding him to the other edge of the path (4; fig. 3-4). This example differs from the previous case because the guardians are not walking toward each other head-on. Instead, Dina suspends her walk and steps to the side to leash her dog. That gives Yvette time to adjust her trajectory in a way that produces maximal distance between herself with Yoku and Dina with Duke. Her step to the left is a consequence of shortening Yoku's leash and guiding him close to her side in a heel position. Immediately after establishing this passing-by formation with her dog, Yvette moves to the opposite edge of the path. The guardian's adjustments show her engagement in two main tasks when preparing to pass by: creating or maintaining a side-by-side walking formation with her dog and anticipating and adjusting to other walkers.

The following example shows a similar action of sidestepping an oncomer, resulting in a guardian switching the path. In Excerpt 2.12, Ella (ELL) and her dog Earl (EAR) walk together on a paved road; Earl is leashed and walks on Ella's right-hand side. Mel's dog, Milo (MIL), walks freely ahead of her at a distance (1; fig. 1).

(2.12) CH_ZU_DOGW_20201004_3_0.04.53

```
1        # (3.5) #* (1.5) § (0.6) #
    mil  >>wks fwd*walks twd ELL-EAR->
    ell              ->§makes 8 steps to R->
    fig  #fig. 1 #fig. 2        #fig. 3
```
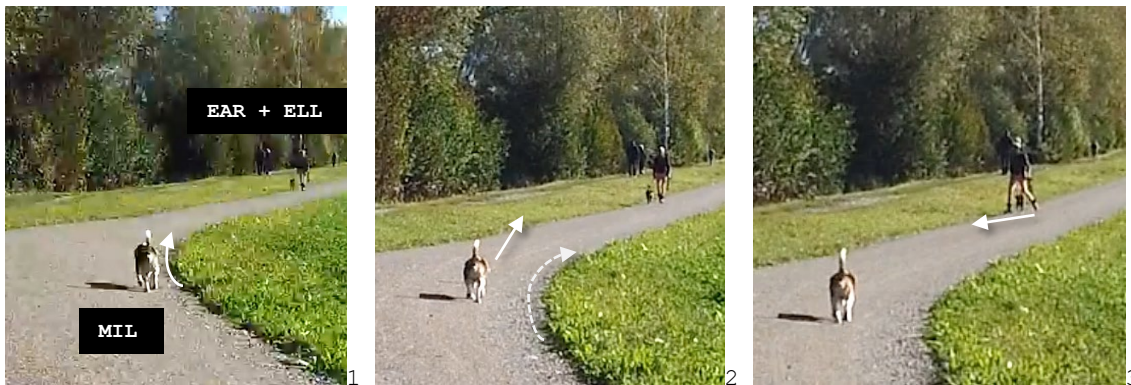


```
2        (0.3) % (0.7) • (1.8) %
    ear       %strains leash--%follows ELL->
    ell             •pulls EAR twd R->
3        (0.9) %§ (0.7) *#
    ear    ->%walks fwd behind ELW->
    ell     ->§walks fwd->
    mil            ->*stops->>
    fig            #fig. 4


4        (7.5) %  (1.0)  #  (0.6)   %#
    ell    ->%steps lat behind EAR%walks fwd->>
    fig                 #fig. 5     #fig. 6
```

The road makes a curve. However, Milo walks straight ahead, at which point his trajectory seems directed toward Ella and Earl (fig. 2). In response, Ella takes eight lateral steps to her right, leaving the paved road and walking on the grass (fig. 3). Her dog Earl, however, resists Ella's initiated trajectory change, as he strains on the leash, keeping his gaze directed at Milo (2). Ella pulls Earl along, forcing him to follow to the right. They reach a narrow path that runs parallel to the road and continue their walk straight ahead while Milo stops, his body and gaze directed toward Ella and Earl (2-3; fig. 4). As they are almost perpendicular to Milo, Ella takes a lateral step behind Earl and guides him to her left, maximizing the distance between Earl and Milo (4; fig 5-6). This example shows how the directionality of a dog's body orientation is interpreted by an approaching guardian in relation to the direction of the road (cf. De Stefani & Deppermann, 2021). When it becomes clear that Milo is no longer following the curve but directing his walk toward her and Earl, Ella steps to the side. Her big move off the road to a parallel running path thus happens at a specific point in the progression of the walk, making it recognizable as responsive to Milo and a display of evasion. In this case, however, the trajectory of the guardian and the dog do not appear to converge: while Ella displays an attempt to sidestep Milo, Earl resists the initiated change of trajectory, gazing and straining on the leash toward Milo.

Extract 2.13 illustrates how a dog's witnessable orientation to oncoming walkers prompts the guardian to change her trajectory and engage in preparatory actions with her dog. Gabi (GAB), her companion dog Gili (GIL), and her daughter Grace (GRA) are walking through the forest, heading for a bend in the path. Grace walks slightly ahead on the left edge of the path while Gabi walks in its middle, with Gili on her left-hand side on a loose leash. The oncoming dog–guardian formation, Flora (FLO) with her dog Fox (FOX) on the leash, accompanied by pedestrian Franzi (FRA), are not yet visible, but their voices are audible through the thicket.

(2.13) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200722_2_0.07.55)

```
1          (0.5) + (0.5) Ø (0.9) • (0.9) * (0.5)
   gab        ->+obliques twd L->
   gil               ->Østrains leash->
   gab                       ->•turns head sharply R->
   gab                                 *leash in RH->
2          (0.5) §* (0.4) § (0.2)
   gab        ->*tks treat w LH->
   gil        ->§gzs L---§gzs twd oncomers->
3   GAB    pf.pf# ((smacks lips))
   fig         #fig. 1
4          (0.2)•
   gab        ->•gazes twd L->
5   GAB    giliØ§#
           Gili
   gil      ->Øturns around->
   gil      ->§
   fig          #fig. 2
```



```
6          (0.2) • (0.4) # (0.6) *+  (0.3)  •+Ø
   gab        ->•gzs twd oncomers----------•gazes twd GIL->>
   gab                     ->*holds treat to GIL's snout->
   gab                      ->+slows down+stops->
   gil                                ->Øwalks fwd->>
   fig               #fig. 3
7          (0.4) +† (1.0) *#
   gab        ->+resumes walk fwd->>
   flo          †steps to her left->>
   gab              ->*shortens leash->>
   fig                  #fig. 4
```

Gili pulls on the leash increasingly and gazes toward the right with pricked ears. Resisting the pull on the leash, Gabi moves obliquely to her left, where her daughter Grace is walking (1). At that point, the path turns right, and the forest thins out, providing space to make way. Concurrently with her change in trajectory, Gabi transfers the leash to her right hand, allowing her to take a treat out of her pocket with her left hand (2-3; fig. 1). She summons Gili by smacking her lips and calling her name, prompting the dog to turn and gaze toward her guardian (3-5; fig. 2-3). Gabi slows her pace while lowering her left hand with the treat toward Gili's snout (5). That allows her to keep the connection with Gili as she gazes toward the approaching, now-visible, Flora, Fox, and Franzi. Gabi and Gili walk side by side with Gili in a heel position, recognizable as a formation to pass by (6-7; fig. 4). In response to Gabi's walk to the side, Flora minimally adjusts her position by walking obliquely to her left, closer to Franzi (7), thus adapting to the initiated coordination of trajectories (see Section 2.2.1). This example shows how the sound of oncoming walkers and the dog's observable orientation to them (with pricked ears facing forward and straining on the leash) prompts the guardian to perform actions in preparation for the anticipated encounter. Gabi is adapting to Gili's straining on the leash and gazing in the direction from which the voices are coming. Her initial steps to her left are probably oriented to the fact that her daughter Grace is already walking on her left and that the path makes a right turn. Gabi reorients her body in a way that facilitates coordinating with Gili, instructing her to come into a heel position so as to achieve a side-by-side walking formation.

This section highlights how guardians carefully design the projectability of their walk, which is related to their negotiation of spatial distribution. Changing the trajectory shows an orientation to the approach of oncoming dog–guardian formations and displays an acknowledgment of their progressively coming closer. Moreover, it is an adaptation to their witnessable pace and projectable trajectory. Moving to one side orients to the relevancy of partitioning the path, to which the oncomers respond by walking on the opposite side. Hence, the question of 'who adjusts first?' is locally negotiated as the guardians prepare for a projectable encounter with reflexive micro-sequential adjustments in reference to the progressivity of each other's walk. The actual walking trajectories emerge locally and are finely calibrated with each other's stepwise approach. In adapting to local constraints, the walkers use the surrounding space in ways that are not determined by the structures themselves. Even in an apparently pre-structured space, they make different adjustments for shaping the interactional space for their actions (cf. Mondada, 2014b). These can be manifested through significant movements, such as large lateral steps, enabling an extension of the necessary space. At the

same time, the participants organize their "embodied attunements" by changing and adjusting their trajectories step by step (Mondada, 2022a), shifting gradually from one side of the road to the other. Moving to the edge of the path may be used by guardians to initiate a side-by-side walking formation with their dogs, showing how the trajectory of an action may be converted to another one (Mondada, 2017). Cooperatively, the guardians and their dogs thus create a publicly available and recognizable mobile formation that prepares for a passing by.

2.4 Leashing or unleashing the dog

Besides turning to one's dog and adjusting the trajectory, another recurrent action employed by guardians upon the approach of oncoming walkers is to leash or unleash their dog, which is practiced in dog training sessions. On the one hand, having the dog leashed allows the guardian to better control the dog, coordinate the walking together with it, and possibly protecting it from approaching others. On the other hand, by letting the dog run freely, guardians give up a certain amount of control, displaying trust in and know-how about (their) dogs. Putting on and taking off the leash entails the guardian bending over their dog's collar or harness, which is a distinctive body movement visible from afar, contributing to the recognizability of the action for others. It is embedded (Mondada, 2014d) in the walking activity, momentarily suspending its progression. Putting the dog on a leash or letting it loose allows guardians to mirror the oncoming dog–guardian formation which creates a symmetry in the engagements. In other words, as a guardian approaches with a leashed dog, exhibiting control over it and restraint, another guardian may orient to this aspect by also putting his/her dog on a leash (Section 2.4.1). Conversely, a guardian may release their dog upon a projectable convergence with another free-roaming dog (Section 2.4.2). Thus, leashing or unleashing a dog not merely displays acknowledgment of the progressive approach of dog–guardian formations, but is also a way of aligning with them by creating a symmetrical engagement in which both dogs are either on or off the leash.

2.4.1 Leashing one's dog in orientation to the approach of oncoming walkers

One aspect of keeping a dog on a leash is maintaining control and preventing contact with oncoming dog–guardian formations (see Section 1.4.1). Guardians orient to this when adapting to guardians with a leashed dog by equally leashing their dog, as in Extract 2.14, where Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL), on a leash, are strolling in a city park. A distance away, Wanda (WAN) and her dog Wika (WIK) are coming toward them. Wika is running freely, sniffing the ground behind Wanda.

(2.14) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.55.33

```
   wan    >>walks fwd->
1         (1.2) §
   wan       ->§stops/turns->
2         (0.8) § (4.4) # (1.4)
   wan       ->§stands perpendicular to road->
   fig               #fig. 1
```



```
3         (0.3)+ (2.1)
   bas    ->+changes grip of leash to LH->
4  BAS  so.
       so.
5         (0.4) ¶+ (0.5) † (2.6) ¶# (1.4) ≠ (0.5) †# (0.6) §
   bil       ->¶obliques L------¶walks fwd->
   bas       ->+
   wik              ->†walks twd WAN----------†stops before WAN->
   wan                              ≠prepares leash->
   wan                                        ->§1 step L->
   fig                          #fig. 2           #fig. 3
6         (1.0) §# (0.3) § (0.8) #≠ (1.3) §¡≠
   wan       ->§1step fwd-§bends over WIK----§straightens->
   wan                      ->≠attachs lsh≠transfers lsh to LH->
   wan                              ¡gazes twd BAS/BIL->
   fig          #fig. 4        #fig. 5
```



```
7         (0.5) # (0.4) §•¡ (0.3) *≠ (0.2) + (0.2) * (0.5) ≠• (0.3)
   wan              ->§resumes walk fwd->>
   wan             ->¡gazes down->>
   wan                     ->≠switches leash grip----≠guides WIK to R->
   bil            ->•puts up ears/waves tail----------•
```

```
     bas                          ->*gazes twd BIL---*
     bas                               ->+shortens leash->
     fig          #fig. 7ab
8    BAS   come
9          (0.5) + (0.9) ≠#
     bas        ->+
     wan              ->≠
     fig                   #fig. 8
```
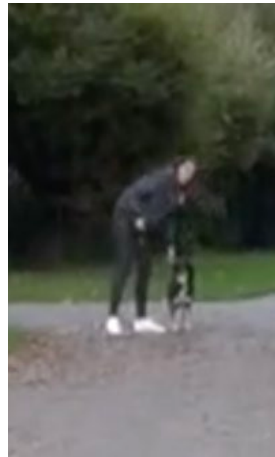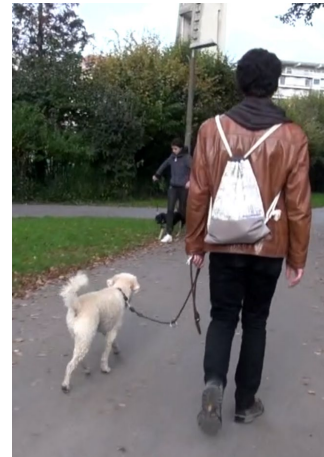
7a   7b   8

Upon Basil and Bilbo's approach, Wanda stops and turns toward Wika, standing perpendicular to the road (1-2; fig. 1-2). While Wanda is preparing the leash, Wika walks toward her (5; fig. 3). When Wanda's dog stops in front of her, she bends down and leashes her (6; fig. 4-5). As she straightens up, Wanda gazes toward Basil and Bilbo (6-7; fig. 7ab), which publicly exhibits her acknowledgment of the oncoming dog–guardian formation and relates the leashing to their approach. Subsequently, she resumes her walk forward with Wika by her side (7). As the distance between the two dog–guardian formations decreases, Bilbo moves toward the left, pulls on the leash, pricks up his ears, and waves his tail, which probably prompts Basil to gaze toward him, shortening the leash and summoning him (7-8). Finally, Wanda transfers the leash behind her back from her left to her right hand and guides Wika to her right-hand side (7-9; fig. 8), creating maximal distance between the dogs (see Section 2.3.2). This example illustrates how leashing one's dog may display an acknowledgment of the approach of an oncoming dog–guardian formation. Furthermore, the creation of a symmetrical engagement, in which both dogs are leashed, allows for mutual coordination of the passing-by. The leashing is sequentially preceded by an orientation toward the dog (see Section 2.1) and based on cooperation between guardian and dog: the two approach each other, and the dog waits until the guardian has attached the leash.

Leashing the dog not only happens in orientation to other dog–guardian formations but also to oncoming pedestrian formations, as illustrated in Extract 2.15. Hanni (HAN) walks on a straight road next to the woods, accompanied by her puppy Hilla (HIL), who walks freely

behind her. Hanni instructs and commands her dog in her native language, Finnish. In the distance, Nina and Naomi are visible as they walk toward them.

(2.15) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_3_0.01.21)

```
   han    >>gzs twd HIL->
1         (1.2)    *+ (0.5) + (0.5)
   han    >>gzs fwd*looks at treats->
   han             +.......+lifts Hs w treats->
2  HAN    tule hilla,
          come Hilla
3         (0.6) * (0.8)
   han       ->*gazes twd HIL->
4  HAN    hilla
          Hilla
5         (0.2)  % (0.5)  † (0.7)
   han        ->%slows down->
   hil    >>wks behind HAN†passes HAN->
6  HAN    ↑hilla #istu,
           hilla sit
   fig          #fig. 1
7         (0.3) % (0.2) †  (0.3)  †+ (0.1)
   han       ->%stops->
   hil             ->†slows dwn†stops
   han                      ->+RH takes treat->
8  HAN    ist%u.+
          sit
   han    ->%1step fwd/bends->
   han       ->+stretches RH twd HIL->
9         (0.5) # (0.5) +%
   han               ->+holds treat above HIL's nose->
   han             ->%stops->
   fig          #fig. 2
```



```
((6 lines omitted))

15        (0.4) +† (0.2) + (0.4) †
   han       ->+opens RH+lowers RH to HIL's mouth->
   hil        ->†.............†sits->
16 HAN    ↓j•a: nosti ↑hy•v+ä.
           and  very   good
   hil     •eats treat--•
   han                ->+grabs lsh w RH->
17        (0.2) + (1.0)
   han       ->+attaches leash
18 HAN    no:#in
          PRT-there you go
   fig       #fig. 3
```

69

```
        (1.1) +% (0.2)
han        ->+
han         ->%straightens->


19 HAN   ja no ty%t*tö#
         and now girl
han          ->%resumes walk->>
han           ->*gazes fwd->>
fig              #fig. 4
```
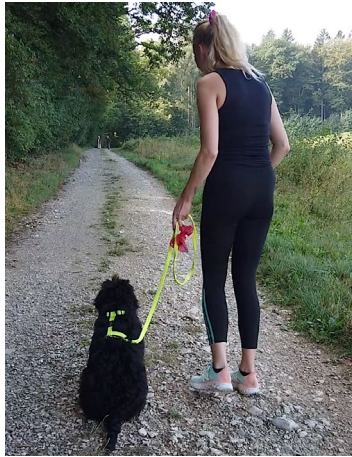

Hanni has visual access to the approaching Nina and Naomi. This fragment starts when she gazes over her shoulder toward Hilla behind her. As she turns her upper body forward again, probably gazing toward the oncomers, Hanni immediately looks at the dog treats in her hands and lifts them (1). She turns toward Hilla and summons her (2-4), slowing her pace (5). When Hilla reaches Hanni, she gives her the instruction *istu* 'sit' (6; fig. 1) as they both stop walking (7). Hanni grabs a treat and stretches her arm out toward Hilla while repeating the instruction (8). She brings the treat in front of Hilla's nose to guide her muzzle up and bring her rear down (9; fig. 2).

The subsequent lines are omitted, in which Hanni repeats her instruction several times, but Hilla does not comply and remains standing. The transcript resumes when Hilla sits down, and Hanni simultaneously opens her fist to offer her dog the reward (15). Hanni's subsequent positive evaluation orients to Hilla's successful performance (16). The treat, in combination with the evaluative *hyvä* 'good,' marks the completion of an educative sequence in which Hanni was teaching her dog while requesting it to come and sit by her side. Subsequently, the guardian orients to the next step within the activity of the leashing. She grabs the leash with her right hand (16) and attaches it to Hilla's harness (17; fig. 3), marking the completion with the particle *noin* 'there you go' (18). As Hanni straightens, she resumes her walk toward Nina and Naomi, with Hilla walking next to her (19; fig. 4).

Like in Extract 2.14, the guardian suspends her walk to leash her dog. The leashing thus constitutes a sequence that is embedded in the walking in a way that suspends its progression. Nina and Naomi continue to approach but are still a long way away, giving Hanni enough time to focus on her dog. Her gaze toward the approaching pedestrians is immediately followed by her glance at the dog treats and the initiation of a preliminary sequence in which she instructs her puppy to wait and sit down before she attaches the leash. Hence, the projected leashing occasions a pedagogical moment between Hanni and Hilla. The sequence 'command to sit' + 'dog sits' + 'evaluation/treat' is reminiscent of the three-part sequential pattern in classroom education, conceptualized by Mehan (1979) as 'initiation,' 'reply,' and 'evaluation' (IRE). The adjacency pair 'instruction/instructed action' is often closed with a third turn, which frequently marks the completion of a sequence (Mondada, 2011b). The instruction 'sit' precedes the actual leashing – only upon the completion of the instructive sequence does Hanni attach the leash and resume her walk. More generally, this highlights the participant's orientation to the leashing as cooperatively achieved (as opposed to the guardian 'catching' the dog).

On a dog walk, the time for leashing to happen may be limited if it is done in preparation for an anticipated encounter with other walkers. That is illustrated in Extract 2.16, in which Basil (BAS) orients to an urgency to leash his dog Bilbo (BIL) before an approaching dog–guardian formation gets too close.

(2.16a) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.15.29

```
    bil    >>sniffs ground->
    bas    >>walks forward->
1          (0.6)
2   BAS    war•tä
           wait
    bil     ->•turns R->
3          (0.2) + (0.1) • (0.3) • (0.5) •*  (0.6)  * (1.0)
    bil        ->+sniffs ground->
    bil              ->•stops--•turns L•crosses path->
    bas                              *lifts Larm*preps lsh->
4   BAS    †%s- come
    bas    †slows down->
    bas     %gazes down->
5          (0.4) #• (2.9) † (0.6) % (0.7) # (0.9) %* (0.3)
    bil        ->•stops perpend to path->
    bas              ->†stops->
    bas                    ->%gazes fwd------%gzs twd BIL->
    bas                                ->*arms waiting pos->
    fig        #fig. 1                #fig. 2
6   BAS    tu sitzä.
           do sit
7          (0.4)
8   BAS    bilbo#
           Bilbo
    fig        #fig. 3
```

On the appearance of an oncoming group of guardians with dogs, Basil commands Bilbo to wait and disentangles his leash (2-3). By doing so, he projects the leashing of his dog. Bilbo turns and crosses the path toward his left, sniffing the ground (3). Subsequently, Basil probably initiates the command to sit (*s-* projects *sitz* 'sit') but breaks off his turn, commanding Bilbo to come instead (4). His self-repair treats Bilbo's witnessable focus on the ground as an indication of inattention (Rossano, 2013a). In that regard, Basil's commands 'wait' and 'come' appear as a summons to secure his dog's attention before the actual command to sit. However, Bilbo does not turn his body or gaze toward Basil but keeps his head down and stops perpendicular to the walking direction (5). Basil stops next to him with his body oriented diagonally (5; fig. 1). He thus embodies a double orientation toward his dog on the one hand and toward the oncoming dog–guardian formation on the other. Still involved in the leash preparation, Basil gazes toward the oncomers for almost two seconds (5; fig. 2). Synchronous with the completion of preparing the leash, he gazes down toward Bilbo, holding his arm up (5; fig. 3). He then initiates a preliminary sequence by instructing Bilbo to sit (6-8). In the continuation of this example, Bilbo's non-compliance with his guardian's commands results in Basil taking him on the leash without waiting to complete the instruction.

(2.16b) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.15.29

```
9        (0.8) • (0.3) +
  bil        ->•turns R
  bil              ->+gazes fwd->
10 BAS   >ts.ts.ts<•
          ts.ts.ts
  bil            ->•walks fwd->
11       (0.4) †
  bas        ->†2steps twd BIL->
12 BAS   sitz#
          sit
  fig      #fig. 4
13       (0.4) •
  bil        ->•stops->
14 BAS   k.k ((klicks tongue))
15       (0.3) †%* (0.2) + (0.6) +
  bas        ->†stops->
  bas         ->%bends over BIL->
```

```
bas          ->*attaches leash->
bil               ->+gazes BAS+gazes fwd->
16 BAS → #oder a nid.
          or PRT not
   fig    #fig. 5
17        (0.6)
18 BAS    .hh s%*:o†•:#
          .hh s:o:
   bas        ->%straightens->
   bas       ->*holds leash w 2H->>
   bas           ->†walks fwd->>
   bil           ->•walks fwd->>
   fig              #fig. 6
```


Bilbo turns to his right, gazes toward the oncoming walkers, and moves a few steps in their direction (9-10). Basil takes two steps toward Bilbo and repeats the instruction (11-12; fig. 4). In response, Bilbo stops without sitting down (13). Basil also stops and leashes Bilbo in response to his lack of compliance (15; fig. 5). His subsequent utterance *oder a nid* 'or not' (16) is fitted to the previous *sitz* 'sit' (12), transforming it from an instruction into a choice between two alternatives (to sit or not), ascribing to Bilbo the agency of choosing between these alternatives. This is responsive to the dog's non-compliance, treating it, retrospectively, as legitimate. The completion of the leashing is marked by Basil's 'so' while straightening up and resuming the walk (18; fig. 6), which also initiates the transition back to the suspended walking activity and to managing the passing-by with the oncoming dog–guardian formation.

As in Extract 2.15, Basil suspends his walk and initiates a preliminary sequence in order to do the leashing together with Bilbo. The leashing of Bilbo is primarily oriented to the approach of another dog–guardian formation and constitutes preparation for the projected passing-by. Hence, the progression of Basil and Bilbo's leashing is related to the progression of the oncomers' walk. The guardian's orientation toward the approaching dog–guardian formation while leashing his dog manifests in his management of two concurrent activities with distinct temporalities: whereas the leashing sequence suspends the walk, passing by the oncomers happens as the walk is continued. Basil's attaching the leash without Bilbo having

sat down hints at the urgency to complete the leashing before the approaching dog–guardian formation is too close. Bilbo has stopped and remains standing, which is sufficient to achieve the leashing in cooperative ways. Hence, Basil prioritizes the actual attachment of the leash to Bilbo's collar, which at that moment is a prerequisite for the anticipated encounter.

In sum, this section has illustrated how leashing one's dog serves to adapt to the approach of other walkers. It orients to a guardian's responsibility to have control and possibly prevent the dog from running toward the oncomers. It may involve the creation of symmetrical engagements in which both dogs are on a leash. Furthermore, having the dog leashed and walking closely to the guardian's side may facilitate the anticipated passing-by. The attachment of the leash to the dog's harness or collar is preceded by a sequence of preparatory actions. The guardians suspend their walk and instruct their dogs to wait, thus allowing them to attach the leash. In Extracts 2.15 and 2.16, they instruct their dog to sit down before the leash is attached. This highlights an orientation to different ways of leashing a dog which happen on a continuum between merely catching the dog and leashing it in cooperative ways. How the leashing is performed is related to the display of the dog's competence and the guardian's know-how (see Chapter 4).

2.4.2 Letting the dog loose in orientation to free-roaming dogs

While guardians may leash their dog upon the approach of oncoming walkers, on occasion they can also choose to unleash their dog. That choice is related to the projectable convergence with other unleashed dogs and orients to establishing a symmetrical engagement in which the dogs can walk freely. Although unleashing the dog is a way to letting go of control, possibly leading to a bigger spatial distance between the guardians and their dogs, an orientation to the guardians' responsibility prevails; this is visible in their monitoring of the dogs as they run off. Extract 2.17 serves as an illustration, where Iris (IRI) walks with her dog Iglu (IGL) on the leash. They are about to encounter Quinto (QUI), who roams freely ahead of his guardians, which prompts Iris to unleash her dog.

(2.17) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.31.31

```
   iri   >>walks fwd->>
   jog   >>run fwd->>
   qui   >>walks fwd->>
1        (7.8) *+    (0.4)  #+*•   (0.2)  +#•
   iri      ->*parall w joggs*walks fwd->
   iri         +bnds ovr IGL+............+gazes fwd->
   iri                        •unleashes IGL•holds collar w LH->
   fig                      #fig. 1         #fig. 2
2        (1.9) •   (0.4) •  (1.5) #
   iri      ->•lifts LH•
   fig                       #fig. 3
```

Iris walks with Iglu close to her left-hand side as two joggers run toward them. At the exact moment of passing by, when Iris is parallel to the joggers, she bends down and finely calibrates her release of the leash hook just *after* she has walked past the joggers (1; fig. 1). Immediately, she gazes ahead, still holding Iglu by the collar and continuing to walk forward (fig. 2). After two seconds, she lifts her left hand, releasing her dog completely and letting him run toward Quinto (2; fig. 3). In short, while Iris keeping her dog on the leash orients to passing by the joggers, releasing her dog orients to the approach of another free-roaming dog.

Letting a dog loose always contains an element of unpredictability: How will the dog behave with the other dogs? A guardian may orient to this by making relevant the dog's 'good manners' as constituting a precondition for the decision to do the unleashing. This is observable in Extract 2.18, where the same participants, Iris (IRI) and her dog Iglu (IGL), walk along the riverbank. They are about to approach two guardians standing at some distance, engaged in a conversation. Their two dogs run around and play.

(2.18) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.53.00

```
   iri    >>walks fwd->
   igl    >>walks fwd->
1         (1.7) * (0.2) + (0.2) * (0.3) +#
   iri       ->*looks at IGL---*gazes fwd->
   iri                +..............+grabs collar w RH->
   fig                               #fig. 1
2         (2.3) •§   (0.6)   §◊ (2.9) • (0.9) * (0.5) *
   iri          •LH twd collar------•fiddles w hook->
   iri           §.........§bends over IGL->
   iri                  ->◊stops->
   iri                              ->*lks IGL*gazes fwd->
3         (7.8) • (0.2) § (0.4) •§#   (1.0)  § (0.5) +§
   iri       ->•retracts LH----•
   iri            ->§,,,,,,,,§straightens§........§bends over IGL->
   iri                            ->+pets IGLs R flank->
   fig                      #fig. 2
```

75

```
4   IRI    tusch da war•te aber schön en liebe sii. gäll,
           you do wait here but be nice and gentle PRT
    iri              ->•puts LH on IGLs back->
5          (0.3)
6   IRI    hesch •§ghört?§¶
           did you hear?
    iri         ->•retracts LH
    iri           ->§,,,,,,§straightens
    igl                ->¶runs fwd->>
7          (0.3) ◊ (0.6) #
    iri         ->◊walks fwd->>
    fig                #fig. 3
```


Iris walks with Iglu on the leash. At some point, she looks at him and grabs his collar with her right hand (1). Her subsequent gaze forward displays her careful monitoring of the guardians and dogs they are about to approach (fig. 1). Iris bends her upper body over Iglu and stretches her left hand to his collar as she stops walking (2). For almost 8 seconds, she stays in this same position, fiddling with the snap hook of the leash. When she has eventually unhooked it, she retracts her left hand and straightens while continuously monitoring the scenery ahead and holding Iglu by the collar with her right hand (3; fig. 2). Iris bends over her dog one more time and releases his collar to pet him, while telling him to be nice and gentle (4). Her action is probably occasioned by the two dogs running around wildly and orients to Iglu's good conduct

as a prerequisite for letting him loose as well. Iris retracts her hands and straightens up, monitoring Iglu as he runs immediately toward the dogs (5). A short moment later, Iris also resumes her walk (6; fig. 5). Letting Iglu off the leash orients to the projectable convergence with other free-roaming dogs. To do so, Iris suspends her walk to unhook the leash and monitor what is happening ahead. Moreover, she holds her dog back for a moment, taking the time to pet and talk to him. Through her turn in line 4, Iris orients to her letting go of control while giving Iglu the autonomy to interact with the other dogs. Clearly, a dog's 'good manners' are made relevant by guardians as necessary for letting go of control and releasing their dogs (while also displaying their assumption about the compatibility of the dogs, see Chapter 3).

The issue of good manners is also made relevant in Extract 2.19, in which Ivy (IVY) walks with her dog Imo (IMO) on a leash. They are accompanied by Bonnie (BON) and Basil (BAS). The group walks toward two guardians standing on the road, engaged in talk. Several small dogs run freely around them.

(2.19) CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.24.00

```
   ivy    >>walks fwd->
1         (1.7) *
   ivy         *lifts LH->
2  IVY    .hhh*hhhh   hhhh*•hhh +  ((sighs deeply))
             ->*leash to LH*stretches RH twd collar->
                       •.......->
                         ->+slows down->
3  IVY    so imo.
          so Imo.
4         (0.6) •# (0.3) +*¶ (0.5)
   ivy    ->....•bends over IMO->
   ivy             ->+stops
   ivy              ->*takes off leash->
   imo              - >¶stops->
   fig           #fig. 1
5  IVY    #benimmsch dich bitte.*
           behave yourself please
                        ->*retracts RH->
   fig    #fig. 2
```


77
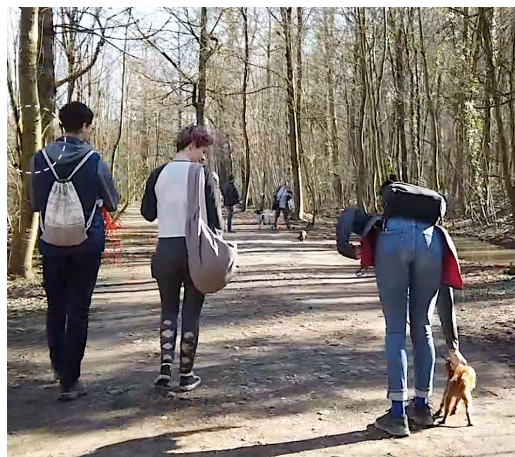
```
6          (.) *¶
   ivy      ->*
   imo       ->¶gazes twd R->
7  IVY    •isch gu[et  #
            it's okay
8  BAS         [£hm #hm hm hm hm£ ((chuckles))
9  BON         [°£ha# ha benimmsch•dich bitte£°=
                    ha ha behave yourself please
   ivy    •,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,•straightens
   fig                 #fig. 3
10         (0.3) ¶
   imo        ->¶turns R->>
11 IVY    =£hh[ha£
            Hhha


12 BAS        [£he he wi goht das?£#
                 he he how does that go?
   fig                           #fig. 4
13 IVY    £ja(ha) wie gaht das, hha£
          ye(he)s how does that go hha
```
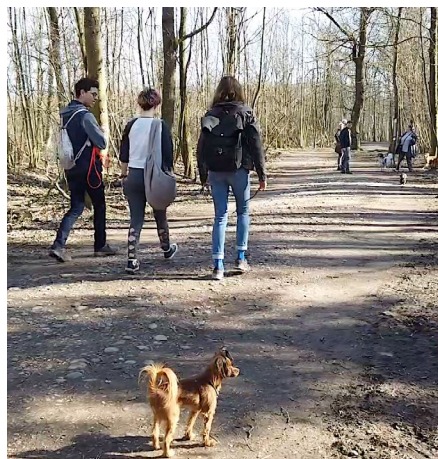

As they approach the guardians and the free-roaming dogs ahead, Ivy sighs loudly while slowing down, changing the leash to her left hand, and stretching out her right hand toward Imo's collar (1-2). Her subsequent turn, marked by the particle 'so' (3), announces a move to a new activity (Bolden, 2008) and is followed by her bending over Imo while still walking (3-4; fig. 1). She stops, and so does Imo, which allows Ivy to unhook the leash from the collar (4; fig. 2). Concurrently, she addresses her dog, telling him to behave (5), which is treated by Basil and Bonnie as a laughable (8-9). As Ivy retracts her right hand, Imo does not move but only gazes toward his right (5-6), probably occasioning Ivy to release him verbally (*isch guet* 'it's okay' 7). Basil responds to Ivy's utterance in line 5 by jokingly embodying Imo's voice to make him speak (12), a practice of 'voicing the animal' that was initially described by Tannen as "ventriloquizing" (Tannen, 2004) and further elaborated by Mondémé (2018). Ivy laughs as she recycles his turn (13). Although Imo seems to be the focus of their laughter, he takes no part in the interaction at this point. Contrary to the previous examples, he does not run toward

the other dogs immediately but remains standing in the same spot while the other participants continue to walk on (fig. 4).

Like in Extract 2.19, the fact that Ivy stopped quickly enabled her to unhook Imo's leash. This happened when walking toward a group of guardians with unleashed dogs running around. Similar to Extract 2.18, Ivy makes relevant Imo's good manners as required for his unleashing and orients to the anticipated encounter between Imo and the other dogs. However, this example differs because it involves other co-walkers in the immediate surroundings, Basil and Bonnie, who hear the guardian talk to her dog. Ivy's prepositioned huge sigh is directed at her co-walkers and marks her subsequent turns as potentially light-hearted. Indeed, Basil and Bonnie treat Ivy's turn as a laughable, demonstrating their understanding of it as a joke. Hence, talking to a dog can create an environment of multiple addressees in which a response of co-present participants becomes an option.

In sum, guardians may unleash their dogs as they come progressively closer to other unleashed dogs running around. They thereby create a symmetrical engagement in which dogs are given the autonomy to possibly come into contact. The participants slow down minimally or suspend their walk, which allows them to monitor the situation ahead and to unhook the leash. Unleashing the dog means giving up a certain amount of control which also involves the guardians' responsibility and know-how in evaluating the compatibility of the dogs and judging their release as not risky. These aspects involve guardians prospectively making relevant the dogs' good manners before letting them go.

To conclude this section, I present an example of hesitation and uncertainty about whether the approaching guardian is leashing or unleashing her dog. This highlights once again how guardians orient to generating a symmetrical engagement and adapting to one another, which is based on their careful monitoring of oncoming walkers. This ensures the safety of the passing-by. As illustrated above, leashing or unleashing one's dog happens by bending over and fiddling with the hook on the dog's collar – a movement that is visible from a distance and may help to determine whether the dogs are restrained or can run freely. In Extract 2.20, Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) walk toward Joana (JOA) and Joy (JOY). Basil's utterances show his continuous monitoring of the oncoming guardian and his uncertainty as to whether she leashes or unleashes her dog.

(2.20) CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_5_0.10.40

```
    joa    >>walks forward->
    bas    >>gazes fwd->
1          (1.4)  + (0.3) * (0.5)
    joa    ->stops+->
    joa                    ->*looks at JOY->
```

```
2  BAS    #BILBO,
          Bilbo
          #fig. 1a/b
```

```
3         (0.2) •  (0.4)  •* (0.6)  #  (0.2)  * (0.2)
   joy          •sits down•
   joa                    ->*transf leash to RH*
   fig                             #fig. 2
4  BAS    ah. *
          oh
   joa      ->*bends over JOY->
5         (1.3) #
   fig          #fig. 3
```



```
6  BAS    hu-uh:?  ¶
          hu-uh:?
   bil    >>wks fwd¶walks twd BEN->
7         (2.4) •+ (0.4)
   joy        ->•runs freely fwd->>
   joa         ->+walks fwd->>
8  BAS    ah guet.
          oh good
9         (2.0) ¶%
   bil      ->¶stops->
   bil        %gazes twd BEN->
10        (1.4) §
   bas      ->§gzs twd BIL->
11 BAS    ↑guet↑ ¶%
           good
   bil       ->¶runs fwd->>
   bil        ->%gazes fwd->>
```

Bilbo walks freely ahead of Basil when Joana stops and turns to Joy beside her (2; fig. 1ab). Basil responds by calling for Bilbo, also projecting to guide him to his side. Joy sits down next to Joana, who then transfers the leash she is holding from her left to her right hand (3; fig. 2). Basil's response token *ah* (4) suggests a change of epistemic state (Heritage, 1984a), and possible understanding of what Joana is doing based on his constant monitoring. However, his subsequent *hu-uh?* (6) in response to Joana's bending over Joy, conveys uncertainty, probably about whether she is unleashing or leashing her dog (5-6; fig. 3). Only when Joy runs forward, clearly off the leash (7), does Basil display his understanding that Joana has released her dog by uttering the self-comment *ah guet* 'oh good' (8). Meanwhile, Bilbo responds to Basil's call by stopping and gazing toward him. Basil gives him permission to go by saying *guet* 'good' (11), after which Bilbo runs forward. The 'good' in line 11 differs from the one in line 8, not only in terms of its sequential position but also because it is produced in a higher pitch and addressed to Bilbo, which is visible in Basil's gaze at him and Bilbo's subsequent response.

At the beginning of this example, Joana stops and turns to Joy, prompting Basil to call Bilbo. By doing so, Basil displays that he has interpreted Joana's action as restraining her dog, constraining Basil to hold back Bilbo as well. Basil's constant monitoring and undecidedness are visible in his self-comments or "response cries" (Goffman, 1978). They become retrospectively explainable through Basil's 'oh good' (8), which happens in response to Joy's running freely forward and indicates a change of state. It shows Basil's realization that Joana has released her dog, rather than restraining her. Subsequently, Basil allows Bilbo to run forward freely as well. In short, Basil first projects to restrain Bilbo by calling him (2), then revises that, and verbally releases his dog (11). This shift happens in adjusting to the bodily movements of the oncoming walkers.

In sum, guardians take their dogs on a leash or release them upon the approach of other walkers. As two dog–guardian formations walk toward each other, the guardians orient to the relevancy of creating symmetrical engagements, so that the mutual approach happens with both dogs on the leash or both dogs off the leash. Hence, even though 'leashing' and 'unleashing' are two distinct actions, they generally address issues of adjusting the guardians' control over the approach and projectable passing-by. The leashing is often preceded by a preliminary sequence that allows the guardian and dog to converge, attach the leash and create a side-by-side walking formation, which displays to prevent the dogs from coming close. The unleashing, by contrast, displays the guardians' letting go of control and giving their dogs the autonomy to approach freely. In those situations, a dog's good manners may be made relevant. This

highlights the guardians' orientation to being responsible for a safe passing-by as well as their assumption or anticipation about the interaction with other dogs. The leashing and unleashing are collaboratively achieved by the guardian and their dog together, and the recognizability of both actions enables participants to adapt to each other at a distance.

2.5 Suspending or abandoning activities with co-walkers in a group

The three previous sections have illustrated the many practical tasks in which guardians and dogs are engaged when they are about to encounter other walkers. This section focuses on instances in which the guardian and the dog are part of a larger mobile formation. Specific preliminary and preparatory moves are sensitive to the management of approaching others as a 'group', and the co-walkers organize their bodily configurations in a way to make their belonging together recognizable. At the same time, the relation between the guardian and the dog may become relevant when other walkers come closer. In those moments, guardians face the practical problem of taking responsibility for their dog while still maintaining the togetherness of their group. Hence, the dog's presence and actions may generate constraints for the group, and for the guardian within that group. The actions of turning to the dog, adjusting the trajectory and manipulating the leash possibly create conflicting constraints with other concurrent courses of action, such as ongoing talk and the progression of the walk within the mobile formation (Mondada, 2014a, 2017). Adjustments, suspension, or abandonment of talk orient to the complexities of organizing the encounter within such plural temporalities (Mondada, 2014d) and within changing interactional spaces.

In what follows, I first analyze two instances in which, in orientation to the projectable approach of other walkers, the guardians progressively disengage from the ongoing conversation with members of the mobile formation, in favor of shifting their attention to their dogs (Section 2.5.1). Second, I show how co-participants continue their talk until passing by the oncomers, then suspend it, and subsequently resume it after having completed the passing-by (Section 2.5.2). Third, I illustrate how the approach of oncoming walkers may interfere in an ongoing conversation, leading to an abrupt closure (Section 2.5.3).

2.5.1 Abandoning ongoing topical talk

As illustrated previously, guardians shift their focus of attention to their dogs upon the projectable approach of oncoming walkers. Such a change of focus may manifest itself when they are still engaged in talk-in-interaction with the co-participants of a larger group. Extract 2.21 shows how the guardian bodily displays her orientation away from the talking activity while still producing turns-at-talk, allowing the conversation to progressively wind down. Gabi

(GAB) and her daughter Grace (GRA) walk with their companion dog Gili (GIL), who is off the leash, along the bank of a pond, Grace walking a few steps behind her mother. From afar, guardian Katja (KAT) and her leashed dog Kim (KIM) can be seen approaching them from the opposite direction. Gabi and Grace have talked about the pond and the ducks swimming in it for a while. The fragment starts as Grace asks how the pond came to be (1).

(2.21a) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200722_2_0.01.12)

```
1   GRA    (de het me) mit händ uusbuddlet Δoder?
            it has been dug out with hands or?
    gab                               ->Δtorques backw->
2          (0.4) # (0.5)
    fig        #fig. 1
```


fig. 1

```
3   GAB    a::h nei   ◊ich glaub so: alt isch er nid das
            a::h no      I believe it is not that old that
    gra           ->◊gazes twd L->
4          •me no voΔ hand buddlΔetƏ◊ het.±ich weiss nümme• gnaƏu Δwie
            it was dug out by hand. I don't anymore know exactly how
    kat    •transfers leash to L hand-------------------•guides DON to L->
    gab          ->Δgazes fwd--Δgazes twd GIL------------------Δgzs GAB->
    gab                        Əlifts Rarm with leash-----Əuntngl lsh->
    gra                     ->◊gazes fwd->
5          a±l#tΔ >dassΔ de weiher isch<.=#
            old   PRT   the pond   is
    gab       ->Δgzs GILΔgazes fwd->
    fig       #fig. 2                   #fig. 3
```

In coordination with Grace's question (1), and anticipating the projected ending of the turn, Gabi makes a mobile body torque, which allows her to continue walking while gazing at Grace behind her (2; fig. 1). Gabi initiates a response while Grace turns her gaze to her left where the pond referred to is located (3). Coming at them from the opposite direction, Katja transfers her leash from her right to her left hand to guide Kim to her left-hand side (4), probably orienting to the projected trajectory of Grace, Gabi, and Gili, anticipating an encounter with them. Gabi is, at that moment, gazing forward and has most likely seen Katja's action. In response to Katja's leash transfer, Gabi shifts her gaze in the direction of Gili, lifts her right arm which holds the leash and starts to untangle it, thereby projecting the leashing (4). Hence, already during her turn, Gabi turns her body away from Grace. On the second part of her utterance, she turns her head quickly and sharply back toward Grace (4; fig. 2), toward Gili (4), and then toward Katja and Kim (5; fig. 3). The rapid changes in her gaze direction reveal the various concurrent activities in which Gabi is engaged as the interactional space is transforming. She accelerates the last part of her turn (5), orienting to some urgency to close the sequence.

In the continuation of the example, the two different activities – conversation with Grace and preparation of the passing-by with the oncomers – become even clearer. Grace says something in a low voice (6) while Gabi gazes toward the leash dangling in front of her body and raises her arms in preparation for leashing Gili (6-7). Gabi treats the sequence of talk with Grace as closed and orients to a shift of focus on her dog. After a silence of almost two seconds, Grace extends the sequence, showing her ongoing orientation toward the talking activity (8).

(2.21b) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200722_2_0.01.12)

```
6   GRA     =(°xΔxxxxx°)Δ
    gab        ->Δgzs lshΔgazes fwd->
7          (1.9) ɘ
    gab        -->ɘholds up dangling leash->
8   GRA     u(h)ndφ det wo s'fuφe#tΔerφ isch-φ=
               and there where the food   is
```

```
gra                φ............φpointsφ,,,,,,φ
gab                          ->Δgazes twd GIL->
fig                          #fig. 4
```



```
9   GAB     =↑gil[i↑±
             gili
    gil         -->±gazes twd GAB->
10  GRA         [gönd d'ente.#
                 go the ducks
    fig                       #fig. 5
11      (0.4) ∞+◊    (0.8) ∞ (0.6) + (0.2) #◊  (1.1) ◊ (1.7) #
    gab       ->∞wks twd GIL∞bends down->>
    gil       ->+wks twd GAB-------+stops->>
    gra       ->◊turns L------------------◊stops---◊4perpend steps->>
    fig                                   #fig. 6            #fig. 7
```


By coordinating the deictic locative 'there' with a pointing gesture, Grace hints at a spot where some ducks are feeding and congregating, linking her turn to the previous talk through the connective 'and' (8; fig. 4). Gabi, however, monitors Gili, who directs her gaze with ears erect toward Katja and Kim (fig. 4). Gili's attention display probably prompts Gabi to call for her (9), even though the structure of Grace's turn projects more to come. This occasions Grace to complete her turn in slight overlap (10). The disruption and the overlap highlight the concurrent activities going on and show Gabi's prioritization of the leashing over the talking (which is in

contrast to the first part of the example, Extract 2.21a). Furthermore, it hints at the urgency involved in completing the leashing before the approaching walkers are too close. Gili immediately responds to Gabi by gazing at her (9; fig. 5) – they walk toward each other, and Gabi bends down to attach the leash (11; fig. 6). Meanwhile, Grace turns to her left and approaches the water, adopting a position perpendicular to the walking direction and gazing toward the pond (11; fig. 7). Her stopping and turning to the side disrupts the progression of the walking activity and displays Grace's withdrawal from the interactional space with Gabi. Hence, both Gabi and Grace orient to a clear division of labor and between each other, and also to different responsibilities, rights and obligations in taking care of Gili.

At the beginning of this example, Gabi and Grace manage the coordination of two different intertwined activities: walking and talking (Mondada, 2014a). At this point, companion dog Gili walks beside them, sniffing the ground. When Katja and Kim approach, Gabi bodily displays her orientation to her dog, here primarily categorizing herself as his guardian, while still engaging in the topical talk with Grace. That allows her to progressively disengage from the conversation. Disruptions and overlaps hint at the interference between parallel courses of action, eventually resulting in the abandonment of the topical talk by Gabi and the transformation of the interactional space into a passing-by with oncoming walkers.

The following example similarly shows how a projected encounter with oncoming walkers leads to disruptions, overlaps, and the eventual abandonment of the topic. A couple and a friend are on a stroll with their dogs: Ira (IRA) and her companion dog Imo (IMO), walking with Bonnie (BON), Basil (BAS), and their puppy Bella (BEL). Basil is walking a few steps behind them, carrying Bella in his arms. Imo is walking even further behind. From afar, guardian Mia (MIA) and her dog Mouse (MOU), on a long leash, can be seen walking toward them.

Ira tells Bonnie about an incident she witnessed between two people whom she observed during one of her walks: a dog was carrying a corncob in its mouth (1), and a person, who did not belong to that dog, warned the responsible guardian about the risk that the dog might not be able to digest the corncob (4-6; fig. 1). Her narrative is framed as an example of obtrusiveness.

(2.22a) (CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.29.25)

```
1  IRA    de hund het en maischolbä i dä ha- im muul gha.
          the dog had a corncob   in the ha- in the mouth
2         (.)
3  BON    mhm,=
          mhm
4  IRA    =dänn het sie sie aaghalte und het gseit aso d'fründin vo ihre
           then she had stopped her and had said well the friend of her
```

```
5          hegi das au heg en- de hund en maischolbe gfrässe und heg nachär
           had this too had a- the dog had eaten a corncob and had afterwards
6          darmverschluss gha will *die chönd das nöd verdaue# wills holz- aso
           intest. obstruction because they can't digest it 'cause the wood- well
                                    *gazes twd BON->
   fig                                                        #fig. 1
```



```
7          s'isch so ganz *en-¶ [•.hhhh
           it is like really a-
8  BON                      [•ja.
                             yes
   ira              ->*gazes forwards
   mou               ->¶stops
   mia                ->•stops->
9          (0.5)
10 IRA     äh::::
           uh::::
11         (0.8)
12 IRA     und dru#•m- äh:
           and therefore- uh:
   mol          ->•walks obliquely to L->
   fig        #fig. 2
```


While Ira talks, the oncomers are continuously approaching. Suddenly, Mouse stops to sniff the ground, followed by Mia stopping as well. Their suspension of the walk possibly prompts Ira to break off her turn (7-8). A continuation is projected (10) but further delayed as Mia resumes her walk, moving slowly to her left (12; fig. 2-3). The discontinuity in Ira's talk hints at her monitoring of Mia's movements and her orientation to changes in the projected trajectory of the oncomers. The continuation of the fragment shows how Ira increasingly displays her

shift in attention to Imo, thereby exhibiting her orientation to the progressive approach of the oncoming dog–guardian formation and to the organization of the passing-by. As will become clear, Ira's focus on her dog conflicts with her ongoing talk with Bonnie.

(2.22b) (CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.29.25)

```
13        (0.2)
14 IRA    vo däm her aso das isch [denn a so biz  das-     ]&
          hence     well this is   then a PRT bit that-
15 BON                            [ja aber das isch ja nid-]
                                   yes but that is PRT not-
16 IRA    &s'isch eigentlich# no gue•t gxi het sie das gseit [aber-
           it was actually   PRT good that she had said that  but-
   mia                                    ->•walks fwd->>
   fig              #fig. 3
17 BON                                              [+das isch ja nid
                                                     that is PRT not
   bon                                              +tilts head L->
18        e rot[*schlag im sinn vo-  we#is*ch w#as *d'er]z+#iehig*&
          an advice in the sense of- you know as   education
19 IRA        [*°s'isch denn amig chli# *bevor#mun*dend°]+#
               it is then sometimes a little patronising
   ira        *turns gaze R-----------*.........*torqs torsoR*turns fwd->
   bon                                              ->+,,,,,,,->
   fig                              #fig. 4 #fig. 5      #fig. 6
```



```
20 BON    &oder so*+ agaht.=
           or   so  regards
   ira          ->*
   bon     ->,,,,,+gzs twd MIA->>
21 IRA    =*mhja,*
           mhyes
          ->*.....*turns torsoL->
22        (0.4)
23 BON     *[grüezi]#
            hello
24 IRA     *[↑pouEE]#EEph↑=* ((whistles))
   ira    ->*,,,,,,,,,,,,,,*turns backw off the path->
   fig              #fig. 7
25 BAS    =grüe[zi
           hello
26 IRA         [↑chum,=#
                come
   fig              #fig. 8
27 MIA    =(jöh) baby
           PRT  baby

28        (0.5) *
   ira          ->*gazes twd MIA->
```

```
29 BAS    °hhh [hi hi hi hi hi hi°
          hhh hi hi hi hi hi hi
30 IRA         [°grüe#zi°*
               hello
                    ->*
  fig               #fig. 9
```
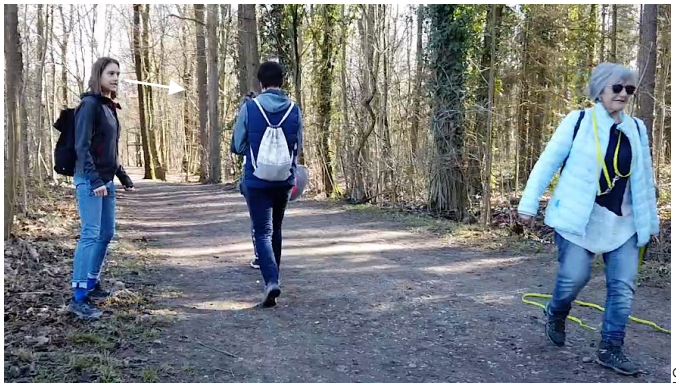

Bonnie challenges Ira's anecdote as not being obtrusive, for it concerns advice about the dog's health and not about its education (17-18). In overlap and in a significantly lower voice, Ira assesses the person's conduct as patronizing, hence countering Bonnie's argument (19). As in the previous example, the overlap and lower voice hint at the concurrent activities in which Ira is engaged: simultaneously with the talk, she orients to the steady approach of Mia and Mouse. Ira turns her head to the right, gazing toward Bonnie (19, fig. 4). She then turns her head and torso onward to the right, gazing backward, where Imo is running (fig. 5-6). Bonnie completes her turn (20), which makes an agreement or disagreement relevant (Pomerantz, 1985). Indeed, Ira agrees minimally while turning to her left, adopting a transitional posture that prepares for a reorientation of her body (21). Ira thus engages in activities with two membership categories: co-conversationalist and guardian. On the one hand, her responses align with the implicativeness of ongoing talk, showing her orientation to activities bound to the interaction with Bonnie. On the other hand, by turning toward her dog, Ira bodily displays her orientation to activities bound to her responsibilities as a guardian. Ira privileges the latter in the subsequent greeting sequence, as she whistles in overlap, gazes backward, stops, and positions herself next

to the path (24; fig. 7-8). She steps off the trail and no longer walks with Bonnie and Basil. When Mia has almost walked past, Ira, gazing toward her back, utters a very late greeting in such a low voice that it can hardly be heard by the recipient, Mia, who does indeed not respond (30).

The projected encounter with Mia and Mouse occasions Ira to orient to activities, rights, and obligations bound to her category as a guardian. The appearance of the oncoming walkers accounts for Ira's shift of focus to Imo while still talking with Bonnie. Despite Ira's bodily display of disengagement, she still aligns with the projections and expectations of the topical talk and continues to walk beside Bonnie. Overlaps, hitches, and disruptions in the talk hint at Ira's oscillation between competing intertwined activities (Mondada, 2014d). Furthermore, her actions lead to a radical reconfiguration of the interactional space. It shifts from a side-by-side formation between Ira and Bonnie, with Basil in a peripheral position, to a formation where Bonnie and Basil continue their walk and interact with Mia while Ira stops and gazes toward Imo. Nevertheless, Ira exhibits her belonging together with Bonnie and Basil through her delayed greeting, orienting to a normative order, in which the interactional engagement by Ira's co-walkers retrospectively makes the absence of her greeting noticeable.

In sum, the guardians' shift of attention to their dogs upon the approach of other walkers may conflict with their engagement in topical talk or other activities with the co-participants of their walking group. They face the practical challenge of organizing the passing-by together with their dog and within the group of co-walkers. The guardians' orientation to the projectable encounter with oncomers is visible in their disengagement from the interactional space with co-conversationalists while turning to their dogs and making their categorial identities and responsibilities relevant. That leads to the abandonment of the topic which is finally not resumed.

2.5.2 Suspending and resuming topical talk

In contrast to abandoning an ongoing topical talk, participants may suspend and resume it after the moment of passing by other walkers. In the following example, a guardian and her co-walker are engaged in conversation as they are about to approach two other pedestrians (without a dog) in a head-on encounter. Adaptations and discontinuities in their talk reveal their orientation to the oncomers. Nevertheless, the participants continue their conversation until the actual passing-by moment. Extract 2.23 shows Jan (JAN) and his wife Jil (JIL), who are on a hike with Iris (IRI) and her dog Imo (IMO). Imo is on a long leash. In the distance, Chris (CHR)

and Carla (CAR) are walking toward them on the road. Jan is in the middle of a telling (1) as they approach a shed on their left-hand side where a carriage is parked.

(2.23a) (CH_FL_DOGW_20201220_9_0.00.24)

```
1   JAN   un[d-
            and-
2   IRI      [lug d'ku[tsche i•sch d#a:•   ]
              look the coach  is   there
3   JAN               [(di hen•d s'g#liche)] +kauft.=
                       they have  bought  the same
    iri                       •Rarm out•
    imo                                       ->+wks slightly R->
    fig                              #fig. 1
```



```
4   IRI   =•*ah [das han ich-*
            ah that I didn't-
          •holds leash w RH->
          *gazes twd JAN---*
5   JAN       [aber weisch-
              but you know
6         (0.6) •+
    iri      ->•holds leash w 2hands->
    imo       ->+walks fwd->
7   JAN   ∇äh::
           uh::
          ∇points twd carriage->
8         (0.6)
9   JAN   kutsche (0.3) ghört (0.6) ((village)),=
          coach (0.3) belongs to (0.6) ((village))
10  IRI   =•aha:::∇=
            aha:::
          •pulls leash w RH->
    jan        ->∇
```

Iris interrupts Jan by noticing the carriage they had talked about earlier (2). In overlap, Jan finishes his turn while Iris stretches out her right arm and pulls slightly on Imo's leash (3; fig. 1), possibly responding to the approach of Chris and Carla. Iris gazes toward Jan and acknowledges his turn as informative and newsworthy by prefacing her answer with the interjection *ah* (4). In overlap, Jan initiates a pre-sequence (Schegloff, 2007), projecting some sharing of further news or knowledge (5). He points at the carriage, referring to Iris's previous

noticing of it, and informs her that it belongs to the village (9). Again, Iris expresses a change-of-state by providing the particle *aha* (10). While doing so, she stretches out her right arm a second time and pulls on the leash, projecting her subsequent trajectory change, orienting to Chris and Carla's advanced approach. The distribution and coordination of different activities – talking and manipulating the leash – enables her to manage them in parallel, that is, displaying attention to both Jan's telling and the oncoming walkers. Jan then extends the telling but suspends his turn as Iris starts to change her trajectory:

(2.23b) (CH_FL_DOGW_20201220_9_0.00.24)

```
11 JAN     =und d'ross-•§*
             and the horses
   iri             ->•LH to leash->
   iri               ->§3 steps R->
   iri                 ->*gazes twd IMO->
12         # (0.4) +
   imo           ->+walks R->
   fig    #fig. 2
13 JAN     hends§ g◊+laubi•# +uus-
             I believe they have bo-
   iri        ->§walks fwd->>
   jan           ->◊2 steps R->
   imo             ->+........+stops->
   iri                 ->•shortens leash->
   fig                   #fig. 3
14         † (0.3) •#
   imo    †gazes twd JAN->
   iri            ->•leash in Rhand->
   fig              #fig. 4
15 JAN     [äh::    ]
             uh::
16 IRI     [↑ch†umm↑]+◊#
               come
   imo      ->†gazes twd IRI->
   imo          ->+wks fwd->
   jan            ->◊wks fwd->
   fig               #fig. 5
```


2

3

```
17              † (0.2) • (0.4)
   imo    ->†gazes fwd->>
   iri            ->•pulls leash w RH->
18 IRI  [↑gang↑ ∇ku- imo,∇]+
          go     ku- imo
19 JAN  [hends  ∇  äh    ∇]+uusgliehe,=
         they have uh       borrowed
   jan          ∇gzs  IRI∇
   imo                 ->+wks to R->
20 IRI    =•ja. •
            yes
          ->•,,,,•
21        (0.9)
22 IRI    aha:::=
          aha:::
23 JAN    =und (.) >de piet [isch ei]fach [kutsche< grüezi
           and    (the) piet  is  simply  carriage hello
24 CHR                      [grüezi ]
                             hello
25 CAR                                    [grüe[zi mitenand
                                            hello  together
26 IRI                                         [grüezi mitenand
                                                hello together
27        (2.0)
28 JAN    und de piet isch eifach äh::
          and (the) piet is simply uh
29        (1.2)
30 JAN    kut[sche.
          carriage
31 IRI       [ja ja.
              yes yes
```

Jan's extension projects to give information about the horses that belong to the carriage (11). The suspension in his talk co-occurs with Iris's abrupt change of posture and trajectory: she takes three steps to her right, grabs the leash with both hands, and gazes toward Imo (11; fig. 2). Subsequently, she pulls her dog toward the right (12). Iris's action is a visible response to Carla's and Chris's approach and the practical problem arising from this, since, until then, the long leash stretched across the road, so Iris and Imo make space for the passers-by.

Furthermore, the group is using the entire width of the pathway, so Iris's change of trajectory is consequential for the walk of the other participants: Jan steps to his right (13; fig. 3), subtly coordinating with Iris's projected trajectory and aligning with the normative

constraints of 'walking-together'(Ryave & Schenkein, 1974). That shows the issue of both managing the walk with the dog and reorganizing the group. Iris's pull on the leash occasions Imo to come to a halt in the middle of Jan's projectable trajectory, gazing back over his shoulder toward Jan (13-14; fig. 4). At that moment, Jan interrupts his turn and gazes down toward Imo, hesitating (15). Consequently, Iris calls to Imo encouraging him to walk on (16), treating Imo's stopping and gazing back as disaligning with the progression of the walk. In that way, she also shows that Imo belongs to her (rather than to Jan). As a response, Imo gazes toward Iris and resumes walking forward (16; fig. 5). Jan reinitiates his suspended turn, but it happens in overlap with a command from Iris that is addressed to Imo (18-19). The hesitation marker *äh* 'uh' delays the continuation of Jan's utterance so that the last word ('borrowed'), which contains the core information, is not in overlap (19). Moreover, it allows him to gaze sideways toward Iris, ensuring her attention. Iris exhibits her attention and understanding with an immediate positive response in coordination with retracting her right arm (20). The subsequent pause (21) indicates that Jan treats Iris's ambiguous turn as a disaffiliative assessment of his telling as "already known" (Schegloff, 2007, pp. 60–61) and thus as concluding the sequence. Consequently, Iris self-repairs by expressing a delayed change-of-state (22) which assesses his story as newsworthy and shows her understanding of Jan's silence not as a closing but rather as a mishearing of her turn. In that sense, Iris restores her attention display toward the sequentiality of the ongoing talking activity in two ways: her self-repair both shows her orientation to the expectancy of an answer and displays her awareness of what *type* of answer is needed for the conversation to continue. This happens when she has managed to guide Imo to the right-hand side of the road and can simply continue walking forward. Hence, Iris's change-of-state display works in this sequential position as a continuer. Jan produces an extension (23), even though they are about to pass by Chris and Carla. His turn is produced very fast and overlaps with the subsequent greeting sequence initiated by Chris (23-26). After passing by, Jan resumes his turn-at-talk by repeating the previous syntactical construction (28).

This example illustrates how co-participants continue their topical talk, despite the projected encounter with oncoming walkers. Moments of discontinuities in the talk reveal an orientation to details of the local ecology within the ongoing navigation, the current talk within the group, and the concurrent activity of preparing the passing-by. Iris displays attention to Jan's talk (by providing continuers) and to the constraints of the projected encounter with the oncoming walkers (by orienting bodily toward her dog Imo and pulling on his leash). She thereby skillfully organizes and distributes vocal and embodied resources. When Imo stops and

gazes back toward Jan, Iris calls him in overlap with Jan's turns-at-talk, thus momentarily prioritizing the interaction with Imo. Furthermore, this shows the consequentiality of the dog's actions: Imo's stop is disaligned with the progression of the walk, and his gaze toward Jan displays attention to a person other than his guardian, which shows that a dog can also connect with other walkers. Jan's breaks and hesitations correspond to Iris's visible shift in attention and changes in her and his walk. His production of talk while adapting to the walk of the other participants points to the finely calibrated coordination required to pass by others as a group.

2.5.3 Interference of topical talk

The two previous sections have shown how participants abandon their topical talk or suspend and resume it after the moment of passing by. However, local contingencies sometimes prompt the participants to interrupt their discussion, as shown in the following example. Ira (IRA) and her dog Imo (IMO), who is strolling behind, are on their walk with Bonnie (BON) and Basil (BAS), with Basil carrying their puppy Bella in his arms. Bonnie and Ira talk about dog breeds more likely to cause aggression in other dogs because of the physiognomy of their breed. An approaching pedestrian formation consisting of Vera (VER), Val (VAL), and a child named Viorel (VIO) are visible in the distance. Viorel will be the first to visibly orient to the progressive approach of the oncoming walkers by displaying anxiety in view of the dog Imo.

(2.24a) (CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_2_0.03.08)

```
1  BON   ich mein-
           I  mean
2        (0.7)
3  IRA   [>will sie<- ]
           because they-
4  BON   [gwüssi sachä] sind+ja wie chli logisch sie sind
           certain things are PRT like a little logic they are
   bon                    +gazes twd IRA->
5        schlech*ter #lä*+sb#ar *wenn* sie zum biispill-=
           less        readable   if   they for example-
   ira        *gzs BON*gzs IBE*,,,,*gzs fwd->
   bon                 ->+gzs fwd->
   fig               #fig. 1#fig. 2
```
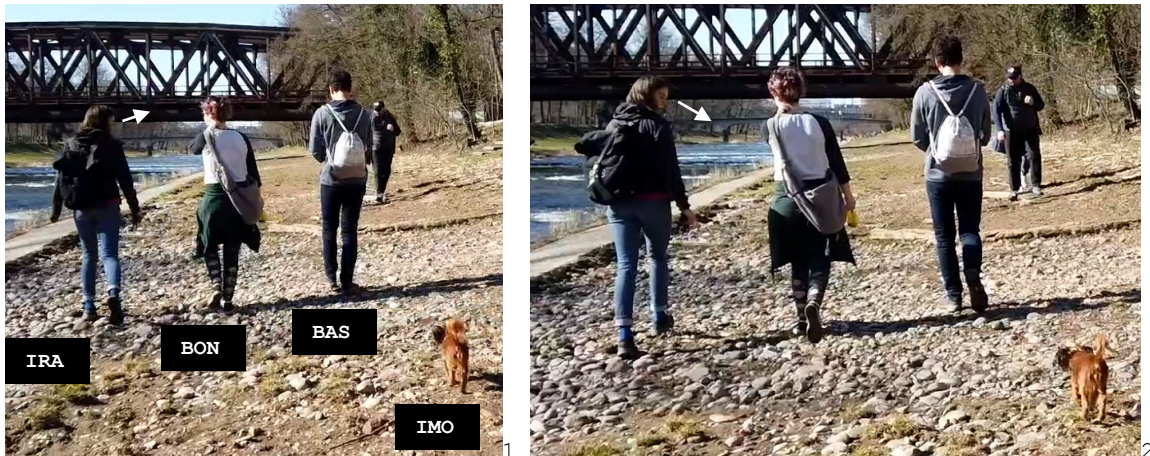
Bonnie announces a more extended elaboration of her previous talk (1). At the same time, she gazes sideways toward Ira (4), who responds by turning her head to the right (5) – the co-participants share a moment of mutual gaze (fig. 1). Subsequently, Ira uses her head rotation to gaze to the right, and eventually torques her torso back toward Imo (5; fig. 2). The fact that Imo walks behind the participants accounts for Ira's momentarily turning away from Bonnie, recognizably monitoring her dog. She thereby coordinates three different activities in a parallel order (Mondada, 2014d) – walking, talking, and monitoring Imo. Meanwhile, Vera, Val, and Viorel have come closer. In the second part of this example, Viorel displays trouble with regard to Imo, which intercedes the talk between Ira and Bonnie.

(2.24b) (CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_2_0.03.08)

```
6   IRA     =genau das he[t sie glaub gseit.]
            that's exactly what she apparently said
7   BON                  [e stummelschwänzli] he§nd
                          have a little stubby tail
    vio                                       §gazes twd IBE->>
8           •oder# wenn du#• e hund φhe•sch*wo-*
            or     if you have a dog who-
    vio     •steps twd L---•steps backw•stops->
    bas                           φturn R->
    ira                               ->*....*gzs twd IBE->>
    fig         #fig. 3  #fig. 4
9           •φ (0.2) #+ (0.3) +φ
    vio     •points at IMO->
    bas      φtorques twd IMO--φturns/gzs twd IMO->>
    bon            ->+gazes R+gzs twd IMO->>
    fig            #fig. 5
10  IRA     chu•::mm >imo %chumm<
            come     imo  come
    vio     ->•hides behind VER->>
    imo              %erects ears->>
```

96

Viorel turns his head and looks at Imo (7). A moment later, he takes a sudden step to the side, throws up his hands, and walks backward, visibly displaying fear because of the dog (8; fig. 3-4). This occasions Basil to turn around, showing his understanding of Viorel's actions as related to Imo, who walks behind him. An instant later, Ira also gazes toward Imo, and her abrupt change of posture occasions Bonnie to break off her turn (8). Viorel points at Imo, further specifying the source of his trouble, while Basil turns around entirely, constantly monitoring Imo (9; fig. 5). Ira calls for Imo, thus publicly displaying her responsibility as his guardian, and Imo responds by pricking up his ears and walking to the left toward Ira (10).

In sum, this example has illustrated how local constraints on a dog walk may interfere in ongoing talk between co-walkers. At the beginning of the first fragment, Ira's torque and gaze toward Imo are recognizable as a 'routine check' on the dog. Monitoring Imo while walking and displaying attention to Bonnie's talk works smoothly in parallel. That changes when the child Viorel orients to their approach by displaying fear because of Imo, constraining Ira to turn toward her dog. She thereby orients to her responsibility of securing a safe passing-by in which a frightened child is involved. Basil also orients to this when turning around to Imo – since he is not engaged in topical talk, he can be the first of the group to respond to Viorel. Indeed, even though the dog and guardian often embody a unique relationship within a group of walkers, other group members may also display responsibility for the dog. The sudden change in Ira's body posture transforms the interactional space with Bonnie, prompting the latter to break off her turn. Therefore, as opposed to the previous examples, Bonnie ceases her talk in response to her co-conversationalist's sudden change of attention display. Furthermore, this example illustrates how quickly and subtly an interactional space can change. Viorel displays his noticing of Imo, while Basil and Ira, turning toward Imo, respond to Viorel's action, i.e., to his display of trouble. Individuals transition from merely being co-located to

being co-present as they begin to mutually respond to each other within a newly developed interactional space.

In this section, I have demonstrated how walkers as part of a group organize their activities in orientation to the approach of other walkers, and how this relates to the dog that walks within that group. The guardians face the practical task of securing the safe passing-by together with their dogs, coordinating the walk together with their co-walkers, and organizing concurrent conversations. Co-participants manage the heterogeneity of these courses of action skillfully, adapting their prioritization of actions to the progression of the walk and the progressivity of the projected encounter with passers-by. The orientation to oncomers is observable in the guardians' adjustments of their talk and their shift of focus to their dog, which eventually leads to changes in the interactional space. The guardians may progressively abandon their ongoing topical talk, or they may maintain it until the very moment of passing by, suspend, and later resume it. Oncoming walkers may also occasion abrupt changes in bodily orientations and focus displays, which may interfere with ongoing talk and transform the interactional space. The guardians and their dog achieve the recognizability of belonging together cooperatively by coordinating their walk and responding to each other's actions. Nevertheless, other members of the same walking group may also show responsibility for the dogs, and the dogs may connect with them. In general, that reveals how categorial identities emerge locally and gradually as they are made relevant by the participants themselves.

2.6 Summary

The first analytical chapter of this study aimed at showing how dog–guardian formations orient to the progressive approach of oncoming individuals. They acknowledge the approach of other walkers through recurrent actions, such as turning to their dog, adjusting their trajectories, and manipulating the leash, which may lead to suspending or abandoning concurrent activities with co-walkers of a larger mobile formation. These actions orient to the organization of a safe passing-by together with the dog and to the calibration of a guardian's control over the dog. They ultimately ground the unfolding mutual organization of the convergence of frontal trajectories with unacquainted others.

Turning toward one's dog, adjusting the trajectory, and manipulating the leash are ordinary tasks for guardians during a walk with their dogs, regardless of whether they encounter someone or not. But they may also be employed to secure a safe passing-by with oncoming walkers and thus become constitutive elements when participants establish an interactional space, reflexively responding to each other and coordinating their passing-by. Hence, the

analyses of this chapter contribute to a deeper understanding of how the relevancies of "practical action" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970) are locally and interactionally achieved.

Section 2.2 has shown how, upon the projectable encounter with other walkers, the guardians manifest a double orientation toward the dogs and the oncomers. This becomes especially visible when the dog walks behind the guardian – a configuration that requires the latter to perform a mobile body torque (Mondada, 2018d, in reference to Schegloff, 1998). The guardians turn their gaze and upper body toward their dog while maintaining the lower part of their body in the walking direction, i.e., directed toward the oncoming walkers (Section 2.2.1) In addition to their change of bodily orientation, guardians employ vocal resources to call for their dog, which might be audible from a distance and recognizable for others (Section 2.2.2). Hence, turning toward one's dog and summoning it by name are double-barreled actions which, on the one hand, render visible and make relevant the dog's presence and, on the other hand, display the guardian's orientation to oncoming walkers.

Section 2.3 focused on the witnessable trajectory adjustments employed by guardians in orientation to the approach of oncomers. Guardians gradually move toward the margins of the path or road to organize the mutual passing-by on opposite sides (Section 2.3.1). They need to coordinate their walk together with their dogs, which is why such a change in trajectory often converges with the establishment of a side-by-side walking formation (Section 2.3.2). The guardians' trajectory change shows their consideration of the pace and directionality of oncoming walkers, as well as their awareness of the relevancy of coordination between the approaching mobile formations, which end up in a distributed occupation of the pathway. Section 2.4 has illustrated the leashing or unleashing of the dog as another action that orients to the approach of other walkers. Whereas leashing the dog allows the guardian to gain more control over their walking together, facilitating the coordination of the anticipated passing-by and preventing the dog from running toward the oncomers, the unleashing displays a guardian's letting go of control and shows their assumption about the dogs as being compatible. Furthermore, guardians display a preference for creating symmetrical engagements in which either both dogs are on a leash or both dogs are off the leash. Hence, they adapt to oncoming walkers by leashing their dog (Section 2.4.1) or letting them loose (Section 2.4.2). This shows their orientation to the way in which an oncoming guardian and dog walk together, as well as the guardians' assessment of compatibility or incompatibility between the dogs.

These actions are coordinated by participants in accordance with the progression of the walk and orient to the mutual achievement of a safe passing-by. On a walk where the guardian

and the dog constitute a group with other walkers, the co-participants must organize their walking together, including the dog, adjust together to oncoming walkers while possibly coordinating their activity with concurrent talk-in-interaction. In general, guardians show a prioritization of managing the encounter with unacquainted oncomers over the ongoing topical talk, which is observable in instances where the topic is abandoned (Section 2.5.1), suspended (Section 2.5.2) or interceded (Section 2.5.3).

The recurrent actions shown in this chapter constitute a practice of adapting to oncoming walkers, allowing the two approaching mobile formations to mutually achieve a frontal interactional space while still walking and to coordinate their passing-by together. Two individual parties walk toward each other and develop a symmetry of engagements (leashed vs. unleashed dogs, walking on the right vs. on the left side, etc.) that is based on mutual responsiveness. The latter constitutes a precondition for the subsequent negotiation about the modalities of the anticipated encounter. The guardians work toward agreeing on whether their dogs may come close to each other – an aspect that is addressed in the subsequent Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Negotiations of dog-dog contact

3.1 Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, the development of an interactional space is a progressive achievement between mutually approaching walkers, including pedestrians, guardians, and dogs and the like, and its configuration constantly changes as the walk progresses. This section focuses on what happens after an interactional space between approaching dog–guardian formations has developed through their bodily orientations and adjustments shown in Chapter 2. The first moments of mutual responsiveness between the individuals form the basis for the further course of the encounter. The interaction between the guardians is built upon the relevance of the contact between the dogs and the achievement of an agreement about the modalities of the projectable encounter. Do the dogs run around freely or are they put on a leash? Can they come close to each other or are they kept at a distance? Related to these choices, guardians display their inferences about the *compatibility* of the dogs to each other, i.e., whether the dogs get along well or not. Based on the assumptions about the dogs' compatibility, the guardians negotiate the closeness of the imminent contact. The preparation for the encounter is dependent on what the guardians infer from the dogs' actions and visual appearance. This chapter addresses the ways in which guardians mobilize embodied and sometimes vocal resources at specific sequential positions during the emerging opening of an interaction to demonstrate and achieve a mutual understanding (cf. Mondada, 2011c) that their dogs can come close or need to be restrained. For this progressive negotiation between dog–guardian formations, the actions and bodily displays of the dogs, which may convey fear, joy, curiosity, or other stances attributed by the guardians, are essential. The term *dog–dog contact* is used broadly to refer to different types of closeness between two unfamiliar dogs, such as a short olfactory inspection or a more sustained engagement in playful wrestling.

In general, when two dog–guardian formations are approaching each other, various possibilities of reciprocal interaction may transpire: guardians engage in interaction with each other (guardian–guardian), and dogs are engaged with each other (dog–dog). At the same time, each guardian interacts with their own dog (guardianA–dogA), and in some cases, guardians and dogs interact who are unknown to each other (guardianA–dogB). These interactional engagements often happen simultaneously and are managed and dynamically shaped jointly by all participants. Related to this is an occasional indeterminacy of the addressee that may be exploited interactively. For example, a loudly uttered command to the dog may be heard by co-

participants, and other individuals, and responded to accordingly. Likewise, talking about a dog that belongs to an unknown guardian increases the constraint on the latter to respond. This is reminiscent of Goffman's observation about individuals who sometimes "talk into the air," allowing an "overhearer" greater liberty to respond (Goffman, 1963, p. 97). The term "overhearing" is used by Hänggi (2022) to show that interactants may take advantage of overheard language samples by recipient-designing their first words to orient to previously unknown co-participants. *To overhear* thus applies to a situation in which the individuals are not yet ratified participants, and the 'accidental' overhearing of a turn can become a first step toward mutual interactional engagement. This contrasts with the examples analyzed here, in which the turns are produced within an established interactional space between the approaching dog–guardian formations and sometimes deployed in such a way that they can have multiple addressees.

When both dogs are off the leash, it may be that participants simply walk toward each other with a minimal form of engagement. The guardians' gaze, body positions, and postures convey a 'laissez-faire attitude,' constituted by monitoring the dogs without holding them back. *Monitoring* refers to the witnessable way in which guardians observe their dogs' actions within the sequential environment of an emerging encounter with other walkers (see Section 1.2.2). The guardians may monitor their dogs' trajectories without intervening in the projectable dog–dog contact, thereby displaying their approval. Hence, as opposed to pedestrians moving in traffic and maintaining a "scanning or check-out area" (Goffman, 1971, p. 11), a guardian's witnessable monitoring, in a sense of "paying special attention" (Nishizaka, 2022, p. 36), while leaving their dogs to their own devices, is accountable. This is because it not only displays their engagement and attention, but also exhibits their conviction that the dogs will not act aggressively or dangerously. Therefore, monitoring their dogs as they approach each other is a way for guardians to exhibit their awareness, responsibility, and inference that the dogs are compatible, thereby contracting a silent agreement that the dogs may come close (Section 2.3).

On occasion, oncoming guardians achieve that agreement by talking to each other from a distance. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the individuals' visual accessibility and identification are preconditions for a distance opening, which is fundamentally related to their physical position and proximity (Kendon & Ferber, 1973). By initiating talk from a distance, such as explicitly addressing the issue of dog–dog contact, or doing a "noticing" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 219) of the oncoming dog, guardians orient to the issue of whether the conditions are favorable for the dogs to come close. They display their inference about the incompatibility or

compatibility of the dogs, which allows them to gradually create a shared understanding of whether their dogs can approach each other or not (Section 3.3).

Another way in which negotiation about dog–dog contact emerges is through visible and audible interaction between the guardian and their dog. For example, a guardian holds their dog back by the collar or gives loud admonishing commands that demonstrate caution and are oriented toward problematic dog conduct. The public availability of these actions enables oncoming dog–guardian formations to respond accordingly. This also hints at the accountability of both the guardian's and the dog's actions, which are made evident in retrospective accounts in which guardians hold the dogs' conducts accountable for their own (the guardians') decisions (Section 3.4).

3.2 Achieving agreement on letting the dogs come close freely

This section explores the silent and embodied achievement of agreement between guardians on letting their dogs come close freely, first in ephemeral passing-by interactions with minimal engagement (3.2.1), then in encounters that will develop into a more sustained talk-in-interaction between guardians (3.2.2). The guardians' gaze, body positions, and postures convey a 'laissez-faire attitude,' constituted by monitoring the dogs without holding them back, leading to achieving an agreement that their dogs may approach each other freely.

3.2.1 Silent approach and passing-by

Silently, without engaging in talk, guardians can agree that their dogs come close. The guardians' social engagement may be minimal, consisting of monitoring the dogs and coordinating passing each other by. In the following example, Basil (BAS) walks with Bilbo (BIL) when they are about to encounter Debbie (DEB) and her dog Dakota (DAK) frontally. Bilbo directs his trajectory toward them as he obliques to his left, which projects a possible dog–dog contact (1; fig. 1ab).

(3.1a) CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_4_0.00.35

```
1       (1.0)    ♦ (1.1) ♣ (0.2) #
   bil   >>wks fwd♦walks twd L->
   deb           >>wks fwd♣stops->
   bas
   fig                       #fig. 1ab
```

1a   1b
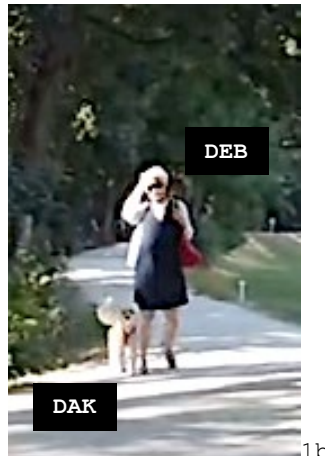
```
2          (0.2)    + (0.3) *(0.2) +♣ (0.6) ♦ (1.4) ♥
  bas              >>wks fwd*obliques R->
  bas     >>gzs fwd+gazes down----+gazes fwd->
  dak                              ->♣walks fwd->
  bil                                  ->♦walks twd DAK->
  dak                                          ->♥wags tail->
3 BAS    .hh °hehe° hh ◊
         .hh   hehe   hh
  deb               ->◊gazes twd BIL->
4        (0.2) ♦♠ (0.8) # (0.2) §◊+
  bil      ->♦slows down->
  bil       ->♠wags tail->
  deb                >>wks fwd§turns R->
  deb                     ->◊gazes twd dogs->
  bas                      ->+gazes twd dogs->
  fig               #fig. 2
5        (0.3) ♦Δ♥ (0.3) ♣ (0.5) #Δ• (0.2) § (0.4)
  bil      ->♦stops->
  bil       ->Δturns head twd DAKΔtouches snout->
  dak        ->♥stops tail wagging->
  dak              ->♣stops->
  dak                         ->•touches snout->
  deb                           ->§stops->
  fig                   #fig. 3
```


2   3

Although Bilbo walks left (fig. 1a), his guardian Basil moves right (2). He thus orients to sidestepping Dakota and Debbie at the edge of the path, while he lets Bilbo walk on a

convergent course with the oncomers. Hence, Basil displays trust that the dogs can manage their encounter independently. Bilbo walks forward directly toward Dakota, and she wags her tail (2), probably prompting Basil to chuckle slightly (3). Now, Debbie turns her head, monitoring Bilbo as he approaches Dakota, and Basil tilts his head to the left (3-4; fig. 2). The guardians thus jointly monitor the two dogs as they stop to touch each other's snout (5; fig. 3). In the next fragment, the dogs' mutual engagement ends as Basil passes by Debbie.

(3.1b) CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_4_0.00.35

```
5          (0.4)  * (0.4) Δ (0.2) ♣•Δ# (1.0) ♣Δ (0.2) #•
   bas         ->*walks fwd->
   bil                  ->Δgzs L----Δgzs fwd--Δgzstwd BAS->
   dak                        ->•.................•sniffs BIL's flank->
   dak                     ->♣1 step fwd♣stops->
   fig                                        #fig. 4
6          (0.2) *♦ (0.4) *Δ (0.4)  ♣ (0.7) ♠♦
   bas       ->*parallel*walks fwd->
   bil        ->♦steps L-------------------♦crosses path->
   bil             ->Δgazes twd DAK->
   dak                     ->♣turns R and follows BIL->
   bil                        ->♠stops wagging tail->>
7 BAS   £.hh *+§# hehe ◊hhh£♣•+
   bas      ->*stops->>
   bas     ->+gazes twd DOR--+gazes twd BIL->>
   deb       ->§walks fwd->>
   deb              ->◊gazes fwd->>
   dak              ->♣turns left->>
   dak                 ->•gazes twd DOR->>
   fig          #fig. 5
```
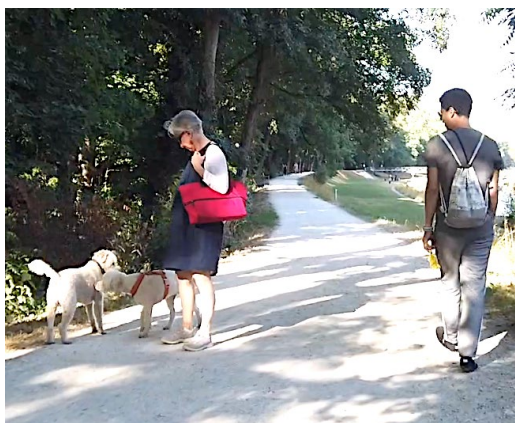

Basil continues his walk, staying on the opposite margin of the path (5). When he is about to come parallel to Debbie and the dogs, Bilbo gazes toward him (5; fig. 4). Just as Basil walks past, his dog disengages from the encounter with Dakota and walks across the path toward him (6). Hence, Bilbo coordinates his actions with Basil's continuation of the walk. Dakota follows Bilbo (6), which prompts Basil to stop and chuckle as he gazes toward Debbie (7; fig. 5). She then turns her back on him and resumes her walk without engaging with him (7). Eventually, Dakota turns left to follow her guardian (7).

This first example has illustrated how guardians, even without overtly orienting to each other, progressively and cooperatively achieve an agreement that their dogs can freely approach each other. The interactional achievement is based on the guardians' accountable monitoring of the dogs' projected trajectories and the "seen but unnoticed" (Garfinkel, 1967) absence of any intervention. In other words, both guardians adopt postures mainly oriented toward their dogs, but not oriented toward themselves as guardians. Without uttering a word, Debbie and Basil reorganize their bodies around their dogs, jointly focusing on them while maintaining distance by walking along the margins of the path. Hence, the guardians do not restrain their dogs, displaying trust and knowledge that they will get along with each other. Furthermore, by adapting their walk, the guardians anticipate and show sensitivity toward the duration of the dog–dog contact. In accordance with the dogs' actions, they slow down, suspend, and then resume their walk.

The same phenomenon is observable in the next example, in which two guardians, without overtly achieving mutuality when orienting to each other, progressively agree on leaving the dogs loose. Iris (IRI) and her dog Iglu (IGL) come across Zac (ZAC) with his dog Zula (ZUL). Both dogs are off the leash, and Iglu runs some distance ahead of his guardian. At some point, he stops, as does Zula – both dogs thus stand still, facing each other (1; fig. 1), while Iris and Zac continue to walk forward.

(3.2a) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.20.04

```
1        (2.4)    • (1.2) •+# (4.0) +   (3.0)   +* (0.6) #
  igl   >>runs fwd•-------•stops->
  zul          >>walks fwd+stops----+wks twd ZAC+wks beside ZAC->
  igl                              >>gzs fwd*gazes backw->
  fig                   #fig. 1                     #fig. 2
```

The dogs maintain their configuration for about 4 seconds until Zula catches up with her guardian, walking toward and beside him. Iglu gazes back toward Iris – described by Laurier et al. (2006) as an "over-the-shoulder look" by means of which a dog possibly checks on his guardian (2006, p. 7) – and they share mutual gaze (fig. 2). This would be a possible moment for Iris to call her dog back, prepare her leash, or take out a treat, which are actions oriented to restraining or controlling the dog. Instead, she displays that she will leave him running freely by simply continuing her walk. In contrast, in the continuation of the example, Zac lets his dog walk closely next to him and gives Zula a treat (2), however, without leashing her.

(3.2b) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.20.04

```
2   IGL    WO†OF*•
    zac      †gives treat->
    igl       ->*gazes fwd->>
    igl        ->•runs twd ZUL->>
3          (0.6) † (1.5)  +Δ (2.3)  Δ§#
    zac        ->†
    zul                  ->+runs twd IGL->>
    iri        >>walks fwdΔ.......Δturns R->
    iri                  >>gzs dogs§gzs twd ZAC->
    fig                         #fig. 3
```



```
4          (0.6) #§ (0.8) #Δ  (1.5)  Δ≠# (2.1)
    iri        ->§gazes twd dogs->>
    iri               ->Δwks backwΔstops->
    zac                  >>wks fwd≠stops->
    fig        #fig. 4  #fig. 5     #fig. 6
5   IRI    IGLU:Δ
           IGLU:
    iri        ->Δturns and wks twd IGL->>
6          (1.0)
```

```
7   IRI    CHUMM
           COME
8          (0.4) ≠
   zac          ->≠walks fwd->>
```


As Iglu barks once and runs toward Zula (2), she also runs toward him (3), resulting in a race between the dogs, which can be considered as 'social play' (Bekoff, 1995, 2014). Iris and Zac constantly monitor Iglu and Zula (fig. 3), thus, the dogs' chasing each other is treated as relying on an agreement between the guardians to let them run. As Iris is about to come closer to Zac, she slowly turns to her right. She takes her eyes off the dogs and looks briefly toward Zac (fig. 4). She does so when both guardians are in an optimal position to greet *en passant*, that is, diagonally facing each other at a few meters distance. However, Zac does not return Iris's glance – his gaze constantly remains on the dogs. Furthermore, he is wearing ear pads, hence possibly displaying social unavailability. After half a second, Iris turns and takes a few steps backward until she stands exactly next to Zac, likewise monitoring Zula and Iglu (4; fig. 5-6). The guardians' side-by-side configuration thus favors their common orientation toward the dogs. As in Extract 3.1 above, two points are at stake here: First, the dog–dog contact is monitored by the guardians who additionally adapt their walk and body positions to the dogs' interaction. Second, the guardians arrange their bodies in such a way as to favor a shared focus of attention on their dogs, which allows them to maintain the interactional space without mutually orienting their bodies or engaging in talk with each other.

The following example similarly shows how guardians anticipate each other's approach and silently agree that the dogs remain off leash. As opposed to Extracts 3.1 and 3.2, their sharing of mutual gaze occasions the initiation of a greeting sequence. The individuals' bodily configuration differs in terms of mobility: Basil (BAS) and his dog Bilbo (BIL) walk toward Rena (REN) with her dog Ruka (RUK), standing next to a group of other guardians and their dogs. The two dogs, Ruka and Bilbo, are the first to gaze toward each other (1; fig. 1).

```
1          (2.1)  + (0.4) #Δ (0.4) Δ
   ruk    >>gazes twd BIL/BEN->
   bil    >>gazes twd ROC->
   bil    >>wks R+walks fwd->
   ruk                  Δ.......Δturns L->
   fig                  #fig. 1
2          (0.4)    * (0.6) Δ (0.6) +#
   ren    >>gzs fwd*gazes twd BIL/BEN->
   ruk                  ->Δstands still->
   bil                      ->+stops->
   fig                          #fig. 2
3          (2.6)   •§ (0.3) + (0.3) §•†# (0.5) *
   bas    >>wks fwd§parall w BIL---§walks fwd->>
   bil        ->•looks at BAS-----•gazes fwd->
   bil              ->+walks fwd->
   ren                >>stands still†walks fwd->
   ren                        ->*gazes fwd->
   fig                            #fig. 3
```


In response to Basil and Bilbo's emerging co-presence, Ruka turns her body toward them, positioning herself to face Bilbo (fig. 1). This prompts her guardian Rena to turn her head to her left, displaying awareness of the oncoming walkers. Bilbo stops, probably in response to Ruka's body turn (1; fig. 2). Only when Basil catches up with and is parallel to him does Bilbo resume his walk forward (3). Now, Rena takes a few steps, moving away from Ruka, who is still gazing toward the oncoming walkers (fig. 3). Rena thus gives Ruka more space to move, without, however, giving up displaying her careful monitoring. Basil equally leaves Bilbo to walk freely forward.

In the continuation of the fragment, the dogs come close and sniff at each other while their guardians position their bodies in such a way that their interactional space is redesigned with their dogs in its center.

```
4          (0.4) + (0.9) ◊* (3.1) •+ (1.0) # (0.4) †◊
   bil        ->+obliques twd R---+walks fwd->
   ruk              ->◊gazes twd BAS------------◊gazes twd BIL->
   ren              ->*gazes twd BAS/BIL->
   bil                      ->•gazes twd RUK->
   ren                                ->†pivots->
   fig                              #fig. 4
```

```
5        (0.2) Δ (0.4) † (0.3) + (1.1) Δ+#
  ruk        ->Δruns twd BIL----------Δsniffs BIL->>
  ren              ->†walks backwards->
  bil                        ->+stops---+sniffs ROC->>
  fig                                   #fig. 5
6        (2.4) ∫ (1.2) † (0.6) ∫ (0.5)
  bas        ∫monitors dogs--∫looks at REN->
  ren              ->†stops->
7 BAS    gu[ete morge mitenand∫
         good morning everybody
8 REN      [morge: ha ha
            morning ha ha
  bas                        ->∫monitors dogs->>
```
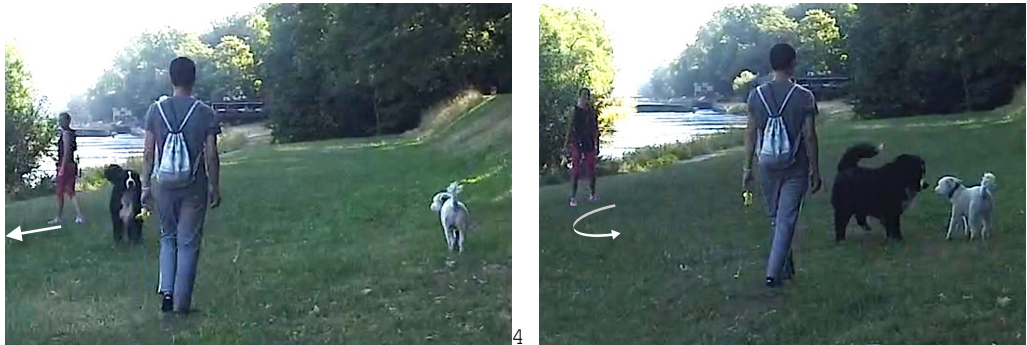

Bilbo swerves to the right toward the edge of the meadow (4). At the same time, Rena walks forward, her torso torqued toward her left (fig. 4). As she reaches the other side of the meadow, she pivots, now facing Basil, and walks a few steps backward, thus increasing the distance between them (4-5; fig. 5). Both guardians monitor how their dogs, Ruka and Bilbo, converge to engage in olfactory inspection (5). When Basil, who continues walking, is almost level with Rena, he looks toward her and initiates a greeting which is reciprocated by her in overlap (6-8).

In sum, a practice for guardians to find agreement about contact between their dogs is to follow them with their gaze and to monitor them in a visible way, displaying that the dogs' converging trajectories are approved. As they pass by each other, the guardians keep their distance and cooperatively create space for the dogs to maintain their contact. The interactional space between the two guardians is thus configured in such a way that their dogs are in its middle, allowing them to engage in olfactory inspection, social play or other forms of "greeting behavior" (Ward, 2020).

3.2.2 Silent approach and stopping to talk

This section shows two similar cases in which the guardians agree, without achieving overt mutuality in each other's orientation, that their dogs may approach freely. As in the examples above, the guardians' agreement about dog–dog contact is mainly achieved by employing embodied resources. At the same time, jointly monitoring the dogs is a form of

"engagement display" (C. Goodwin, 1981) that offers an environment to speak to each other. In contrast to Section 3.2.1, this leads to sustained conversations between the guardians while their dogs playfully wrestle and run together.

In Extract 3.4, two guardians walk in the same direction – one behind the other – and their dogs begin to interact with each other. Only one other case of an approach from behind is documented in the data (see Extract 3.13). This supports the findings of De Stefani and Mondada (2010, 2018), who show that pedestrians approach others to ask for directions either frontally or laterally, whereas dorsal approaches are relinquished. For dogs, however, an approach from behind seems to be more natural, as the following example illustrates: Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) are on a stroll along the river. They walk behind Kiara (KIA) and her dog Kelev (KEL). At some point, Bilbo runs toward Kelev, prompting Kiara to turn around and stop, monitoring the dogs as they approach (1; fig. 1).

```
(3.4a) CH_BS_DOGW_20200728_5_0.02.27
1        (1.5) +  (5.3) + (0.3) + (1.4) * (0.7) *¶#
   bil        ->+runs fwd+turns R+walks twd KEL->
   kia                    >>walks fwd*turns L*stops->
   kia                            >>gzs fwd¶gazes dogs->
   fig                                    #fig. 1
2        (0.3) •    (0.6)  • (0.3)  +   (4.9) •+
   kel         •gzs twd BIL•sniffs BIL--------•plays w BIL->
   bil                          ->+sniffs KEL+plays w KEL->
3        (0.8) * (4.0)   ¶* (1.8)  ¶ (2.2)   ¶ (1.3)
   kia        ->*obliques L*wks fwd->
   kia               ->¶gazes fwd¶gzs backw¶gzs fwd->
4  BAS   #hhi you.*¶
          hhi you
   kia          ->*turns arund->
   kia           ->¶gazes twd dogs->
   fig    #fig. 2
```


Kiara and Basil gaze at the dogs when they begin to engage in social play. Like in Section 3.2.1, the mere monitoring of the guardians displays their approval of the dogs' actions. Although Kiara continues to walk forward, her engagement is still visible in her occasional over-the-shoulder-gazes toward the dogs at an interval of one or two seconds (3). At some

point, the dogs wrestle beside Basil, and when Kelev is right in front of his feet (fig. 2), he greets him (4). That is likely to be heard by Kiara, who orients to it by turning around, gazing toward Basil and the dogs (4). Hence, regardless of Kiara's momentarily averted gaze and body, her involvement is visible in her responsiveness to Basil's actions, exhibiting her awareness of his engagement. The dogs keep running back and forth between the guardians while Basil and Kiara walk on. The transcript continues when Bilbo runs toward Kiara, prompting her to stop (13).

(3.4b) CH_BS_DOGW_20200728_5_0.02.27

((9 lines omitted))

```
13        (0.9) ¶ (0.7) † (0.7) *
   kia       ->¶gazes twd dogs->
   bil              †runs twd KIA->
   kia                  ->*stops->
14        (1.2) § (0.4) #† (0.3) †# (0.6) § (0.8) *† (1.4)
   kia       ->§stretches hand twd BIL---§
   bil             ->†jumps--†              †runs twd BAS->
   kia                                  ->*walks fwd->
   fig                 #fig. 2   #fig. 3
```
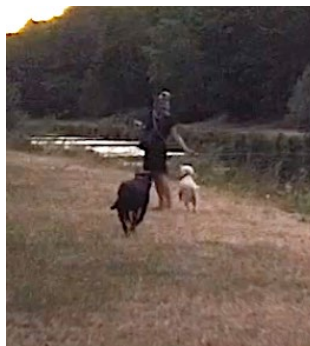


```
15 BAS   Δja ¶ja:# •
          yes  yes
   bas   Δlooks at BIL->
   kia    ->¶gazes fwd->
   kel          ->•runs after BIL->
   fig          #fig. 4
16        (1.6)
17 BAS   ↑ja +hi↑  +
          yes hi
   bil    ->+jumps+runs->
18        (0.2) ¶* (0.4) Ω (0.2) ¶•#
   kia       ->¶turns around----¶gazes twd dogs->
   kia        ->*walks diagonally->
   bas       >>walks fwdΩstops->
   kel                      ->•close to BIL/BAS->
   fig                        #fig. 5
19 BAS   ↑grü:ezi hund.↑#
          hello   dog
   fig                   #fig. 6
20        (0.7)
21 BAS   s:o Ωfescht,*#
          so  intense
   bas    ->Ωwalks fwd->
   kia           ->*stops->
   fig              #fig. 7
```

As Bilbo runs close behind her, Kiara stretches out her left hand (14; fig. 2). Bilbo responds by jumping up at her (fig. 3), then runs back toward Basil (15). The latter responds by voicing his dog's excitement (15; fig. 4). Basil talks to Bilbo as he passes by (*ja hi* 'yes hi' 17), which possibly prompts Kiara to turn and gaze toward them (18; fig. 5). Again, her responsiveness highlights Kiara's attention toward the co-participants behind her. Kelev runs after Bilbo (15) and re-converges with him right next to Basil's feet, constraining the guardian to stop (18). Basil utters a loud greeting in a high-pitched voice as both dogs run wildly in a circle around him (*grüezi hund* 'hello dog' 19; fig. 6). Hence, the dogs include their guardians in their play as they run back and forth between them. The guardians reflexively adapt and align by stretching out their hands, stopping, gazing, touching, and talking to both dogs. Basil and Kiara publicly display their active involvement – they take part in the wrestling while also constantly orienting to each other as responsible guardians. When the dogs give up circling Basil, he resumes his walk forward, assessing the wild play (*so fescht* 'so intense' 21), while Kiara stops, taking a position opposite Basil (21; fig. 7).

Subsequently, the two guardians position themselves facing each other while maintaining their dogs in the center of their focus. As they have gained more physical proximity, they greet each other:

(3.4c) CH_BS_DOGW_20200728_5_0.02.27

```
22       (1.2) ≠ (1.89
   kel           ≠jumps at cam->
23 BAS   hh ha≠ ha
   kel      ->≠
24       (3.9) #¶ (0.5) Δ (0.4)
   kia       ->¶looks at BAS->
   bas              ->Δlooks at KIA->
   fig       #fig. 8
25 KIA → [hallo]
          hello
26 BAS → [grüez]i ¶halloΔ#
          hello    hello
   kia           ->¶looks at cam->
   bas             ->Δgzs twd dogs->
   fig                #fig. 9
```

```
27          (0.2) ¶* (2.6)
   kia        ->*pivots w dogs->
   kia        ->¶looks at dogs->
```
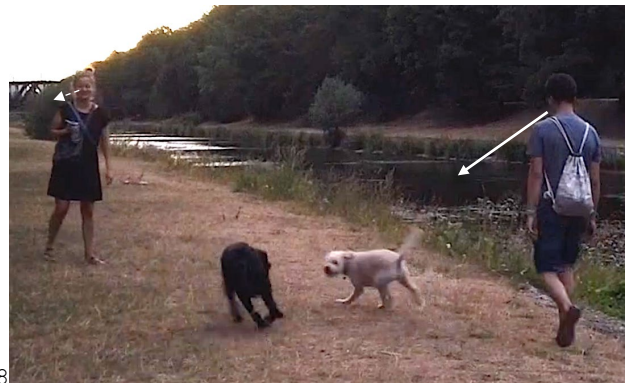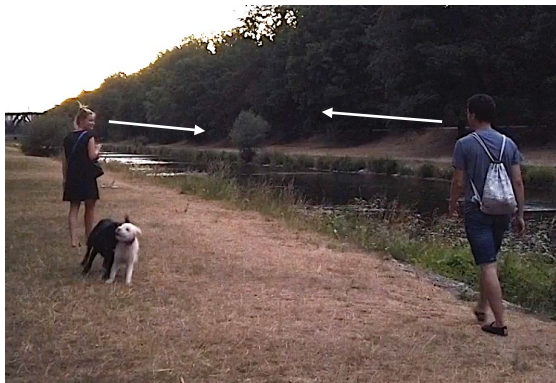

Kelev jumps at the camera person (22), prompting Basil to laugh (23). In response, Kiara looks at him, and Basil reciprocates her gaze (24; fig. 8). Although this is probably not the first mutual eye contact between them, it is only now that Basil and Kiara initiate a greeting sequence, which is followed by an immediate withdrawal of gaze – Kiara looks at the camera, while Basil gazes toward the dogs again (25-26; fig. 9). Formally and sequentially, the guardians' exchange of greetings is similar to the 'passing greetings' in Extract 3.3. However, in the present case, it constitutes a transition to a possible new sequence that would allow for further talk, as is shown in the continuation of Extract 3.4 in Section 4.3.1: Basil and Kiara will indeed stop their walk and take a position at some distance, facing and talking to each other.

Kiara and Basil do not actively negotiate their dogs' contact, since Bilbo and Kelev come closer as they walk behind each other. Nevertheless, both guardians show through their interaction with the dogs their support of their close contact. Kiara and Basil touch Kelev and Bilbo, laugh and talk to them. Not only do they interact with the dogs in a visible and audible way – they mutually witness and respond to each other's 'dog–guardian interactions' by laughing, turning around, and gazing at each other. This highlights that their interactional space is based on a 'participation framework' (Goffman, 1981) consisting of four participants – two guardians and two dogs. Kiara sometimes slows her pace, stops, or walks diagonally, which allows Basil to catch up eventually. Even when Basil and Kiara are closer and address the first turns-at-talk to each other, they arrange their bodies in a large space, so that their dogs remain in the center, while they themselves are on the periphery. This example thus shows how mutual engagement and talk between the guardians can happen *because* of their dogs' actions and not in isolation from them. The participants are at the boundary of encountering each other on individual walks and entering a shared activity – walking together and monitoring the dogs as they play (see also Extract 3.13 below).

The next example further illustrates how the guardians' visible monitoring of the dogs is fundamental for achieving an agreement on their free approach. Like in Extract 3.4, it takes some time before the guardians are close enough to address each other. However, their bodily configuration at the outset of the encounter differs: Gabi (GAB) walks with Gili (GIL) toward Dora (DOR), who is sitting on a bench and engaged in talk with Hanni (treated in this example as a 'bystander'). Dora's dog, Dixie (DIX), is next to them. When Gabi and Gili approach, Dixie stops and gazes toward them; likewise, Gili stops and gazes toward Dixie with pricked ears and a tense body (1; fig. 1ab). That is, both dogs recognizably display attention toward each other.

(3.5a) CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_3_0.15.05

```
   dix     >>stands and gazes twd GIL->
1          (1.9) •      (2.3)    •    (0.2)  • (1.6) ¶# (0.3) •
   gil          >>•sniffs ground•lifts head•gazes twd DIX---•gzs twd GAB->
   gil                             >>walks fwd¶stops->
   fig                                          #fig. 1ab
```
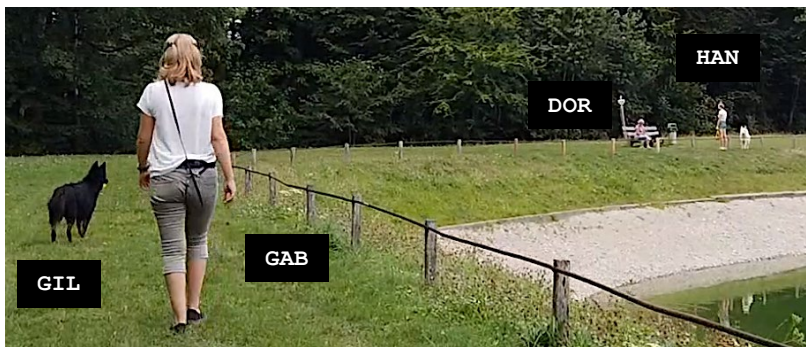


```
2          (0.7) • (2.1) ¶ (1.2) ¶ (1.7) + (4.4) + (3.8)
   gil         ->•gazes twd DIX->
   gil            ->¶wks fwd¶accelerates->
   dix                      ->+wks fwd+stops->
3  GAB   super.
         super
4          (0.2) ¶ (0.6)  ¶ (2.0) • (2.3) • (5.4) • (2.5) •
   gil         ->¶slow dwn¶stops->
   gil                 ->•gzs GAB•gzs DIX•gzs GAB•gzs DIX->
5          (0.3) + (2.7) #§  (0.3) #§¶ (0.2) § (6.8) ∆
   dix        ->+wks twd GIL->
   dor     >>lks at HAN--§monit DIX§gzs GIL-§gazes GIL/DIX->
   gil                     ->¶walks twd DIX->
   gab                          >>walks fwd∆stops->
   fig                  #fig.2     #fig. 3
```

```
6          (0.9) ¶•†# (3.3) ¶•†+ (1.9) Δ
   gil       ->¶stops-----¶walks a few steps->
   gil        ->•sniffs DIX•
   dix         ->†sniffs GIL†
   dix                  ->+follows GIL->
   gab                         ->Δwalks fwd->
   fig           #fig. 4
7  GAB → kuul mached ihr da,  super,
         cool how you do that, super,
8          (0.9) ¶ (1.0)
   gil       ->¶stops->>
9  DOR → ISCH'S §E WIIBLI *OD#ER+ E MÄNNLI?
         is it   a female  or    a male
   dor       ->§looks at GAB->
   gab   >>gzs twd GIL/DIX*looks at DOR->
   dix                   ->+stops->>
   fig                    #fig. 5
10         (.)
11 GAB  E HÜNDIN.§
        a female dog
    dor        ->§looks at DIX/GIL->
```


Gili shows a hesitant way of walking – she accelerates, slows down, stops, and resumes her walk while gazing back and forth between her guardian and Dixie (2-4). Gabi's turn *super* (3) is probably a positive assessment of how Gili walks toward the other dog, orienting to a normative expectancy of how dogs should approach each other. Gili walks slowly forward, as opposed to running toward Dixie in a 'wild' and uncontrolled way (see Section 4.3). Now, Dixie starts to walk toward Gili, prompting Dora to momentarily display disengagement (C. Goodwin, 1981) from the interaction with Hanni. She monitors the dogs as they walk toward each other (5; fig. 2-3). One second before Gili and Dixie are about to touch, Gabi stops, continuing to monitor them (5). Both guardians silently observe how Gili and Dixie eventually

stop and sniff at each other (6; fig. 4). The dogs' olfactory inspection ends when Gili makes a few steps (6). Two seconds later, Gabi resumes her walk toward Dora (6) and praises the dogs for their conduct in a loud voice (7). By making relevant an assessment, Gabi treats the initial opening of the dog–dog contact as achieved, showing an orientation to the dogs' actions as sequentially organized. Furthermore, the evaluative assessment treats the engagement between the two dogs as not straightforward, therefore praiseworthy, and as a display that they get along well. More generally, Gabi's turn retrospectively accounts for the guardians' intensive monitoring and, at the same time, ends this silent observation. This opens up a sequential environment, offering the opportunity to talk (9-11), which is examined in the continuation of this extract in Section 4.4.2.

Like in the previous examples, the guardians' agreement that their dogs may move freely toward each other is based on their persistent monitoring without intervening. This exhibits an absence of foreseeable problems and thus the guardians' agreement and approval of contact between the dogs. Dora turns her head back and forth between the two dogs; Gabi 'actively' stops, adopting an observing posture. Hence, the guardians publicly create and maintain a joint focus on Gili and Dixie, treating the initial contact as a sensitive moment in which they are not sure whether the dogs will get along. Gabi and Dora start to talk to each other at exactly the same time as Dixie and Gili disengage from their first olfactory inspection, which shows that the sequentiality of the dog–dog contact is intertwined with the sequentiality of the interaction between the guardians.

In sum, guardians can silently agree that their dogs may approach each other freely. Their monitoring of the dogs is witnessable, and their non-intervention is accountable. As dog–dog contact is about to emerge, the interactional space between the two dog–guardian formations is redesigned in such a way that the guardians position themselves at a distance facing each other while monitoring their dogs' interaction. Such moments of 'watching the dogs together' offer an environment for the guardians to socialize (without necessarily making talk-in-interaction relevant). They may remain silent, merely greet each other, or even linger in a sustained conversation.

3.3 Initiating talk from a distance

While the examples in the previous section have shown situations of approaching dog–guardian formations in which both dogs are already free before an encounter, allowing the guardians to remain silent as they approach, this section focuses on instances in which one of the dogs or both are restrained. In such a configuration, the guardians often negotiate whether

their dogs should come into contact by initiating talk from a distance. The first part of this section shows examples in which one of the guardians talks to another guardian by explicitly addressing the issue of dog–dog contact, thereby making a response conditionally relevant (§ 3.3.1). The second part illustrates how doing a noticing may be a way of conveying a stance toward possible dog–dog contact and to display interactional availability (Section 3.3.2).

3.3.1 Explicitly addressing the issue of dog–dog contact

A dog's conduct may occasion the guardians to start negotiating about possible contact between their dogs by making relevant the conditions under which such contact may take place. In Extract 3.6, Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) walk in a small city park. They are about to pass Toja (TOJ), who is sitting and leaning back on a bench, and her dog Taro (TAR), who runs freely. On the appearance of Basil and Bilbo, Toja leans forward, possibly calls for Taro, and leashes him (1; fig. 1-3). By leashing her dog, Toja displays a preference for restraining the dogs and not letting them come close. In response to and in alignment with Toja, Basil calls Bilbo (2), instructs him to wait, and disentangles his leash (4), thereby projecting that he will leash his dog. Hence, from the outset, the guardians mutually establish that they will restrain their dogs.

(3.6a) (CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.49.10)

```
1        # (0.5)    ¡ (1.7) †#  (3.2)  §† (1.0) # (0.8) § (0.5)
   toj   >>reclined¡leans torso fwd->>
   tar                  ->†wks twd TOJ†stops->>
   toj                              §puts leash on TAR§
   fig   #fig. 1             #fig. 2              #fig. 3
```
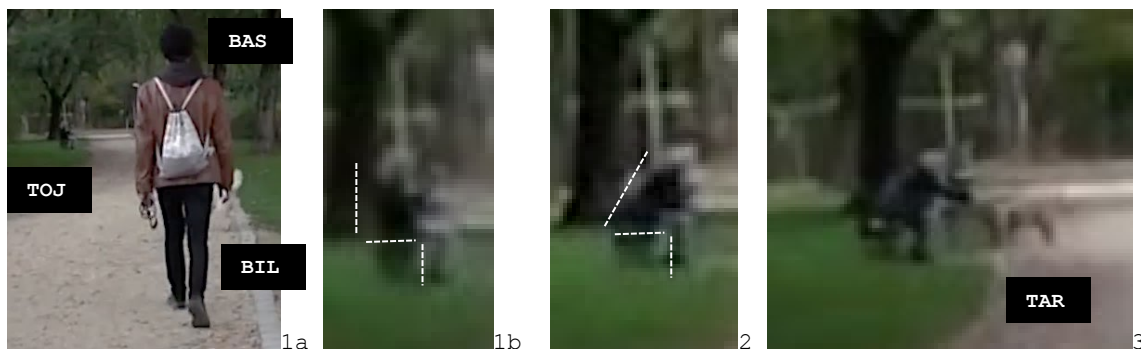


```
2  BAS   BILBO
         Bilbo
3        (0.2) • (0.4)
   bil        ->•looks back at BAS->
4  BAS   +warte.¶
          wait
   bas   +disentangles leash->
   bil        ->¶stops->
5        (1.6) • (0.2) ¶ (0.3) •
   bil        ->•gazes twd R----•gazes straight->
   bil               ->¶turns to the R->

6  BAS   >ä ä<
```

```
                 uh uh
7                (.)
8    BAS    warte.¶
                 wait
     bil           ->¶walks fwd->
9                (1.5) Δ (0.6)
     toj             Δlooks at BAS/BIL->
10   BAS    hey.+
                 hey
     bas           ->+
11               (1.1)
     BAS    ↑stop.↑
                  stop
12               (0.5)
13   TOJ  → ISCH'S E BUEB ODER E MEI¶TLI?=
                 is  it a boy  or   a  girl
     bil                       ->¶accelerates->
14   BAS  → =E BU•EB hh
                 a boy
     bil           ->•looks back at BAS->
15               (.)
16   TOJ    Δjä.•
                 yes
     toj    Δgazes down->
     bil        ->•gazes straight->
17               (0.5) Δ
     toj           ->Δlooks at BAS-BIL->>
```

Bilbo, who walks a few meters ahead, stops in response to Basil's calls (4) but then turns to his right (5) and continues to walk forward (8). Basil responds to Bilbo's non-compliance with a reprimand (6), a summons (10), and the instructions 'wait' (8) and 'stop' (11) which are produced in a way that may be heard by Toja. All the while, Bilbo continues to walk straight ahead without appearing to respond to Basil's commands, which is probably seen by Toja, who looks at the oncomers (9). Bilbo's trajectory is directed toward Toja and Taro, while Basil's increasing commands for Bilbo display intervention and show an orientation to Bilbo's action as problematic. From a distance, and still looking at the oncomers, Toja asks about the sex of Basil's dog (*isch's e bueb oder e meitli?* 'is it a boy or a girl?' 13). Some dogs get along better with either the same or the opposite sex, and her inquiry in this specific sequential position is understandable as an indication that Basil's intervention in Bilbo's approach may not be necessary. In other words, if Bilbo's sex is compatible with Taro's, he could perhaps approach him. Basil reveals Bilbo as a male (*e bueb* 'a boy' 14), which prompts Toja to gaze down while using the particle 'yes' to confirm her understanding in third position (16). Remember that, at the beginning, the guardians tacitly established that they would restrain their dogs, so Toja's acknowledgment confirms this tacit agreement and thus the necessity to leash Bilbo in order to keep him away from Taro. Note that Toja lifts her head again immediately, looking at Bilbo and Basil (17), thereby displaying her monitoring of the approaching free-running dog, who has now been jointly identified as a possible problem for Taro.

In the continuation of this encounter, Basil leashes Bilbo, while Toja gives a reason for her refusal of dog–dog contact.

(3.6b) (CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.49.10)

```
18 BAS    bilbo,
           Bilbo
19         (0.4) * (0.4)
   bas        ->*stops->
20 BAS    hey.
           hey
21         (0.4) ¶    (1.0) •¶ (0.5) ¶# (0.2) * (0.8)
   bil        ->¶slows down¶turns L¶stops->
   bil                    ->•looksa at BAS->
   bas                                    ->*walks twd BIL->
   fig                         #fig. 5
22 BAS    war#te.•
           wait
   bil         ->•gazes straight->
   fig       #fig. 6
23         (2.3) • (0.3)
   bil         ->•looks at BAS->
24 TOJ →  tuet mr leid +er tuet eifach# ¶amigs [e bizli-
           I'm  sorry   he does just sometimes a little-
   bas                +shows open palm of RH->
   bil                             ->¶sits down->
   fig                           #fig. 7
25 BAS                            [*£ja(h) kes+ problem¶*[ha.hh£
                                   yes   no   problem   ha.hh
26 TOJ                                                [xxxxx
   bas                          ->*stops--------------*bends->
   bas                                    ->+
   bil                                         ->¶sits
```
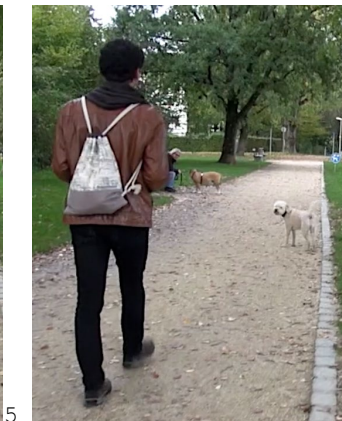

Basil stops (18-20), occasioning Bilbo to stop and look back toward Basil (21; fig. 5). He waits for his guardian as he walks toward him (21; fig. 6). When Basil positions himself next to his dog, instructing him to sit by showing his upward-facing palm, Toja apologizes (*tuet mr leid* 'I'm sorry' 24) and gives a reason for Taro's conduct (*er tuet eifach amigs e bizli-* 'he does just sometimes a little-' 24; fig. 7). Her apology is probably related to the fact that she initiated the leashing and restraining of the dogs and this orients to her having witnessed how difficult it has been for Basil to leash Bilbo. Her characterization of Taro contains mitigations (*eifach* 'just'; *amigs* 'sometimes'; *e bizli* 'a little') and remains unfinished, hinting at an environment of talk

that may be characterized as delicate or problematic (Chevalier, 2009). Basil treats it as a fully adequate and understandable turn-at-talk and gives an early response in slight overlap by underplaying the trouble (25).

This example demonstrates how first mutual responses between the approaching guardians and the subsequent distant opening are linked to the projectable approach of the dogs and the assumption of how they will get along with each other. The actions of both guardians revolve around their dogs, as a shared understanding that they must be restrained emerges. The physical distance gives them time to prepare themselves and their dogs as they come closer. Toja puts her dog on a leash in response to Basil and Bilbo's approach, whereby she displays her acknowledgment of their approach and her preference for restraining the dogs. Basil demonstrates his understanding of the need to leash Bilbo by calling for him and preparing the leash. However, the fact that Bilbo does not immediately comply with his guardian's commands prompts Toja to open the possibility of leaving Bilbo off the leash under certain conditions (if his sex is compatible with Taro's).

Another example of the negotiability of restraining the dogs or letting them loose is provided in Extract 3.7. Gabi (GAB) is on a walk with her dog Gili (GIL) and her sister Gina (GIN). In response to an oncoming passer-by, Ron (RON), Gabi instructs Gili to stay in a sitting position in front of her. On their right-hand side, Sina (SIN) and her leashed dog Susi (SUS) come out of the forest and enter the clearing. They walk toward a trash can at some distance. Gabi's gaze alternates between her dog Gili and Sina/Susi, as does Sina's, who looks either straight ahead or sideways in the direction of Gabi/Gili. Both guardians thus show their mutual attention toward each other, albeit without entering yet into a state of mutual responsiveness. The fragment starts as Ron approaches Gabi and Gili while Sina and Susi gaze toward them (1).

(3.7a) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_3_0.00.10)
```
1         (0.4)  + (0.5) ¶¡ (0.2) ¡
   sin         ->+gzs twd G->
   ron                    ¡nods---¡
2  RON   hoi,
         hi
3  GAB   grüezi *[.hΔhh
         hello  .hhh
4  RON          *[grΔüezi mit#Δen[and
                  hello  everyone
5  GAB                         [↑abe↑
                                down
   gab         ->*looks at GIL->
   gil               Δ........#Δstands on hind paws->
   fig                      #fig. 1ab
```

1a   1b

```
6          Δ (0.2) Δ+
   gil     Δ,,,,,,,Δ
   sin             ->+gazes straight and down->
7  GAB     [assis]
             sit
8  ELL     [grüe ]zi:*≠
             hello
   gab             ->*gazes twd S->
   ron              ≠passes by GAB->
9          (0.5)
10 GIN     hal*lo
             hello
   gab     ->*looks at GIL->
11         (0.5) ¶†* (0.3) + (0.3) ≠†¶ (0.7) + (0.2)
   sin           ->†stops-----------†walks fwd->
   gab            ->*looks at S->
   sin                   ->+gazes twd G------+gzs down->
   ron                          ->≠
12 GAB → >ASO VO< MIR US CHÖMMERS SCHO +LOSLAH †MITENAND.
             so for all I care we can PRT release them together
   sin                               ->+looks at GAB->
   sin                                     ->†stops->
13         (0.4)
```

Ron is about to pass by Gabi and Gili and initiates a greeting sequence (2), which is completed by Gabi (3), the cameraperson Ella (8), and Gina (10). Immediately after her greeting, Gabi disengages from the interaction with Ron by looking at Gili. The dog stands up on her hind paws, occasioning Gabi to instruct her to go back down, while Sina walks by at some distance, pulling Susi behind her on the leash (5-7; fig. 1a). Both Sina and Susi gaze toward Gabi and Gili (fig. 1b). Shortly afterward, Sina gazes straight down, continuing her walk (6). When Ron has passed by Gabi, the latter lifts her gaze toward Sina. They possibly share a moment of mutual gaze before Sina averts her eyes (11; fig. 2). In response to this moment of eye contact, Gabi proposes that the dogs be released, highlighting the necessity for both sides to agree by using the second person plural *chömmer* 'we can' and the post-positioned adverb *mitenand* 'together' (12). The preceding expression *vo mir us* 'for all I care', with stress on the personal pronoun, displays Gabi's agreement and solicits Susi's opinion. Like in Extract 3.6, Gabi's turn shows the negotiability of letting the dogs loose. On the other hand, in the present example, the

initiation of the negotiation occurs much later, after multiple gaze exchanges and attention displays. There are two reasons for this: First, when Sina and Susi appear out of the forest, Gabi is still involved in the passing-by interaction with Ron. Only after he has walked past her does Gabi look at Sina and address her. Secondly, in Extract 3.6, the inevitability of the encounter between guardians and dogs was projected by the individuals' anticipated walking trajectory on the straight road, which increases the time pressure of an agreement. By contrast, in Extract 3.7, one guardian is standing with her dog, and the other is walking past them at some distance. Sina's and Susi's trajectories project that they will not pass by in close proximity to each other; Gabi's proposal is thus responsive to Sina's and Susi's repeated gazes in their direction.

In the continuation of Extract 3.7, Sina resists Gabi's proposal by giving an account based on her dog's character and displays that she is preventing possible problems between the dogs, similar to the account given by the guardian in Extract 3.6.

(3.7b) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_3_0.00.10)

```
12 GAB → >ASO VO< MIR US CHÖMMERS SCHO +LOSLAH †MITENAND.
            so for all I care we can PRT release them together
   sin                              ->+looks at GAB->
   sin                                   ->†stops->
13        (0.4)

14 SIN → (OH NEI) †SIE HET DAS NID SO GERN.
            (oh no) she doesn't like that so much
   sin         ->†walks fwd->>
15        (0.2)
16 GAB    %OKEI# ↑*GUET*↑%=
            okay    good
   sin    %shrgs shouldrs%
   gab          ->*nods*looks at GIL->
   fig        #fig. 2ab
17 SIN    =DAN+KE.#
            thanks
   sin     ->+looks at SUS->
   fig           #fig. 3ab
```


2a   2b   3a   3b

```
18        (0.8) +
   sin        ->+gazes straight->
```

```
19 SIN → sie isch e *chli e- +(.) ja.
          she  is a  bit  a-  (.) yes.
   gab             ->*looks twd SIN->
   sin                     ->+looks twd GAB->
20        (0.2) #% (0.3) #
   sin           %shrugs shoulders->
   fig           #fig. 4  #fig. 5
```



```
21 GAB   £hhha% ha ha [+ha£
          hhha   ha ha   ha
22 SIN               [+komischi trucke.
                       peculiar creature
   sin      ->%
   sin               ->+gazes straight and down->>
23 GAB   £hh komischi trucke *.hhe£
          hh peculiar creature .hhe
   gab                    ->*looks at GIL->>
```

During Gabi's turn, Sina stops and looks at her (12). After a pause, she rejects Gabi's proposal while continuing her walk (*oh nei sie het das nid so gern* 'oh no she doesn't like that so much' 14). Sina's account shifts the responsibility for the refusal to her dog Susi by attributing her volition and defining her as a "minded social actor" (Sanders, 1993). Sina then shrugs her shoulders (16; fig. 2ab), displaying her distanced stance regarding her account (Streeck, 2009, p. 190). This co-occurs with Gabi accepting the refusal and looking down at Gili (*okei guet* 'okay good' 16). Subsequently, Sina thanks Gabi (*danke* 'thanks' 17), averting her gaze as well (fig. 3b). Hence, both guardians treat the sequence as closed by bodily withdrawing from the encounter (fig. 3a). Nonetheless, Sina subsequently produces a post-expansion, projecting to provide an account by describing Sina but suspends the end of her turn (*sie isch e chli e-* 'she is a bit a-* 19), replacing the open slot with the particle 'yes' and another shoulder shrug (19-20 fig. 4-5). As in Extract 3.6, the unfinished turn may hint at Sina's orientation to it as delicate or problematic (Chevalier, 2009), which is also visible in the mitigating adverb *e chli* 'a bit.' Gabi's subsequent laughter (21) displays her understanding and affiliation with Sina despite the refusal (Glenn, 2003). This co-occurs with Sina's delayed provision of the description

komischi trucke (22). This expression is best translated as 'peculiar creature' and gives an account for dog Susi not wanting to have contacts with other dogs. [1]

In sum, guardians may anticipate and negotiate possibly problematic dog–dog contacts by initiating talk from a distance. The interactional constraint to hold a dog back is the outcome of the achieved shared understanding that the respective dogs are not compatible (Extract 3.6) or that one of the dogs 'does not like' to meet (Extract 3.7). The spatial distance gives the participants some time during the approach and before a possible encounter. In Extract 3.6, the guardians exploit the temporality of the approach to determine the necessity of restraining the dogs based on whether their sex matches or not. By contrast, in Extract 3.7, a convergence of the participants is not projected by the walking trajectory; instead, the release of the dogs is encouraged and offered by one of the guardians. In the latter case, the physical distance allows the guardian addressed to move further away and not let the dogs near each other. The provision of retrospective accounts orients to the accountability of restraining one's dog (see Section 3.4). In both examples, the guardian's account for their reserve is based on an ascription of their dog's character, displaying that the rejection of dog–dog contact is not entirely the guardian's decision or within their power. They ascribe categorizations to their dogs which ultimately serve to account for their own decisions on whether to restrain or release them. Hence, the guardians treat their dogs as social actors and "unique individuals" (Sanders, 1993), although they speak about them in the third person and decide on their behalf.

3.3.2 Doing a 'noticing' of someone else's dog

Making relevant the issue of dog–dog contact by addressing each other from afar is one way for guardians to achieve a joint agreement about the modalities of a projectable encounter. This section addresses another practice of initiating talk from a distance, which may be employed in situations where contact between unfamiliar dogs is projectable. In contrast to explicitly addressing the issue of dog–dog contact, the guardians produce a loud and hearable 'noticing' of an oncoming dog, from which a shared understanding about whether the dogs may approach each other or not progressively emerges. In an ongoing sequence of talk-in-interaction, a "noticing" is understood as an action that "makes relevant some feature(s) of the setting, including prior talk, which may not have been previously taken as relevant" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 219).

---

[1] The original meaning of the Swiss German word *Trucke* is 'box/container.' It is, among other things, a (often contemptuous) term for living beings: a) female persons, especially with an evaluative attribute, either admiring/caressing or pejorative, b) jokingly for a child, c) for animals (*Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, Bd XIV 839/840).

The following example demonstrates how noticing an oncoming unknown dog displays a guardian's understanding and anticipation of whether dog–dog contact is desirable or not. In Extract 3.8, a guardian with two big dogs does a noticing of an oncoming puppy, publicly displaying her awareness of it as 'still small.' The puppy is fundamentally involved in negotiating potential dog–dog contact, for her displays of fear turn out to be consequential for the development of the global activity. Hanni (HAN) and her puppy Hilla (HIL) are about to meet Marie (MAR) with her two dogs, Mio and Max. Hanni is a second-language speaker of German and addresses her dog Hilla in her native language, Finnish.

(3.8a) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_2_00.00.40

```
1        (1.0)  *
   hil   >>gazes twd M->
   han   >>gzs M*looks at HIL->
2  HAN   ↑°tule,°
          come
3        (0.5)
4  MAR → oh da isch (aber) en chline,
          oh that is PRT a small one
5        (0.2)
6  HAN   ↑°hyvä,°
          good
7      * (0.3) *
   han  *.......*gazes twd MAR->
8  MAR → OH: DA ISCH NO EN CHLI:[NE,#
          oh that is still a small one
9  HAN                        [hh #ha ha ha ha=
   fig                            #fig. 1
```
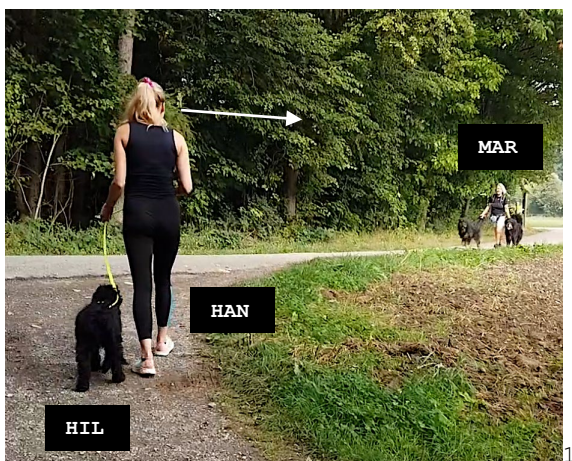

Hanni gazes toward Marie and her dogs, then looks at Hilla, instructing her to come closer, probably orienting to the puppy's tense body, pricked ears and gaze toward the oncomers (1-2). Marie utters a noticing of Hilla (*oh da isch aber en chliine* 'oh that is a small one' 4), marking her turn with a prefiguring *oh* as a discovery made at that moment (cf. Heritage, 1984; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018). Her turn is softly spoken and not responded to by Hanni. When Hanni lifts her head from Hilla, gazing toward the oncoming walkers (7), Marie repeats her

previous noticing in a distinctly louder voice, even including the *oh* (8). At the same time, Marie gazes toward Hanni, smiling – a form of engagement that shows her positive stance (Kaukomaa et al., 2013) – to which Hanni responds with laughter (9).

Marie's first utterance (4), which is produced in a softer voice and potentially categorizable as "self-talk" (Goffman, 1978; Keevallik, 2018), develops in response to Hanni's gaze into a loud assessment of Hilla (8). It suggests that it is designed to be heard (and recognizable as such) by Hanni, even though the format of the turn is still that of a non-addressed noticing, including the change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984a). Marie characterizes Hilla as 'still a small one,' displaying her understanding that this dog is a puppy and introducing a contrast with her own big dogs. The particle *no* 'still' implies that the dog's small size is temporary, thus referring to Hilla's young age. This also accounts for the puppy's displays of fear and is a way to "normalize" (Garfinkel, 1967) Hilla's noticeable conduct (see Section 4.3).

In the continuation of this encounter, Hilla continuously displays fear and nervousness, prompting Marie to take a few evasive steps to the other margin of the path and stop at some distance facing Hanni. Step by step, the guardians shape their interactional space in such a way that it displays their mutual agreement of avoiding close contact between their dogs.

(3.8b) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_2_00.00.40

```
10 HIL    =wo¶of* ((barks))
   hil     ->¶walks behind HAN's legs->
   han        ->*looks at HIL->
11         (0.2)
12 HAN    ↑nu?
           PRT
13         (0.2)
14 HIL    mmm ((does whining noises))
15         (0.2)
16 HAN    f̲e̲:i hilla.£*
            no  hilla
   han               ->*gazes twd M->
17         (0.2) ¶ (0.2) § ¶
   hil        ->¶stops----¶strains leash->
   mar             ->§walks to her R->
18 HAN    ha +ha ha ha*
           ha ha ha ha
   han     ->+1 step R->
   han               ->*looks at HIL->
19         (.)
20 HIL    mmm ((does whining noises))
21         (0.2) +
   han        ->+stops->
22 MAR    [wa ¶isch es?]
            what is it?
23 HIL    [mmmmm      ]#woo mmm* woo#= ((does whining/barking noises))
   hil     ->¶hides behind HAN->>
   han                     ->*looks at MAR->
   fig            #fig. 2      #fig. 3
24 HAN    =hhha .h +she's* [a::m] (0.2)[.tsk *+§puppy]*# hha ha.
            hha .h she's    uhm  (0.2) .tsk  puppy     hha ha
```

```
25 HIL                     [mm ]          [wooo *+        ]
   han        ->+legs apart---------------+stabilizing sidestep R->
   han             ->*looks at HIL--------*.......*looks at MAR->
   mar                               ->§stops->
   fig                                             #fig. 4
```
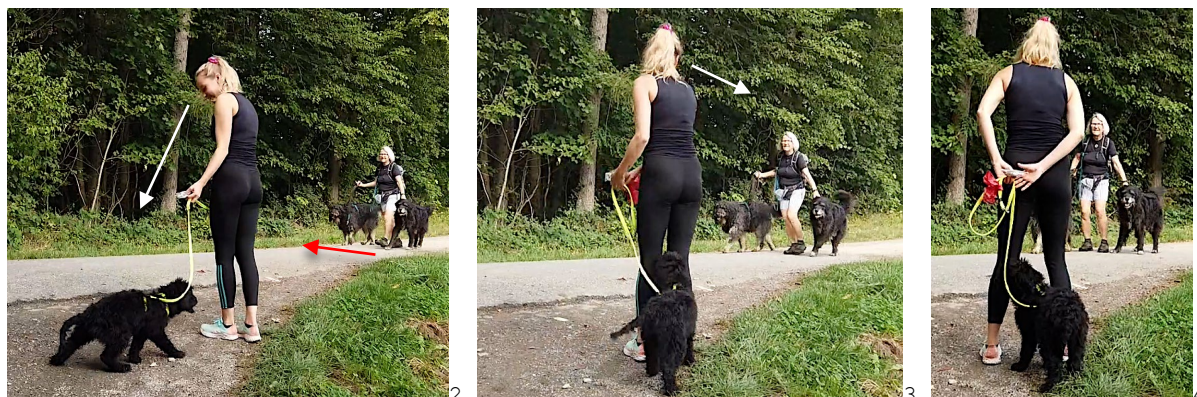

Hilla expresses her anticipation of a problem in various ways, hiding behind Hanni's legs, barking, and whining (10-14), which may be regarded as a display of fear (Döring et al., 2009). Hanni reprimands her slightly in a soft voice while also smiling (12; 16). Hilla stops and shows resistance to walking further, possibly prompting Marie to take a few evasive steps to her right (17; fig. 2). By her change of trajectory, she shows recognition and understanding of Hilla's display of fear and adapts to it. Hanni's laughter (18) may orient to an embarrassing or uncomfortable situation, created by Hilla's refusing conduct, and serves to affiliate with Marie (Glenn, 2003). Hanni stops (21), and Hilla hides behind her legs (23; fig. 3). Marie stops at some distance on the other side of the road (25; fig. 4), which allows her to stabilize the interactional space without letting the dogs come closer. Hence, Hanni and Marie stop and position themselves in a way that adapts to the constraints caused by the puppy's displays of fear: they create and maintain a distanced interactional space, bodily oriented toward each other, without letting the dogs come close. The guardians thus visibly take into account the stance manifested by Hilla, and her resistance results in the guardians agreeing to avoid an encounter between the dogs.

In contrast to Extract 3.8 above, in which Marie's categorization of the oncoming puppy displays her assumption that it is probably not compatible with her own dogs, the next example shows how a guardian's categorization of an approaching dog displays her assumption that it will get along with her own dog. Nadja (NAD) and her dog Noah (NOA) are on a walk along the river. From afar, Rita (RIT) and Rhea (RHE), with their dog Rosi and two other walkers, approach them frontally on the path. In response, Nadja torques her torso toward Noah, who walks behind her (1), instructing him to come (2).

(3.9a) (CH_EG_DOGW_20200629_5_0.02.46)

```
    nad    >>walks fwd->
    noa    >>walks behind NAD->
1          (0.7) +
    nad        ->+torques torso backwd->
2   NAD    ↑chumm↑
            come
3          (0.3) + (0.6)
    nad        ->+gazes forward->
4   NAD →  ↑>WA' ISCH< DENN DAS FÜR ES HU:NDEL@I:,↑
            what is  PRT  that kind of dog-DIM
    cam                              ->@stops->
5          (0.7)
6   NAD    ↑chumm↑
            come
7          (0.2) + (1.6)
    nad        ->+torques torso backwd->
8   NAD    #↑ja chumm je+•tzt↑
            well come  now
    noa              ->•stops
    nad            ->+turns and gazes fwd->
    fig    #fig. 1
```


As Nadja turns her torso back into the "default orientation" (Mondada, 2014a) when walking forward, she utters a loud noticing of the oncoming dog Rosi with an interrogative syntactic format (*wa' isch den das für es hundeli* 'what is that kind of dog' 4), employing prosodic features (high-pitched voice, marked emphasis) that are what Mitchell (2001) identifies as characteristic of dog-directed speech. However, the loudness of her turn indicates that it is designed to be heard by the other walkers too. Nadja categorizes Rosi as *hundeli*, i.e., *hund* 'dog' with the diminutive affix *-li*, thereby attributing to her the features of a cute and harmless dog. Her turn appears between repeated requests to her dog Noah to come (2; 6; 8). Hence, the sequential position and high-pitched prosody of Nadja's noticing make it recognizable as being addressed to Noah, drawing his attention to Rosi. Nadja's talk directed at her dog thus shows Rosi's guardian(s) that she encourages contact between the dogs and makes it clear that her 'mobile body torque' (Mondada, 2018d) toward Noah does not serve to hold him back, e.g., by putting him on the leash (see Section 2.4). The camera person now stops, adjusting to Noah's

slow pace as a way to keep him in the frame (4). This is probably why Noah also stops (8), despite the repeated commands of Nadja.

The encounter continues in the next fragment with Nadja's greeting (12) and an assessment targeting Rita and Rhea as recipients (14). Nadja's assessment makes Rosi's visual appearance relevant and thus relates to her noticing in the beginning. As in the examples of Section 3.2, the guardians monitor the dogs as they come closer and redesign their interactional space around them.

(3.9b) (CH_EG_DOGW_20200629_5_0.02.46)

```
9        (1.3)
10  ?    ja gäll ez xxxx@ kei •xxxxx (.) wüki nöd
         yes right now xxxx no xxxxx (.) really not
   cam               ->@walks fwd->
   noa                 ->•walks fwd->
11       (.)
12 NAD → #GRÜEZI: MITENAND hhe
          hello    everyone hhe
   fig   #fig. 2
13       (3.2)    ¶
   ros   >>wks fwd¶accelerates->
14 NAD   er is§ch Δnatürlich vill de# schöner ¶hundΔ wie mine.=
         he/it is naturally a much more beautiful dog than mine
   nad            Δpoints/waves at ROS------------Δ
   ros                                  ->¶slows down->
   fig                            #fig. 3ab
```


2 3a

3b

```
15  ?    =ha* ha +he he*#((collective laughter))
          ha   ha he he
   rhe   >>gazes twd ROS/NOA->>
   nad    ->*turns L---*stops->
   nad         ->+looks at dogs->
   fig                #fig. 4
16       (0.5) ¶ (0.3)
   ros       ->¶stops->
17 RHE   da¶• weiss [sii
         she knows that
```

```
18 NAD              [isch +das en h#ä:rzige wa' isch das †für e+ rasse?
                     is   that a   cute one  what kind of breed is that
   ros    ->¶smells NOA->>
   noa     ->•smells ROS->>
   nad               ->+looks at RHE----------------------+looks at RIT->
   rit                               >>walks fwd†turns perpendic->
   fig                          #fig. 5
```


The camera person continues her walk, immediately followed by Noah (10). Nadja, who is further ahead, greets the oncomers from a distance (12; fig. 2). Her greeting probably orients to her previous noticing of Rosi (4) as having initiated contact with Rosi's co-walkers. In other words, Nadja has actively displayed her 'sighting' of the other participants and established the conditions or constraints for a distance salutation (cf. Kendon & Ferber, 1973). The other participants reciprocate her greeting by smiling. Now, Rosi and Noah walk straight toward each other (fig. 3a). Nadja points at Rosi and assesses her appearance as much more beautiful than that of her own dog (14; fig. 3b). Her turn is both self-deprecating and complimenting Rosi's guardian(s) which may serve to mobilize a response from the co-participants (Pomerantz, 1985; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). A minimal response is provided through the initiation of shared laughter (15), creating an environment of mutual affiliation (Glenn, 1989). At the same time, all the human participants turn their bodies and gaze toward the two dogs who are about to smell each other (fig. 4). Hence, they reorganize their interactional space around a joint attention to the dog–dog contact (cf. Mondada, 2012a). After a pause, Rhea provides a response to Nadja's previous turn (*da weiss sii* 'she knows that' 17), which could mean two things: guardian Rita knows about Rosi's beauty, or Rosi herself is aware of her attractive appearance. Rhea's turn overlaps with Nadja's initiation of a new sequence by asking about Rosi's breed (18; fig. 5; see Section 4.2.1 for a detailed analysis of the fragment's continuation).

Nadja's initiation of talk from a distance publicly displays her noticing of Rosi. She categorizes her as a cute and harmless dog that matches her own dog. By repeatedly requesting Noah to come closer, without putting him on a leash, she displays her approval or even encouragement of dog–dog contact. This differs from the examples presented in Section 3.2, in which the guardians silently co-organize their approach. Nadja shows through her noticing of Rosi, who clearly belongs to the oncoming walkers, her availability to socialize and even creates a sequential environment in which a response by Rosi's guardian(s) is expectable. Her request for information about the dog's breed appears at a different moment in the encounter than in Extract 3.8, where it served, as the very first turn addressed to the other guardian, to open the conversation. In contrast, in the present example, its position is *after* the opening greeting sequence and initiates a new topic (see Section 4.2). Note that Nadja's question comes right after the two dogs have touched each other's snout, i.e., at a moment when it seems that they get along well. This highlights again that the interaction between the guardians is based on the conditions, and is connected to the temporality of the interaction between the dogs.

I now examine an even more complex case with three different parties, each consisting of one or two guardians with a dog. The numerous co-participants are all potential recipients of a noticing. Gabi (GAB) walks with her leashed dog Gwen (GWE). They approach a group of guardians that are engaged in talk-in-interaction: Olaf (OLA), sitting on a bench, Oda (ODA), standing next to him, and their dog Oreo (ORE), who is next to his guardians. Olaf is petting Lucky (LUC), the dog belonging to Laura (LAU), who is standing at some distance away from them. The first fragment starts as Laura talks to Olaf and Oda about the amount of hair on her dog in the current season (2-5).

(3.10a) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200722_4_0.03.12)

```
1  OLA    xxxx[xx
2  LAU        [OU JA, IM MOMENT    EHER  VILL. (.). WILL  ÄH::
                oh yes at the moment rather many (.) because uh::
3          EZ ISCH WIDER WARM UND DENN ÄH:=
                now it's again warm and then uh:
4  OLA    =xx[xxx
5  LAU        [GÖNDS GO SCHWÜMME,#
                they go PRT swimming
   fig                            #fig. 1ab
```

1a 1b 2
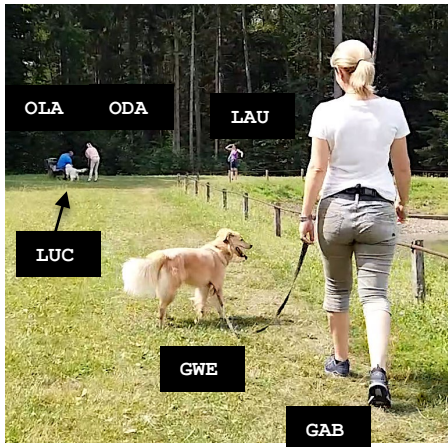
```
6          (0.3)
7   LAU    UND DENN- DENN-=
           and then- then-
8   ODA    =xxxx

9          (0.8) • (0.6) * (2.4) * (0.8) * (0.8) # (0.8) * (1.0) *
    luc        ->•lays under OLA's legs->
    lau                    ->*gzs G--*gzs O--*gzs G----------*gzs O--*gzs G->
    fig                                             #fig. 2
10  LAU →  ¡LUG DÖT¡#ISCH ¡DE GRÖ¡SS§ER+*#
           look there is   the bigger one
    lau    ¡.......¡points¡,,,,,,¡
    oda                           $looks where LAU is pointing to->
    ola                            +looks where LAU is pointing to->
    lau                             *gazes twd O/LUC->
    fig            #fig. 3            #fig. 4
```


3 4

Laura looks in the direction of Olaf and Oda, her hand raised to her forehead, probably due to the sun in her eyes (fig. 1ab). As the turn-at-talk between Laura and Oda/Olaf is fading out, Laura's gaze switches back and forth between Olaf/Oda and the approaching Gabi with Gwen (9). For a moment, she maintains her gaze toward the oncomers, points at Gwen, and calls out a noticing, characterizing her as *de grösser* 'the bigger one' (10; fig. 3). Using the comparative *grösser* 'bigger,' Laura compares Oreo (a dog of about 20 cm in height) to Gwen (who is approximately the same size as Lucky). Her turn probably indicates that a bigger dog than Oreo would constitute a better fit for socializing with Lucky, orienting to the fact that Oreo and

Lucky are not engaging in any form of social contact. The imperative *lug* 'look' is in second person singular, hence possibly only addressed to Lucky, making him aware of the oncoming dog and encouraging him to shift his attention toward Gwen. At the same time, it is produced so that it is heard by the already ratified participants Olaf and Oda, and possibly also by Gabi. The deictic *döt* 'there' gives the imperative the attribute of looking immediately (Nevile, 2013), to which Olaf and Oda respond by turning around and looking at where Laura is pointing (10; fig. 4).

(3.10b) (CH_SC_DOGW_20200722_4_0.03.12)

```
11          (0.6) † (0.3) +§ (0.4) *
   gwe          †gazes twd pond->
   ola               ->+
   oda                ->§
   lau                      ->*gzs twd G->
12 LAU   ≠¶HA#HA HA[HA
            ha ha ha ha
13 GAB →         [£.hhe MORGE¶≠ MI•TENAND£
                     .hhe morning everyone
   gab   ≠¶4 slow steps---------≠bends->
   gab    ¶shortens leash------¶
   luc                          •gazes twd G->
   fig      #fig. 5
14          (.)
15 LAU   GRÜE≠ZI MIT•EN[¶AND#
         hello    everyone
16 ELL              [¶GRÜ#E[ZI:   ]•*
                      hello
17 GAB →               [ICH LAH]• SIE AU LOS ISCH GU:ET?#
                        I  let  her also lose all right?
   gab      ->≠stops->
   luc            ->•jumps up----------•runs twd GWE->
   gab             ->¶RH to hook->
   lau                         ->*follows LUC w gaze->
   fig                  #fig. 6                      #fig. 7
```



```
18          (.)
19 LAU   JA JA
         yes yes
```

```
20        (0.6) ¶† (0.3) ¶ (0.5) #† (0.2) ≠¶  (0.2)  ≠
    gab       ->¶detaches¶LH holds collar--¶
    gwe        ->†gazes twd LUC---†turns around->
    gab                           ->≠straightens≠3 slow steps->
    fig                      #fig. 8
21        (0.4) † (1.2) *
    gwe       ->†runs twd LUC->
    lau             ->*gazes twd O->>
22  LAU  ja ja ez hani†• halt ≠im moment vill haar#
         yes yes so now I have at the moment many hairs
    gwe               ->†smells LUC->>
    luc             ->•smells GWE->>
    gab                   ->≠stops->>
    fig                              #fig. 9
```


There is a significant pause in which Olaf and Oda withdraw their gaze and return to their initial position (11). Laura gazes again toward Gabi, then starts to laugh (11-12), thus labelling her noticing retrospectively as laughable or as nonserious (Holt, 2013). Gabi treats Laura's utterance as a pre-opening, as she produces a greeting (*morge mitenand* 'morning everyone' 13) addressed to the multiple participants. While doing so, she slows down and shortens Gwen's leash, projecting that she is going to unleash her dog (fig. 5). This shows her understanding of Laura's turn as an invitation to let Gwen loose and possibly play with Lucky. Laura reciprocates the greeting (*grüezi mitenand* 'hello everyone'), Gabi stops, and Lucky jumps up to run toward Gwen (15). In overlap with the return greeting by the cameraperson Ella (16), Gabi announces that she will release her dog and asks for confirmation using a tag question (*ich lah sie au los isch guet?* 'I let her also loose all right?' 17), which points to a normative expectation that a joint agreement will be established before the dogs are released. However, Gabi already has her hands on the hook of the leash (fig. 6-7), which anticipates a positive response from Laura and presupposes that the "intersubjective permissibility" (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021) of unleashing Gwen is highly probable. In other words, Gabi's verbal action starts a new sequence while her embodied action that is simultaneously produced with it, anticipates the third position within the same sequence (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021, p. 14). Her embodied anticipation is based on the fact that Lucky is already running freely

toward Gwen, displaying his engagement. As in the previous examples, the dog's actions are thus consequential for the negotiation of an agreement between the guardians. Laura agrees to let Gwen loose (19), at which point Gabi detaches the leash and straightens up (20; fig. 8). Laura then gazes toward Olaf and Oda (21) and resumes her suspended turn (22). The lexical and syntactical recycling (*im moment vill haar* 'at the moment many hairs' 22) constitutes a specific backlinking device (De Stefani & Horlacher, 2008, 2018) to her previous turns (2-3). Meanwhile, Lucky and Gwen sniff at each other, monitored by Gabi (fig. 9).

In sum, doing a noticing of an oncoming dog is a way to display a guardian's interactional availability and their identification of the dogs as compatible or not. The spatial distribution of the individuals' bodies allows for talk initiation from a distance. The object of the noticing is an oncoming dog which clearly belongs to an accompanying guardian. Producing a loud noticing about the dog of an oncoming person makes a response, minimal as it may be, of the latter relevant (cf. Sacks, 1995b, p. 92). Such noticings are thus not treated as self-talk but as sequence initiations. For instance, in Extract 3.10, an already established interactional space between acquainted persons is transformed to welcome approaching newcomers by doing a noticing and shifting the bodily orientations.

In that sense, the examples in this section reveal issues with potential addressees. In Extract 3.8, the guardian's utterance is formatted to address no one in particular but the only possible addressee around is the oncoming guardian; in Extract 3.9, the sequential position and prosodic features of the noticing make it recognizable as directed to one's own dog but it seems to be produced to be heard by the oncomers; and in Extract 3.10, the noticing is, through its format, targeting one's own dog but performed within an interactional space with other co-participants, who become the recipients of the noticing and respond to it. In other words, the ambiguity of the noticing turn may perform several actions simultaneously (cf. Stivers et al., 2022). This gives the participants more possibilities to choose from in whether and how they respond.

Initiating talk from a distance is a practice that may serve guardians in managing and negotiating the modalities of dog–dog contact. Whether the dogs come close is based on the guardians' progressively achieved agreement about their compatibility. Most initial turns in this section were indeterminate and did not explicitly address whether the dogs could approach each other: 'is it a boy or a girl?'; 'oh, that is still a small one'; 'what is that kind of dog?'; 'look, there is the bigger one.' These turns make relevant categories that are "inference rich" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 40) and allow conclusions to be drawn about the presumed compatibility of

the dogs. They are only recognizable as an initial step towards negotiating dog–dog contacts within their sequential environment, in coordination with the participants' bodily approach, and intertwined with the use of other embodied resources like the direction of gaze and hand gestures. The dogs' actions shape the ongoing negotiation, as their witnessable movements are treated by guardians as accountable, meaningful, and consequential. This aspect is also visible in the guardians' tendency to hold the dogs' conduct accountable for their own decisions, on which I elaborate in the subsequent section.

3.4 Displayed cautiousness and retrospective accounts

A negotiation about possible dog–dog contact can be delicate. Problems arise when there is uncertainty as to whether the dogs will get along with each other or whether they will show 'appropriate' manners. This may result in guardians accounting for their decision to restrain their dogs or let them free. The accountability of the choice between releasing or not releasing a dog is observable in some previously discussed examples (see Extracts 3.6 and 3.7), where the guardians explain why they have their dog on a leash. A different practice by which guardians display their prevention of troublesome conduct in anticipation of an emerging encounter with oncoming dog walkers is to hold the dog by the collar while walking. This may lead to an embodied mutual negotiation between the guardians and, subsequently, to retrospective accounts (Section 3.4.1). On the other hand, if one dog is on a leash and the other is running free, this creates an imbalance and goes against the preference for allowing both dogs run free or having them on a leash. If a dog refuses to be leashed, this may constrain the other guardian to also release his/her dog (Section 3.4.2).

3.4.1 Holding the dog back while walking

As explained earlier in Chapter 2, guardians may instruct their dogs to walk closely next to them in a heel position. This allows them to restrain their dog without leashing it. Grabbing a dog by its collar is a further practical solution to prevent it from approaching oncoming walkers. At the same time, this can lead to an 'embodied negotiation' of potential dog–dog contact. This is the case in Extract 3.11, where Emma (EMM) walks in the forest with her dog Eno (ENO). On the appearance of Jonas (JON) and his dog Jade (JAD), Emma summons her dog. Offering the dog a treat, she instructs Eno to walk beside her as they approach the dog–guardian formation. At some point, however, Eno jumps forward, occasioning Emma to grab him by his collar.

(3.11a) CH_AL_DOGW_20210113_4_0.11.50

```
emm    >>walks fwd->
```

```
emm    >>holds treat at ELIs snout->
ENO    >>walks beside EMM->
1 EMM  j(h)jä super,#
       y(h)es super
  fig                #fig. 1
2      (0.4) + (0.2) • (0.3) +§ (0.2)
  emm       ->+feeds treat
  eno                ->•jumps fwd->
  emm                        +......->
  jon                >>walks fwd§3steps R->
3 EMM  >lug Δmal do+<#
       look PRT here
  jon        Δ.......->
  emm    ->.........+grabs collar->
  fig              #fig. 2
4      (0.3) •Δ (0.2) #
  eno       ->•walks beside EMM->
  jon    ->.....Δstretches out Rarm->
  fig              #fig. 3
5 EMM  >he he he<§
        he he he
  jon          ->§walks fwd->
6      (0.8) †• (0.2)
  emm       ->†stops->
  eno        ->•stops->
7 EMM  ↑eno↑ +
        Eno
  emm       ->+holds treat at ELIs snout->
8      (0.6) Δ
  jon    ->Δ
9 EMM  >°lug mal do°<
       look PRT here
```


Jonas and Jade walk side by side at about a half a meter distance without any visible restraint of Jade on the part of Jonas. In contrast, Emma walks with Eno closely by her side, holding the treat in front of his snout (fig. 1). Her evaluation *jä super* 'yes super' (1) praises the way Eno is walking in a correct heel position next to Emma. After being fed the treat, Eno abruptly jumps forward, projecting to run toward Jade and Jonas. Emma reacts quickly by grabbing him by the collar and pulling him back (2-3; fig. 2). This prompts Jonas to stretch out his right hand and walk closer to Jade, possibly instructing her to stay by his side (4; fig. 3). Hence, Jonas displays his awareness and understanding of Emma's movements, adapting to them by also restraining Jade. Emma's bodily displays of cautiousness are witnessable by and available to Jonas, who responds accordingly – at that moment, both guardians orient to a possible dog–

dog contact as problematic. Emma chuckles, probably orienting to Jonas' "attention displays" (Smith, 2017) and the emerging delicate situation (5). She stops and holds another treat in front of Eno's snout to regain her dog's attention (7). In response to Emma and Eno coming to a halt, Jonas retracts his arm (8).

In the remainder of the encounter, the participants continue their walk and eventually come close enough to greet each other. Interestingly, Emma and Jonas ultimately agree to release their dogs, regardless of their prior displayed cautiousness.

(3.11b) CH_AL_DOGW_20210113_4_0.11.50

```
9          (0.3) †• (0.2) ΔΩ (0.3)
  emm         ->†walks fwd->
  eno          ->•walks beside EMM->
  jan                   Δ........->
  emm                   Ωgazes twd JON->
10 EMM    ↓su::Δper↓
           super
  jan    ->...Δstretches out Rarm->
11         (0.3)
12 JON    ¶schön #blii[be
           nicely  stay
13 EMM               [hhha ha
  jon    ¶gazes twd EMM->
  fig         #fig. 5
14         (0.6)
15 EMM    grüezi,=
           hello
16 JON    =guete tag.
           good day
17         (0.2) †•
  emm         ->†stops->
  eno         ->•stops->
18 EMM    °hha +ha .hh° *rennt ebe immer so uf #hünd+ zue.
           hha  ha .hh  runs PRT always so toward dogs
  emm        ->+feeds treat----------------------+holds collar->
  jon        >>walks fwd*stops->>
  fig                                      #fig. 6
```



```
19         (.)
20 EMM    [↓so:::↓]
            so:::
21 JON    [wie  bi]tte?=
           pardon?
22 EMM    =hhh er rennt immer so ¶uf d'hünd [los.   ] =
           hhh he runs always so at the dogs
  jon                        ->¶gazes at ENO->
```

```
23 JON                                          [ha(h)a.]
                                                 ha(h)a
24        =ts.h+•hhh# †so(h)o.hh ∆in eim Ω∆tempo.#=
             ts.h hhh  so(h)o .hh with much speed
    emm        ->+releases ENO->>
    eno         ->•trots twd JAD->>
    emm            ->†steps L to face JON->
    jon                 ->∆,,,,,,,,∆
    emm                      ->Ωgazes twd ENO-JAD->
    fig          #fig. 7                     #fig. 8
```


Emma and Eno resume their walk side by side, at which point Jonas stretches out his right hand again, displaying his intention to restrain his dog (9-10). Emma still holds the treat in front of Eno's snout and praises him for staying beside her (*super* 'super' 10). This is followed by Jonas instructing Jade to stay by his side (*schön bliibä* 'nicely stay' 12). The guardians' turns are produced in loud and clearly audible voices. At the same time, the guardians look at each other, possibly sharing a mutual gaze (fig. 5). Clearly, the praise and the instruction are not merely produced for the dogs; they also display the togetherness of guardian and dog and manifest the guardians' orientation to the other dog–guardian formation. Emma chuckles in response to Jonas's instruction (13) and articulates a greeting, which he immediately reciprocates (15-16). Subsequently, Emma comes to a halt with Eno, followed by Jonas and Jade also stopping (17-18).

Emma provides an account for why she holds her dog back, while feeding Eno the treat and holding him by the collar (*er rennt immer so uf d'hünd los* 'he runs always so at the dogs' 18; fig. 6). The particle *ebe* (which has no equivalent in English) gives the utterance a feature of justification and relates the account to what has happened previously. Next, in overlap with Emma talking to Eno (20), Jonas initiates repair (*wie bitte?* 'pardon?' 21). This is treated by Emma as a hearing problem as she repeats her account (22). In the middle of Emma's utterance, Jonas turns his gaze toward Eno, smiling and laughing upon the turn's projected completion (23). In response, Emma extends her turn by equally laughing and specifying the pace of Eno's running (*in eim tempo* 'with much speed' 24). Concurrently, she releases Eno, who

immediately trots toward Jade (fig. 7). Hence, Jonas's affiliative smile and laughter prompt Emma to ultimately let go of her dog, despite his potentially boisterous approach. In that sense, Emma's turn serves not only as a retrospective account for her restraining the dog but also as a prospective announcement and implicit request to let Eno go. Furthermore, in releasing her dog despite the previously displayed cautiousness and anticipation of trouble, Emma shows trust in Eno not acting dangerously or aggressively. Nevertheless, Jonas keeps his right arm cautiously stretched out toward Jade until the dogs are closer, recognizably getting along with each other. Emma takes a few steps and positions herself facing Jonas. Thus, the guardians shape their interactional space by facing each other while also keeping enough distance to make space for the dogs and to monitor them (fig. 8).

Extract 3.11 illustrates that holding back one's dog by the collar may be more than merely a practical solution for restraining the dog; rather, it is a way to publicly display cautiousness and doing 'being in control of the dog,' which leads into an embodied negotiation of possible dog–dog contact. The negotiation between Emma and Jonas is based on reflexively responsive adjustments, such as changing the trajectory, grabbing the collar, and stretching out the arm, as well as on loudly instructing the dogs. These actions are all witnessable for, and responded to by, the oncoming participant. Emma grabs Eno by his collar and guides him closely by her side; Jonas responds to Emma's action by stretching his arm out toward Jade, displaying responsibility and readiness to intervene without actually holding his dog. Hence, both guardians display cautiousness regarding dog–dog contact, which differs from the observable restraints, for instance in Extracts 3.6 and 3.7. Compared to leashing the dog, holding it by the collar is a weaker form of restraint that can be released immediately, e.g., when the dogs seem to approach each other in a compatible way. In the present case, an affiliative smile and chuckle from Jonas are enough to prompt Emma to release Eno and allow him to approach Jade. Hence, the negotiation between the guardians develops from a mutual display of restraining their dogs to an agreement that they are allowed to get into close contact.

3.4.2 "Otherwise" releasing the dog

The previous section has shown an example in which the dogs comply with their guardians' commands. In contrast, this section focuses on situations where dogs running freely ahead do not return to their guardians when they call. This has consequences for the negotiation of dog–dog contact: an oncoming dog–guardian formation with a leashed dog often prompts the other guardian to likewise leash her/his dog, orienting to a preference for having either both dogs on a leash or both free (see Section 2.3). However, if there is witnessable problems with

140

leashing the dog, the adjustment is reversed, and the oncoming guardian orients to a constraint to unleash his/her dog.

In the following example, Iris (IRI) and Ivy (IVY) walk with their dog Imo (IMO) in the snowy forest. They are accompanied by other walkers, among whom is Jan (JAN). Imo is off the leash, and as the guardians perceive oncoming walkers between the trees, they call for Imo. However, Imo does not comply with the command – neither Iris nor Ivy can lure him. The fragment starts when the oncomers Amy (AMY) and her dog Alf (ALF) walk around the corner. Amy responds to the observable problem by stopping and unleashing Alf.

(3.12a) CH_FL_DOGW_20201220_4

```
    amy    >>walks fwd->
1  IVY    ↑chumm,
            come
2          (0.6)
3  IRI    °hhh ha°
            hhh ha
4          (1.2)
5  IVY    im(h)o bi(h)itte#
            imo    please
    fig                    #fig. 1
6          (0.6) *
    amy          *gazes twd ALF->
7          (0.6) Δ
    amy        ->Δstops->
           (0.2)
8  IMO    WH◊U-WHU gr[:: ((barks and growls))
    amy      ◊admonishing gesture w RH->


9  AMY →            [aber# du machsch langsam.
                     but  you  go    slowly
    fig                  #fig. 2
10         (0.2) ◊
    amy        ->◊bends to unleash ALF->
11         (0.4)
12 AMY    du machsch langsam.
           you  go    slowly
13         (0.6) *#
    amy        ->*gazes fwd->>
    fig          #fig. 3
14         (0.5)
15 AMY    [(alfi nu luägä) ]◊
            alfi only looking
16 IVY → [ja susch lönd s-]◊ lö†nd [sii en la◊ufe ja ja.]
          yes otherwise let-    (you) let it  go  yes yes
17 AMY                          [du   mach◊sch  lang]sam.#=
                                  you  go        slowly
    amy                 ->◊straightens------◊walks fwd->
    alf                   ->†runs forward->
    fig                                              #fig. 4
```

141

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Ivy repeatedly gives Imo commands while laughing (1 & 5), and Iris chuckles (3). Their chuckle and laughter probably respond to Imo's non-compliance and the resulting delicate situation in which they figure as guardians with a dog 'out of control.' Amy walks toward them (fig. 1) but stops at some distance, looking at her dog Alf (6-7). She talks to him in a loud and clearly audible voice, commanding him to slow down (*aber du machsch langsam* 'but you go slowly' 9). At the same time, she makes an admonishing gesture with her right hand – her fist with a pointed finger moves up and down several times (fig. 2). Her action is thus clearly audible and visible to the oncoming individuals. It is a preemptive command (other than the instructive *langsam* 'slowly' in line 20 below), produced a moment before she unleashes Alf. The preemptive character of the turn is also highlighted through the turn-initial *aber* 'but' (in the sense of "I will release you, *but* you have to go slowly"). Amy subsequently bends over her dog to unleash him (10) and repeats her command (*du machsch langsam* 'you go slowly' 12). Just before she releases Alf, Amy gazes toward the other walkers (13; fig. 3), uttering another command (15). Her bending down and talking to her dog projects his unleashing, while her simultaneous gaze at the other walkers is an indication that it happens in orientation to their co-presence. In that sense, Amy's action is both a preemptive admonishment of Alf and a manifestation for the other guardians that Alf tends to approach fast. Releasing Alf nonetheless shows Amy's trust that her dog will not be aggressive. In other words, her admonishing commands together with unleashing her dog anticipates and preemptively normalizes his fast approach, making Amy's trust in her dog publicly available and possibly serves to reassure the other co-participants. Ivy responds to Amy's action by authorizing the release of Alf (*ja susch lönd sii en laufe ja ja* 'yes otherwise let it go yes yes' 16). Her permission is delayed since it happens at a moment in which Amy has already initiated the unleashing. The adverb *susch* 'otherwise' and the turn-final *ja ja* 'yes yes' have a concessive character, displaying that Ivy was initially oriented to leashing Imo, i.e., to encounter the oncomers with both dogs on a leash,

and that she is now witnessing Amy's unleashing of Alf. When Amy straightens, finally releasing Alf, she resumes her walk while her dog runs toward the other participants (17).

In the continuation of the encounter, both guardians give retrospective accounts, showing their treatment of what has happened as possibly problematic.

(3.12b) CH_FL_DOGW_20201220_4

```
   alf    >>runs toward IRI->
18 IRI    =.hh ha [.hha] ha] ha
            .hh ha .hha  ha ha
19 IVY           [oha.]
                  oha
20 AMY           [langsam.]
                  slowly
21        (1.0)
22 IRI    [hh ha]†ha ha ha ha #chh.hh .hha†[.hha hhh     ]
           hh ha ha ha ha ha  chh.hh .hha   .hha hhh
23 IVY    [hui::]
           hui::
24 JAN →                           [weisch gar ne]d wo ane renne gäll,=
                                    you don't even know where to run right,
   jan    >>gazes twd alf->
   alf         ->†sniffs at IRI----------†runs around wildly->>
   fig                        #fig. 6
25 IVY    [ha ha ha ha]
           ha ha ha ha
26 IRI    [ha ha ha ha] ha ha •ha
           ha ha ha ha  ha ha ha
   jan                   ->•looks at IMO->
27        (0.2) •
   jan       ->•gazes twd AMY->>
28 JAN → es isch z'chli.=
         it is too small
29 IRI    =.hha ha ha ü[ses-
           .hha ha ha our-
30 AMY →            [er tu- er tut immer# uu:: fiin mit de chlinä
                     he do- he does always very gentle with the small ones
   fig                                  #fig. 7
31     → [drum ]han ich en [etz loh springä.]
          that is why now I've let him run
32 IRI    [ja ja]          [.hh ja isch guet]=
          yes yes           .hh yes that's good
33 AMY    =hha ha=
           hha ha
34 IRI → =.h mi hend en nöd chö#nne iifange, ha ha ha ha
          .h we were not able to catch him, ha ha ha ha
fig                           #fig. 8
```


143
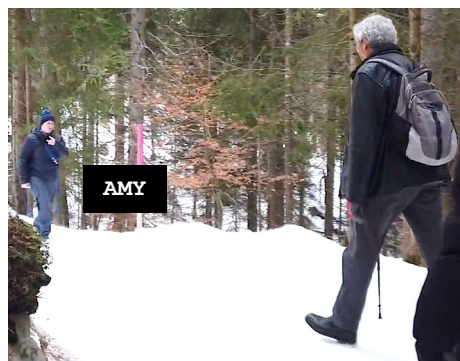
Alf runs toward Iris, who laughs in response (18). Simultaneously, Amy produces a "task-performance instruction" (Deppermann, 2018), which instructs Alf to go slowly (20), as opposed to the preemptive commands in lines 9, 12 and 17. Ivy vocalizes Alf's run, doing something like a joyful outburst during a race, and ends her vocalization exactly as Alf arrives in front of Iris (23). Hence, both participants adapt their turns to the temporality of Alf's fast approach, formatting them in accordance with their displayed relationship to Alf: Amy, as the guardian in charge, gives an instruction, while Ivy displays a welcoming attitude (see Chapter 4). Iris's laughter increases as Alf sniffs at her (22). She leans her torso slightly backward and holds her arms up to her body (fig. 6). When Alf turns away from Iris and starts running around, Jan, looking at him, ascribes to him the cognitive state of not knowing where to go (*weisch gar ned wo ane renne gäll* 'you don't even know where to run right' 24). His turn accounts for Alf's running toward Iris, treating it as noticeable and showing that a different trajectory was expected (i.e., running toward the other dog Imo). Note that Imo is a tiny dog, weighing about 2 kg, whereas Alf is many times bigger. Jan's account 'not knowing where to run' thus implicitly ascribes to Alf the inability to find Imo which is treated by Ivy and Iris as a laughable (25-26). Jan subsequently extends his turn by describing Imo as too small for Alf (*es isch z'chli* 'it is too small' 28). He thereby transforms the laughable: while at first, Alf's inability to find Imo was the focus, now it is Imo's small size which comes to the fore. As she walks toward Jan, Amy picks up the topicalization of Imo's small size as a relevant aspect of the decision to release her dog, enabling her to give a retrospective account (30-31; fig. 7). Her account has a defensive dimension and treats what happened as possibly problematic. Iris acknowledges the account, displaying affiliation with Amy (32). Additionally, she accounts for their inability to 'catch' Imo (34).

This example shows how guardians adapt to unexpected local constraints and how a dog's actions may generate diverse possible dog categorizations and related inferences, diversely treated and weighted in the ongoing negotiation about the modalities of the encounter. In the current case, various possible categorizations of dogs are made relevant, such as big vs. small, unleashed vs. leashed, complying vs. not complying. Upon the progressive approach of Amy and Alf, Ivy and Iris first project to restrain their free-running dog by calling him. Imo's refusal to be 'caught' occasions Amy to adapt by letting Alf off the leash, orienting to incompatibility between a leashed and an unleashed dog. Amy's commands, as well as her action of bending over her dog, are witnessable and understandable for the co-participants as a release of Alf, visible in Ivy's concession of 'otherwise' unleashing the dog. The laughter

throughout the encounter seems based on a non-fulfillment of normative expectations – both toward the dogs (Alf runs toward a human co-participant instead of engaging with his conspecific) and toward the guardians (who are unable to catch their dog).

The next example similarly shows how the incompatibility between a leashed and an unleashed dog becomes relevant. The same participant as in Extract 3.12, Iris (IRI), walks with her other dog Iglu (IGL), on a leash. At a distance ahead of them, Paloma (PAL) and her dog Pine (PIN) enter the path coming from the right. Pine runs freely and moves away from his guardian, running in the opposite direction toward Iris and Iglu. Iris shortens Iglu's leash while the two dogs sniff at each other. When Paloma calls for Pine, he turns around and goes back to her. The participants then continue on their way, Iris with Iglu on the leash walking behind Paloma and Pine off the leash. The fragment starts as Pine stops again to turn around and gaze at Iglu and Iris behind him, occasioning Paloma to stop.

(3.13a) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.47.24

```
   iri   >>walks fwd
   igl   >>walks fwd
   pal   >>stands w torso torqued backw->
   pin   >>stands, gazing twd IGL->
1  IRI → [es m-]
           it m-
2  PAL   [pine ]hier=
           Pine   here
3  IRI → =macht nü:t.†
           doesn't matter
   pin             ->†turns around->
4        (0.7) #† (0.7) * (0.6) *†
   pin        ->†walks twd PAL---†walks fwd->
   pal              ->*turns--*walks fwd->
   fig        #fig. 1
5        (13.9)
6  PAL   ↑chum
           come
7        (0.5) † (0.3)
   pin        ->†turns->
8  PAL   pine†* >po po po po po<*
           Pine    po po po po po
   pin     ->†runs twd IGL->
   pal       ->*stops-----------*torques torso backw->
9        (1.7)
10 IRI → er macht nüt† isch nu miine# tut  (0.4)  e chli belle da†
           he doesn't do any harm it's just (that) mine is barking a bit here
   pin               ->†sniffs at IGL--------------------------------†runs fwd->
   fig                           #fig. 2
11       er isch e chli (.) gstres[st.
           he  is  a bit (.)  stressed
12 PAL                          [gstresst.
                                 stressed.
13       (0.2)
14 PAL   pine#
           Pine
   fig        #fig. 3
15       (0.3) *  (0.5)  *
   pal       ->*turns fwd*walks fwd->
16 PAL   chumm.
           come
```
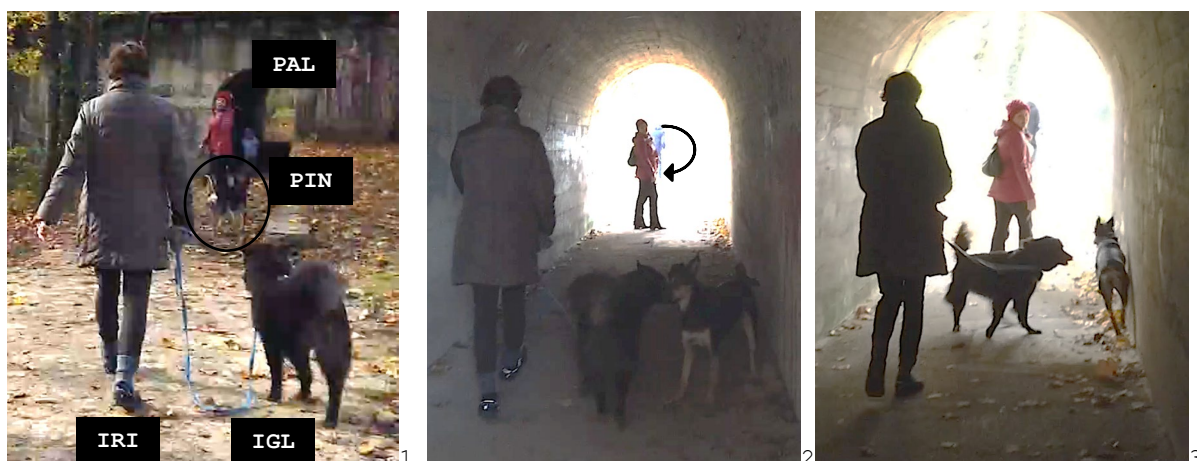
In response to Paloma's stopping and calling (*pine hier* 'Pine here' 2), Iris reassures her that the fact that the dog is coming closer does not bother her (*es macht nüt* 'it doesn't matter' 1; 3). This responds to Paloma's witnessable problem of keeping her dog focused on her and away from Iglu (note that this is already the second time that Pine turns toward Iglu). As Pine complies and returns to Paloma, she turns her torso forward, resuming her walk (4; fig. 1). Iris and Iglu continue to walk forward. The participants continue for about 14 seconds, passing through a small tunnel. When Pine turns around again, running toward Iglu, Paloma calls him and stops as she torques her torso backward (7-8; fig. 2). Through her torqued position with her feet directed forward, she displays an orientation both toward the dog–dog contact and the progression of the walk (cf. Mondada, 2018d). When the two dogs are close to one another, Iris again produces a reassuring turn (*er macht nüt nu miine tut e chli bellä da* 'he doesn't do any harm, it's just (that) mine is barking a bit here' 10). She uses almost the same syntactical structure as in lines 1 and 3, however, this time she employs the personal pronoun *er* 'he' (instead of *es* 'it') in reference to Pine, allowing her to contrast Pine with Iglu. Iris constructs her turn in such a way as to account for why she does not release her dog. Her comparison characterizes Iglu as showing sanctionable manners, while giving permission for Pine's approach. Hence, whereas Paloma displays her responsibility for Pine and treats his nearing as possibly problematic, Iris orients to her accountability for having her dog on a leash and legitimizes Pine's free approach. She ascribes to Iglu the emotional state of being stressed (*er isch chli gstresst* 'he is a bit stressed' 11). Paloma smiles and confirms her understanding (12). Again, she calls for Pine, turns around, and continues to walk forward.

A negotiation about dog–dog contact occurs already in this part of the encounter. Paloma intervenes by calling her dog and bodily exhibiting a prioritization of moving on. Nevertheless, Pine walks in the opposite direction, leading to a short olfactory inspection

between the dogs as the guardians stop. This is reminiscent of passing-by encounters (see Section 3.2.1). However, passing by in different directions is not the same as walking behind each other, which creates a challenging situation. Like in Extract 3.4, the two parties shift between walking individually and walking together. The main reason for this is Pine, who repeatedly directs his displayed attention toward Iglu. This is also the case after some more seconds of silent walking when Pine turns around once more and runs back to Iglu.

(3.13b) CH_BS_DOGW_20191109_1_0.47.24

((2 lines omitted))

```
18       (1.5)    †  (1.9) † (0.2) *
  pin    >>wks fwd†turns---†runs twd IGL->
  pal             >>walks fwd*steps into PIN's way->
19       (0.8)   #§ (0.3) *∆ (0.6) †*§#
  igl    >>wks fwd§jumps on masonry--§stops->
  pal             ->*turns----*stops->
  iri          >>walks fwd∆few steps R->
  pin                    ->†stops->
  fig          #fig. 4              #fig. 5
```



```
20 IRI → [ich chan en su-]
            I   can him oth-
21 PAL   [er macht sich] ebe e †#spass dr[us.
          he makes PRT a   fun  of it
22 IRI →                          [ja ja∆ nei ich◊ chan† en
                                   yes yes  no  I   can  him
  pin                     ->†sniffs IGL------------------†runs fwd->>
  iri                              ->∆stops->
  iri                                       ◊unleashes IGL->
  fig                    #fig. 6
23    → susch  scho  weglaa  ja. ich ho#ff eifach er tut nöd aggressiv
        otherwise PRT let go yes. I hope simply he doesn't act aggressively
  fig                                 #fig. 7

24       >aso< er het◊§ vorig so kom*∆isch-
          well he had earlier so weird-
  iri              ->◊
  igl            ->§runs after PIN->>
  pal                    ->*walks fwd->>
  iri                      ->∆walks fwd->>
```

```
25        (1.7)
26 IRI    isch er [igendwie wie gsch- e chli gstresst.]
          is   he  somehow like str- a little stressed
27 PAL           [schadet ihm nid will miine isch e chli]# gar frech.=
                 does not harm him as  mine is  a little very cheeky
   fig                                                   #fig. 8
```


Paloma tries to prevent her dog from running back toward the co-participants by stepping into his way, but Pine avoids her by jumping off the path (18). When Pine approaches, Iglu jumps onto the little wall on his right-hand side, occasioning Iris to also walk to her right (19; fig. 5). Iris projects an offer to release Iglu (*ich chan en su-* 'I can him oth-' 20) but suspends her turn in overlap with Paloma, who ascribes playfulness to Pine's constant return to Iglu (*er macht sich ebe e spass drus* 'he makes a fun of it' 21). She lifts her leash, her hand ready on the hook. However, Iris is faster, walking toward Iglu and bodily projecting to unleash him (fig. 6). In response to Paloma's turn, Iris acknowledges the account provided (*ja ja* 'yes yes' 22) and announces that she will unleash Iglu (*nei ich chan en susch scho weglaa ja* 'no I can otherwise let him go yes' 22-23). Iris initiates unleashing Iglu already during her turn, formulating what she is doing at that moment. The prefiguring negative particle *nei* 'no' orients to the derogative character of Paloma's account in line 21 which blames Pine's conduct ('he makes a fun of it') and thus to the preference for disagreement after self-deprecation (Pomerantz, 1985). As in Extract 3.12, the adverb *susch* 'otherwise' has a concessive character through which Iris displays that she was not going to unleash her dog, and that her unleashing of Iglu is happening

in adaptation to Paloma and Pine. The negotiation happens between Paloma's displayed readiness to leash Pine (holding the leash's hook in front of her body) and Iris's embodied projection and formulation of unleashing Iglu. The second part of Iris's turn (*ich hoff eifach er tut nöd aggressiv* 'I simply hope he doesn't act aggressively' 23) displays concern and accounts for her decision first to restrain Iglu and then to release him. As both dogs run off, chasing each other over the meadow, Paloma and Iris walk side by side, continuing a more sustained talk-in-interaction (24-27; fig. 8).

At the outset of this example, the dog's repeated turning around and approaching Iglu forces the guardians to negotiate with each other about the contact between the dogs and to account for their decisions. A significant difference to Extract 3.12 is that Iris displays agreement with Pine's approach and that the dogs are in close contact from the beginning, even if it is only for short moments. These contacts may reassure their guardians that the dogs will probably get along well. Hence, the issue for them here is not whether the dogs can come into close contact. Instead, it is the way in which they continue walking – either separately, one behind the other, or together, side by side. The participants choose the latter, which ultimately shows the boundless possibilities of an ephemeral passing-by to transform into an activity of 'walking the dogs together.'

Taken together, a dog's actions (such as an abrupt movement, non-compliance with the guardian's instructions, and a fast approach toward oncomers) are treated as a problem and lead to mutual negotiations and understandings about whether the problem is confirmed or disappears. The guardians display their cautiousness and problematize their dog's conduct by employing various embodied and vocal resources, for instance holding the dog's collar, bending over, giving admonishing commands, and others. The second recurrent aspect is the disparity between a leashed vs. an unleashed dog, which goes against the preference for having either both dogs on a leash or both running freely. During the negotiation, the guardians progressively come to an agreement that their dogs are allowed to run freely. Their retrospective accounts ascribe personal properties to their dogs (e.g., being/acting boisterous, weird, young, etc.), which is described by Sanders (1990) as "behavioral quasi-theorizing," as he observes how dog owners excuse or justify their animal's conduct. These accounts are positioned *after* the initial moments of unproblematic dog–dog contact and show the guardians' orientation toward the accountability and normativity of their decision-making. Furthermore, there is a difference in how guardians address, and talk about, their dogs compared to how they refer to a dog belonging to someone else. The guardians produce instructions, evaluations,

praise, and reprimands, which serve to maintain the dog–guardian formation and often orient to the guardians' responsibility for the walk with their dog to progress safely. On the other hand, instructions, evaluations, and reprimands by guardians toward someone else's dog are not documented in the data. This hints at the participants' orientation to their identity as guardians of a specific co-present dog with distinctive personal relationships, obligations, and responsibilities.

3.5 Summary

A primary concern for guardians who encounter each other on a walk is to come to an agreement as to whether their dogs should be allowed to come into close contact or not. In orientation to an anticipated encounter with other dog–guardian formations, guardians carry out different types of actions which depend on what they are projecting about the compatibility of the dogs.

When the guardians monitor their off-leashed dogs intensely without intervening in their trajectories, they display their approval of the dogs continuing to run freely. In such a configuration, guardians can either merely focus on their dogs, without mutually orienting to each other, thus projecting a passing-by (Section 3.2.1), or they can engage in talk while jointly watching the dogs (Section 3.2.2).

Instances where guardians, from a distance, initiate talk that may project either incompatibility or compatibility between the dogs differ from those instances where they tacitly agree about the compatibility of the dogs. When there is uncertainty as to whether the conditions are favorable for peaceful dog–dog contact, the guardians explicitly address this issue (Section 3.3.1). Another practice used to display their guess about whether the dogs will get along is the public noticing of an oncoming dog, which makes "inference rich" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 40) categories, such as small, big, cute, etc. relevant (Section 3.3.2). In general, initiating talk from a distance enables guardians to address, and prevent, the possibility of problems between the dogs or to display a categorization of the dogs as possibly getting along well.

Sometimes, the guardians orient to the dog's actions as problematic, which is visible, for instance, when they restrain their dog by the collar. This is a way to publicly display cautiousness and doing 'being in control,' until it has been clarified among the oncoming guardians whether and how their dogs will come close to each other (Section 3.4.1). Likewise, loud admonishing commands orient to a possibly problematic approach in which the dog refuses to be leashed (Section 3.4.2). The provision of retrospective accounts orients to the

accountability of restraining or releasing one's dog in certain circumstances, and guardians frequently hold their own decisions accountable for the dogs' conduct.

The interaction between the guardians is thus based on the conditions, and connected with the temporality, of the interaction between the dogs. The type of action initiated by the guardians is based on what they display when guessing about the compatibility of their dogs. They orient to the dogs' manifested stances as an essential element in their negotiation about dog–dog contact. This reveals the diverse possible categorizations and related inferences generated by a dog's actions, which are diversely treated and weighted in the ongoing negotiation about the modalities of the encounter. It also reveals how the dogs' agency is related to sequential relevance – their actions visibly shape the unfolding of the encounter – and how dog–guardian companionship is interactively and intersubjectively achieved and organized. The synergy between guardians and their dogs, locally reestablished moment-by-moment, allows them to encounter other walkers in the sociable ways illustrated in this chapter. The organization of the interactional space achieved between the two dog–guardian formations is transformed in relation to the progression of the walk. It may happen that the dog–guardian formations, that were previously walking on their own, engage in an activity of 'walking together.' Such transitions happen smoothly, and just as fluently, the temporary gathering can dissolve again. At any rate, the focus remains on the dogs, and the interaction revolves around them, both in terms of physical positioning in space and formatting of turns-at-talk.

Chapter 4: Guardians' claims and attributions of knowledge

4.1 Introduction

The negotiation of dog–dog contact is based on the guardians' guess about the compatibility of their dogs. In some cases, dog–guardian formations simply pass by each other while, in other cases, guardians suspend their walk and momentarily share a joint focus on their dogs. They place themselves at some distance facing each other in a way that allows them to switch between mutually looking at each other and jointly monitoring the dogs. In such moments, guardians frequently exchange turns-at-talk, as discussed in this chapter.

The guardians' sustained interactional space is oriented to the dogs' co-presence and actions. While engaging in talk, the guardians simultaneously monitor the dogs. This accounts for the frequent occurrence of long silences between turns and sequences. Situations in which the silence after a speaker's utterance neither closes the interaction nor is understood as a suspension or a lapse have been described as a "continuing state of incipient talk" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 324-325) or as "shared co-presence" (Vatanen, 2021). For example, watching television or driving in a car are activities that may be performed by participants in silence while being interspersed with sequences of talk-in-interaction without proper openings and closings as long as the joint activity continues. Likewise, the guardians may silently monitor their dogs' contact until one of them produces a turn. However, unlike people engaged in activities such as driving a car or watching TV, the guardians are often unknown to each other. Moreover, driving a car or watching TV takes place in a limited space and with people being stationary, whereas during dog walks, people are mobile and only momentarily stop to talk to each other.

In their ethnographic study of dog owners, who regularly meet with their dogs in a park, Robins et al. (1991) observed that the human participants speak to each other primarily about dogs. This is in line with my observations – in all the instances in which guardians engage in a more sustained conversation, the topic revolves around the co-present dogs specifically or around dogs in general. "Pet talk" seems similar to what Sacks described as "weather talk," namely a "safe topic," which is non-committal, uninformative about personal stance, and serves to transition to other actions and activities (Sacks, 1995b, p. 205). However, as the analyses below show, the guardians' talk-in-interaction differs from the "harmless weather talk" described by Sacks. Guardians may bring up their dogs to explore possible "common ground" (H. H. Clark, 1996), a supposedly shared knowledge that participants attribute to one another

in interaction. Drawing on conceptual CA approach of "epistemics" (cf. Drew, 2018; Heritage, 2012b), I explore how guardians display what they know and do not know (about dogs) to one another, orienting to each other's categories as guardians of specific co-present dogs. During the initial phase of the conversation, guardians position themselves within a canine epistemic domain. They ask questions, assess the dogs' conduct, and show their know-how and expertise in dealing with dogs. Hence, guardians employ practices of displaying and attributing knowledge to each other and occasionally to their dogs.

Previous work in CA has shown that individuals have particular responsibilities with respect to knowledge (Stivers et al., 2011b). Pomerantz (1980) differentiates between "Type 1 knowables", which are known or expected to know from firsthand experience, and "Type 2 knowables", which are known by report, inference, and hearsay. This entails rights and obligations to know one's personal situation – individuals are held accountable for knowing about, for instance, their own name, address, feelings, and thoughts (Pomerantz, 1980). Such an asymmetry of knowledge between participants is conceptualized as *epistemic primacy* (Stivers et al., 2011a) or *epistemic authority* (Mondada, 2013a). Correspondingly, the notion of *epistemic status* concerns the participants' *states of knowledge* (Drew, 1991), that is, their relative positioning on an epistemic gradient between being more knowledgeable (K+) or less knowledgeable (K–), as well as their access to an epistemic domain (Heritage, 2012b). An individual's epistemic status is defined by their rights, responsibilities, and obligations to know. The term *epistemic stance* refers to the local expression of this relationship between epistemic status and responsibility, which is displayed in turn design and action formation. For instance, question–response sequences hold the presupposition that the questioner displays a K– stance, whereas the person questioned displays a K+ stance. Consequently, a questioner's epistemic stance is displayed through the relevant and appropriate format of a response (Heritage, 2002, 2012a).

Making relevant access to knowledge and information can be a resource for evoking a specific identity or social category (Raymond & Heritage, 2006). Epistemic primacy or authority is thus not predetermined by an alleged social category – it is expressed moment-by-moment in interaction and reflexively managed through the format of actions and turn design. As Mondada (2013a) noted, epistemic status and stance are constantly and reflexively (re)elaborated by the participants in social interaction. "[E]pistemic authority is not a fixed status attributed to a participant, but an incessant situated accomplishment" (Mondada, 2013a, p. 598).

Likewise, guardians orient to asymmetries in their relative rights to assess, know, and inform about their own dog versus someone else's dog. They may display their general knowledge about dogs and assumptions about a specific co-present dog. For instance, guardians may request information about a dog's breed by simply asking 'What is it?' or by offering a candidate 'Is it a Husky?' Through the format of their questions and responses, guardians display their degree of knowledge about the dog in question. Shifting between displays of more specific and more generic knowledge may be a practice for guardians to create epistemic congruence with their co-participants and to facilitate agreement and affiliation. Hence, the guardians constitute a community of practice within which categorial, topical, and epistemic work are interwoven.

In what follows, I focus on situations where a more sustained interactional space is established, and a conversation between guardians is initiated. This may happen right after or without a greeting sequence. It is ubiquitous for guardians to ask each other questions about their dogs, more precisely about their breed, age, or sex. These are often double-barreled questions, which may appear as a form of topical talk, but which are also related to the joint coordination and management of the encounter. First, I demonstrate that addressing a dog's breed constitutes a practice for unacquainted guardians to create mutual displays of sociability. Not only do they show interest in each other's dogs and give compliments, but they also orient to their social categories as guardians and specifically to their relationships with their own dog. In other words, the guardians' pro-sociality is based on their differentiation between knowledge about one's dog versus knowledge about someone else's dog, in orientation to each other's epistemic authority (Section 4.2). Second, I show that questions about a dog's age through the candidate attribution 'young' respond to the dog's marked appearance and actions. They may figure as a "vehicle" (Schegloff, 2007) that provides a reason for the dog's censured or otherwise marked conduct (Section 4.3). The final part of this chapter focuses on cases in which guardians enter "epistemic contests" (cf. Drew, 2018; Keisanen, 2007; Mondada, 2013a) by challenging and negotiating their epistemic authority in various ways (Section 4.4).

4.2 Enquiring about a dog's breed

Together with a dog's age and sex, the breed is one of the possible "tellables" (Sacks, 1995a), or 'questionables' rather, which is addressed by the first topical turn between the guardians. In this section, I explore two ways in which guardians enquire about a dog's breed. First, more generic questions with an interrogative ('wh-questions' in English) are in the sequential position of an opening turn, or emerge directly after an opening sequence, such as

greetings (Section 4.1.1). In contrast, declarative requests, which mention a candidate breed suggested by the questioner, are positioned later in the interaction, and happen after the guardians' shared monitoring of their dogs (Section 4.1.2).

4.2.1 Generic questions with an interrogative

Guardians may ask about a dog's breed through an interrogative format, such as in the following example. This is a continuation of Extract 3.9, in which Nadja and her dog Noah have encountered Rita and dog Rosi with other co-walkers. The dogs approached each other freely and now engage in olfactory inspection, while the human participants have suspended their walk and created an interactional space around the dogs. This is the moment when Nadja addresses Rita and asks about Rosi's breed (18).

(4.1) (CH_EG_DOGW_20200629_5_0.02.46)

```
18 NAD → isch +das en hä:rzige was isch das †für e+ rasse?
           that  is a cute one what kind of breed is that?
19         # (0.2)
   fig     #fig. 1
20 RIT     en coton.
           a  Coton
21         (0.2)
22 RIT     coton de tu+l#éar >heissed die.< BAUMwollhündli.
           Coton de Tulear they are called. cotton dog-DIM.
23         (0.6)
24 NAD     ↑ach.hh↑
             oh.h
```


Nadja produces a positive assessment about Rosi, using the referent *en härzige* 'a cute one' (18). Using the indefinite article orients to her unfamiliarity with Rosi, and the positive assessment accounts for her interest in the breed. The question *was isch das für e rasse?* 'what kind of breed is that?' orients to Rita's epistemic responsibility as Rosi's guardian – she is normatively expected to know about her dog's breed and is accountable to provide that information. Rita responds by articulating the breed's name (20) and elaborates on her answer after a very short pause (21). Rita first provides the original full name of the breed in French

(*Coton de Tuléar*), which is more technical, then extends her turn with a vernacular term in Swiss German *baumwollhündli* 'cotton dog' (22). Hence, she orients to Nadja as K– regarding her specific dog (Rosi) and more generic knowledge about the breed. Next, Nadja produces a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984a) with a high-pitched intonation, which acknowledges the information and closes the sequence (24).

The following example shows a more indeterminate question format in which the referent 'breed' is not articulated. The higher indexicality of the question presumes the recipient's understanding of what the requested information is. Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) have encountered the couple Tobias (TOB) and Tina (TIN), who are out with their dog Titus (TIT). Tobias points at Bilbo and requests information about him (1-2; fig. 1).

(4.2) CH_BS_DOGW_20200729_2_0.04.41

```
1         (0.7) + (0.3)
  tob         +points at BIL->
2 TOB → >w's is für ei[ne?<
          what's that one?
3 TIN               #[°hä du°=
                      °huh you°
  fig             #fig. 1
4 BAS    =e: pudelmischling.+
          a  poodle mix.
  tob                  ->+
5         (.)
6 TOB    e pudelmischling.=
          a poodle mix.
7 BAS    =genau äh mit (.) emene la#gotto mo- romagnolo [zemme.
          exactly uh with (.) a  Lagoto mo- Romagnolo together.
8 TIN                                               [ja genau.=
                                                     yes exactly.
  fig                            #fig. 2
9 TOB    härzig.
          cute.
```


While articulating his question, Tobias points toward the dogs and looks at Basil. This suggests that, even though the pointing might emphasize that he is enquiring about Bilbo, it serves to establish speakership (Mondada, 2007a). Tobias continues to point until Basil tells him that Bilbo is a crossbreed and is half poodle (4), which Tobias repeats in response (6). Basil

confirms Tobias's displayed understanding (*genau* 'exactly' 7) and provides the other half of Bilbo's heritage (*mit emene lagotto Romagnolo zeme* 'together with a Lagotto Romagnolo' 7). By recycling Basil's confirmation token, Tina subsequently displays that Basil's information is not news but confirms the assumption she has already made (*yes exactly* 'ja genau' 8). This shows her knowledge about the crossbreed *Lagotto Romagnolo* and supports Basil's epistemic primacy in responding to questions about his dog Bilbo. In the end, Tobias conveys acknowledgment by positively assessing Bilbo's appearance (*härzig* 'cute' 9). As opposed to Extract 4.1, in which the assessment prefaces the question, in Extract 4.2, it is positioned *after* the information has been provided. The question format in Extract 4.2 is more indexical than in Extract 4.1. The referent in question (the breed) is presupposed, indicating that the sequential position of the turn within this local environment alone is sufficient for it to be understood as a request about the dog's breed.

Having shown generic interrogative questions about a dog's breed, which are positioned right after the opening sequence or as an opening turn, the following section addresses instances in which guardians show their assumptions about a dog's breed by proposing a breed candidate. Those appear later in the interaction, as the guardians have jointly monitored the dogs for a while.

4.2.2 Proposing candidates after jointly monitoring the dogs

Instead of asking a question that displays absent or limited knowledge, guardians can offer candidate breeds and exhibit some degree of expertise by making assumptions (cf. Heritage, 2012a). After looking at the dogs, they may format their questions about a dog's breed by indexing their inferences, which are based on their monitoring. This is illustrated in the following example, which is the continuation of Extract 4.5 below. Kiara (KIA) and Basil (BAS) jointly monitor their dogs' playful wrestling. At some point, Basil looks at Kiara and offers a candidate for Kelev's breed through a one-word request, prosodically marked through a rising intonation at the end (*labi?* 48). Kiara treats his question as a request for confirmation rather than a request for information.

(4.3) CH_BS_DOGW_20200728_5_0.02.27

```
47        (3.1) Δ
   bas       ->Δlooks at KIA->
48 BAS → labi? ¶
         Labi?
   kia       ->¶looks at BAS->>
49        (0.4)
50 KIA → ja. Δ
         yes.
   bas       Δnods/looks at dogs->>
51        (.)
```

```
52 BAS   ja.
          yes.
```

Basil's turn in line 48 displays his knowledge of the breed in general as well as his assumption that Kelev belongs explicitly to this type. He uses the abbreviated form for the *Labrador Retriever*, indexing his own knowledge and presupposing both Kiara's knowledge of the breed and her competence to recognize *Labi* as its abbreviation. Kiara confirms in second position (50), and Basil ratifies in third position (52). Both guardians thus orient to a closure of the sequence, turning their gaze back to the dogs to monitor them silently. Hence, they treat Basil's question retrospectively as merely confirming a matter within his epistemic domain (Lee, 2015). On the other hand, the short exchange between Basil and Kiara touches on Heritage's fundamental observation that "unknowing speakers ask questions [...], and knowing speakers make assertions" (Heritage, 2012a, p. 7). Basil's utterance is framed as a conjecture that needs to be confirmed by Kiara, thus positioning him as less knowledgeable than her. The guardians thus express a stance that is congruent with their relative epistemic authority concerning Kelev. This ultimately indexes, but also interactively accomplishes, their category as guardians of and their social relationship with their respective dogs.

The dynamically changing displays between epistemic gradients of knowing (K+) and not knowing (K–), visible in morphosyntax and intonations in turns-at-talk, often orient to the relative epistemic status that participants attribute to each other at a given point in the interaction (Heritage, 2012a; Mondada, 2013a). This is also observable in the following example, where a guardian first requests confirmation of a dog's assumed breed but then extends her turn with a more open wh-question, transforming the request for confirmation into a request for information. Emma (EMM) and her dog Eno (ENO) have encountered Zoe (ZOE) and Zeus (ZEU) on a stroll (continuation of Extract 2.12). The participants have stopped, allowing Emma and Zoe to create an interactional space with their dogs in the middle. The guardians silently monitor their dogs until Eno turns away from Zeus (1), prompting Emma and Zoe to produce vocal (2) and verbal (3) responses, orienting to a closure of or a change in the dog–dog contact.

(4.4) CH_AL_DOGW_20210113_3_0.06.34

```
    zeu   >>sniffs at ELI's buttock->
1         (1.9) •* (0.7)
    zeu       ->*follows ELI->>
    eli       •turns R->>
2 EMM   [ho:]:::
          aw::::
3 ZOE   [oke]#
         okay
    fig       #fig. 1
4         (0.9)
```

```
5   EMM   isch's e husky >odr was isch's [für eine?<]
            is it a  Husky   or what kind is PRT it?
6   ZOE                              [  jä    ]genau sie isch e husky.=
                                        yes     exactly she is a Husky.
7   EMM   =hübsche.
            pretty one.
```


Zoe and Emma maintain their gaze on Zeus and Eli (fig. 1). After a moment of silent monitoring (4), Emma requests information about Zeus's breed (5). She first proposes a candidate (*isch's e husky?* 'is it a Husky?') but then extends her request with an open question (*odr wa isch's für eine?* 'or what kind (of dog) is it'). Whereas the first part of the turn requests *confirmation* ('is it a husky?'), displaying Emma's assumption and expertise in the field of dog breeds, the second part of the turn ('what kind is it?') requests *information* and positions Emma as K–. Zoe responds in congruence with both the format of the turn and Emma's displayed stance (6): the first part of Zoe's answer confirms Emma's guess (*jä genau* 'yes exactly'), while the second part orients to providing information (*sie isch e husky* 'she is a Husky'). Like the post-positioned assessment in Extract 4.2, Emma's concluding assessment of Zeus as a *hübsche* 'pretty one' (7) guarantees intersubjectivity in third position (Deppermann, 2015). While her turn-in-progress unfolds (5), Emma moves from a more knowledgeable to a less knowledgeable stance, allowing Zoe to provide information about her dog rather than merely confirming a matter at hand (unlike in Extract 4.3 in which both participants orient to a request for confirmation).

To sum up, addressing a dog's breed is a practice by which unacquainted guardians mutually display sociability. Their expression of interest in each other's dogs and provision of positive assessments are two aspects that emerge through the guardians' turns-at-talk in concordance with embodied resources. The guardians' lexical choices imply associated, "category-bound" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 249) features, or the guardians use category-bound features to imply the category (Bilmes, 2009). Rosch (1973, 1978) shows that "category systems" are

organized around a basic level (such as 'dog'), and categories within such a system tend to become defined in terms of prototypes. The category 'dog breed' is a prototypical subordinate category of the 'dog category system,' used by guardians in various ways and within a broad spectrum of specificity. The type and level of generalization/specificity is sensitive to the kind of action that is being carried out (Bilmes, 2008, 2022): displaying and attributing degrees of knowledge allows guardians to create congruence with each other's social categories as guardians of a specific dog. In other words, the guardians differentiate between knowledge about one's own dog versus knowledge about someone else's dog, orienting to and respecting each other's epistemic authority. As shown in Extracts 4.3 and 4.4, guardians may make assumptions about a dog's breed after monitoring the dogs, which is a way to display expertise in the canine epistemic domain. Moreover, guessing a dog's breed while looking at it accounts for a guardian's epistemic access. Such enquiries about a dog's breed can be responded to in different ways. For instance, only the breed's name is mentioned (Extracts 4.3 and 4.4), or further specific information is provided (Extracts 4.1 and 4.2). The giving of specifications enables guardians to display more knowledge, in a sense of doing K++. This shows a continuum from generic to specific categories that are used by participants to index their degree of knowledge.

4.3 Enquiring about a dog's age through the attribution 'young'

Addressing a dog's age is often used in reference to a *guardian's know-how* and a *dog's competence*. That is, the young age and inexperience of a dog is often accounted for in moments when it acts in censured or otherwise marked ways. This may happen in interaction between the young dog with a conspecific (Section 4.3.1). Guardians orient to a distinction between dog–dog and dog–human interactions: barking and jumping at a conspecific is often characterized as 'playful,' whereas the same conduct toward unknown human walkers is treated as problematic and as possible evidence of a badly brought-up dog. Guardians are expected to socialize their dogs and teach them how to approach other walkers. Hence, a dog's 'bad manners' fall back on its guardian, who is responsible. By bringing up the dog's young age and relating it to its lack of competence, guardians provide an account for and legitimize the possibly inappropriate conduct of a dog toward other humans (Section 4.3.2). To conclude, I analyze a case in which the indexicality of a question format leads to displays of misunderstandings. As attested by the recipient's response, the action ascribed to the question is related to the dog's actions, asking about its age. In contrast, the action implemented by the questioner is related to the dog's appearance, asking about its breed (Section 4.3.3).

4.3.1 Using age as an account for a dog's marked conduct with other dogs

The fact that a dog's is young may be identifiable from the dog's appearance and movements, and guardians may display their assumptions through a question, such as 'Is the dog still young?' Even though this question format appears to request confirmation, proposing a "type-conforming" (Raymond, 2003) answer of 'yes,' guardians often treat it as requesting information by answering in an elaborated, nonconforming way. The following example is a continuation of Extract 3.4. Basil (BAS) and Kiara (KIA) walk side by side with considerable distance between them. This leaves space for their dogs, Bilbo (BIL) and Kelev (KEL), to engage in social play. The guardians interact with the dogs in a visible and audible way, orienting to each other's monitoring and displaying their engagement in the activity. However, apart from a mutual greeting, Basil and Kiara have not yet talked to each other. At some point, they stop their walk and take a position at some distance, facing each other. When Basil initiates a new sequence by asking about Kelev's age (36), both guardians monitor the dogs and only look at each other in the middle of the turn.

(4.5) CH_BS_DOGW_20200728_5_0.02.27

```
35        (1.8)
36 BAS →  isch's non ¶e Δjunge?#
          is it still a young one-M?
   kia            ->¶looks at BAS->
   bas             ->Δlooks at KIA->
   fig                     #fig. 8
37        (0.3)
38 BAS →  [odr e jungi?]
          or a young one-F?
39 KIA    [    einehal]b jetzt.=
          one and a half  now.
40 BAS →  =>Δeinehalb< ah [ku:]+ul.¶#
          one and a half ah cool.
41 KIA                   [jä.]
                          yes.
   bas   ->Δlooks at BIL-KEL->
   bil                  ->+walks twd KIA->
   kia                    ->¶gazes twd BIL->
   fig                       #fig. 9
```

Basil's polar question (*isch's non e junge?* 'is it still a young one?' 36) unequivocally refers to Kelev. Both participants orient to Kiara's epistemic primacy with regard to Kelev's age. Nevertheless, the question's format, 'is it still a young one?' conveys Basil's degree of knowledge about Kelev. Firstly, his turn implies an assessment of the dog's conduct or appearance as having the characteristics of a young dog. Secondly, based on this assessment, it shows Basil's inference about Kelev being young. His question happens during the joint monitoring of the dogs, accounting for Basil's epistemic access and source of his inference. Basil's candidate *e junge* 'a young one' contains a masculine marker, which can be heard either as the grammatical gender of the German word *Hund* 'dog' or as referring to the biological sex of Kelev as a male. Basil orients to the latter when he expands his question after a pause of 0.3 seconds by offering an alternative candidate with a feminine marker (*odr e jungi?* 'or a (female) young one?' 38). Thus, his self-repair treats the possible allusion to Kelev's sex as out of Basil's epistemic access. Furthermore, Basil transforms his question format from an initial polar question (answerable with 'yes' or 'no') to one that offers Kiara the possibility to respond in various ways, preventing her from having to answer in a dispreferred way. She can treat it as two polar questions or as one choice-question (i.e., 'is it a young male or a young female?').

Basil's extension overlaps with Kiara's delivery of information (*einehalb jetzt* 'one and a half now' 39), responding only to Basil's initial polar question. She provides Kelev's precise age, thus orienting to Basil's question as a request for information. It might also be related to the imprecise character of the adjective 'young.' Dogs aged 1–2 years are commonly considered 'young adults' or 'adolescents' (Harvey, 2021). In that sense, Kiara neither affirms nor rejects Basil's assumption, leaving it open as to whether the attribution 'young' fits Kelev's age (see Extract 4.6). In response, Basil immediately gazes toward Kelev while acknowledging the receipt of information and assessing it positively (40). When Kiara confirms Basil's displayed understanding with an agreement token, she also gazes toward the dogs, treating the sequence as closed (41; fig. 9). Addressing Kelev's age by offering the candidate attribution 'young' is a way to make sense of the dog's actions, serving Basil as an account for Kelev's playfulness and excitement, and also as a legitimate entry into talk-in-interaction with Kiara. Basil's question implies that he has recognized that the dog is young, showing his know-how to read into a dog's actions. Hence, Basil displays knowledge about dogs while creating congruence with Kiara's epistemic primacy as Kelev's guardian.

Unlike the previous example, in which the dog's conduct is not treated as problematic, in the subsequent two examples, the attribution 'young' allows to account for potentially troublesome conduct, displaying the guardians' orientation to a delicate moment in the ongoing interaction. Extract 4.6 shows Ira (IRA) and her dog Imo (IMO), who pass by Wendy (WEN) and her dog Watson (WAT). Imo stays a little behind, approaches, and sniffs at Watson, who is off the path. Suddenly, Watson barks loudly, occasioning Ira to stop and turn toward the dogs, as does Wendy. Ira walks a few steps back, and both guardians monitor the dogs silently (fig. 1). After a few seconds in which the dogs sniff calmly at each other and then disengage, Wendy addresses Ira by requesting information about Imo's age (2).

(4.6) CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.9.40

```
1          (1.8) # (0.7)
   fig         #fig. 1
```

```
2   WEN → isch's no e jungi? [en jun]ge?
             is it still a young one-F? a young one-M?
3   IRA                   [su:per] .hhh en- en er. äh öh: öpe einehalb=
                           su:per  .hhh a- a  he. uh a:: about one and a half
4        =[aso scho no chli-] (.) scho no jung jünger.
          so still a little- (.) still young younger.
5   WEN   [ah:: oke.       ]
           oh:: okay.
         (.)
6   IRA  [genau.    ]
          exactly.

7   WEN  [no jünger]  jo  da [sinds] ebe immer na [verspillt.]
          still younger yes then they are PRT still playful.
8   IRA                   [ja. ]              [und  versp]illt ha ha,=
                          yes                 and   playful  ha ha,
9   WEN → ja *ebe das isch*# iim denn halt scho-*#
          yes PRT for him that's then PRT already-
              *............*points VER----------*throws arm
    fig                    #fig. 2                #fig. 3
10       (0.2)#
    fig       #fig. 4
11  IRA  [scho z'vill ja.]
          already too much yes.
12  WEN → [nur churz xxxxx] wenn er so bellt.
           only shortly xxx when he barks like this.
```
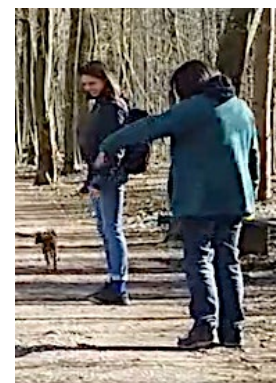

The question format in line 2 is similar to the one in Extract 4.5 above (*isch's no e jungi?* 'is it still a young one?'). The adjective *e jung**i*** 'a young one' in the first half of the turn contains a feminine morpheme, conveying Wendy's assumption that Imo is a female dog. In the subsequent TCU, however, Wendy moves to a less knowledgeable stance by repeating the

164

adjective, this time with a masculine suffix *e junge*. Hence, Wendy's question contains two different requests for information – about Imo's sex and his age. As opposed to Extract 4.5, in which the recipient of the request only orients to the question about her dog's age, in Extract 4.6, Ira responds to both requests (3). First, she establishes that Imo is a male, with stress on the personal pronoun (*en er* 'a <u>he</u>'), then provides his age (*öpe einehalb* 'about one and a half'). The hesitations and self-repairs in her turn probably orient to the fact that her answer is not type-conforming to the polar question (Raymond, 2003) as well as dispreferred (Pomerantz, 1985) in that it displays slight disagreement with Wendy's categorization of Imo as being a young dog. Ira extends her turn (*scho no jung jünger* 'still young younger' 4). She describes Imo by recycling the attribute 'young' but relativizing it through the comparative form *jünger* 'younger,' in the sense of 'rather young.' This highlights the variability of the attribution, whose meaning is negotiated in situ by the participants.

As becomes evident in the unfolding encounter, the relevance of Imo being 'young' or 'younger' serves to account for Watson's barking at the very beginning. Wendy recycles the comparative *no jünger* 'still younger' and relates it to the dog's playful characteristics by employing the causal conjunction *da* 'then' (*da sinds ebe immer na verspillt* 'then they are still playful' 7). Using the third person plural (*sinds* 'they are'), Wendy's assertion is generalized and does not target Imo as the only referent. In overlap, Ira produces a "pre-emptive completion" (Lerner, 2004), which shows her anticipation of the attribution *verspillt* 'playful' (8). However, the conjunction *und* 'and' does not fit the syntactical structure of Wendy's turn ('then they are still-' 7). Instead, it might connect Ira's turn to the previous description of Imo (4), such as 'still younger and playful.' Whereas Wendy uses the attribution 'playful' more generically as characteristic of young dogs, Ira displays affiliation with her by anticipating the attribution 'playful' but uses it to describe Imo specifically. Hence, both guardians create congruence with Ira's epistemic primacy in assessing her dog.

In what follows, Wendy projects to provide an account of why her dog barked at Imo (*ja ebe das isch <u>iim</u> denn halt scho-* 'yes for <u>him</u> that's then already too-' 9). In her turn, she emphasizes the referent *iim* 'him,' moving from a more general claim about younger dogs to a specific claim about her own dog. Wendy's account treats Watson's barking as problematic but also frames it as a response to an equally problematic approach by Imo. She does not complete her turn, which may be a way to invite affiliation in a conversation that addresses sensitive matters (Chevalier & Clift, 2008). Synchronous with her turn, Wendy waves her hand toward her dog, which seems to downplay and normalize Watson's rejected conduct (fig. 2-4).

It also serves as a substitute for the completion of her turn, showing her distanced stance regarding her account (like the guardian's shoulder shrug in Extract 3.7). Ira aligns with Wendy by producing a collaborative completion of her turn (*scho zvill ja* 'already too much yes' 11). Only now, in retrospect, does it become clear that Wendy's initial question, 'is it still a young one?' (2) is a pre-request for information. It prepares the ground for providing a harmless account of Watson's barking, which could otherwise be seen as aggression. The guardians collaboratively work toward that account, and ultimately, Ira makes it explicit, thus affiliating with Wendy.

Guardians cooperatively make sense of their dogs' actions by asking questions, creating common ground on which basis they format their actions accordingly. Hence, to understand a turn such as 'Is it still a young one?', it may be required to consider a longer stretch of interaction preceding it. This aspect is illustrated in the following example in which a puppy's displays of nervousness and fear occasion the guardians to make relevant its young age. Hanni (HAN) and her puppy, Hilla (HIL), are approached by a dog, Sala (SAL). Sala's guardian, Sven (SVE), sits on a bench quite far away, talking on the phone. Sala and Hilla start to wrestle with each other playfully, but Hilla also shows clear signs of reticence and shyness as she takes refuge near Hanni. Hanni laughs and interacts with Sala, for example by letting her sniff her hand and petting her, displaying friendliness toward the unknown dog. At some point, Sven finishes his call, gazes toward Hanni, Hilla, and Sala, and stands up, and approaches them.

(4.7a) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_4.0.09.3

```
1          (1.3)
   sve    >>walks fwd->
   han    >>looks at HIL-SAL->
2   SVE    HE SALA*
          HEY SALA
   han         ->*looks at SVE->
3          (0.5)
4   HAN    £hm hm hm hm£• ((chuckles))
           hm hm hm hm
   sal             ->•sniffs at HAN->
5          (0.6) *+
   han         ->*looks at HIL-SAL->
   han           +stretches out RH twd SAL->
6          (2.9) +¶ (0.6) • (0.5) # (0.7) ¶ (2.0) •
   han         ->+
   hil    >>sits¶jumps/runs fwd---------¶runs beside HAN->
   sal              ->•runs after HIL---------•jumps/sniffs at HIL->
   fig                       #fig. 1
7          (1.6) ¶ (0.9) ¶ (0.5) * (0.3) #
   hil         ->¶...... ¶hides between HANs legs->
   han                    ->*looks at SVE->
   fig                              #fig. 2
8   SVE → er +he[t ja+ angscht vor *dir.]
          he  is PRT afraid  of   you.
9   HAN       + [grü+(h)üezi he he *he  ].hhh
                  hello   he he he   .hhh
   han       +nods--+
```

```
   han                           ->*looks at dogs->
10          + (1.2)   +†    (1.4)    † (0.3)
   han      + pets SAL+†
   han            ->†steps aside†
11 SVE      sala *chumm,=
            Sala  come,
   han       ->*looks at SVE->
12 HAN      =§ha  ha ha ha*§ †.hhh
             ha ha ha ha    .hhh
   sve       §smiles-------§
   han                 ->*looks at HIL-SAL->
   han                   ->†changes position->
```
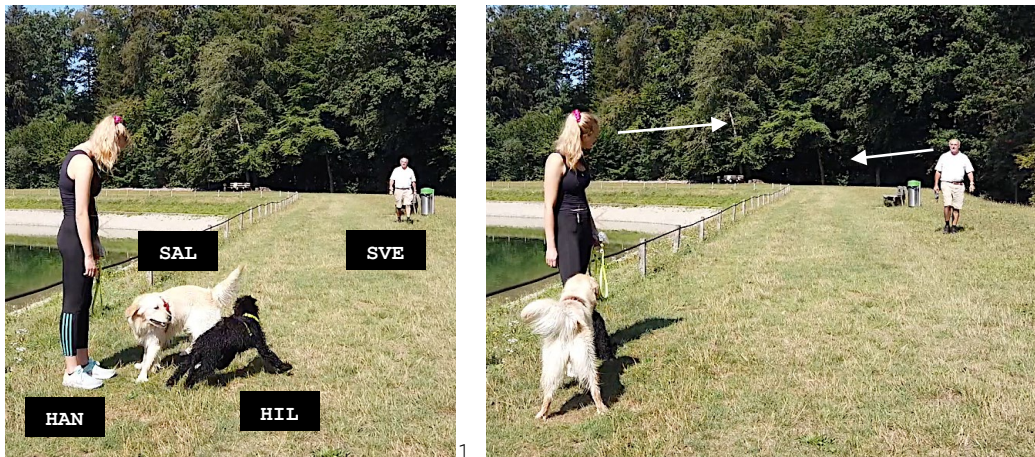

As Sven is still far away, he calls for Sala, thus publicly displaying his responsibility for his dog. This prompts Hanni to look at him (2) and respond with suppressed laughter (3). In contrast, Sala does not respond to her guardian but instead sniffs Hanni's hand, occasioning the latter to look at and touch Sala (4-5). Hilla jumps forward and runs a few steps, followed by Sala chasing her (6; fig. 1). This results in Hilla turning around and running back close next to Hanni to hide between her legs (6-7). Subsequently, Hanni looks at Sven, who is still walking toward them (7, fig. 2). His following turn, *er het ja angscht vor dir* 'he is afraid of you' (8), shows his sense-making of Hilla's bodily displays as being scared. This is addressed to his dog Sala, implicitly ascribing to her the responsibility for frightening Hilla. At the same time, Sven's turn responds to Hanni's gaze and is designed to be heard by her. He orients to Sala's conduct as troublesome and treats Hanni's look at him as inviting action in his role as the responsible guardian. On the other hand, Hanni treats her look at Sven as establishing mutual gaze before initiating a greeting sequence (*grüezi* 'hello' 9). Her greeting happens in overlap and is not verbally reciprocated by Sven. The disalignment between the two guardians is probably owing to Sven's late reorientation toward his dog because of his phone call. Indeed, Sven joins an interactional space that has been already formed between Hanni, Hilla and Sala. Hanni averts her gaze immediately after her greeting (9) and pets Sala (10), highlighting her treatment of the dog's actions as welcome. At the same time, Sven calls for Sala (11), who

continues moving around Hanni's legs and sniffing Hilla. Hanni looks at Sven, producing affiliative laughter, to which he responds by smiling (12; fig. 4). Hence, Sven publicly displays his orientation to a possibly problematic situation, in which his dog may be seen as acting intrusively and as not listening to his call. Hanni, on the other hand, touches Sala, displaying a sociable relation. Only her laughter seems to remedy an interactional difficulty and hints at her orientation to the situation as delicate (Glenn, 2003).

The challenge of the situation is partially based on the management of distributing different rights and responsibilities, that is, which guardian has the right and the obligation to reprimand which dog. Sven has trouble attracting Sala's attention, who disobeys his calls and instead focuses entirely on Hanni and Hilla. This conduct might be seen as a failure in Sven's role as a guardian who was ignoring his dog for a while during the phone call. Hanni's actions thus affiliate with Sven in that she shows a welcoming and friendly attitude toward Sala. She bodily displays her experience of interacting with an unfamiliar dog. This is tied to her exhibited know-how as a guardian. In contrast, Hilla demonstrates resistance to Sala's advances – an aspect to which Sven orients in his turn in line 8 ('he is afraid of you'), and that becomes more relevant in the continuation of the example.

(4.7b) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_4.0.09.3

```
13        (0.6)
14 HAN    ↑hei↑
           hi
15        • (0.5) •
   sal    •.......•play bow->
16 SAL    WOOF †Ω# ((barks))
   han       ->†stops->
   sve        ->Ωstops->>
   fig          #fig. 3
17        (0.4) • (0.3)
   sal        ->•
18 SVE →  de  wott  nid   spile.=
          that one doesn't want to play.
19 HAN    =£hm †hm  hm hm hm*°hm°†#(.) *hi hi£ [.hhhhh]
           hm hm   hm  hm hm  hm   (.)  hi hi   .hhhhh
20 SVE →                                    [ischs ]no en junge?=
                                            is it still a young one-M?
   han       ->†turns to face SVE†
   han                ->*lks SVE--*looks at dogs->
   fig                      #fig. 4
21 HAN    =ja.
           yes.
22        (0.6)
23 HAN    sie ist äh *drei- äh drei monat.
          she is  uh three- uh three months.
   han           ->*looks at SVE->
24        (0.2)
25 SVE    O[H:: ]
          OH::
26 HAN    [*ja.]
           yes
   han    ->*looks at dogs->
```

168
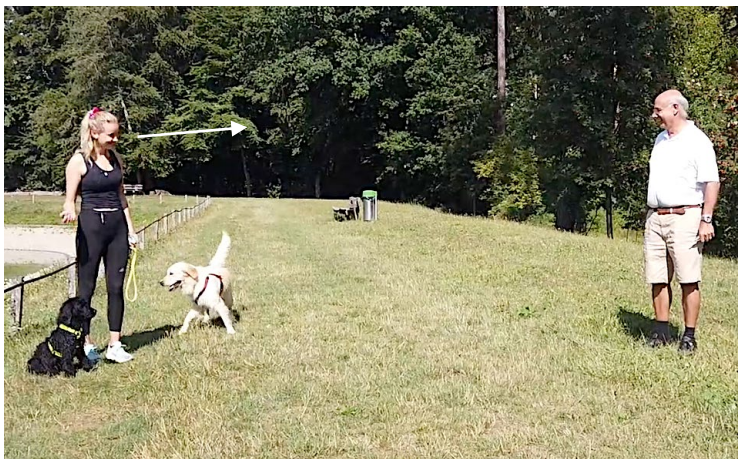
Hanni gazes toward the dogs again and changes her position so that Sala and Hilla face each other, facilitating their contact. Her greeting in a high-pitched voice is directed to Sala (14), who crouches on her forelimbs, wags her tail, and barks (15-16). The dog thus performs a "canine play bow" that may be recognizable as stimulating recipients to engage in social play (Bekoff & Allen, 1998). Hilla, however, remains seated and does not reciprocate any playful actions. Both Hanni and Sven stop facing each other, looking at their dogs (fig. 3). Sven's subsequent turn, *de wott nid spile* 'that one doesn't want to play' (18), addresses his dog Sala but is produced to be heard by Hanni. The turn characterizes Sala's actions as playful and preempts a possibly aggressive or dangerous reading into it. Moreover, it shows Sven's inference of Hilla's conduct (remaining seated next to Hanni) as a display of refusal. This is very different from the inference articulated in his turn in line 8 ('being afraid'), which implies helplessness and being at someone's mercy. In contrast, 'not wanting to play' attributes some agency to Hilla and the ability to *choose* to engage in play or not.

Hanni responds to the utterance again with laughter (19), neither affirming nor contesting Sven's assertion. She turns her body to face him, so they exchange a brief mutual gaze and smile at each other (fig. 4). As Hanni averts her gaze again, Sven addresses her by

requesting information about Hilla's age (*ischs no en junge?* 'is it still a young one?' 20). While he displayed a K+ stance in his previous utterances, making assumptions about Hilla's inner state through a declarative, his question in line 20 positions Sven as K–. The question format 'is it still a young one?' shows that Sven infers from Hilla's displays of 'being frightened' and 'not wanting to play' that she is a young dog. At first, Hanni minimally confirms with an agreement token (21), then specifies Hilla's age as three months (23). Sven's subsequent change-of-state token (25) acknowledges the receipt of information and conveys surprise (Heritage, 1984a; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). This is then ratified by Hanni in third position (26). Hence, Hanni first responds minimally in a type-conforming way, orienting to the question as a request for confirmation, then, in the absence of a response by Sven (22), provides more details, treating it as a request for information.

Sven's question and displayed assumption that Hilla's is young are understandable when taking into account his initial approach and loudly produced talk toward Sala. The turns 'it is afraid of you' and 'that one doesn't want to play' address a discrepancy between the two dogs by ascribing displays of fear and reluctance to Hilla. He treats Sala's conduct as possibly problematic but also playful and safe. Hanni's repeated laughter is responsive to Sven's utterances, allowing her to neither contest nor confirm Sven's assertions while bodily displaying that Sala is permitted to approach Hilla. However, Hilla does not engage in playful wrestling. Sven's inferences are explicitly drawn from Hilla's actions, and they account for his ensuing question. In that sense, the turn 'Is it still a young dog?' proposes an account for Hilla's conduct by inferring that her reluctance is not caused by Sala's vigor or pushiness but based on the fact that the puppy is young. This account neutralizes the moral consequences in terms of the guardians' responsibilities at that moment.

In sum, guardians may ask about a dog's age by offering the candidate attribution 'young' through the format of a polar question. Even though this might invite a simple confirmation of 'yes' or 'no,' the question is treated as requesting information, visible in elaborated answers that provide the dog's exact age. This is sequentially placed after moments in which the guardians silently monitor the dogs, indexing their 'diagnostic look' (Mondada, 2021c). However, this does not explain what precisely the question responds to, i.e., on what the attribution 'young' is based – probably on the dog's appearance and actions in general. The dog's movements preceding the question are mostly not isolated and clear-cut; rather, they are ongoing actions on which the guardians' inferences are based. This challenges an adequate

representation in the transcription which should render visible the temporal relationship between a 'prior' and 'next' action.

On the one hand, addressing a dog's youth may serve to proffer a talkable topic and display a guardian's expertise without involving morality (see Extract 4.5). On the other hand, it can serve as a 'vehicle' (Schegloff, 2007) that provides an account for a dog's unusual or marked conduct, thus hinting at moral aspects such as normative expectations of a well-educated dog and a responsible guardian (see Extracts 4.6 and 4.7). Guardians make relevant the breed at moments in which the dogs interact in an unproblematic way, proffering a topic to exchange propositional knowledge about dogs (Section 4.1). By contrast, the dog's age – more specifically, the fact that it is young – becomes relevant in situations in which the dog acts in unusual ways, evoking the relationship between a guardian's know-how and a dog's competence. It thus seems that addressing a dog's age happens in more delicate and normatively complex situations than addressing a dog's breed.

4.3.2 Accounting for a dog's censured conduct with unknown walkers

Great agitation and excitement, or conversely, displays of fear, may hint at the fact that a dog is young. Participants sometimes treat such conspicuous conduct as problematic, such as when a younger dog jumps up at or barks at an unknown human walker. As mentioned earlier, part of a dog's sociability is based on training. For instance, guardians are expected to teach their dogs how to deal appropriately with oncoming walkers and other unfamiliar dogs. When the dogs act in an explicitly censured way, epistemic and moral stances may become relevant. Hence, guardians not only orient to *their* relative epistemic rights and responsibilities but also to the expected competence and conduct of *their dogs*.

In the following two examples, the request for information about a dog's age is responsive to its 'bad manners' toward other walkers, offering an account. This develops into the guardians' assumption of the dog's lack of competence and mutual acknowledgment that it is due to its age (thus not due to insufficient training). The participants collaboratively create an environment in which a dog's problematic conduct is not only accounted for but also legitimized. In Extract 4.8, Basil (BAS) and Bilbo (BIL) walk on a straight road toward Fabio (FAB) and his dog Freddy (FRE). Freddy walks behind his guardian, stops at some point, and drops to the ground (1), often considered a canine play signal that projects an exaggerated approach (Bekoff, 1995).

(4.8a) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.17.33

```
   fre    >>walks fwd->
1         (1.4) • (0.6) • (1.9)
   fre       ->•.......•drops to ground->
2  FAB   hallo:=
          hello:
3  BAS   =guete# tag.+†
          good day.
   fab    >>walks fwd+.....pivots->
   fab              †turns head->
   fig       #fig. 1
4         (0.5) † (0.3)
   fab      ->†looks at FRE->
5  FAB   uffhh*†
          ouffhh
   bas       *looks at FAB->
   fab   ->....†walks twd FRE->
6         (0.3) *#
   bas      ->*looks at FRE->
   fig          #fig. 2
```



```
7  BAS   £phh.ha£
           phh.ha
8         (0.3) • (0.4) Δ (0.3) Δ*
   fre       ->•runs twd BIL->
   bil      >>walks fwdΔ.......Δstops->
   bas                    ->*looks at BIL->
9  FAB → langs*a::†m# •ja, ◊†ja# >das ist-<◊ kennt er *langsam.
          slo::wly     yes   yes    that is- he is getting to know (that).
   bas       ->*monitors FRE-BIL----------------------*lks at FAB->
   fab          ->†stops----†walks sideways opposite BAS->
   fre              ->•sniffs BIL->
   bas          >>walks fwd◊..............◊stops->
   fig             #fig. 3    #fig. 4
10        (0.6)
11 BAS   £.hhh ha£
           .hh ha
```

Fabio continues his walk and engages in mutual gaze with Basil before initiating a greeting sequence (2; fig. 1). Immediately after Basil has reciprocated the greeting (3), Fabio pivots and turns his gaze toward Freddy (3). On looking at his dog, Fabio makes a jerky backward movement with his torso while simultaneously uttering a "reaction token" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), displaying surprise in an exaggerated way (5; fig. 2). Basil first looks at Fabio, and then at Freddy and responds with a chuckle (7), showing affiliation with Fabio. Both guardians thus treat Freddy's dropping to the ground as marked and laughable.

In what follows, Freddy runs toward Bilbo, who stops (8). Both guardians monitor the dogs as they get closer (fig. 3). In coordination with the dog's run, Fabio utters an instruction (*langsa::m* 'slowly' 9). Extending the word's last syllable allows him to end the instruction in accordance with Freddy's arrival close to Bilbo. Thus, its temporal emergence and progressivity orients to the temporality of the dog's approach (Mondada, 2018a). Fabio immediately assesses Freddy's performance as positive (*ja* 'yes' 9; fig. 3). His subsequent turn, *das kennt er langsam* 'he is getting to know that' (9) accounts for Freddy's conduct by ascribing to him recently acquired competence, i.e., the dog is 'getting to know' how to approach other dogs. Note that the German verb *kennen* denotes knowledge that is based on experience and familiarity as opposed to the verb *wissen* which is used for knowing something for a fact – both verbs are translated into English as 'to know.' Fabio's turn indicates that Freddy is still in the process of being socialized, implicitly attributing to him a lack of experience.[1] Basil responds again by chuckling (11), displaying affiliation. The guardians monitor the dogs for two seconds, during which Fabio walks a few steps sideways, projecting to position himself

---

[1] Fabio uses the word *langsam* 'slowly' to mean two different things within the same turn. Whereas the initial *langsam* refers to Freddy's speed of approach, instructing him to go slowly, the second use of the word refers to the recency of Freddy's knowledge, bearing the connotation that he is still in the process of learning.

opposite Basil. The interactional space is thus redesigned such that the dogs are in between the guardians (fig. 4).

In the continuation of the example, Freddy suddenly disengages from the close interaction with Bilbo and runs toward Basil (12).

(4.8b) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.17.33

```
12          (1.6) • (0.5) *†
    fre        ->•runs twd BAS->
    bas                 ->*looks at FRE->
    fab                  ->†walks twd FRE->
13 FAB   oh-[oh]
         uh-oh
14 BAS    •[↑ho:]:i↑#
            hi:::
    fre  ->•sniffs at poo bag->
    fig            #fig. 5
15          (0.2)
16 BAS   ä ä  ↑das isch nid dis↓ [du.]
         uh-uh that is  not yours you.
17 FAB                    [no ]no >freddy [freddy komm her.<]
                           no   no  Freddy  Freddy come here.
18 BAS                                    [das isch nid dis.]#=
                                          that is not yours.
    fig                                                      #fig. 6
```


Freddy's approach toward Basil occasions Fabio to go after him hastily, as he utters a response token that treats his dog's action as problematic (13). Basil produces an exaggerated greeting in a high-pitched voice which mitigates the severity of Freddy's overenthusiastic approach (14). As Freddy reaches Basil to sniff the poo bag in his hand, Basil remains immobile with his feet together and arms close to his body (14; fig. 6). Thus, despite his friendly greeting, he bodily shows restraint in interacting with Freddy, aligning with Fabio's orientation to the dog's conduct as troublesome. Basil hides the poo bag behind his back while verbally rejecting Freddy, produced to be heard by Fabio (*das isch nid dis* 'that is not yours' 16, 18). He uses a high-pitched voice and a broad intonation curve that has previously been documented as features of "pet-directed speech" in situations of intimacy and affection (Mondémé, 2018). In

this environment, these prosodic features mitigate the seriousness of the utterance and frame it as a friendly rebuke. In contrast, Fabio produces a double 'no' (17), orienting to Freddy's action as problematic and proposing that his course of action be halted (Stivers, 2004). This is further highlighted by his repeated calls for Freddy and commands to come (17) and embodied by his bending forward and pointing his finger (fig. 7). The repetitions and rapid prosody orient to the urgency involved (Mondada, 2018a).

Basil's and Fabio's distribution of multimodal resources reflect their relative rights and obligations with regard to Freddy: Fabio takes a body posture that allows him to grab his dog at any time while giving him strict orders and showing his effort to get Freddy's attention. On the other hand, Basil remains immobile (and does not, for instance, push Freddy away). He aligns with Fabio's stance by slightly reprimanding Freddy in a way that is neither commanding nor instructing the dog. Hence, both guardians take a convergent position while at the same time displaying their sensitivity to their rights and obligations in the temporary relationship with Freddy. In the remainder of the example, the guardians cooperatively legitimize the dog's censured conduct by making relevant his youth and lack of competence.

(4.8c) CH_BS_DOGW_20191024_0.17.33

```
19 FAB → =>is bissel< [neugierig.]=
           is a bit   curious.
20 BAS              [he he he  ]•ha•HA†ha•[ha•
                     he he he      ha ha ha ha
21 FAB                                    [freddy >ne:i†neinei
                                           Freddy  no no no
   fre                          •...•jumps•....•
   fab                            ->†reaches for harn†grabs harness->
22      >komm her °komm her komm her°<
        >come here °come here come here°<
23      (0.3)
24 BAS → non# e [junge?]◊†
        still a young one?
25 FAB         [so.   ]
   bas               ->◊steps to middle of path->
   fab               ->†steps backw/pulls FRE->
   fig      #fig. 8
26      (0.2) *
   bas        ->*looks at FAB->
27 FAB → ja: se+chs ¶mona¶t.#=
        ye:s  six   months.
   fab        ->+looks at BAS->
   bas              ¶nods¶
   fig                  #fig. 9
28 BAS → =ah: jo +*guet [das-(h)ha ha ha   ]
         oh: yes  well that-(h)ha ha ha
29 FAB →                [(er) ist noch n'ba]by ja.
                         (he) is still a baby yes.
   fab         ->+looks at FRE->
   bas          ->*looks at FRE->
30      (0.5)
31 BAS   £.hh£ alles klar.
         .hh  all clear.
```

Fabio gives an account of Freddy's actions based on the attribution of curiosity (*is bissel neugierig* 'is a bit curious' 19), to which Basil responds with laughter (20). His laughter increases as Freddy jumps up at him with his front paws. This prompts Fabio to reach for and grab the dog's harness, pulling him back while repeating the commands with rapid prosody (21-22). This moment constitutes a transition point, at which Basil produces the request *no ne junge?* 'still a young one?' (24). By formatting his turn as a question, Basil turns down any epistemic priority that might have been inferred simply from the first positioning of the turn. Fabio gives a type-conforming answer (*ja* 'yes') and elaborates by providing the answer *sechs monat* 'six months' (27). Hence, the elaboration of his response upgrades his displayed epistemic stance and orients to Basil's question as a request for information. Basil nods and responds with a change-of-state token (28). He then assesses Fabio's response (27) as an appropriate account for the dog's conduct (*jo guet das-* 'yes well that-' 28). He suspends his turn in overlap with Fabio, who categorizes Freddy as *noch n' baby* 'still a baby' (29), thereby highlighting the dog's age and lack of experience. The category 'baby' is a "member of the collection from the 'stage-of-life' device" (Sacks, 1995a, p. 249) and is normatively associated with category-bound conduct. The syntactic format resembles that of Basil's previous turn ('still a young one' 24), so it constitutes an upgrade that aligns and converges with him. Basil subsequently treats it as an appropriate account and closes the sequence (31).

In this example, both guardians orient to their respective rights and obligations concerning Freddy. Basil neither intervenes nor evaluates the dog's impetuous approach, whereas Fabio produces repeated commands and reprimands. Basil affiliates with Fabio by laughing and aligns with him through his restraint toward Freddy without being overtly dismissive. Both guardians thus address Freddy in a way that orients to his conduct as censured, but only Fabio, Freddy's responsible guardian, directly intercedes in his actions.

Basil and Fabio work collaboratively on a stepwise account of Freddy's conduct. They show an expectation for the dog to have a certain amount of experience and training. In the beginning, Fabio's utterance 'he is getting to know that' (9) – in the sense of the German verb *kennen* and not *wissen* (see above) – is connected to a positive evaluation of Freddy's approach toward the other dog, Bilbo, thus implying that Freddy has some competence in regard to how to approach unfamiliar dogs but is still in the process of learning. Later, in contrast, the dog's ability (or lack thereof) to approach unknown individuals appropriately serves as a reason for his censured conduct toward Basil. Fabio specifies the feature of 'young' by categorizing his dog as a 'baby,' implicitly ascribing to him a deficient level of competence and experience. This removes responsibility from Freddy and legitimizes his way of approaching Basil. As pointed out in the beginning, part of a dog's competence is acquired through training and teaching from its guardian, for instance, how to deal with oncoming walkers appropriately. A guardian is expected and responsible for providing this training. Therefore, censured conduct in a dog ultimately falls back on its guardian. The participants' pro-sociality is visible in their cooperative achievement of a mutual understanding that Freddy's conduct may be problematic but legitimate.

One issue for the guardians is to display their know-how and that they have a competent (or about-to-be competent) dog, both being interrelated. This is also shown in Extract 4.9, in which Hanni (HAN) and her puppy Hilla (HIL) are on a walk (continuation of Extract 2.15). They approach two walkers without a dog, Nina (NIN) and Naomi (NAO). While they are still at some distance from each other, Hilla begins to act nervously by barking, growling, pulling on the leash, and walking back and forth. In response, Hanni repeatedly reprimands her in Finnish. The fragment starts approximately 5 seconds later, as the participants have come closer.

(4.9a) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_3_0.01.21

```
1   HIL    wW[OOF
2   HAN      [hilla.
               Hilla.
3          (0.3)
4   HAN    [sch:t]
             shush
5   HIL    [woof ]
6          (0.3)
7   HIL    +WOOF∆
    han    +steps to R edge of path->
    han         ∆gazes twd N->
8          (0.4)
9   HAN    £.hh*ha£+
             .hh ha
    nao         *obliques R and wks behind NIN->
    han            ->+walks fwd->
```
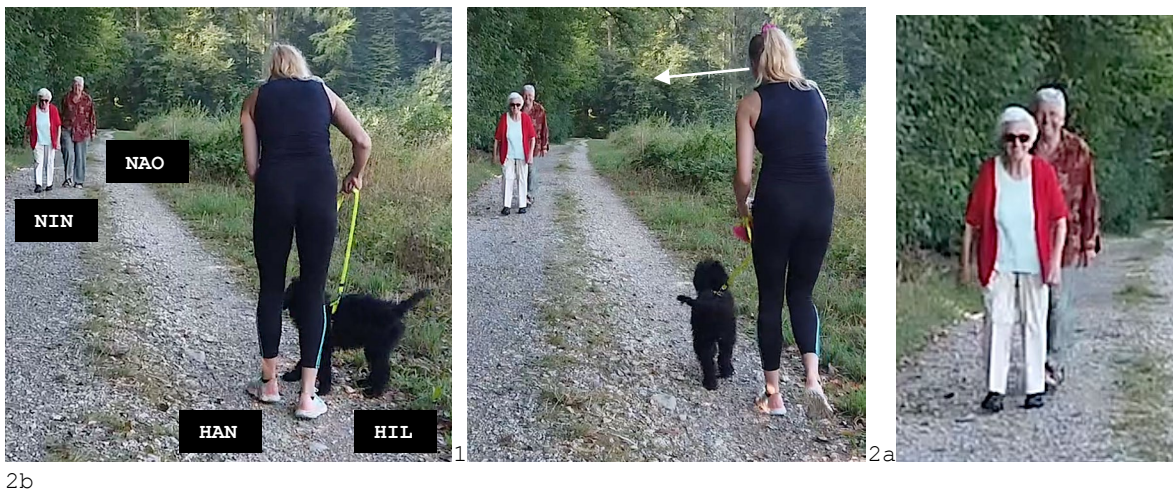
((12 lines omitted))

```
21 HIL    =•WOOF• †gr:: ((barks and growls))
   hil     •jumps•
   han            †pulls HIL back->
22         (0.2)†#
   han       ->†
   fig          #fig. 1
23 HAN    scht
           shush
24         (0.3)
25 NIN → wotsch nidΔ da mir chömme[d hä?
         you don't want us to come, right?
   han              Δlooks at NIN->
26 HAN                            [£ts†§ (h)hh£ †
                                   ts   (h)hh
   han                                †headshake†
   nin                    >>gazes fwd§gazes twd HAN->
27         (0.2)#
   fig          #fig. 2ab
```


2b   1   2a

Responding to Hilla's bark, Hanni gazes toward Nina and Naomi and steps to her right, guiding Hilla to the outside edge of the path. In response, Naomi adapts her trajectory by also stepping to her right and walking behind Nina (7-9; fig. 1). At the same time, Hanni chuckles, probably orienting to the delicacy of the situation (Haakana, 2021). The trouble is not merely the puppy's display of resistance; instead, it is the fact that Hilla does not stop despite Hanni's repeated commands and reprimands, which she produces publicly in a loud and visible way. This may be seen as a lack of know-how by the oncoming persons. At the same time, Hanni's laughter diminishes the severity of Hilla's conduct, treating it as harmless.

In the unfolding encounter, Nina and Naomi affiliate with Hanni by normalizing and legitimizing Hilla's actions. For about 30 seconds, Hanni and Hilla continue their way toward them. Hilla repeatedly barks and growls, reprimanded loudly by Hanni, which is possibly overheard by Nina and Naomi (lines omitted). The transcript continues when Hilla jumps slightly forward while barking (21) and is immediately pulled back and reprimanded by Hanni (23, fig. 2). From afar, Nina produces an assertion with a tag question (*wotsch nid da mir*

chömmed hä? 'you don't want us to come, right?' 25). This is formatted to address Hilla, ascribing volition to her (*wotsch nid* 'don't you want' is in 2nd pers. sing.), but observably produced to be heard by the other participants. Nina's turn appears to be an assertion and evaluates Hilla's conduct in problematic terms (Heritage, 2002), while her accompanying smile and high-pitched voice diminish its severity. The oncomers gaze and smile toward Hanni (fig. 2ab); in return, Hanni's smile is deducible through her chuckle and heavy breathing (26). The participants' exchange of gazes and smiles or laughter is critical here, serving to create an atmosphere of shared understanding and affiliation, despite Hilla's resistance (Kaukomaa et al., 2013). Subsequently, Hanni increases her laughter (28), occasioning Nina to again address Hilla (*passt da nid?* 'is this not appropriate?' 29).

(4.9b) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_3_0.01.21

```
28 HAN   ha ha ha::[§ hhhh    (.) ]§•.hhha.
          ha ha ha::  hhhh   (.)     .hhha
29 NIN →          [§passt da nid?]§•
                   is this not appropriate?
   nin            ->§gazes twd HIL-§gazes twd HAN->
   hil                            •pulls twd L->
30       (.) §
   nin     ->§gazes twd HIL->
31 NIN   hä?=
          huh?
32 HAN → =£I do(h)n't know.£=
33 NIN → =passt◊ da ni[d?
          is this not appropriate?
   nin       ->◊turns L->
34 HAN             [ja:∆(h)•#ha◊ †ha ha [hi
                    yes (h) ha   ha  ha hi
35 NIN                               [hä?
                                      huh?
   han             ->∆looks at HIL->
   nin                     ->◊stops/bends twd HIL->
   hil                 ->•approaches NIN->
   han                        †gives in to HIL's pull->
   fig                   #fig. 3
36       (0.6)
37 NIN → pa*sst da •nid?†#
          is this not appropriate?
   nao   ->*walks past NIN->
   hil       ->•smells NIN's hand->
   han             ->†stops facing NIN->>
   fig                #fig. 4
```

While she is asking her question, Nina looks at Hilla and clearly addresses her (*passt da nid?* 'is this not appropriate?' 29). Straight afterwards, she looks at Hanni, which allows her to broaden the recipiency of her turn (Stivers, 2021). Nina's subsequent *hä?* 'huh?' (31), which Nina utters as she gazes again at Hilla, prompts Hanni to respond in English (*I don't know* 32), displaying insufficient knowledge (Beach & Metzger, 1997). However, what knowledge Hanni is referring to is not clear. On the one hand, it may be an answer to Nina's assumption concerning Hilla's conduct (in that sense, an answer to the question 'is this not appropriate?'). This treats the question as targeting Hanni in her role as a guardian, responsible to speak on behalf of Hilla and accounting for her actions. On the other hand, Hanni's language choice disaligns with Nina's utterances in Swiss German. Her turn displays a preference for English and may initiate repair (Mondada, 2012b). The turn remains indeterminate, for Nina looks at Hilla as she reiterates her question (33), while Hilla walks toward Nina, wagging her tail (35). Hanni's subsequent *ja* 'yes,' accompanied by laughter, responds to this embodied display of a friendly approach (34). She gives in to Hilla's pull on the leash, letting her come closer to Nina (34-35; fig. 3). Nina bends and stretches out her hand, offering it to Hilla to sniff while repeating the question one more time (37; fig. 4).

Throughout the fragment, Nina's turn, 'is this not appropriate?' unfolds. In the beginning, it responds immediately to the dog's barking and growling and to Hanni's witnessable trouble in stopping her from doing so. Even though its format addresses only Hilla, it is produced to be also heard by Hanni, visible in Nina's short looks at her, as well as in Hanni's systematic vocal and embodied responses. Toward the end, however, Nina recycles the turn again and again, gradually transforming it into a continuous sound pattern, primarily focusing on Hilla, while Nina's embodied conduct shows her sympathetic stance toward Hilla. The participants create a shared understanding that Nina and Hilla can approach each other: Nina bends and stretches out her hand, Hilla responds by wagging her tail and coming closer,

and Hanni steps forward, giving in to the pulling of the leash. Hence, Hilla interacts in a friendly and curious way with Nina, which shows the puppy's competence and sociability.

Meanwhile, Naomi walks past Nina. As she positions herself next to her, she initiates a new sequence by asking about Hilla's age (39; fig. 5).
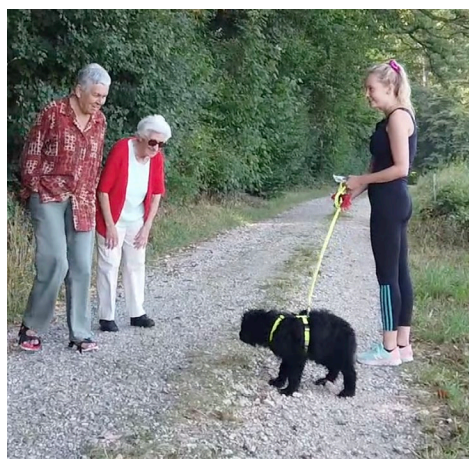
(4.9c) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_3_0.01.21

```
38        (0.2) • (1.2)
   hil        ->•
39 NAO → wie jung isch dä◊nn de# no?*
        how young is  then that one still?
   nin                ->◊straightens->
   nao                        ->*stops facing HAN->>
   fig                    #fig. 5
40        (0.3)
41 NIN   [en §chliine]
          a small one
42 HAN → [äh §sie ist] §ähm◊ (0.2) drei (0.2) monat#.=
          uh she  is   uhm  (0.2) three (0.2) months.
   nin    ->§lks HAN--§looks at HIL->
   nin                ->◊bends over HIL->
   fig                                        #fig. 6
```



```
43 NAO   =[ja.
           yes
44 NIN → =[nu •[drei mönet.
          only three months.
45 HAN       •[ja. ha ha [hi
             yes ha ha hi
46 NIN →              [de mu §no viel #le•rne.§◊
                       that one still has a lot to learn.
   hil      •walks twd NIN----------------•sniffs at NIN->
   nin                    ->§looks HAN------§looks HIL->
   nin                            ->◊pets HIL->
   fig                              #fig. 7
47        (0.2)
48 HAN   ha ja(h)a:: [.hh
         ha yes(h)a:: .hh
49 NIN →           [de mu no vi:ll lerne musch# du no.•[ganz vill.
            that one still has much to learn you still must. very much.
50 HAN                                           [ha ha ha ha ha
                                                 ha ha ha ha ha
   hil                              ->•walks to HAN->>
   fig                                #fig. 8
51        ◊ (0.3)    ◊
   nin    ◊straightens◊
```

181

```
52 HAN   ja::.=
         yes
```


The format of Naomi's question (*wie jung isch denn de no?* 'how young is then that one still?' 39) differs from the preceding examples in that it is not a polar question but a request for information that presupposes the attribute 'young.' The particle *denn* 'then' characterizes the turn as a deduction, possibly drawn from Hilla's actions and appearance. Hanni responds by providing Hilla's age of three months (44; fig. 6). Naomi acknowledges the information in overlap with Nina (43), who repeats Hilla's age, emphasizing the fact that she is young by using the adverb *nu* 'only' (*nu drei mönet* 'only three months' 44). After Hanni's confirmation (45), Nina extends the sequence by making a claim about Hilla's lack of competence or experience (*de mu no vill lerne* 'that one still has a lot to learn' 46). Like in Extract 4.8, her proposal relates Hilla's youth to her being in the process of learning. It implicitly refers to the dog's previous rejecting conduct and treats it as a display of not yet being fully trained. Simultaneously with her turn, Nina pets Hilla and looks at Hanni, smiling (fig. 7). Nina gazes toward Hilla and reiterates her turn: during the ongoing turn construction, she switches from 3rd person to 2nd person singular, addressing the dog instead of its guardian (*de mu no vill lernä* **musch du no** 'that one still has much to learn **you still must**' 49; fig. 8). She thus shifts perspective by producing a syntactic pivot construction (Norén & Linell, 2013). As previously mentioned, this highlights several possible addressees and shows a gradation in how directly co-participants may address each other. Talking to a pet in a way that is audible to co-present participants can help to mediate between them and to address delicate matters (Roberts, 2004), such as, in this case, the suggestion that Hilla is not sufficiently trained.

The local meaning of Naomi's question 'how young is that one still?' (39) is uncovered when considering the stepwise approach between the participants during which Hilla barks at the oncomers. The puppy's conduct is reprimanded publicly by guardian Hanni and treated by

Nina in a nonserious way. Hence, the question is understandable as an inference based on Hilla's censured conduct, offering a candidate account. Hanni confirms Hilla's youth by giving her age as three months, and Nina's assertion 'that one still has a lot to learn' (46) confirms the puppy's youth as accounting for its actions, suggesting that Hilla's competence is not yet sufficient. However, at the moment of the utterance, the puppy is proving the opposite by acting calmly and in a friendly manner. Hilla and Nina approach and touch each other mutually. Through their close interaction, collaboratively enabled by guardian Hanni, Nina's assessment of the dog's competence appears as an affiliative rather than an offensive action. It is not treated as a reprimand toward Hanni to teach her dog better; rather, it shows Nina's understanding that Hilla is in the process of learning (also highlighted by the temporal marker *no* 'still'), both accounting for and legitimizing the puppy's initial resistance. Furthermore, referring to Hilla through the demonstrative pronoun *de* 'that one' characterizes Nina's turn as a generic claim about young dogs instead of explicitly relating it to Hilla.

In short, the participants in Extracts 4.8 and 4.9 collaboratively create common ground on which they account for the dog's actions, transforming them from possibly censured conduct to a legitimate learning (or socializing) process. In both cases, the particle *no* 'still' marks the ascribed incompetence of the dog as temporary and part of a process of training and learning, enabling participants both to attribute inexperience and to preserve affiliation. That shows, not least, how guardians may ascribe epistemic stance to a dog's actions and evaluate them in terms of the normatively expected conduct of a dog at a certain age. The problem is not that the dog approaches unknown other walkers but *how* this happens. Jumping up (Extract 4.8) and barking (Extract 4.9) at them is reprimanded, whereas the final part of Extract 4.9 illustrates that an approach based on mutuality can be encouraged by all participants involved.

4.3.3 Age or breed? A case of misunderstanding and resolving

The examples presented so far in this chapter show a tendency for guardians to orient to inquiries about their dog's breed as requests for information that may serve to proffer a topic and to display expertise or interest within the canine epistemic domain (see Section 4.2). Requests that characterize and presuppose a dog as 'young' happen in response to the dog's marked conduct and are treated as offering an account. This is further illustrated in the following case, in which the vagueness of a guardian's question creates a misunderstanding (Schegloff, 1987). The fragment is a continuation of Extract 3.8, in which Hanni (HAN) with her puppy Hilla (HIL) encountered Marie (MAR) with her two big dogs. Hanni addresses her dog Hilla in Finnish. Remember that Hilla displayed refusal and fearful conduct, occasioning

Marie to stop further away on the other side of the road. The participants face each other at some distance, allowing them to maintain their interactional space without letting the dogs come closer. That is the moment when Marie requests information about Hilla (22).

(4.10) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_2_00.00.40

```
21         (0.2)
22 MAR → [wa' ¶isch es?]
            what  is  it?
23 HIL    [mmm¶mm      ]#woo mmm* woo= ((does whining noises))
   hil      ->¶hides behind HAN->>
   han                      ->*looks at MAR->
24 HAN → =hhha .h +she's [a::m] (0.2)[.tsk §puppy] hha ha.
25 HIL                   [mm ]        [wooo     ]
26         (0.2)
27 MAR → was?
            what?
28         (0.2)
29 HIL    wo[of
30 HAN →    [a:: puppy, .h eh:[m
31 HIL                        [mmm
32         (0.3)
33 MAR    yeäh.
            yes/yeah
34         (0.2)
35 HAN    [hja hhh.]
            hyes hhh.
36 MAR → [but wha-] what kind [*of    *]       [dog? ]
37 HAN                        [*.h*ah:*] .tsk [she's] ehm::#
   han                      ->*......*looks at HIL->
   fig                                                    #fig. 7
38     → a half* golden* retr%iever, and ha%lf poodle.
   han        ->*,,,,,,,*gazes at MAR->>
   mar                   %nods---------%
39         (0.2) ∆ (0.2) #
   mar          ∆looks at MIO->
   fig               #fig. 8
40 MAR → like ∆this on[e.
   mar       ->∆looks at HAN, smiling->>
41 HAN              [£oh ↑rea::↓lly?£ [ah::::
42 MAR                                [%yes:%
   mar                                %nods%
43 MAR    yes.#
   fig       #fig. 9
44         (0.3)
45 HAN → goldendoodle.
46 MAR → £%go:lden%[doodle,£
   mar     %nods---%
47 HAN             [↑j(h)a(h)a:::↑
                    ye(h)e:::s
```

Marie's vague question *wa' isch es?* 'what is it?' (22) may be understood in various ways – what breed or what sex Hilla is, or the reason why she shows reluctance. Hanni's response in English could be oriented to the latter meaning in that it accounts for the puppy's display of fear (*she's a puppy* 24). Hanni disaligns with Marie's language choice (Swiss German), showing a preference for English (Mondada, 2018b). In response, Marie initiates repair (*was?* 'what?' 27), treated by Hanni as a hearing problem, as visible in her repetition of the word *puppy* (30). Subsequently, Marie confirms minimally (*yeäh* 'yes/yeah' 33) and orients to the information as 'already known' (Schegloff, 2007). This accounts for her repair, with the adversative conjunction 'but' in first position, explicitly requesting information about Hilla's type (*what kind of dog?* 36). She aligns with Hanni's language choice by formatting her question in English. In overlap, Hanni displays a change in her epistemic stance (*ah* 37) and concurrently looks at Hilla while projecting to provide information about the breed (*she's ehm::* 37; fig. 7). During the second half of her turn in which she furnishes the requested information (*half golden retriever and half poodle* 38), she looks again at Marie, who nods in response (38). Marie then gazes at her dog Mio (39) and reveals him as belonging to the same crossbreed as Hilla (*like this one* 40). This provides evidence that her question (22) was a request to confirm already assumed knowledge. While producing her turn, Marie looks at Hanni and smiles (fig. 9). Hanni displays surprise (41), and Marie confirms her assertion in third position by nodding and producing an acknowledgment token (42-43). Subsequently, Hanni provides the crossbreed's name in jargon (45). Not only does this display Hanni's expertise about this specific type of dog, but it also exhibits her assumption of sharing this knowledge with Marie. Marie aligns with her by nodding and confirming the name of the crossbreed (46).

A guardian's requests for information about another's dog may lead to different possible action ascriptions on the part of the recipients. At the beginning of this example, the source of the misunderstanding between Hanni and Marie is the indeterminate referent in

Marie's question. This indeterminateness is closely related to the fact that Hilla is a puppy that shows conspicuous conduct, such as nervousness, fear, and resistance. Hence, Hanni treats Marie's question as requesting a reason for her dog's behavior. However, retrospectively, it becomes apparent that Marie's question, 'what is it?' constituted a pre-request for confirming her inferences and revealing the breed of her own dogs. Marie and Hanni discover moment by moment that they are guardians of the same dog type, leading to displays of similar expertise and creating an environment of mutual affiliation.

To sum up, guardians may respond to a dog's marked conduct, such as displays of nervousness, fear, joy, or excitement, by asking a question about how old it is. This is often treated as a request for information about the dog's age and happens when the guardians monitor the dogs. The request is thus responsive to the dog's conspicuous actions, suggesting an account. Age is an entity that might explain a dog's actions without questioning the guardian's know-how to train it. The moral implications differ depending on whether it concerns dog–dog or dog–human contact. Whereas possibly problematic behavior toward other dogs, such as approaching overenthusiastically or barking, is characterized as 'playfulness,' similar conduct toward other human walkers is immediately interrupted and reprimanded. In these cases, the fact that the dog is young is not associated with playfulness but with a lack of competence yet to be learned. Enquiring about a dog's age thus initiates an information exchange that allows the human co-participants to build common ground and create mutual affiliation as they collaboratively make sense of the dogs' actions.

4.4 Epistemic contests between guardians

In the examples shown in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, guardians display an epistemic stance congruent with their epistemic status. They show a sensitivity to each other's social relationships with their dogs. Assertions and assumptions about one another's dogs are downgraded epistemically through question formats and generalizations. Nevertheless, participants constantly re-elaborate epistemic status and stance, sometimes leading to epistemic competitions, which is the focus of this section. I demonstrate how a guardian's epistemic primacy can be challenged by providing displays of canine knowledge and expertise. For instance, a guardian takes a K+ position by downplaying the risks that another guardian has pointed out (Section 4.4.1), by analyzing a dog's embodied actions (Section 4.4.2), or by giving a warning (Section 4.4.3). In line with the argument of Keisanen (2007), the challenges discussed here relate to the interactional coordination of knowledge in a search for agreement rather than being treated as displays of hostility.

4.4.1 Downplaying the risks pointed out by a co-participant

The approach of a free-running dog toward another dog needs to be negotiated in situ (see Chapter 3), and, depending on local constraints, may be seen as problematic, intrusive, or even risky. This is the case in Extract 4.11, where a dog comes near another dog sitting in the trunk of a car, thus apparently no longer part of a walking activity. The dog's asymmetrical approach is problematized by its guardian, while the other guardian appears to be calm. The fragment starts as the dog Gili (GIL), her guardian Gabi (GAB), accompanied by her sister Gwen (GWE), enter a parking area. Viola (VIO) has just finished her walk and has put her dog Valda (VAL) in the trunk of her car. Gili walks ahead of her guardian, turns to her left, and approaches Viola. In response, Viola looks at the dog and talks to her in an audible way, showing that Gili's approach is welcome (2; fig. 1).

```
(4.11a) CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_1_0.00.00

    gil    >>walks twd VIO->
    vio    >>gazes twd GIL->
1          (0.9)
2  VIO → chunnsch da# go luege   chunnsch da guet •ufe da?
           are you coming to look here are you coming up here okay?
    val                                          •gazes twd GIL->
    fig              #fig. 1
3          ↓ja +chasch na schnell •+lue#ge+ lu:eg emal↓
           yes you can have a quick look  have a look
    gil      ->+stops-------------+turns+jumps on car->
    val                          ->•stretches head twd GIL->
    fig                              #fig. 2
```


187

Viola's turn happens in reflexive coordination with Gili's approach. Her talk to the dog is produced in a loud voice so as to be heard by the other participants (guardian Gabi and her sister Gwen). The first TCU is formatted as a question (*chunnsch da go luege* 'are you coming to (have) a look here' 2), projecting that Gili is about to come closer and that she is going to 'have a look' at companion dog Valda. The second TCU (*chunnsch da guet ufe da?* are you coming up here okay? 2) refers to the fact that Valda is sitting up high in the trunk of the car and anticipates possible problems for Gili in trying to reach Valda. When Gili arrives at the car and stops, Viola seamlessly produces a further TCU, which is formatted as a response (to Gili's arrival) through the prepositioned particle *ja* 'yes' (3). While Gili stands in front of the car (fig. 2), Viola gives her permission (*chasch na schnell luege* 'you can have a quick look' 3), and simultaneously with the dog jumping up to the trunk with her front paws, Viola transforms her utterance into an imperative (*lu:eg emal* 'have a look' 3). Viola's turn thus happens reflexively to the dog's actions, which is visible in the changes of the grammatical structure: from a question to a declarative with a modal auxiliary to an imperative, i.e., from a less to a more assertive form. The careful adaptation of the turn is similar to what has been described as "online commentary" (Heritage, 2017) and exhibits Viola's close monitoring of Gili's actions to the other participants. Her talk is produced in a loud and public way, formulating Viola's intention ascription to Gili, which shows her expertise and know-how in dealing with dogs. Furthermore, Viola displays that her own dog in the car should not cause any problems.

In the next part of the encounter, Gili seems not to respond to Viola but focuses only on Valda. Both dogs stretch their heads and noses toward each other, engaging in olfactory inspection (4; fig. 3a). The guardian Gabi is coming closer and treats what happens as problematic. In response to the dogs' close contact, Gabi produces a loud assessment of Gili's approach (5).

(4.11b) CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_1_0.00.00

```
4          (0.2) •+
   gil       ->+touches VAL's nose->
   val       ->•touches GIL's nose->
5  GAB → so# fre[ch.+
        so cheeky.
6  VIO        [hä?+
               huh?
   gil            ->+jumps down->
   fig      #fig. 3ab
```


3a

3b

```
7          (0.3) + (0.3) * (0.2)
   gil       ->+runs twd R->>
   vio            ->*turns/follows GIL w gaze->
8  VIO   isch gue[t?
           all  good?
9  GAB →          [du getr*ausch dich §aber was# du,§
                   you dare  to  do  something  you,
   vio              ->*gazes twd GAB->
   gab                 >>gzs fwd§gazes twd VIO§gzs twd GIL->
   fig                                #fig. 4ab
10         (0.4)
11 VIO → ↑ja↑ §die weiss scho dass sii *nüt macht.
        yes this one certainly knows that she doesn't do anything.
   gab     ->§gazes twd VIO->
   vio                      ->*turns twd car->>
12         (0.2)
13 GAB → .hhhaha wahrschinli§ ja.
        .hhhaha  probably   yes.
   gab                 ->§gazes twd GIL->>
```


4a

4b

189
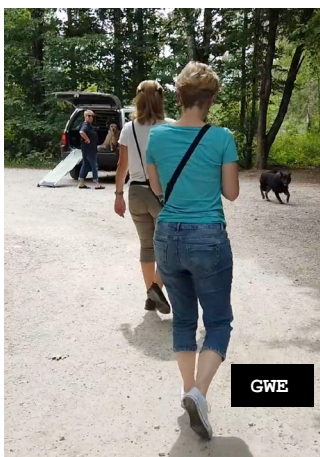
Even though Valda and Gili seem to get along well, Gabi's assessment problematizes Gili's actions retrospectively, treating it as intrusive (*so frech* 'so cheeky' 5). That not only displays Gabi's responsibility and epistemic primacy to evaluate her dog; it also treats Gili's approach as problematic, thus challenging Viola's 'official permission' and encouragement of the approach in lines 2-3. In overlap with Gabi, Viola produces an interjection (*hä?* 'huh?' 6) addressed to Gili. Viola maintains her gaze on Gili as she jumps down and turns to her right (7). Viola's subsequent utterance is addressed to the dogs and orients to the possible completion of the interaction between Valda and Gili (8). At that moment, Gabi again makes relevant Gili's conduct by addressing the dog (*du getrausch dich aber was du* 'you dare to do something you' 9). Gabi's characterization of Gili as 'daring' hints at the risk that Gili's approach toward Valda may cause aggression since she is sitting immobile in her 'territory' (the car trunk).

In response, Viola torques her torso and looks at Gabi (9; fig. 4ab). Her subsequent turn counters Gabi's implications by downplaying the evoked risk (*ja die weiss scho dass sii nüt macht* 'yes this one certainly knows that she doesn't do anything' 11). The demonstrative pronoun *die* 'this one' in reference to Gili contrasts with the personal pronoun *sii* 'she,' which Viola uses in the same turn in reference to her own dog Valda. Viola characterizes Gili as competent enough to distinguish between dangerous and harmless situations, thereby displaying that she considers the situation as not risky. Hence, she challenges Gabi's evaluation of Gili as 'bold' or 'daring.' At the same time the prepositioned 'yes' displays agreement, downgrading the turn's assertiveness. By claiming that Valda is not dangerous, Viola accounts for her knowledge that the dogs' close contact will not cause trouble. Gabi subsequently produces an acknowledgment token (13) but laughs in pre-position, which marks Viola's turn as nonserious and is a way of dealing with the delicate matter of competition (Holt, 2013). Furthermore, Gabi qualifies her agreement using the "epistemic marker" (Kärkkäinen, 2003) *wahrschinli* 'probably,' thereby softening her commitment to and downgrading Viola's assertion.

As this example shows, an essential part of the guardian's epistemic stance is involved in the interaction with dogs, which happens in public and accessible ways. Viola shows her know-how by judging the situation as sympathetic in the way she handles Gili's approach and interacts with the dog. Gabi, in contrast, orients to the disturbing aspects of Gili's approach and to Viola as assuming too much autonomy in inviting the dog to come inside the car. There is a notion of each other's territory related to the dogs that is violated by Viola's action. Both

guardians thus orient to two different ways of judging the situation, which constitutes the core of their subtle competition.

4.4.2 Displaying the stance of an expert by analyzing a dog's embodied conduct

Anticipating possible tensions between dogs and assessing potentially risky situations is a way of showing experience and expertise as a guardian. Another way to do this is by recognizing and categorizing a dog's actions. This may be challenged by the co-participant's displays of doubt and is illustrated in the following example, a continuation of Extract 3.5, in which Gabi (GAB) and her dog Gwen (GWE) have encountered Dora (DOR) and her dog Dixie (DIX). The guardians jointly monitor their dogs as they sniff each other (the guardians have not spoken to each other yet). The fragment starts when Gabi addresses the dogs, praising them for their good manners (7). Dora's subsequent question treats Gabi's turn as a conversational opening and transitions to a new sequence.

(4.12) CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_3_0.15.05

```
6          (0.9) # (5.2)
   fig         #fig. 4
7  GAB    kuul mached ihr da, super,
           cool how you do that, super,
8          (1.9)
9  DOR    ISCH'S §E WIIBLI *OD#ER E MÄNNLI?
           is it   a female   or   a male?
   dor         ->§looks at GAB->
   gab      >>gzs twd GIL/DIX*looks at DOR->
   fig                       #fig. 5
```



```
10 GAB    E HÜNDIN.§
           a female dog
   dor           ->§looks at DIX/GIL->
11         (0.2) ≠ (0.2) *
   dor         ≠points w chin->
   gab             ->*looks at GIL/DIX->
12 DOR    sii a≠u.
           she too.
   dor       ->≠
13         % (0.5) % (0.5) *
   gab    %nods---%
   gab                 ->*looks at DOR->
14 GAB    ich has gsee ja.
           I have seen it yes.
```

```
15 DOR     [≠ja.      ≠]
   dor      ≠nods----≠
16 GAB     [≠vo de kö≠]rperspr§ach he*r isch scho kl*ar gs#[i.h%h
            it has already been clear from the body language.hh
17 DOR                                              #[sch%o:?§
                                                      really?
   gab                      ->*lks at GIL/DIX*lks at DOR->
   gab                                       %nods twice->
   dor              ->§looks at GAB-----------------------§lks at DIX/GIL->
   fig                                       #fig. 6
```


6

7

```
18      (0.3) %* (0.2)
   gab        ->*looks at dogs->
   gab      ->%
19 DOR  >ich ha< da ez nöd gwüsst,
         I have PRT not known that,
20      (0.2)
21 GAB  >mol dass zwei hün§dinne*< sind isch-
         yes that they are two female dogs was-
   dor                    ->§looks at GAB->
   gab                       ->*looks at DOR->
22      (0.3) Δ
   gab        ->Δstops->


23 GAB  bim-Δ(.) wuää#ÄÄ
         when-(.) wuää#ÄÄ
   gab    ->Δdemonstrates stiffness->
   fig              #fig. 7
24 DOR  scho[:?
         really?
25 GAB      [f-bim sti*if [§werde isch scho klar] gsi.
             f- when stiffening it was already clear.
26 DOR                    [§(ach/ja) so:: xxx   ]
                            ah/yes I see xxx
   gab              ->*looks at dogs->>
   dor                 ->§looks at dogs->>
27      (0.2)
28 GAB  aber schön hends es glöst.
         but they solved it nicely.
29      (0.3)
30 DOR  ja. tiptop.
         yes perfectly.
```

Two seconds after Gabi's praise (7), Dora initiates a new sequence by requesting information about Gili's sex (*isch's e wiibli oder e männli?* is it a female or a male (dog)? 9; fig. 5). Hence, she orients to Gabi's epistemic primacy and positions herself as less knowledgeable with regard to Gili. Gabi reciprocates Dora's gaze, revealing her dog as a female (*e hündin* 'a female dog'

10). By using the term, *hündin*, instead of Dora's candidate, *wiibli*, Gabi works against the preference of the question (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013; Sacks, 1987). *Hündin* is used among breeders and conveys expertise. Dora responds by gesturing with her chin toward Dixie (11), revealing her as female too (12). Gabi nods (13) and treats the information as no news (*ich has gsee ja* 'I have seen it yes' 14). She thereby cancels the epistemic implications of the first-positioned status of Dora's contribution (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), which challenges her epistemic primacy as Dixie's guardian. Gabi qualifies her epistemic access as a personally observed fact ('I have seen it' 14), which is acknowledged by Dora in third position (15). In overlap, Gabi specifies the source of information as being based on her analysis of the dog's *körpersprach* 'body language' (16). She thereby reinforces her display of expertise, which accounts for her knowledge about Dixie's sex. Dora's subsequent use of the particle *scho?* 'really?' (17) with a high-pitched interrogative intonation curve proposes that she has undergone some change of state (Heritage, 2016) and conveys surprise or even doubt.[2] She continues with the account *ich ha da ez nöd gwüsst* 'I haven't known that' (19), taking a K–position and, by using the past tense, displaying that the epistemic asymmetry is now resolved. At the same time, her claim of insufficient knowledge may be a practice for avoiding agreement or disagreement (Drew, 1992; Weatherall, 2011), which would have challenged Gabi's claim.

Gabi treats Dora's answer as a display of doubt, visible in her response in which she prepositions the adversary particle *mol* 'yes' (which stresses the contrast between what was presupposed and what is actually the case) before an evidentialized specification of her assertion (*dass zwei hündinne sind isch-* 'that they are two female dogs was-' 21). Using the reference *zwei hündinne* 'two female dogs,' she generalizes the implied analysis specifically of Dixie. She completes the projected second part of her turn with a vocal and embodied demonstration of the dogs' stiffened bodies during their approach (23; fig. 7). By reenacting the dogs' conduct, Gabi not only demonstrates what she witnessed, eliciting heightened displays of attention from her co-participant (M. H. Goodwin, 1990; Sidnell, 2006), but also allegedly shows 'what actually happened' (Holt, 2000). In other words, her assertion gains an objectivized feature represented by the enactment, which supports her displays of epistemic access and expertise.

---

[2] Note that the particle *scho*, used in regions such as Zurich and Schaffhausen, may have a variety of meanings and connotations. In Gabi's turn in l. 17 (*vo dä körpersprach här isch **scho** klar gsi* 'from the body language it was **already** clear'), the particle is used as a temporal marker, as opposed to the way in which it is used by Dora subsequently in l. 18.

Dora again challenges Gabi's proposition by reiterating the doubtful *scho:?* 'really?' (24). Only after Gabi replaces her previous vocalization by providing a verbal description of what she just demonstrated (*bim stiif werde isch scho klar gsi* 'when stiffening it was already clear' 25), Dora conveys acceptance and understanding (26). The receipt token *ach/ja so::* 'I see' indicates her shift from 'not knowing' to 'knowing' and displays that she now shares equal epistemic access, which makes a sequence closure relevant (Golato & Betz, 2008). However, Gabi extends the sequence by positively evaluating how the dogs interacted with each other (*aber schön hends es glöst* 'but they solved it nicely' 28). Her turn orients to a troublesome or delicate situation that has been 'solved nicely' by the dogs themselves. This is also highlighted by the conjunction *aber* 'but,' which creates a contrast between the initial tension between the dogs (made relevant in line 25) and their now relaxed interaction. Line 28 is a reiteration of Gabi's praise in line 7 but directly addressed to Dora and formatted as an assessment that invites agreement. Gabi's assessment is in first position and "unmarked," indexing a tacit claim to epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Dora aligns by providing an "upgraded agreement" (Pomerantz, 1985), claiming equal epistemic rights to assess the dogs' conduct.

This example illustrates that simultaneous experience of an event is no guarantee of epistemic equality (cf. Peräkylä, 1998, p. 311). Both guardians have equal access to the dogs' actions as they come close and sniff at each other. Still, only Gabi implies from their conduct that they are two females, positioning herself as having expertise in analyzing the dogs' conduct. Dora's relative epistemic primacy regarding her dog Dixie is weakened by Gabi's displayed K+ position. However, the point contested by Dora is not that Gabi identified Dixie as a female but that she purports to have read and understood the dogs' 'body language.' This goes beyond the mere physiological observation of a dog's sex, alluding to a more psychological analysis, which may explain Dora's resistance. In response, Gabi gives the source of her knowledge, which is a form of evidentiality through the practice of 'telling as I know it' (Pomerantz, 1980). Her epistemic claim ('I have seen it') refers to the perceptual evidence from which her observation is drawn (Heritage, 2017). Her assertion is subsequently objectivized through her enactment and generalization, giving it more credibility.

4.4.3 Challenging a co-participant by giving a warning

The last part of this section shows that participants sometimes orient to normative expectancies about a satisfactory way to walk with a dog, showing an endogenous emerging normative order negotiated and achieved between the participants. As I have pointed out earlier, walking and interacting with dogs is publicly available to other co-present individuals

and may thus be aligned with but also challenged by them. In the latter moments, aspects of morality emerge, indexing expectancies about what guardians are supposed to do. For example, in Extract 4.13, a guardian is carrying a puppy in his arms. This is challenged by another unacquainted guardian: Ira (IRA) and her dog Imo are walking with the couple Basil (BAS) and Bonnie (BON). Basil holds the puppy Bella in his arms. They encounter guardian Wilma (WIL), who is on a stroll with her two dogs. The participants greet and, at first, project to pass each other by (1-3), but then Wilma initiates a new sequence by asking whether Bella is a puppy (*isch's no e buscheli?* 'is it still a puppy?' 5). Unlike in the previous cases, the dog does not actively participate in this interaction but figures as a puppy being talked about.

(4.13a) CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.24.00

```
1   WIL    gr[üezi
            hello
2   BAS       [grü[(h)ezi:
               hell(h)o:
3   IRA          [grüezi:
                  hello:
4       (0.2)
5   WIL → isch's no e buscheli?
            is it still a baby?
6       (0.2)
7   BON    jä [jä.
            yes yes.
8   BAS       [ganz gen[au jä.
               exactly  yes.
9   IRA             [hh ha *ha ha ha
                     hh ha ha ha ha
    bon                   *pets BEL->
10      (0.8)
11  WIL → bisch öpe scho# zää minute gloffä?+
            so you have been walking for ten minutes already?
    wil                                  +1step fwd->
    fig              #fig. 1
12      (0.3)

13  WIL → dass dä treit w#irsch.+ ↑hä? kleis↑=
            since you are carried.   huh? little
    wil                       ->+
    fig              #fig. 2
14  BAS    =[↑nei ↓nonig.
             no   not yet.
15  BON    =[ es isch e bizli vill los jez grad.
             it is  a little  busy  right now.
16      (.)
17  WIL    ah.*
            oh.
    bon    ,,,*
```

Bonnie and Basil stop their walk, and both confirm Wilma's assumption without elaborating on their answer (7-8) (as opposed to the cases shown in Section 4.2). Hence, they both display equal epistemic responsibility and authority regarding Bella. Whereas Basil already carries the puppy in his arms, Bonnie starts to pet her (9), indicating her position as her guardian on an embodied level as well. Subsequently, Wilma addresses Bella as she takes a step closer (*bisch öpe scho zää minute gloffä?* 'so you have been walking for ten minutes already?' 11; fig. 1-2), implicitly challenging Basil and Bonnie's decision to carry their dog. As mentioned before, talking to the dog may serve to address sensitive situations. Wilma's turn challenges the appropriateness of carrying Bella by means of the format of 'walking for ten minutes already.' Ten minutes is a short amount of time, which contradicts the adverb *scho* 'already.' The turn implies that the puppy is carried because she might be tired while making this account seem ridiculous.

After a short pause without any response from her co-participants, Wilma extends the turn (*dass dä treit wirsch* 'since you are carried' 13), specifying her assumption and downgrading her claim to epistemic primacy with a tag question (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Her turn is formatted so as to address Bella but is clearly produced to be heard by her guardians. Basil and Bonnie respond in overlap, treating Wilma's turn in two distinct ways. Whereas Basil structurally aligns with the question's format, answering directly on behalf of Bella (*nei nonig* 'no not yet' 14), Bonnie provides an account for their decision to carry the puppy, thus countering Wilma's proposal that the dog is tired (*es isch e bizli vill los jez grad* 'it is a little busy right now' 15). The guardians' co-occurring answers in overlap display competing epistemic claims, and their detailed turn formatting show different epistemic stances (Mondada, 2013a). Wilma acknowledges their answers minimally with a 'change-of-state token' (Heritage, 1984a) without conveying agreement.

This possibly occasions Bonnie to elaborate (18), as documented in the next fragment. However, Wilma contests the slot by overlapping Bonnie (19):

(4.13b) CH_BS_DOGW_20210221_1_0.24.00

```
18 BON    wenn zvill ande†ri [hünd sind denn isch eifach†er.
           if too many other dogs are around then it's easer.
19 WIL →                      [>aber sii< +münd ufpa+#sse† gälle sii
                               but you must pay attention you know
   wil                   †nods twice-------------------†
   wil                              +.........+points in the air->
   fig                                        #fig. 3
20      → wenn sii dr hund eso händ,
           when you have the dog like this,
21        (0.9)
22 WIL → denn chas guet möglich sii dass sii en +andre hund +agumpt.=
           then it can well be possible that another dog jumps at you.
   wil                                  ->+,,,,,,,,,,+
23 BON    =Δjä jä ich we[iss  [aber es-
            yes yes I know   but it-
24 BAS                 [da:s [isch eso jä.# ja.ja,
                        that's how it is yes yes yes,
25 WIL →               [aber gälle  #sii da münd sii aso schampar
                        but you know PRT you must PRT pay extremely
   bas     Δnods 4times->
   fig                             #fig. 4
26        guet [ufpasse.
          good attention.
27 BAS →       [da biΔni- da  bini gwappnet.
               I am- I am prepared for this.
   bas           ->Δ
```
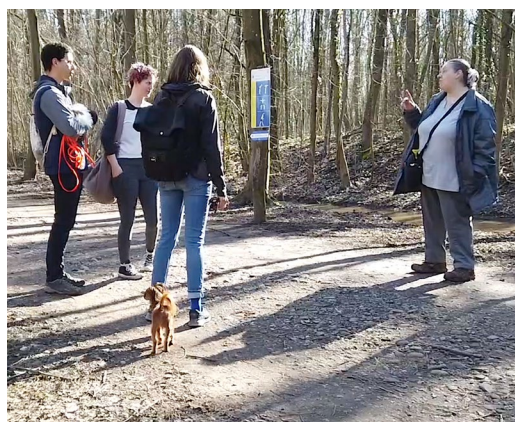

Wilma's use of the contrastive conjunction *aber* 'but,' followed by *sii münd* 'you must' (19) constitutes a stance of certainty, determinedness, and high obligation (Weiyun He, 1993). She points her index finger in concordance with her turn (19-22) – a practice for claiming speakership and for imposing self-selection (Mondada, 2007a). Again, the overlap indicates a competition in which Wilma displays epistemic authority and positions herself as more knowledgeable. She contests the fact that Basil is carrying Bella in his arms by warning the guardians of the danger that another dog might jump on him. Implicitly, she thus challenges Basil's and Bonnie's know-how as guardians. The *gälle sii* which is used, an expression best translated with 'you know,' appeals to the recipients' shared knowledge and involvement,

giving Wilma's turn an affiliating touch in an emerging disaffiliating environment (Asmuß, 2011; Keevallik, 2003). In other words, it indicates that Basil and Bonnie should know about this matter, opening an aspect of morality.

As before, they respond differently to the challenge: Bonnie reclaims her epistemic primacy, treating Wilma's assertion as nothing new, and projects to give a countering argument (*jä jä ich weiss aber es-* 'yes yes I know but it-' 23). In overlap, Basil treats Wilma's assertion equally as already known (*das isch eso jä* '<u>that</u>'s how it is yes' 24) but as opposed to Bonnie while nodding vigorously, thus displaying agreement and affiliation (Stivers, 2008). Bonnie breaks off her turn as Wilma reiterates and increases her warning through the emphasized intensifier *schampar* 'extremely' (25-26). Basil nods continuously during Wilma's turn and, in response, assures his readiness for a possible dog attack, orienting to her warning as unnecessary (*da bini gwappnet* 'I am prepared for this' 27). His response orients to the issue of being physically prepared for potential trouble when carrying a puppy, which goes beyond mere knowledge about it and refers to his know-how instead. By using the conjugated verb *bini* 'I am,' Basil positions himself as the guardian in charge (versus a shared responsibility with Bonnie, which would be expressed through the conjugation *simmer* 'we are'). He makes it relevant that *he* is carrying Bella; hence, he alone can claim to be prepared for any danger, which makes it difficult for Bonnie or Wilma to push epistemic competition about this matter any further.

Like in the examples in Section 4.3, Wilma's question about Bella's youth is, after the greeting, the first turn addressed to her guardians. In this case, however, it appears much earlier in the encounter and is treated merely as a request for confirmation, so neither Basil nor Bonnie provide further information about the puppy's exact age. Retrospectively, it figures as a pre-sequence that accounts for why Bella is not walking on her own, based on which Wilma subsequently challenges the appropriateness of carrying her in this way. By warning and informing her co-participants about potential trouble, Wilma displays expertise. She thus takes a K+ position while formatting her turns-at-talk in a way that orients to a domain of shared epistemic access or common ground. In return, Basil and Bonnie counter Wilma's warning by treating her information as already known, thus redundant. What further complexifies this case is the involvement of two responsible guardians, who answer concurrently in different ways, displaying competing epistemic claims. They employ two distinct strategies in dealing with Wilma's assertion: whereas Basil demonstrates alignment and agreement, Bonnie projects to challenge it. Ultimately, Basil closes the sequence by formally agreeing with Wilma while

reclaiming his epistemic primacy as the one in charge of carrying Bella. Specifying generic knowledge allows him to claim epistemic primacy without challenging Wilma's displayed expertise. Hence, Basil transforms Wilma's generic assertion into a personal matter that refers specifically to his 'guardian know-how' at that moment.

In sum, this section has shown how guardians manage the complexity of epistemic positionings and how this may lead to epistemic contests. Guardians can offer their expertise in distinct ways: through their *know-how* in interacting and dealing with dogs and by conveying *propositional canine knowledge*. These displays of expertise may be negotiated and challenged, which shows the participants' management of rights and responsibilities related to their categories as guardians. By generalizing their assertions rather than connecting them to a specific co-present dog, guardians orient to their weaker epistemic position when it comes to another person's dog. Furthermore, it allows them to propose shared knowledge and know-how, pursuing agreement in an environment where participants may be approaching disagreement. On the other hand, a specification of general know-how applied to the local situation and to one's own dog may make it possible to strengthen a guardian's epistemic position.

4.5 Summary

Talk-in-interaction between guardians is constituted by epistemic displays and sharing of knowledge, which are integral to their categorial identity and sociability. Displays of epistemic stance orient to the guardian's epistemic status and their relationship with a specific co-present dog. Their expertise is publicly displayed a) by displaying knowledge about dog breeds, age, and sex (*propositional canine knowledge*), b) through their interaction and witnessable familiarity with dogs (*know-how*), and c) by assessing and ascribing the *dogs' competence*. The actions illustrated in this chapter allow guardians to position themselves within the relevant knowledge domain of the activity and the constituted commonality of practice.

Opening turns may be questions about a co-present dog that does not belong to the questioner. For instance, requesting information about a dog's breed may open the conversation by proffering a talkable that is part of 'canine topics' and prospectively or retrospectively accounted for by assessing the dog's appearance positively (Section 4.2). Certainly, there is a topical element related to sociability between unacquainted guardians, but at the same time, addressing the breed is a very specific action connected with how the dogs are acting together.

Questions about the dogs' breed appear in moments when the dogs get along well with each other and act inconspicuously.

In contrast, asking about a dog's age by employing the attribute 'young' appears in a sequential environment where the dog's conduct is marked. It evokes normative and moral aspects imputable to the guardians and their know-how when dealing with dogs (Section 4.3). Asking whether a dog is young or not conveys assumptions on the part of the questioner and invites a simple confirmation. Nevertheless, participants orient to it as a request for information. The question is responsive to and may offer an account of a younger dog's conduct that is treated as conspicuous or censured of. Accordingly, such opening questions are double-barreled, embodying more than one action (Schegloff, 2007), which may lead to ambiguity. Displays of misunderstanding and repair initiations show how the understandability and ascribability of a turn may be linked to the dog's actions at that moment and to an expectancy that the guardians' turns-at-talk are responsive and related to the co-present dogs.

Moreover, the participants orient to different rights, obligations, and responsibilities regarding one's dog versus someone else's dog. They express their intimate relationships with their dogs through the establishment of epistemic stances and displays of expertise moment-by-moment. Details of turn design allow guardians to create congruence between their epistemic status and stance in a pro-social way. For instance, a personal pronoun ('he' or 'she') in reference to the dog conveys a more intimate relationship, whereas utilizing a deictic ('this one') displays distance and frames an assertion as generic. The relationship between guardians and their dogs is also observable on an embodied level, for example in how they position themselves spatially in relation to the dogs or orient to them bodily. Guardians cooperatively create congruence with each other's epistemic authorities, even in moments of challenge and contest. Shifting subtly between knowledge that concerns an individual (co-present) dog and canine knowledge that is more generic seems to be a practice for guardians to manage their social interactions. Characterizing an assertion as more generic allows them to appeal to shared knowledge, facilitating co-participants to agree. On the other hand, personalizing knowledge can help (re)claim epistemic primacy (Section 4.4).

In this chapter, I aimed to show that the sociality between the guardians and their dogs relies on a complex orientation toward the relative epistemic rights and responsibilities of all participants involved. Initial talk between guardians comprises epistemic attributions and displays specific to the dog-walking activity. Guardians orient to each other as having specialized canine knowledge, which is reminiscent of institutional settings where participants

display or presuppose specialized technical knowledge (Drew, 1991). This differs from settings in private households where pets may figure as a talkable topic and "catalytic resource" (Bergmann, 1988) or as addressees to mediate conflicts and shift to a more nonserious frame (Tannen, 2004). The analyses in this chapter have shown that only by considering the dogs as active participants does the guardians' talk-in-interaction become understandable, for the guardians' actions respond reflexively to the dogs' conduct moment-by-moment. The sheer presence of the dogs might generate talkable topics, but it is their actions to which guardians respond as they distribute their embodied resources and shape their turns-at-talk reflexively.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Global summary

This study has revealed the complex interactional work that takes place between individuals on ordinary dog walks. I have demonstrated how the guardians and their dogs work together while orienting to the projectable approach of other (dog) walkers, and how previously unacquainted individuals coordinate their convergent trajectories, establishing shared interactional spaces in pro-social ways.

Dog guardians are simultaneously engaged in multiple courses of action as they walk with their dogs, monitoring and instructing them. As shown in Chapter 2, specific practices not only manifest a guardian's responsibility for the dog and their adjustable control over the dog but also orient to the approach of oncoming walkers in preparation for a safe passing-by, such as turning to one's dog, adjusting the trajectory, and manipulating the leash. A dynamic interactional space between the two approaching mobile formations emerges as the walkers reflexively adjust to each other's movements and respond to each other's actions. There is a difference between a guardian and a dog encountering other dog–guardian formations versus encountering other walkers without a dog. The specificity of two dog–guardian formations encountering each other is visible in a systematic reciprocity of perspectives: while ordinary walkers might not display much attention to an approaching dog, guardians and dogs, by contrast, display their orientation to other dogs by using the very practices shown. The situation complexifies when the guardian and the dog are part of a larger group. In those cases, the co-participants must organize their walking together, and adjust to oncoming walkers, while coordinatively adjusting their concurrent conversations.

The development of an interactional space between two mutually approaching dog–guardian formations is a precondition for the subsequent negotiation on how the projectable encounter is to unfold. This issue has been addressed by Chapter 3, showing that the interaction at distance between the guardians is grounded on their orientation towards the conditions of a possible contact between their dogs. Hence, what type of action is initiated by the guardians is subject to their guess as to whether the dogs are compatible or not. Guardians can negotiate the modalities of possible dog–dog contact by carefully monitoring their off-leashed dogs without intervening in their trajectories, displaying their approval that the dogs may continue to approach each other freely. Unlike such moments of tacit agreement about the dogs' compatibility are instances where guardians initiate talk from a distance, which clarifies

whether the dogs are left loose or need to be kept away from each other. Guardians orient to the dogs' manifested "stances" as a decisive dimension for their negotiation about dog–dog contact. In some cases, the dogs' actions are treated as problematic, such as jumping forward or refusing to be leashed. Guardians refer to such conduct when retrospectively providing a reason or an account for their decision to restrain or release their dog.

The giving of explicit accounts points to normative and moral aspects that come to the fore in certain situations when walking a dog. Chapter 4 focused on how expertise is publicly displayed and made relevant by guardians. This concerns both their know-how and the competence of their dogs. It seems that addressing the dogs' breeds happens in moments when the dogs get along with each other and the guardians simply jointly monitor them. In contrast, referring to a dog's youth occurs in situations where the dog is (mis)behaving in marked ways. The dog's actions may evoke normative and moral aspects ascribable to the guardians and their ability to deal with their dog and dogs in general. In this respect, guardians orient to a distinction between dog–dog contact and dog–human contact. Hence, interactions between conspecifics are treated differently than interspecies interactions. Likewise, guardians orient to differences concerning familiarity between humans and dogs, that is, the interaction between a guardian and a dog that belong to each other is treated differently from an interaction between a guardian and a dog that do not know each other. These constellations are valued differently in terms of normative and moral expectations, rights, and obligations, visible in the guardians' embodied actions and turns-at-talk.

5.2 How dogs participate in interaction

This study has offered a possible answer to the question posed at the outset: Do dogs 'motivate' or even occasion interaction between people who do not know each other? In the literature investigating the socializing effects of dog companionship, dogs are often considered in terms of their different public accessibility compared to humans, allowing others to approach them or their guardians more easily. Domestic dogs are viewed as a resource for conversation with other dog guardians and lovers (Robins et al., 1991), or as "primers for human social interactions by providing a topic of relaxed and entertaining conversation" (Hart & Yamamoto, 2016, p. 261). However, as this study has shown, merely taking a dog for a walk does not seem to be sufficient to initiate talk with unacquainted co-present persons. This requires interactional work, which emerges reflexively and mutually between the individuals, including the dogs as ratified participants. It is not merely the presence of the dog, but rather its agency, and the way it is treated, monitored, and controlled by its guardian, which support and contribute to shaping

202

the unfolding sequence of a developing interaction. As emphasized at the beginning, the goal of this study was not to understand what is going on inside the dogs' mind, or what the dogs want to say, but to show empirically how humans and dogs together produce intelligible social action.

The walking together of a dog and a guardian is a constitutive and persistent part of a global activity, including mutual coordination of pace, bodily orientations, and trajectories. In addition, one can observe unfolding sequences, consisting of a prior action and an adjacent next action, between dogs and guardians, or dogs and other walkers. For instance, the dogs respond to their guardians by turning their head toward them when called or sitting down in compliance with a command. Dogs can also initiate actions, such as running toward and jumping up at unknown pedestrians or gazing attentively at them. By responding to the dog's actions, for instance, by talking to or touching them, the human participants treat the dog's conduct as meaningful and acting within accountable forms of response. Thus, the dogs' actions as well as their absence of responses are treated by human participants as accountable and judged in terms of normative expectancies, which is visible, for example, in the guardians' sense-making of the dogs' actions by ascribing to them intention and volition (Chapter 3). These observations are in line with Mondémé's finding that the animals' "physical, somatic and dynamic manifestations are requalified and finally endowed with intentionality" (Mondémé, 2022a, p. 62).

The guardian and their dog coordinate each other's steps and adjust to each other's pace, much like human participants do when they are walking together (Mondada, 2014a; Ryave & Schenkein, 1974). Furthermore, the walking practices documented in this study confirm previous work which has shown how slowing or accelerating pace, stopping, turning, or else, are crucial for the type of action that is accomplished (e.g., Mondada, 2018d; 2017; Mondada & Broth, 2019). However, the mobile practices of guardians differ from other pedestrians in that they are connected to the dogs' actions and the temporality of their walk. On the one hand, a dog and a guardian can walk closely side by side, possibly connected by a leash, and navigate as a cohesive entity (a "with" in Goffman's (1963) terms). On the other hand, they can walk separated from each other at different speeds, although while maintaining a certain proximity. Between these roughly described formations are nuanced variations, as illustrated in the analyses. The way the dog and guardian move together orients to the changing environment, in such a way that the dog–guardian formation is constantly reorganized and transformed by the coordinated walk of the guardian and the dog (Laurier et al., 2006;

Mondada, 2014a). This becomes even more obvious in those situations where guardians are walking their dogs with other human participants. As has been shown, the interactional space (Mondada, 2009a) between co-walkers sometimes changes radically upon the approach of other mobile formations.

Navigating with a dog requires the guardians to orient to sudden events in the environment, such as oncoming walkers. In those cases, guardians often shift their focus of attention to their dogs in order to adjust their walk together with them. What may start as practical adjustments orienting to the approach of oncomers can progressively be transformed into a sequence of mutually responsive actions within a shared interactional space (Chapter 2). As two dog–guardian formations approach each other frontally, their mutual bodily orientation allows for an interactional space to develop even as the individuals are still on the move, projecting just to pass each other by. Between the dog and its guardian, but also between the two approaching mobile formations, a multiplicity of dynamic variations of the interactional space are possible, supporting the idea of the latter as being constantly "transformed by orienting to the ongoing changes in the activity and in the participation and thereby contribut[ing] to their public visibility, and achievement" (Mondada, 2014b, p. 261). There is thus no clear-cut divide between the two conditions of co-presence and co-participation, but rather an emerging interactional space progressively established between two approaching mobile formations as the individuals bodily orient and start responding to each other.

The openness of the landscape in which the activity takes place is crucial for the visual availability but also categorizability of other walkers and their actions. For instance, simply walking forward and monitoring the dogs is a way to project free contact between them (Section 3.2), while staying at a distance displays the guardians' judgement that the dogs are probably not compatible (Section 3.3). Adjusting to approaching walkers may create the expectancy that the oncomers also adjust in some ways, creating a form of symmetrical engagement, which results in mutual responsiveness between participants, and thus interactively constitutes pro-sociality. In that sense, this study provides empirical evidence for Goffman's (1963, 1971) early reflections on people's moving in public space, revealing how the participants' mutual adjustments are sequentially ordered and responsive. At the same time, the type of chance encounters investigated in this study is categorially specific. Participants make relevant categorial co-incumbencies related to the dog walking activity, for instance by addressing issues related to the conditions of dog–dog contact when initiating talk. Guardians thus encounter each other as "proper conversationalists" who generally do not need a "ticket"

to legitimize the initiation of talk (Sacks, 1995a, pp. 552–553). For the analysis of the linguistic choices of the participants – at what point during the interaction they produce which turns and what type of formats –, the inclusion of the dogs as ratified participants is essential. This forces us to abandon a logocentric perspective on these encounters, supporting a conceptualization of social interaction that is not only based on language but also on the body.

5.4 Linguistic specificities of dog walk encounters

As previously discussed, interactional research on social encounters has shown that individuals coordinate their entry into interaction with embodied resources, such as gaze, body postures, movements, etc., which precede the use of greetings or other vocal resources (De Stefani & Mondada, 2010, 2018; Harjunpää et al., 2018; Kendon & Ferber, 1973; Mondada & Schmitt, 2010). After the establishment of those initial moments of mutual contact, individuals may exchange talk, such as greetings (D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Harjunpää et al., 2018; Mondada, 2018b; Pillet-Shore, 2012; Sacks, 1995a). This also applies to the interactions documented in this study. Guardians sometimes mutually exchange greetings, using tokens such as *guete tag* 'good day,' *grüezi* or *hallo*, both translated as 'hello' (the former being more formal than the latter). At the same time, in most of the analyzed encounters, greetings seemed to be marginal, inserted at later positions, or non-existent. Instead, the opening turns expressed by guardians within an emerging interaction with oncomers centrally address issues of dog–dog contact (Chapters 3) or make relevant a dog's marked conduct (Chapter 4). In general, guardians orient to diverse possible inference-rich dog categories (Sacks, 1995a, p. 40), such as big vs. small, male vs. female, leashed vs. unleashed. The local establishment of such category systems and their local relevance is achieved interactively by the participants and may serve to display assumptions concerning the dogs' compatibility and the safety of contact between the dogs. Thus, the intersubjectivity warranted by language concerns the establishment of a shared understanding about the modalities of an emerging encounter.

Another characteristic of dog walks are the guardians' "ex-post verbal formulations" (Mondémé, 2022a) by which they agree together on the interpretation to be given to a dog's specific conduct. For instance, guardians may publicly exhibit their understanding of a dog's actions as 'playful,' 'frightened,' 'rejective,' or 'excited,' etc. Reference to the dog's youth ('is it still young?') can serve as a reason for censured or otherwise marked conduct and provide a premise for ascribing a lack of 'social' competence to the dog. Not only does that explain but also legitimize the dog's actions, framing these actions as part of an ongoing socialization process (Section 4.3).

Moreover, ascriptions to the dogs often serve to provide an account for a guardian's decision to leash it or let it loose. Personality and specific characteristics are attributed to the dogs *in situ*, which ultimately account for the actions of the guardian and orient to his/her responsibility (see, e.g., Extract 3.7, where the guardian accounts for her refusal to let her dog go: *sie het das nöd so gern, sie isch ä chli ä komischi trucke* 'she doesn't like that so much, she is a bit a peculiar creature,' or Extract 3.11, in which a guardian provides an explanation for holding her dog by the collar: *er rennt ebe immer so uf d'hünd los* 'he always runs so (much) toward the dogs'). This confirms findings of previous studies that show how a pet's co-presence mediates and facilitates the interaction between human co-participants (Roberts, 2004; Tannen, 2004). At the same time, such accounts are an interpretation of the dogs' conduct as meaningful actions, attributing to them a form of agency.

In addition to talking *about* the dogs, talking *to* the dogs is a central phenomenon observable on dog walks. On the one hand, some of the turns addressed to the dogs are recognizably produced in such a way that they are (over)heard by the other participants, which makes a response from them expectable. They can help to address delicate matters in more 'indirect' ways, such as in an environment where participants may be approaching disagreement (e.g., *wotsch du nid da mir chömmed?* 'don't you want us to come?' Extract 4.9 in response to a dog's barking and growling; *du getrausch dich aber was du* 'you dare to do something you' Extract 4.11 in response to a dog approaching a conspecific in a car's trunk; *bisch öpe scho zäh minute gloffä?* 'so you have been walking for ten minutes already?' Extract 4.13 addressed to a puppy carried by her guardian). Talking to the dogs in such ways enables guardians to display their orientation to moral aspects and normative expectations through which they manage potentially delicate moments in the interaction.

On the other hand, guardians often talk to their dogs without other co-present participants in the surroundings (apart from the camera person as potential overhearer), providing evidence for their consideration of the dog as a ratified interlocutor and endowing it with a moral sense (cf. Mondémé, 2022a, p. 63) (e.g., *oder a nid* 'or not' Extract 2.16 in response to a dog's non-compliance with a guardian's command to sit; *aber schön en liebe si gäll* 'but be nice and gentle' Extract 2.18 in anticipation of an encounter with other free-running dogs). Another aspect are commands, reprimands, instructions, and evaluations that guardians employ in interaction with their dogs. They primarily serve practical tasks, such as gaining the dog's attention, requesting it to come closer, to wait, to sit down, or the like. At the same time,

they are sometimes produced in a loud voice and may be audible to oncoming walkers, allowing them to respond accordingly (Sections 2.2.2 and 3.4.2).

Taken together, the language used between participants on a dog walk is very specific to the activity, bearing characteristics similar to institutional settings where participants display or presuppose specialized technical knowledge (Drew, 1991). The guardians orient to actions of interpreting a dog's conduct or requesting its sex, breed, or age as manifesting knowledge. Three different 'types of knowledge' have been detected as being relevant for participants:

- *Propositional knowledge within the canine epistemic domain*: Guardians request and share information about their dogs as well as generic knowledge, for instance about dog breeds, biological sex, or how dogs behave at a certain age.

- *The know-how as a guardian*: Guardians display that they know what to do when walking their dogs. Their expertise and know-how are visible in the ways in which they deal with their own and other unknown dogs.

- *The social competence of the dog*: The dog's training and education status is frequently made relevant by guardians when the dog acts in unexpected or disapproved ways.

Addressing a dog's breed, age, or sex is often a double-barreled action in that it not only requests information but may also help to negotiate dog–dog contact, provide an account for the dog's actions, or display the expertise of the questioner. For example, instead of asking, 'What type of breed is your dog?' the participant may offer a candidate breed while formatting it as a request of confirmation. Through this variation in the format of the question, the guardian might display a K+ stance in the dog breed epistemic domain while maintaining a K– position concerning knowledge about the dog in question (Heritage, 2012a) (Section 4.2). Exhibiting expertise can validate the legitimacy to touch on someone else's "territory" (Heritage, 2011) by giving a warning or downplaying an evoked risk (Section 4.4). At the same time, the guardians' negotiation of epistemic positions mostly converges with their epistemic status. Assertions that may be understood as referring to someone else's dog are often generalized, which creates congruence with each other's relative epistemic status and evokes possibly shared knowledge.

5.5 Conclusion

Walking the dog is a common activity in which humans and dogs move through the landscape as co-walkers, meeting other people and their dogs. Recreation areas around or outside the cities, such as forests, riverbanks, parks, and open landscapes are hubs for dog

walkers and other strollers, where they coexist and engage in pro-social encounters. The study documents the emergence of such interactions in the natural environment in which they occur. It thereby advances the methodological development related to the delicate task of recording people in open spaces. Furthermore, it contributes to fundamental research within the fields of linguistics and social sciences.

As demonstrated, navigating these open spaces is more than merely collision avoidance; rather, complex interactional work often happens between unacquainted individuals. They orient to local categories of 'guardian' and 'dog' when identifying each other as co-participants. The sequential unfolding of an incipient encounter provides systematic occasions to engage in pro-sociality – from mutual adaptation of walking and (un)leashing the dog to the exchange of talk. In this respect, the study pinpoints some of the foundations of dog walking sociality, and the conditions for pro-social encounters between unacquainted walkers.

The analytic focus on the gradual emergence of dog walk encounters made possible the development of a systematic analysis of a community of practice constituted jointly by the guardians and their dogs. By considering the embodied conduct of the interacting parties, the study aligns with research in EMCA that uses multimodal video analysis, showing that silence is not simply the absence of talk but invites the researcher to consider the temporality of embodied actions (Mondada, 2019c). Such a perspective allows us, firstly, to consider the physical approach between individuals and how they progressively 'walk into' interaction. It integrates mobility as a relevant dimension for participants in the organization of interaction, more specifically, the contingencies and possibilities of walking with a dog. This also contributes to the study of the walkers' mutual adaptations as well as the reflexive relationship between participants' mobility and talk. Secondly, a multimodal EMCA approach enables acknowledging the dogs as ratified participants and taking into account their embodied conduct as shaping, and being shaped by, the sequential unfolding of the interaction. The human co-participants make sense of the dogs' actions by explicitly ascribing to them intention and volition; moreover, and more importantly, human and dogs develop and organize their own way of interacting together which involves, for instance, walking together, touching each other, and various ways of humans talking to the dogs. This study only covered part of it, hence, the detailed elements of human–dog interactions are far from exhausted and would merit further investigation. Having revealed the methodic practices that build on the normativity, orderliness and intersubjectivity of dog walk encounters, this study is a contribution to the exploration of

interactions between humans and dogs and presents a fascinating prospect for other terrains in different geographical, cultural, and architectural environments.

Appendix: Transcription conventions

The transcripts in this study adopt the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (2004) for talk and the conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (2018) for embodied actions (for instructions, see https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription).

1. Transcription lines

Participants are identified by three letters that correspond the beginning of their pseudonym (AVA, BAS, CLA, etc.).

`Courier bold`	represents audible phenomena (numbered lines);
`Courier italic`	represents translation of audible phenomena (not numbered lines);
`(1.8)`	indicates silence in absolute seconds;
`(.)`	silent moment measuring less than 0.2 seconds.

The English translation serves as a guidance to follow the original transcription, i.e., the linguistic features of speech that are represented in the translation do not pretend to translate the French linguistic features. In some cases, particles are categorized as PRT, instead of translating them.

2. Audible phenomena

`he[llo ]` `  [good]bye`	Beginning and end of overlapping talk;
`hello&` `&hello`	turn continuation by the same speaker in a next and from a previous line;
`hello=` `=goodbye`	no intervening beat of silence in between the end of one turn constructional unit (TCU) and beginning of the next;
`flower`	prosodic stress or emphasis on the underlined syllable;
`flo::wer`	stretched sound before the colon;
`↑flower` `↓flower`	marked shift in pitch, up (↑) or down (↓);
`flo- flower`	abrupt ending through oral or glottal cut-off before a word is complete;
`flower.`	final falling intonation;
`flower,`	slight rising intonation;
`flower?`	sharp rising intonation;
`>hello flower<`	rushed/compressed talk (increase in tempo relative to surrounding talk);
`<hello flower>`	stretched-out talk (slowing down in tempo relative to surrounding talk);
`FLOWER` `floWER`	higher volume relative to the surrounding talk;
`°flower°`	lower volume relative to the surrounding talk;

`(flower)`	transcriber's uncertain hearing;

`xxxxx`	stretch of talk unintelligible for the transcriber;
`((chuckles))`	descriptions and comments;
`.h .hh .hhh`	audible inbreath; longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters;
`h hh hhh`	audible outbreath; longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters;
`woof`	barking;
`gr::`	growling.

3. Multimodal transcription

`Courier regular` represents visible phenomena (not numbered lines). Multimodal transcription describes relevant conduct that participants use to format social action (and is *not* a coding of embodied features). The identity of the participants who produce embodied actions is indicated in the margins through the initials of their pseudonyms in lowercase letters. The beginning and end of an action is delimited by two identical symbols that correspond to audible phenomena or time indications.

`*    *`	Each participant and type of action is allocated an arbitrary different symbol;
`¶    ¶`	
`Δ    Δ`	
`Ş    Ş`	
`+->`	the embodied action continues across subsequent lines,
`->+`	until the same symbol is reached;
`>>`	the embodied action starts before the excerpt's beginning;
`->>`	the embodied action continues after the excerpt's end;
`...`	the embodied action is emerging;
`,,,`	the embodied action is retracting;
`#`	indicates the exact moment to which a figure (indicated by `fig` in the margins) refers with respect to the relevant line of talk or silence.

The following abbreviations are often used:

`wks`	walks
`gzs`	gazes
`lks`	looks
`twd`	toward
`fwd`	forward
`R`	right
`L`	left
`RH`	right hand

LH   left hand

References

Ablitt, J. (2021). *Accomplishing Public Work: Encounters with Park Rangers* [Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy]. Cardiff University.

Ablitt, J., & Smith, R. J. (2019). Working out Douglas's aphorism: Discarded objects, categorisation practices, and moral inquiries. *The Sociological Review Monographs*, *67*(4), 866–885. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026119854271

Amberson, J. (2023). On being a dog-person: Meaning-making & dog-walking identities. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, *31*(1), 161–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/07916035221118247

Amin, A. (2012). *Land of Strangers*. Polity Press.

Arluke, A., & Sanders, C. R. (1996). *Regarding Animals*. Temple University Press.

Asmuß, B. (2011). Proposing shared knowledge as a means of pursuing agreement. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation* (pp. 207–234). Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511921674.010

Auer, P. (2017). Anfang und Ende fokussierter Interaktion: Eine Einführung. *InLiSt - Interaction and Linguistic Structures*, *59*. http://www.inlist.uni-bayreuth.de/issues/59/index.htm

Barona Collado, E., Tomé Martín, P., & Campos Serena, O. (2023). Mapping Human–Animal Interaction Studies: A Bibliometric Analysis. *Anthrozoös*, *36*(1), 137–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/08927936.2022.2084994

Beach, W. A., & Metzger, T. R. (1997). Claiming insufficient knowledge. *Human Communication Research*, *23*(4), 562–588.

Bekoff, M. (1995). Play signals as punctuation: The structure of social play in canids. *Behaviour*, *132*, 419–429.

Bekoff, M. (2014). The Significance of Ethological Studies: Playing and Peeing. In A. Horowitz (Ed.), *Domestic Dog Cognition and Behavior* (pp. 59–75). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-53994-7_3

Bekoff, M., & Allen, C. (1998). Intentional communication and social play: How and why animals negotiate and agree to play. In M. Bekoff & J. A. Byers (Eds.), *Animal Play: Evolutionary, Comparative, and Ecological Perspectives* (pp. 97–114). Cambridge University Press.

Bergmann, J. R. (1988). Haustiere als kommunikative Ressourcen. In H.-G. Soeffner (Ed.), *Kultur und Alltag* (pp. 299–312). Schwartz.

Best, K. (2012). Making museum tours better: Understanding what a guided tour really is and what a tour guide really does. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, *27*(1), 35–52.

Bilmes, J. (2008). Generally speaking: Formulating an argument in the U.S. Federal Trade Commission. *Text & Talk*, *28*, 193–217.

Bilmes, J. (2009). Taxonomies are for talking: A reanalysis of a Sacks classic. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *41*(8), 1600–1610.

Bilmes, J. (2022). Delineating categories in verbal interaction. *Discourse Studies*, *0*(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/14614456211022084

Bolden, Galina B. (2008) "So What's Up?": Using the Discourse Marker *So* to Launch Conversational Business. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 41*(3), 302–337. DOI: 10.1080/08351810802237909

Bradshaw, J. W. S., Pullen, A. J., & Rooney, N. J. (2015). Why do adult dogs 'play'? *Behavioural Processes*, *110*, 82–87.

Broth, M., & Mondada, L. (2013). Walking away: The embodied achievement of activity closings in mobile interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *47*(1), Article 1.

Brown, K., & Dilley, R. (2012). Ways of knowing for "response-ability" in more-than-human encounters: The role of anticipatory knowledges in outdoor access with dogs. *Area*, *44*(1), 37–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01059.x

Bueker, C. S. (2013). "Leads" to Expanded Social Networks, Increased Civic Engagement and Divisions Within a Community: The Role of Dogs. *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *40*(4), Article 12.

Byrne, R. W. (1996). Machiavellian Intelligence. *Evolutionary Anthropology*, *5*, 172–180.

Call, J., & Tomasello, M. (1994). Production and comprehension of referential pointing by orangutans (Pongo pygmaeus). *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, *108*(4), 307–317.

Camus, L. (2022). Réflexivité filmique et participation animale. *Langage et Société*, *176*(2), 103–126. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.176.0105

Chevalier, F. (2009). The facework of unfinished turns in French conversation. *Discourse Studies*, *11*(3), 267–284. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614456091024

Chevalier, F., & Clift, R. (2008). Unfinished turns in French conversation: Projectability, syntax and action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *40*, 1731–1752. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.12.007

Clark, C. (1995). *The Hard Sell: The Language and Lessons of Street-Wise Marketing*. Harper Collins.

Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Cornips, L. (2022). The Animal Turn in Postcolonial Linguistics: The Interspecies Greeting of the Dairy Cow. *Journal of Postcolonial Linguistics*, *6*, 209–231.

Costa, S., Sousa, L., Luz, H., & Padeiro, M. (2022). Daily Mobility and Social Interactions Among Community-Dwelling Older Adults With Pet Dogs: A Scoping Review. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, *41*(12), 2609–2623. https://doi.org/10.1177/07334648221116633

Crist, E. (1996). Naturalists' Portrayals of Animal Life: Engaging the Verstehen Approach. *Social Studies of Science*, *26*(4), 799–838.

Crist, E. (1999). *Images of Animals: Anthropomorphism and Animal Mind*. Temple University Press.

Crist, E., & Lynch, M. (2022). L'analysabilité de l'interaction entre humains et animaux: Le cas de l'éducation canine. *Langage et Société, 176*(2), 25–41. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.176.0027

D'Antoni, F. (2023). *Waiting and talking: Interaction among unacquainted individuals in medical practices in Italy* [Unpublished doctoral thesis in General Linguistics]. KU Leuven.

D'Antoni, F., Debois, T., De Stefani, E., Hänggi, P., Mondada, L., Schneerson, J., & Tekin, B. S. (2022). Encounters in public space: The establishment of interactional space in face-to-face openings. In A. H. Jucker & H. Hausendorf (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Space* (pp. 281–316), De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110693713-010

D'Antoni, F., & De Stefani, E. (2022). On Being Known: Displays of Familiarity in Italian Café Encounters. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 55*(1), 79–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2022.2026167

Debois, T. (2023). *The ubiquity of multilingual interaction: Self- and other-categorisation in openings of service encounters as displayed through language and embodied conduct* [Unpublished dissertation in General Linguistics]. KU Leuven.

Debois, T. & De Stefani, E. (2022). Interactional onomastics: Place names as malleable resources. In A. H. Jucker & H. Hausendorf (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Space* (pp. 125–152). De Gruyter.

De Stefani, E. (2010). Reference as an interactively and multimodally accomplished practice: Organizing spatial reorientation in guided tours. In M. Pettorino, A. Giannini, I. Chiari, & F. Dovetto (Eds.), *Spoken Communication* (pp. 137–170). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

De Stefani, E. (2019). Ordering and Serving Coffee in an Italian Café: How Customers Obtain "Their" Coffee. In D. Day & J. Wagner (Eds.), *Objects, Bodies and Work Practice* (Multilingual Matters, pp. 113–139). Blue Ridge Summit.

De Stefani, E. (2022). On Gestalts and their analytical corollaries: A commentary to the Special Issue. *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality, 5*(1). doi: 10.7146/si.v5i2.130875

De Stefani, E., & Deppermann, A. (2021). Les gestes de pointage dans un environnement changeant et éphémère: Les leçons de conduite. *Langage et Société, 2*(173), 141–166. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.173.0143

De Stefani, E., & Horlacher, A.-S. (2008). Topical and sequential backlinking in a French radio-phone-in program: Turn shapes and sequential placements. *Pragmatics, 18*(3), 381–406.

De Stefani, E., & Horlacher, A.-S. (2018). Mundane talk at work: Multiactivity in interactions between professionals and their clientele. *Discourse Studies, 20*(2), 221–245.

De Stefani, E., & Mondada, L. (2007). L'organizzazione multimodale e interazionale dell'orientamento spaziale in movimento. *Bulletin VALS-ASLA (Associazione Svizzera Di Linguistica Applicata), 85*, 131–159.

De Stefani, E., & Mondada, L. (2010). Die Eröffnung sozialer Begegnungen im öffentlichen Raum: Die emergente Koordination räumlicher, visueller und verbaler Handlungsweisen. In L. Mondada & R. Schmitt (Eds.), *Situationseröffnungen: Zur multimodalen Herstellung fokussierter Interaktion* (pp. 103–170). Gunter Narr Verlag.

De Stefani, E., & Mondada, L. (2014). Reorganizing Mobile Formations: When "Guided" Participants Initiate Reorientations in Guided Tours. *Space and Culture*, *17*(2), 157–175.

De Stefani, E., & Mondada, L. (2018). Encounters in Public Space: How Acquainted Versus Unacquainted Persons Establish Social and Spatial Arrangements. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(3), 248–270.

De Stefani, E., & Mondada, L. (Eds.). (in prep.). *Opening interactions with strangers in public space*.

Deppermann, A. (2012). How does 'cognition' matter to the analysis of talk-in-interaction? *Language Sciences*, *34*, 746–767.

Deppermann, A. (2013). Turn-design at turn-beginnings: Multimodal resources to deal with tasks of turn-construction in German. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *46*, 91–121.

Deppermann, A. (2015). Retrospection and understanding in interaction. In *Temporality in Interaction* (pp. 57–94). John Benjamins.

Deppermann, A. (2018). Instruction practices in German driving lessons: Differential uses of declaratives and imperatives. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *28*, 265–282. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijal.12198

Deppermann, A., & Gubina, A. (2021). When the Body Belies the Words: Embodied Agency With darf/kann ich? ("May/Can I?") in German. *Frontiers in Communication*, *6*(661800), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2021.661800

Deppermann, A., & Haugh, M. (2022). Action Ascription in Social Interaction. In A. Deppermann & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Action Ascription in Interaction* (pp. 3–27). Cambridge University Press.

Deppermann, A., Mondada, L., & Pekarek, S. (2021). Early Responses: An Introduction. *Discourse Processes*, 293–307. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2021.1877516

Deppermann, A., & Schmidt, A. (2021). Micro-Sequential Coordination in Early Responses. *Discourse Processes*, *58*(4), 372–396. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2020.1842630

Dieth, E. (1986). *Schwyzertütschi Dialäktschrift. Leitfaden einer einheitlichen Schreibweise für alle Dialekte*. (C. Schmid, Ed.) Sauerländer, Aarau. (Original work published 1938).

Döring, D., Roscher, A., Scheipl, F., Küchenhoff, H., & Erhard, M. H. (2009). Fear-related behaviour of dogs in veterinary practice. *The Veterinary Journal*, *182*, 38–43. https://doi.org/doi:10.1016/j.tvjl.2008.05.006

Drew, P. (1991). Asymmetries of knowledge in conversational interactions. In I. Marková & K. Foppa (Eds.), *Asymmetries in Dialogue* (pp. 29–48). Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Drew, P. (1992). Contested Evidence in Courtroom Cross-Examination: The Case of a Trial for Rape. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 471–520). Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P. (2013). Turn Design. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 131–149). Wiley-Blackwell.

Drew, P. (2018). Epistemics in social interaction. *Discourse Studies*, *20*(1), 163–187.

Due, B. L. (2021). Interspecies intercorporeality and mediated haptic sociality: Distributing perception with a guide dog. *Visual Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2021.1951620

Edwards, V., & Knight, S. (2006). *Understanding the psychology of walkers with dogs: New approaches to better management* (p. 50). University of Portsmouth. https://pure.port.ac.uk/ws/files/119579/psychology-dgo-walkers.pdf

Fröhlich, M. (2017). Taking turns across channels: Conversation-analytic tools in animal communication. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, *80*, 201–209.

Fröhlich, M., Wittig, R. M., & Pika, S. (2016). Should I stay or should I go? Initiation of joint travel in mother– infant dyads of two chimpanzee communities in the wild. *Animal Cognition*, *19*, 483–500.

Gácsi, M., Gyori, B., Miklósi, A., Virányi, Z., Kubinyi, E., Topál, J., & Csányi, V. (2005). Species-specific differences and similarities in the behavior of hand-raised dog and wolf pups in social situations with humans. *Developmental Psychobiology*, *47*(2), 111–122. https://doi.org/10.1002/dev.20082. PMID: 16136572

Gácsi, M., Kara, E., Belényi, B., Topál, J., & Miklósi, Á. (2009). The effect of development and individual differences in pointing comprehension of dogs. *Animal Cognition*, *12*, 471–479. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10071-008-0208-6

Garfinkel, H. (1963). A Conception of, and Experiments with, "Trust" as a Condition of Stable Concerted Actions. In *O.J. Harvey (Ed.), Motivation and Social Interaction. Cognitive Determinants*. The Ronald Press Company.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Garfinkel, H., & Sacks, H. (1970). On Formal Structures of Practical Actions. In J. C. McKinney & E. A. Tiryakian (Eds.), *Theoretical Sociology: Perspectives and Developments*. Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Garfinkel, H., & Wieder, D. L. (1992). Two Incommensurable, Asymmetrically Alternate Technologies of Social Analysis. In G. Watson & R. M. Seiler (Eds.), *Text in Context. Contributions to Ethnomethodology* (pp. 175–217). Sage.

Gaunet, F. (2008). How do guide dogs of blind owners and pet dogs of sighted owners (Canis familiaris) ask their owners for food? *Animal Cognition*, *11*(3), 475–483.

Gaunet, F. (2010). How do guide dogs and pet dogs (Canis familiaris) ask their owners for their toy and for playing? *Animal Cognition*, *132*, 311–323.

Gaunet, F., & Deputte, B. L. (2011). Functionally referential and intentional communication in the domestic dog: Effects of spatial and social contexts. *Animal Cognition*, *14*(6), 849–860. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10071-011-0418-1

Glenn, P. (1989). Initiating Shared Laughter in Multi-Party Conversations. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, *53*, 127–149.

Glenn, P. (2003). *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in Public Spaces. Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. The Free Press.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order* (Second Printing). Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Goffman, E. (1978). Response Cries. *Language*, *54*(4), 787–815.

Goffman, E. (1979). Footing. *Semiotica*, *25*(1–2), 1–30.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Golato, A., & Betz, E. (2008). German ach and achso in repair uptake: Resources to sustain or remove epistemic asymmetry. *Zeitschrift Für Sprachwissenschaft*, *27*, 7–37. https://doi.org/10.1515/ZFSW.2008.002

Goode, D. (2007). *Playing with My Dog Katie: An Ethnomethodological Study of Dog-Human Interaction*. Purdue University Press.

Goodwin, C. (1980). Restarts, Pauses, and the Achievement of a State of Mutual Gaze at Turn-Beginning. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*(3–4), 272–302.

Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational Organization: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers*. Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. (1993). Recording Human Interaction in Natural Settings. *Pragmatics*, *3*(2), 181–209.

Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *32*, 1489–1522.

Goodwin, C. (2007). Interactive footing. In *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction* (edited by Elizabeth Holt and Rebecca Clift, pp. 16–46). Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2010). Constructing meaning through prosody in aphasia. In D. Barth-Weingarten, E. Reber, & M. Selting (Eds.), *Prosody in Interaction* (Vol. 23). John Benjamins.

Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. H. (1996). Seeing as a situated activity: Formulating planes. In Y. Engeström & D. Middleton (Eds.), *Cognition and Communication at Work* (pp. 61–95). Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139174077.004

Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. H. (2004). Participation. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 222–243). Basil Blackwell.

Goodwin, M. H. (1990). Retellings, pretellings and hypothetical stories. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *24*(1), 263–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351819009389342

Goodwin, M. H. (2006). Participation, affect, and trajectory in family directive/response sequences. *Text & Talk*, *26*(4–5), 513–541. https://doi.org/10.1515/TEXT.2006.021

Guillo, D. (2015). Quelle place faut-il faire aux animaux en sciences sociales? Les limites des réhabilitations récentes de l'agentivité animale. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, *1*(56), Article 56.

Guillo, D., Lechevrel, N., & Mondémé, C. (2015). Le chien, meilleur ami des sciences de l'homme: Les apports d'une approche écologique des interactions chien / humain. In *La science [humaine] des chiens* (pp. 21–34). Le Bord de l'Eau.

Haakana, M. (2021). Laughter as a patient's resource: Dealing with delicate aspects of medical interaction. *Text & Talk*, *21*(1–2), 187–219.

Haddington, P., Frogell, S., Grubert, A., Huhta, H., Jussila, P., Kinnunen, J., Korpela, A., Lehto, M., Marin, A., Mäenpää, J., Mäkivuoti, L., Raappana, H., Råman, J., Saarela, J., Seppänen, A., Suhonen, I., Vanhatapio, J., & Vesisenaho, L. (2012). Civil Inattention in Public Places: Normalising Unusual Events through Mobile and Embodied Practices. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research (FQS)*, *13*(3), Art. 7.

Haddington, P., Keisanen, T., Mondada, L., & Nevile, M. (2014). Towards multiactivity as a social and interactional phenomenon. In P. Haddington, T. Keisanen, L. Mondada, & M. Nevile (Eds.), *Multiactivity in Social Interaction. Beyond Multitasking* (pp. 3–32). John Benjamins.

Haddington, P., & Rauniomaa, M. (2014). Interaction Between Road Users: Offering Space in Traffic. *Space and Culture*, *17*(2), 176–190.

Ham, S. A., & Epping, J. (2006). Dog Walking and Physical Activity in the United States. *Preventing Chronic Disease, serial online*. http://www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2006/apr/05_0106.htm.

Hänggi, P. (2022). Language Choice and the Multilingual Soundscape: Overhearing as a Resource for Recipient-Design in Impromptu First-Time Encounters. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *55*(4), 299–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2022.2128003

Hänggi, P. (2023). *Multilingual chance encounters between unacquainted people in public space* [Unpublished doctoral thesis in General Linguistics]. University of Basel.

Hare, B., & Tomasello, M. (1998). Communication and food location between human and dogs (Canis familiaris). *Evolution of Communication*, *2*, 137–159.

Hare, B., & Tomasello, M. (1999). Domestic dogs (Canis familiaris) use human and conspecific social cues to locate hidden food. *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, *113*(2), 173–177.

Hare, B., & Tomasello, M. (2005). Human-like social skills in dogs? *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *9*, 439–444.

Harjunpää, K. (2022). Repetition and prosodic matching in responding to pets' vocalizations. *Langage et Société*, *176*(2), 69–102. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.176.0071

Harjunpää, K., Mondada, L., & Svinhufvud, K. (2018). The Coordinated Entry into Service Encounters in Food Shops: Managing Interactional Space, Availability, and Service During Openings. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1485231

Hart, L. A. (2010). Positive effects of animals for psychosocially vulnerable people: A turning point for delivery. In A. H. Fine (Ed.), *Handbook on Animal-Assisted Therapy* (3rd edition, pp. 59–84). Elsevier.

Hart, L. A., & Yamamoto, M. (2016). Dogs as helping partners and companions for humans. In J. Serpell (Ed.), *The Domestic Dog: Its Evolution, Behavior and Interactions with People* (pp. 247–270). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139161800.013

Harvey, N. D. (2021). How Old Is My Dog? Identification of Rational Age Groupings in Pet Dogs Based Upon Normative Age-Linked Processes. *Frontiers in Veterinary Science*, *8*, 1–6.

Hausendorf, H., & Schmitt, R. (2016). Interaktionsarchitektur und Sozialtopografie: Basiskonzepte einer interaktionistischen Raumanalyse. In H. Hausendorf, R. Schmitt, & W. Kesselheim (Eds.), *Interaktionsarchitektur, Sozialtopographie und Interaktionsraum* (pp. 27–54). Narr/Francke/Attempto.

Hausendorf, H., & Schmitt, R. (2022). Architecture-for-interaction: Built, designed and furnished space for communicative purposes. In A. H. Jucker & H. Hausendorf (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Space* (pp. 431–472). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110693713-014

Hauser, M. D., Chomsky, N., & Tecumseh Fitch, W. (2002). The Faculty of Language: What Is It, Who Has It, and How Did It Evolve? *Science*, *298*, 1568–1579.

Heath, C., Hindmarsh, J., & Luff, P. (2010). *Video in Qualitative Research. Analysing Social Interaction in Everyday Life*. Sage.

Heath, C., & Luff, P. (1992). Collaboration and Control: Crisis Management and Multimedia Technology in London Underground Line Control Rooms. *Journal of Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, *1*(1), 24–48.

Heath, C., Svensson, M. S., Hindmarsh, J., Luff, P., & Vom Lehm, D. (2002). Configuring Awareness. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work, 11*, 317–347.

Heesen, R., Bangerter, A., Zuberbühler, K., Iglesias, K., Neumann, C., Pajot, A., Perrenoud, L., Guéry, J.-P., Rossano, F., & Genty, E. (2021). Assessing joint commitment as a process in great apes. *iScience*, *24*(8). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.isci.2021.102872

Heesen, R., Fröhlich, M., Sievers, C., Woensdregt, M., & Dingemanse, M. (2022). Coordinating social action: A primer for the cross-species investigation of communicative repair. *Philosophical Transactions B*, *377*(20210110), 1–13.

Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2013). The Conversation Analytic Approach to Transcription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 57–76). Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, J. (1984a). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. In J. Atkinson (Ed.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 299–345). Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. (1984b). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Polity Press.

Heritage, J. (2002). The limits of questioning: Negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *34*, 1427–1446.

Heritage, J. (2010). Conversation Analysis: Practices and methods. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Sociology* (3rd edition). Sage.

Heritage, J. (2012a). Epistemics in Action: Action Formation and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *45*(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.646684

Heritage, J. (2012b). The Epistemic Engine: Sequence Organization and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *45*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.646685

Heritage, J. (2016). On the diversity of 'changes of state' and their indices. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *104*, 207–210.

Heritage, J. (2017). Online Commentary in Primary Care and Emergency Room Settings. *Acute Medicine & Surgery*, *4*, 12–18. https://doi.org/10.1002/ams2.229

Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *68*(1), 15–38.

Heritage, J., & Sorjonen, M.-L. (Eds.). (2018). *Between Turn and Sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages*. John Benjamins. https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027264282

Hirschauer, S. (2005). On Doing Being a Stranger: The Practical Constitution of Civil Inattention. J*ournal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 35*(1), 41–67.

Hochuli, K. (2019). Turning the Passer-by into a Customer: Multi-party Encounters at a Market Stall. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *52*(4), 427–447. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1657288

Hoey, E. M. (2023). Anticipatory initiations: The use of a presumed reason-for-the-interaction in face-to-face openings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *209*, 41–55.

Holt, E. (2000). Reporting and Reacting: Concurrent Responses to Reported Speech. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *33*(4), 425–454. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327973RLSI3304_04

Holt, E. (2013). "There's Many a True Word Said in Jest": Seriousness and Nonseriousness in Interaction. In P. Glenn & E. Holt (Eds.), *Studies of Laughter in Interaction* (pp. 69–90). Bloomsbury Academic. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781472542069.ch-004

Huber, L., Racca, A., Scaf, B., Virányi, Z., & Range, F. (2013). Discrimination of familiar human faces in dogs (Canis familiaris). *Learning and Motivation*, *44*, 258–269.

Ingold, T. (1994). Introduction. In T. Ingold (Ed.), *What is an Animal?* Routledge.

Irvine, L. (2004). *If You Tame Me: Understanding Our Connection with Animals*. Temple University Press.

Jayyusi, L. (1984). *Categorization and the Moral Order*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Jefferson, G. (1973). A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: Overlapped tag—Positioned address terms in closing sequences. *Semiotica*, *9*, 47–96.

Jefferson, G. (1983). Two explorations of the organization of overlapping talk in conversation: Notes on some orderlinesses of overlap onset. *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature*, *28*, 1–28.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). John Benjamins.

Johnson, R. A., Beck, A. M., & McCune, S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Health Benefits of Dog Walking for Pets and People: Evidence and Case Studies*. Purdue University Press.

Jucker, A. H., Hausendorf, H., Dürscheid, C., Hottiger, C., Kesselheim, W., Linke, A., Meyer, N., & Steger, A. (2018). Doing space in face-to-face interaction and on interactive multimodal platforms. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *134*, 85–101.

Kaminski, J., & Nitzschner, M. (2013). Do dogs get the point? A review of dog–human communication ability. *Learning and Motivation*, *44*, 294–302.

Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). *Epistemic Stance in English Conversation: A description of its interactional functions, with a focus on I think*. John Benjamins.

Kaukomaa, T., Peräkylä, A., & Ruusuvuori, J. (2013). Turn-opening smiles: Facial expression constructing emotional transition in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *55*, 21–42.

Keevallik, L. (2003). *From Interaction to Grammar: Estonian Finite Verb Forms in Conversation*. Uppsala University.

Keevallik, L. (2018). Sequence Initiation or Self-Talk? Commenting on the Surroundings While Mucking out a Sheep Stable. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(3), 313–328. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1485233

Keisanen, T. (2007). Stancetaking as an interactional activity: Challenging the prior speaker. In *Stancetaking in Discourse* (pp. 253–281). John Benjamins. https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027291929-pbns.164.10kei

Kendon, A. (1988). Goffman's Approach to Face-to-Face Interaction. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (Eds.), *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order* (pp. 14–40). Northeastern University Press.

Kendon, A. (1990). *Conducting interaction: Patterns of behavior in focused encounters.* (7th ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Kendon, A. (2000). Language and gesture: Unity or duality. In D. McNeill (Ed.), *Language and Gesture* (pp. 47–63). Cambridge University Press.

Kendon, A., & Ferber, A. (1973). A description of some human greetings. In R. P. Michael & J. H. Crook (Eds.), *Comparative Ecology and Behaviour of Primates* (pp. 591–668). Academic Press.

Kerepesi, A., Dóka, A., & Miklósi, Á. (2015). Dogs and their human companions: The effect of familiarity on dog–human interactions. *Behavioural Processes*, *110*, 27–36.

Kidwell, M. (2017). Early Alignment in Police Traffic Stops. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(3), 292–312. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1485232

Kulick, D. (2017). Human–Animal Communication. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *46*, 357–378.

Laurier, E., Brown, B., & McGregor, M. (2016). Mediated Pedestrian Mobility: Walking and the Map App. *Mobilities*, *11*(1), 117–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2015.1099900

Laurier, E., Maze, R., & Lundin, J. (2006). Putting the Dog Back in the Park: Animal and Human Mind-in-Action. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, *13*(1), Article 1.

Leavens, D. A., Hopkins, W. D., & Bard, K. A. (1996). Indexical and Referential Pointing in Chimpanzees (Pan troglodytes). *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, *110*(4), 346–353.

Lee, J. R. E., & Watson, R. D. (1993). *Public Space as an Interactional Order: Final Report to the Plan Urbain*. Department of Sociology, University of Manchester.

Lee, S.-H. (2015). Two Forms of Affirmative Responses to Polar Questions. *Discourse Processes*, *52*(1), 21–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2014.899001

Lerner, G. H. (2004). Collaborative turn sequences. In *Conversation Analysis* (pp. 225–256). John Benjamins. https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027295286-pbns.125.12ler

Levinson, S. C. (2013). Action Formation and Ascription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 103–130). Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch6

Levinson, S. C. (2016). Turn-taking in Human Communication – Origins and Implications for Language Processing. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *20*(1), 6–14.

Levinson, S. C. (2019). Interactional Foundations of Language: The Interaction Engine Hypothesis. In P. Hagoort (Ed.), *Human Language: From Genes and Brains to Behavior* (pp. 189–200). The MIT Press.

Llewellyn, N., & Burrow, R. (2008). Streetwise sales and the social order of city streets. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *59*(3), 561–583.

Lofland, L. H. (1973). *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*. Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Lynch, M. (1988). Sacrifice and the Transformation of the Animal Body into a Scientific Object: Laboratory Culture and Ritual Practice in the Neurosciences. *Social Studies of Science*, *18*(2), 265–289.

Lynch, M. (2002). From naturally occurring data to naturally organized ordinary activities: Comment on Speer. *Discourse Studies*, *4*(4), 531–537.

Macbeth, D. (2011). Understanding understanding as an instructional matter. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*, 438–451.

MacMartin, C., Coe, J. B., & Adams, C. L. (2014). Treating Distressed Animals as Participants: I Know Responses in Veterinarians' Pet-Directed Talk. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *47*(2), 151–174. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2014.900219

Madson, C. (2019, April 18). *What to Do When Approached By An Off-Leash Dog* [Veterinary Professionals]. Preventive Vet. https://www.preventivevet.com/dogs/what-to-do-when-approached-by-an-off-leash-dog

McIlvenny, P. (2017). Mobilising the micro-political voice: Doing the 'Human Microphone' and the 'mic-check.' *Journal of Language and Politics*, *16*(1), 110–136.

McIlvenny, P., Broth, M., & Haddington, P. (2014). Moving Together: Mobile Formations in Interaction. *Space and Culture*, *17*(2), 104–106.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*. University of Chicago Press.

Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning Lessons: Social Organization in the Classroom*. Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674420106

Merlino, S., & Mondada, L. (2019). Crossing the street: How pedestrians interact with cars. *Language & Communication*, *65*, 131–147.

Merlino, S., Mondada, L., & Söderström, O. (2022). Walking through the city soundscape: An audio-visual analysis of sensory experience for people with psychosis. *Visual Communication*, *0*(0), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/14703572211052638

Michael, M. (2000). *Reconnecting Culture, Technology and Nature: From Society to Heterogeneity*. Routledge.

Michalon, J., Doré, A., & Mondémé, C. (2016). Une sociologie avec les animaux: Faut-il changer de sociologie pour étudier les relations humains/animaux ? *SociologieS, Dossiers*. http://journals.openedition.org/sociologies/5329

Miklósi, A., & Soproni, K. (2005). A comparative analysis of animals' understanding of the human pointing gesture. *Animal Cognition*, *00*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10071-005-0008-1

Mitchell, R. (2001). Americans' Talk to Dogs: Similarities and Differences With Talk to Infants. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(2), Article 2.

Mitchell, R. (2004). Controlling the dog, pretending to have conversation or just being friendly? Influences of sex and familiarity on Americans' talk to dogs during play. *Interaction Studies*, *5*, 99–129.

Mitchell, R., & Sinkhorn, K. (2014). Why Do People Laugh during Dog–Human Play Interactions? *Anthrozoös*, *27*(2), 235–250. https://doi.org/10.2752/175303714X13903827487566

Mondada, L. (2002). La ville n'est pas peuplée d'êtres anonymes: Processus de catégorisation et espace urbain. *Marges Linguistiques*, *3*, 72–90.

Mondada, L. (2005). La constitution de l'origo déictique comme travail interactionnel des participants: Une approche praxéologique de la spatialité. *Intellectica*, *2/3*(41–42), 75–100.

Mondada, L. (2006). Video recording as the reflexive preservation-configuration of phenomenal features for analysis. In H. Knoblauch, B. Schnettler, J. Raab, & H.-G. Soeffner (Eds.), *Video analysis. Methodology and methods. Qualitative audiovisual data analysis* (pp. 51–68). Lang.

Mondada, L. (2007a). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, *9*(2), 194–225. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607075346

Mondada, L. (2007b). Transcript variations and the indexicality of transcribing practices. *Discourse Studies*, *9*(6), 809–821.

Mondada, L. (2009a). Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *41*, 1977–1997. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.019

Mondada, L. (2009b). Video recording practices and the reflexive constitution of the interactional order: Some systematic uses of the split-screen technique. *Human Studies*, *32*(1), 67–99.

Mondada, L. (2010). Eröffnung und Prä-Eröffnung in medienvermittelter Interaktion: Das Beispiel Videokonferenzen. In R. Schmitt & L. Mondada (Eds.), *Situationseröffnungen: Zur multimodalen Herstellung fokussierter Interaktion* (pp. 277–334). Narr.

Mondada, L. (2011a). The interactional production of multiple spatialities within a participatory democracy meeting. *Social Semiotics*, *21*(2), 289–316. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2011.548650

Mondada, L. (2011b). The situated organisation of directives in French: Imperatives and action coordination in video games. *Nottingham French Studies*, *50*(2), 19–50. https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2011-2.002

Mondada, L. (2011c). Understanding as an embodied, situated and sequential achievement in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*, Article 43.

Mondada, L. (2012a). Garden lessons: Embodied action and joint attention in extended sequences. In H. Nasu & F. C. Waksler (Eds.), *Interaction and Everyday Life: Phenomenological and Ethnomethodological Essays in Honor of George Psathas*. Lexington.

Mondada, L. (2012b). The dynamics of embodied participation and language choice in multilingual meetings. *Language in Society*, *41*(2), 213–235. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740451200005X

Mondada, L. (2013a). Displaying, contesting and negotiating epistemic authority in social interaction: Descriptions and questions in guided visits. *Discourse Studies*, *15*(5), 597–626. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445613501577

Mondada, L. (2013b). Embodied and spatial resources for turn-taking in institutional multi-party interactions: Participatory democracy debates. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *46*, 39–68.

Mondada, L. (2013c). The Conversation Analytic Approach to Data Collection. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 32–56). Wiley-Blackwell.

Mondada, L. (2014a). Bodies in action. Multimodal analysis of walking and talking. *Language and Dialogue*, *4*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1075/ld.4.3.02mon

Mondada, L. (2014b). Interactional space and the study of embodied talk-in-interaction. In P. Auer, M. Hilpert, A. Stukenbrock, & B. Szmrecsanyi (Eds.), *Space in Language and Linguistics: Geographical, Interactional, and Cognitive Perspectives* (De Gruyter, pp. 247–275). Peter Auer et al (Hrsg.). https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110312027.247

Mondada, L. (2014c). The local constitution of multimodal resources for social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *65*, Article 65.

Mondada, L. (2014d). The temporal orders of multiactivity: Operating and demonstrating in the surgical theatre. In P. Haddington, T. Keisanen, L. Mondada, & M. Nevile (Eds.), *Multiactivity in Social Interaction: Beyond multitasking* (pp. 33–75). John Benjamins.

Mondada, L. (2016). Challenges of multimodality: Language and the body in social interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *20*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.1_12177

Mondada, L. (2017). Walking and talking together: Questions/answers and mobile participation in guided visits. *Social Science Information*, *Special issue*, 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018417694777

Mondada, L. (2018a). Driving instruction at high speed on a race circuit: Issues in action formation and sequence organization. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *28*, 304–325.

Mondada, L. (2018b). Greetings as a device to find out and establish the language of service encounters in multilingual settings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *126*, 10–28.

Mondada, L. (2018c). Multiple Temporalities of Language and Body in Interaction: Challenges for Transcribing Multimodality. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878

Mondada, L. (2018d). Questions on the move: The ecology of question-answer sequences in mobility settings. In A. Deppermann & J. Streeck (Eds.), *Time in Embodied Interaction. Synchronicity and sequentiality of multimodal resources* (pp. 161–202). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.293.05mon

Mondada, L. (2019a). Contemporary issues in conversation analysis: Embodiment and materiality, multimodality and multisensoriality in social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *145*, 47–62.

Mondada, L. (2019b). Practices for Showing, Looking, and Videorecording: The Interactional Establishment of a Common Focus of Attention. In E. Reber & C. Gerhardt (Eds.), *Embodied Activities in Face-to-face and Mediated Settings* (pp. 63–104). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97325-8_3

Mondada, L. (2019c). Transcribing silent actions: A multimodal approach of sequence organization. *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality*, *2*(1). https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v2i1.113150

Mondada, L. (2020a). Membership categorization and the sequential multimodal organization of action: Walking, perceiving, and talking in material-spatial ecologies. In R. J. Smith, R. Fitzgerald, & W. Housley (Eds.), *On Sacks. Methodology, Materials, and Inspirations* (pp. 101–117). Routledge.

Mondada, L. (2020b). Orchestrating Multi-sensoriality in Tasting Sessions: Sensing Bodies, Normativity, and Language. *Symbolic Interaction*, *44*(1), 63–86. https://doi.org/10.1002/SYMB.472

Mondada, L. (2021a). How Early can Embodied Responses be? Issues in Time and Sequentiality. *Discourse Processes*, *58*(4), 397–418.

Mondada, L. (2021b). Organisation multimodale de la participation au sein du couple: Corporéité, matérialité et sensorialité dans l'interaction sociale. *Langage et Société*, *173*(2), 25–55.

Mondada, L. (2021c). *Sensing in Social Interaction: The taste for Cheese in Gourmet Shops*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108650090

Mondada, L. (2021d). The Natural History of an Interview and the emergence of video-based multimodal studies of social interaction. In J. McElvenny & A. Ploder (Eds.), *Holisms of communication: The early history of audio-visual sequence analysis* (pp. 205–228). Language Science Press.

Mondada, L. (2022a). Adjusting step-by-step trajectories in public space: The micro-sequentiality of approaching and refusing to be approached. *Gesprächsforschung - Online-Zeitschrift Zur Verbalen Interaktion*, *23*, 36–65.

Mondada, L. (2022b). Appealing to the senses: Approaching, sensing, and interacting at the market's stall. *Discourse & Communication*, *16*(2), 160–199.

Mondada, L. (2023). Mobile body arrangements in public space: Revisiting "withs" as local accomplishments. In Mondada, L., Peräkylä, A. (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Goffman in Language and Interaction* (pp. 241–276). Routledge.

Mondada, L., Alencar, R., & Oloff, F. (2004). Les séquences d'ouvertures comme lieu d'accomplissement du caractère plurilingue des activités scientifiques. *Sociolinguistica*, *18*, 139–162.

Mondada, L., Bänninger, J., Bouaouina, S. A., Camus, L., Gauthier, G., Hänggi, P., Koda, M., Svensson, H., & Tekin, B. S. (2020). Human sociality in the times of the Covid-19 pandemic: A systematic examination of change in greetings. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *24*, 441–468. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12433

Mondada, L., Bouaouina, S. A., Camus, L., Gauthier, G., Svensson, H., & Tekin, B. S. (2021). The local and filmed accountability of sensorial practices: The intersubjectivity of touch as an interactional achievement. *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality*, *4*(3), 30.

Mondada, L., & Broth, M. (2019). Delaying moving away: Place, mobility, and the multimodal organization of activities. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *148*, 44–70.

Mondada, L., & Meguerditchian, A. (2022). Sequence organization and embodied mutual orientations: Openings of social interactions between baboons. *Philosophical Transactions B*, *377*(20210101), 1–12.

Mondada, L., Monteiro, D. T., & Tekin, B. S. (2022). Collaboratively videoing mobile activities. *Visual Studies*, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2022.2086614

Mondada, L., & Schmitt, R. (2010). Zur Multimodalität von Situationseröffnungen. In *Situationseröffnungen: Zur multimodalen Herstellung fokussierter Interaktion*. Narr Verlag.

Mondada, L., Tekin, B.S. (submitted). The intelligibility of mobile trajectories: navigating in public space. *Mobilities*.

Mondémé, C. (2013). *Formes d'interactions sociales entre hommes et chiens: Une approche praxéologique des relations interspécifiques*. Thèse de doctorat en Sciences du Langage.

Mondémé, C. (2016). Extension de la question de "l'ordre social" aux interactions hommes/animaux—Une approche ethnométhodologique. *Année Sociologique, Presses*

Universitaires de France, *66*(2), Article 2. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01439168

Mondémé, C. (2018). How Do We Talk to Animals? Modes and Pragmatic Effects of Communication with Pets. *Langage et Société*, *Maison des Sciences de L'homme Paris*, 77–99.

Mondémé, C. (2019). *La socialité interspécifique. Une analyse multimodale des interactions homme-chien*. Lambert-Lucas.

Mondémé, C. (2020a). La boîte noire de l'intentionnalité animale. *Zilsel*, *2*(7), 199–216.

Mondémé, C. (2020b). Touching and petting: Exploring "haptic sociality" in interspecies interaction. In C. Asta & L. Mondada (Eds.), *Touch in Social Interaction* (pp. 171–196). Routledge.

Mondémé, C. (2021). Why study turn-taking sequences in interspecies interactions? *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12295

Mondémé, C. (2022a). Lire et comprendre le comportement animal: Une herméneutique ordinaire. *Langage et Société*, *176*(2), 43–67. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.176.0045

Mondémé, C. (2022b). Quand les animaux participent à l'interaction sociale. Nouveaux regards sur l'analyse séquentielle. *Langage et Société*, *176*(2), 9–24. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.176.0011

Mondémé, C., & Guillo, D. (2021). *Feeding animals: The creation of a common focus of attention in interspecies interaction* [Presentation at the 17th International Pragmatics Conference].

Moore, R., Mueller, B., Kaminski, J., & Tomasello, M. (2015). Two-year-old children but not domestic dogs understand communicative intentions without language, gestures, or gaze. *Developmental Science*, *18*(2), 232–242. https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12206

Mortensen, K., & Hazel, S. (2014). Moving into interaction—Social practices for initiating encounters at a help desk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *62*, 46–67.

Nevile, M. (2013). Seeing on the move: Mobile collaboration on the battlefield. In P. Haddington, L. Mondada, & M. Nevile (Eds.), *Interaction and Mobility: Language and the Body in Motion* (pp. 152–176). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110291278.152

Nishizaka, A. (2022). The granularity of seeing in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *190*, 24–40.

Norén, N., & Linell, P. (2013). Pivot constructions as everyday conversational phenomena within a cross-linguistic perspective: An introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *54*(Special Issue: Pivot Constructions in Talk-in-Interaction), 1–15.

Peräkylä, A. (1998). Authority and Accountability: The Delivery of Diagnosis in Primary Health Care. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *61*(4), 301–320.

Pettersson, H., Kaminski, J., Herrmann, E., & Tomasello, M. (2011). Understanding of human communicative motives in domestic dogs. *Applied Animal Behaviour Science*, *133*, 235–245.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2008). *Coming Together: Creating and Maintaining Social Relationships through the Openings of Face-to-Face Interactions* [A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology]. University of California.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2012). Greeting: Displaying Stance Through Prosodic Recipient Design. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *45*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.724994

Pinch, T., & Clark, C. (1986). The Hard Sell: "Patter Merchanting" and the strategic (re)production and local management of economic reasoning in the sales routines of Market Pitchers. *Sociology*, *20*(2), 169–191.

Pomerantz, A. (1980). Telling My Side: "Limited Access' as a "Fishing" Device. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*, 186–198. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1980.tb00020.x

Pomerantz, A. (1985). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. Atkinson (Ed.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 57–101). Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511665868.008

Pomerantz, A., & Heritage, J. (2013). Preference. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 210–228). Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch11

Premack, D., & Woodruff, G. (1978). Does the chimpanzee have a theory of mind? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *1*, 515–526.

Quéré, L., & Brezger, D. (1992). L'étrangeté mutuelle des passants: Le mode de coexistence du public urbain. *Les Annales de La Recherche Urbaine*, *57–58*, 89–100.

Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and Social Organization: Yes/No Interrogatives and the Structure of Responding. *American Sociological Review*, *68*(6), 939–967.

Raymond, G., & Heritage, J. (2006). The epistemics of social relations: Owning grandchildren. *Language in Society*, *35*, 677–705. https://doi.org/10.10170S0047404506060325

Relieu, M. (1994). Les catégories dans l'action: L'apprentissage des traversées de rue par des nonvoyants. In B. Fradin, L. Quéré, & J. Widmer (Eds.), *L'enquête sur les catégories: De Durkheim à Sacks* (Nouvelle édition [en ligne], pp. 185–218). Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales. https://doi.org/10.4000 /books.editionsehess.10042.

Relieu, M. (1999). Parler en marchant. Pour une écologie dynamique des échanges de paroles. *Langage et Société*, *89*, 37–67.

Rémy, C. (2015). Agir avec l'animal. Pour une approche éthnogrpahique des relations hybrides. *L'Année Sociologique*, *66*(2), 299–318.

Riedel, J., Schumann, K., Kaminski, J., Call, J., & Tomasello, M. (2008). The early ontogeny of humanedog communication. *Animal Behaviour*, *75*, 1003–1014. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2007.08.010

Roberts, F. (2004). Speaking to and for Animals in a Veterinary Clinic: A Practice for Managing Interpersonal Interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *37*(4), 421–446. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3704_2

Robins, D. M., Sanders, C. R., & Cahill, S. E. (1991). Dogs and their people: Pet-facilitated interaction in a public setting. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *20*(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124191020001001

Robinson, J. D. (2016). *Accountability in Social Interaction*. Oxford University Press.

Rosch, E. H. (1973). On the internal structure of perceptual and semantic categories. In T. E. Moore (Ed.), *Cognitive Development and Acquisition of Language* (pp. 111–144). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-505850-6.50010-4

Rosch, E. H. (1978). Principles of Categorization. In E. H. Rosch & B. B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Cognition and categorization* (pp. 27–48). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rossano, F. (2013a). Gaze in Conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 308–349). Wiley-Blackwell.

Rossano, F. (2013b). Sequence organization and timing of bonobo mother–infant interactions. *Interaction Studies*, *14*, 160–189.

Rossano, F. (2018). Social manipulation, turn-taking and cooperation in apes. *Interaction Studies*, *19*, 151–166.

Rossano, F., & Liebal, K. (2014). "Requests" and "offers" in orangutans and human infants. In P. Drew & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Requesting in Social Interaction* (pp. 335–364). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.26.13ros

Rudaz, D., Tatarian, K., Stower, R., & Licoppe, C. (2023). From Inanimate Object to Agent: Impact of Pre-Beginnings on the Emergence of Greetings with a Robot. *ACM Transactions on Human-Robot Interaction, 12*(3), Article 29. https://doi.org/10.1145/3575806

Ryave, A. L., & Schenkein, J. N. (1974). Notes on the Art of Walking. In *Ethnomethodology: Selected Readings (Roy Turner, ed.)* (pp. 265–274). Penguin.

Sacks, H. (1967). The search for help: No one to turn to. In E. S. Shneidman (Ed.), *Essays in Self-Destruction* (pp. 203–223). Science House.

Sacks, H. (1972a). Notes on police assessment of moral character. In D. Sudnow (Ed.), *Studies in Social Interaction* (pp. 280–293). Free Press.

Sacks, H. (1972b). On the Analysability of Stories by Children. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on methodology. In J. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 21–27). Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H. (1987). On the Preferences for Agreement and Contiguity in Sequences in Conversation. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and Social Organisation* (pp. 54–69). Multilingual Matters.

Sacks, H. (1995a). *Lectures on Conversation: Vol. I* (G. Jefferson, Ed.). Blackwell Publishing.

Sacks, H. (1995b). *Lectures on Conversation: Vol. II* (G. Jefferson, Ed.). Blackwell Publishing.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language*, *50*(4), Article 4.

Sanders, C. R. (1990). Excusing Tactics: Social Responses to the Public Misbehavior of Companion Animals. *Anthrozoös*, *4*(2), 82–90. https://doi.org/10.2752/089279391787057288

Sanders, C. R. (1993). Understanding Dogs: Caretakers' Attributions of Mindedness in Canine-Human Relationships. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *22*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124193022002

Sanders, C. R. (2003). Actions Speak Louder than Words: Close Relationships between Humans and Nonhuman Animals. *Symbolic Interaction*, *26*(3), 405–426.

Sanders, C. R. (2007). Mind, Self, and Human-Animal Joint Action. *Sociological Focus*, *40*(3), 320–336. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2007.10571313

Sanders, C. R., & Arluke, A. (1993). If Lions Could Speak: Investigating the Animal-Human Relationship and the Perspectives of Nonhuman Others. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *34*(3), 377–390.

Savage-Rumbaugh, S., Shanker, S. G., & Taylor, T. J. (1998). *Apes, Language, and the Human Mind*. Oxford University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in Conversational Openings. *American Anthropologist*, *70*(6), 1075–1095.

Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Identification and Recognition in Telephone Conversation Openings. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology* (pp. 23–78). Irvington Publishers.

Schegloff, E. A. (1986). The routine as achievmnt. *Human Studies*, *9*, 111–151.

Schegloff, E. A. (1987). Some sources of misunderstanding in talk-in-interaction. *Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences*, *25*(1), 201–218.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Practices and Actions: Boundary Cases of Other-Initiated Repair. *Discourse Processes*, *23*(3), 499–545.

Schegloff, E. A. (1998). Body Torque. *Social Research*, *65*(3), Article 3.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence Organization in Interaction. A Primer in Conversation Analysis I*. Cambridge University Press. www.cambridge.org/9780521825726

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, *8*(4), 289–327.

Schuetz, A. (1944). The Stranger: An essay in social psychology. *American Journal of Sociology*, *49*(6), 499–507.

Serpell, J. (2005). People in Disguise: Anthropomorphism and the Human-Pet Relationship. In L. Daston & G. Mitman (Eds.), *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism* (pp. 121–136). Columbia University Press.

Servais, V. (Ed.). (2015). *La science [humaine] des chiens*. Le Bord de l'Eau.

Sidnell, J. (2006). Coordinating Gesture, Talk, and Gaze in Reenactments. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *39*(4), 377–409. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3904_2

Sidnell, J., & Stivers, T. (Eds.). (2013). *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Simmel, G. (1950). *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (K. H. Wolff, Ed.). Free Press. (Original work published 1905).

Simonen, M., & Lohi, H. (2021). Interactional reciprocity in human–dog interaction. In J. Lindström, R. Laury, A. Peräkylä, & M.-L. Sorjonen (Eds.), *Intersubjectivity in Action: Studies in language and social interaction* (pp. 397–428). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Smith, R. J. (2017). Left to Their own Devices? The Practical Organisation of Space, Interaction, and Communication in and as theWork of Crossing a Shared Space Intersection. *Sociologica*, *2*. https://doi.org/10.2383/88200

Speer, S. A. (2002). 'Natural' and 'contrived' data: A sustainable distinction? *Discourse Studies*, *4*(4), Article 4.

Stanley, S., Smith, R. J., Ford, E., & Jones, J. (2020). Making something out of nothing: Breaching everyday life by standing still in a public place. *The Sociological Review*, *68*(6), 1250–1272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120940616

Stivers, T. (2004). "No no no" and Other Types of Multiple Sayings in Social Interaction. *Human Communication Research*, *30*(2), 153–293. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2004.tb00733.x

Stivers, T. (2008). Stance, Alignment, and Affiliation During Storytelling: When Nodding Is a Token of Affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *41*(1), 31–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810701691123

Stivers, T. (2021). Is conversation built for two? The partitioning of social interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *54*(1), 1–19.

Stivers, T., Mondada, L., & Steensig, J. (2011a). Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation* (pp. 3–24). Cambridge University Press.

Stivers, T., Mondada, L., & Steensig, J. (Eds.). (2011b). *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511921674

Stivers, T., & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing Response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(1), 3–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258

Stivers, T., Rossi, G., & Chalfoun, A. (2022). Ambiguities in Action Ascription. *Social Forces*, 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soac021

Streeck, J. (2009). Forward-Gesturing. *Discourse Processes*, *46*(2), 161–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/01638530902728793

Stukenbrock, A., & Birkner, K. (2010). Multimodale Ressourcen für Stadtführungen. In M. Costa & B. Müller-Jacquier (Eds.), *Deutschland als fremde Kultur: Vermittlungsverfahren in Touristenführungen* (pp. 214–243). Judicium Verlag.

Szczepek Reed, B. (2023). Designing Talk for Humans and Horses: Prosody as a Resource for Parallel Recipient Design. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *56*(2), 89–115. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2023.2170638

Tannen, D. (2004). Talking the Dog: Framing Pets as Interactional Resources in Family Discourse. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *37*(4), Article 4. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3704_1

Tomasello, M. (2006). Why Don't Apes Point? In N. J. Enfield & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 506–524). Berg.

Tomasello, M. (2008). *Origins of human communication*. MIT Press.

Tomasello, M. (2019). *Becoming human: A theory of ontogeny*. Harvard University Press.

Tomasello, M., Hare, B., & Call, J. (2007). Reliance on head versus eyes in the gaze following of great apes and human infants: The cooperative eye hypothesis. *Journal of Human Evolution*, *52*(3), 314–320. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2006.10.001

Tucker, N. (2021). *Dog On Leash Greetings* [In-depth articles about all aspects of dog care, feeding, and training]. WholeDog Journal. https://www.whole-dog-journal.com/training/dog-on-leash-greetings/

Vatanen, A. (2021). Co-presence during lapses: On "comfortable silences" in Finnish everyday interaction. In *Intersubjectivity in Action* (pp. 251–276). John Benjamins. https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027259035-pbns.326.12vat

Virányi, Z., Gácsi, M., Kubinyi, E., Topál, J., Belényi, B., Ujfalussy, D., & Miklósi, A. (2008). Comprehension of human pointing gestures in young human-reared wolves (Canis lupus) and dogs (Canis familiaris). *Animal Cognition*, *11*(3), 373–387. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10071-007-0127-y

Ward, C. (2020). Greeting behavior between dogs in a dog park. *Pet Behaviour Science*, *10*, 1–14. https://doi.org/doi:10.21071/pbs.vi10.12314

Watson, D. R. (2005). The Visibility Arrangements of Public Space: Conceptual Resources and Methodological Issues in Analysing Pedestrian Movements. *Communication & Cognition*, *38*(1), 201–227.

Weatherall, A. (2011). I don't know as a Prepositioned Epistemic Hedge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *44*(4), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.619310

Weilenmann, A., Normark, D., & Laurier, E. (2014). Managing Walking Together: The Challenge of Revolving Doors. *Space and Culture*, *17*(2), 122–136. https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331213508674

Weiyun He, A. (1993). Exploring modality in institutional interactions: Cases from academic counselling encounters. *Text - Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, *13*(4), 503–528.

Westgarth, C., Christley, R. M., Pinchbeck, G. L., Gaskell, R. M., Dawson, S., & Bradshaw, J. W. S. (2010). Dog behaviour on walks and the effect of use of the leash. *Applied Animal Behaviour Science*, *125*(1–2), 38–46.

Wieder, D. L. (1980). Behavioristic Operationalism and the Life-World: Chimpanzees and Chimpanzee Researchers in Face-to-Face Interaction. *Sociological Inquiry*, *50*(3–4), 75–103.

Wilkinson, R., Leudar, I., & Pika, S. (2012). Requesting behaviours within episodes of active sharing: A new look on chimpanzee signalling. In S. Pika & K. Liebal (Eds.), *Developments in Primate Gesture Research* (pp. 199–222). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/gs.6.12wil

Wilkinson, S., & Kitzinger, C. (2006). Surprise As an Interactional Achievement: Reaction Tokens in Conversation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *69*(2), 150–182.

Wood, L., & Hayley, C. E. (2011). Dog Walking as a Catalyst for Strengthening the Social Fabric of the Community. In R. A. Johnson, A. M. Beck, & S. McCune (Eds.), *The Health Benefits of Dog Walking for Pets and People: Evidence and Case Studies* (pp. 51–74). Purdue University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt6wq5k0.11

Wood, L., Martin, K., Christian, H., Nathan, A., Lauritsen, C., Houghton, S., Kawachi, I., & McCune, S. (2015). The Pet Factor—Companion Animals as a Conduit for Getting to Know People, Friendship Formation and Social Support. *PLoS ONE*, *10*(4), e0122085. https://doi.org/10.1371/ journal.pone.0122085

Worsley, H. K., & O'Hara, S. J. (2018). Cross-species referential signalling events in domestic dogs (Canis familiaris). *Animal Cognition*, *21*, 457–465.