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Adjusting step-by-step trajectories in public space: the micro-sequentiality of approaching and refusing to be approached

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Abstract
On the basis of an empirical study of fleeting interactions in a public space between activists seeking for support for an environmental organization and passersby, this paper discusses some fundamental features that make social interaction possible. These fleeting encounters constitute a perspicuous setting for exploring how various forms of interaction emerge out of copresence in public space, from the most minimal to the more focused, and how possible encounters are prepared well before their openings and mutual engagement. This, in turn, enables a reflection on different forms of sequentiality, based on Schegloff's distinction between sequential vs. sequence organization, also including specific forms of micro-sequentiality. In particular, I examine the moments that precede or merge with the emergent contact between parties who are not yet fully interacting – moments in which no opening has been completed, no word has yet been produced, and rather subtle continuous embodied adjustments can be witnessed. These adjustments also characterize more focused engagements of the incipient participants to the interaction, in particular their walking trajectories, revealing spatial convergences/divergences and embodying forms of (dis)alignment. I analyze the methodic fine-tuned micro-sequential organization of spatial embodied attunements between parties in pre-openings and openings, and discuss how the sequentiality characterizing embodied responsiveness and adjustments is intertwined within the sequentiality of turns-at-talk. These issues are particularly observable in asymmetric unilateral disaligned social interactions, such as the subset of cases studied in this paper, in which passersby either refuse to be approached or refuse the reason for the approach.

Keywords: Social interaction – fleeting interaction – copresence – openings – sequentiality – sequence organization – micro-sequential adjustments – embodiment – mobility – sociality in public space.

German Abstract
Basierend auf einer empirischen Untersuchung flüchtiger Interaktionen im öffentlichen Raum zwischen Aktivisten, die um Unterstützung für eine Umweltorganisation werben, und Passanten werden in diesem Beitrag einige grundlegende Merkmale erörtert, die soziale Interaktion möglich machen. Diese flüchtigen Begegnungen stellen ein *perspicuous setting* dar, um zu untersuchen, wie verschiedene Interaktionsformen aus der Kopräsenz im öffentlichen Raum hervorgehen – von den minimalsten bis zu den fokussiertesten – und wie potentielle Begegnungen lange vor ihrer Eröffnung und ihrer gegenseitigen Bereitschaft vorbereitet werden. Dies wiederum ermöglicht eine Reflexion über verschiedene Formen der Sequenzialität, basierend auf Schegloffs Unterscheidung zwischen sequenzieller Organisation (*"sequential organization"*) und Sequenzorganisation (*"sequence organization"*), die auch spezifische Formen der Mikro-Sequenzialität einschließt. Insbesondere untersuche ich die Momente, die dem emergenten Kontakt zwischen Parteien, die

noch nicht vollständig interagieren, vorausgehen oder in diesen übergehen – Momente, in denen noch keine Eröffnung stattfindet, noch kein Wort geäussert wurde, und eher subtile fortlaufende verkörperte Anpassungen zu beobachten sind. Diese Anpassungen charakterisieren auch fokussiertere Handlungen der bevorstehenden Interaktionsteilnehmer, insbesondere ihre Gehbewegungen, die räumliche Konvergenzen/Divergenzen aufzeigen und Formen von (*dis)alignment* verkörpern. Ich analysiere die methodische, fein abgestimmte mikro-sequenzielle Organisation räumlicher, verkörperter Anpassungen zwischen den Parteien in Voreröffnungen und Eröffnungen und erörtere, wie die Sequenzialität, die verkörperte *responsiveness* und Anpassungen charakterisiert, mit der Sequenzialität von Redebeiträgen verflochten ist. Diese Sachverhalte sind besonders in asymmetrischen, einseitigen, *disaligned* sozialen Interaktionen zu beobachten, wie in der in diesem Beitrag untersuchten Untergruppe von Fällen, in denen Passanten sich entweder weigern, angesprochen zu werden, oder den Grund für die Annäherung ablehnen.

Keywords: soziale Interaktion – flüchtige Interaktion – Kopräsenz – Eröffnungen – Sequenzialität – Sequenzorganisation – mikro-sequenzielle Anpassungen – embodiment – Mobilität – Sozialität im öffentlichen Raum.

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1. Introduction

This paper emanates from ongoing research on the situated methodic order of minimal interactions, and reflects on the sequential organization of social interaction on the basis of fleeting encounters in public space. Offering a systematic analysis of the way in which some activists intercept passersby, who refuse to stop and to engage with them, the paper discusses how the principle of a sequential order does hold for what can be considered a rather extreme case of interaction – situations in which possible not-yet-participants are approached in asymmetric ways, and respond minimally and in misaligned manners.

The activity studied constitutes a perspicuous setting for investigating some fundamental aspects of the organization of sequentiality, with a special focus on when sequentiality emerges in the openings and their preparation (in pre-openings or pre-beginnings) within fleeting interactions between people who do not know each

other. These emergent interactions include mutual micro-adjustments of the embodied conduct of all parties even before they talk.

While most of the literature has explored encounters in which openings achieve the mutually coordinated entry of all participants into a joint activity, this paper deals with encounters that are not only asymmetric – unilaterally initiated by one party – but also divergent – resisted, refused, or even ignored by the other party. The paper discusses issues in sequential organization in these cases, in which a) most of the turns-at-talk result in either no response or responses that are misaligned in some way, and in which b) major aspects of the interaction are negotiated within embodied adjustments – typically within the methodically interactionally organized trajectories of the walk of individuals who are not-yet-ratified-participants to the encounter.

By so doing, the paper addresses issues that have been most often discussed in distinct spans of the literature: the emergent social life of public spaces, studied in terms of how copresence, unfocused, and focused interactions are dynamically organized (§ 1.1), the openings of social interactions in a diversity of contexts (§ 1.2), and broader issues concerning sequential organization (§ 1.3).

1.1. The sequential organization of fleeting encounters in public space

Public space has been described within the interactional and micro-sociologic tradition as a space of copresence among strangers who might navigate while avoiding collisions with each other, within forms of civil inattention (Goffman 1971), or enter into more focused interactions (Goffman 1963). Simmel (1908) referred to minimal interactions, constituted by the mere exchange of glances, as a basic form of social life, insisting on the importance of gaze in the establishment of human relations. Goffman also referred to gaze when he defined copresence not as the mere colocation of individuals in the same space, but as mutually perceived copresence within an environment which individuals constantly scan. For him, this constitutes *unfocused interaction*, defined in terms of *gatherings,* as occasions in which "one gleans information about another person present by glancing at him, if only momentarily, as he passes into and then out of one's view" (1963:24). By contrast, *focused interaction* is achieved by engaging in a "mutual eye-to-eye activity" (1963: 92), that is, in an *encounter*. Thus, for Simmel and Goffman, gaze is fundamental to achieve social life in public space within various forms of interaction. The influence of these authors on further ethnographies of the city (for example, on Lofland 1973, 1998) has been fundamental for a better understanding of sociality in public spaces.

However, the ways in which people who do not know each other (often called "strangers," although the term can be questioned from a member's perspective since they are most often identified as members of some category, like 'passerby,' 'tourist,' 'street vendor,' or 'beggar'; cf. Goffman's reference to Sacks in this regard, 1971:7 fn 5) do or do not precisely step-by-step engage in social interaction in public places remains understudied.

Ethnographic studies of public spaces have been interested in how encounters emerge out of copresence: Goffman (1963) gave numerous anecdotical descriptions

of such events; Lofland (1973:169ff.) proposed some principles that make them possible – such as desirability, legitimacy, and appropriateness of the approach – while Whyte (1980) spoke of *triangulation* in reference to the "process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as though they were not [strangers]" (94). The latter recalls the notion of *ticket*, which was introduced by Sacks (1992) as a resource used by people with limited rights that serves "to warrant one having begun to talk" (265), such as, *Excuse me, I'm lost* (553). Sacks' definition of the ticket is constitutively sequential: it is a first utterance, or turn, that makes a response possible and thereby establishes an incipient encounter.

Although possible encounters in public spaces have often been regarded as support for a bright view which celebrates the sociality of urban public life, unsolicited and unwelcome encounters that constitute its dark side have been discussed, too. This is the case of street remarks and other offensive approaches by males to females, discussed by Gardner (1989, 1995; also critical of Goffman 1963:144-145), of troubled public interactions with the homeless, often involving women (Duneier/Molotch 1999), and of racial violence (Whitehead et al. 2018). More generally, street violence and crime generate practices constituting what Anderson calls "the art of avoidance" (1990:209). Gardner (1995), Duneier and Molotch (1999) and Whitehead et al. (2018) implicitly referred to the dynamics of sequencing in describing the dilemma of either ignoring or responding to a street remark and how the latter can make further escalating and aggravating remarks possible.

The sequentiality of these emergent encounters invites a closer look based on video recordings rather than ethnographic observations and interview data, in order to enable an understanding of the emergent temporality of sequencing and its social consequences.

Video-based interactional studies of fortuitous encounters among unknown people in public space are still very scarce. A few of them refer to asymmetric encounters initiated by one party addressing another party and proposing some kind of business transaction. Some have studied how passersby are targeted and invited to buy something at a market stall (see Clark/Pinch 1995 on the work of street market pitchers; Mondada 2021b on how sellers attempt to stop passersby and transform them into customers). Although in these cases, the institutional party initiating the asymmetric encounter is statically bound within their stand, mobile parties have also been studied, such as street vendors (Llewellyn/Burrow 2008) or tourists asking for directions (Mondada 2009). In both cases, services are offered or requests are made – Gardner (1986) speaks of actions that make the approach legitimate, which she calls "public aid." These fleeting encounters in public space are crucially based on mobility: the approach of pedestrians and passersby relies on moving, cruising, walking, and mutual positioning of converging or diverging body trajectories (Ryave/Schenkein 1974; Watson/Lee 1993).

1.2. Openings of encounters in public space

Whereas Goffman has insisted on copresence as a basic context within which unfocused and focused interactions might happen, conversation analysis has instead focused on encounters that clearly start at some point, emerging within the opening

phase, which enable imminent participants to engage in a joint and coordinated manner leading to a focused interaction (for a review, see Auer 2017; Pillet-Shore 2018). For instance, Schegloff (1968, 1986) demonstrated the systematic organization of a series of sequences which achieve the openings, relying on telephone conversations to reveal the main interactional problems people have to solve: getting the other's attention and availability (the summons), identifying and/or recognizing the other, engaging in greetings, and making the reason for the encounter explicit. Schegloff highlighted how these series of sequences – reflexively adapted to a diversity of settings – enable a joint stepwise progression in the activity. These sequences have been further elaborated on by Kendon and Ferber (1973) for face-to-face encounters in which the co-perception and attention of the other is first achieved with visual resources rather than with vocal and verbal ones, such as through the phone. They show how face-to-face opening is characterized by sighting and seeing the other, walking toward them, catching their eye, producing distant greetings, further approaching and smiling, and engaging in close greetings with/without contact. In a step-by-step manner, the participants have the opportunity to engage but also to withdraw from the interaction at any point. As noted by Sacks (1992), these apparently mundane steps are "the sequential building blocks of conversation" (99).

Casual conversations between unacquainted people in public spaces have been much less investigated. In Sacks' lectures, several notes deal with practices to begin a conversation as well as sequencing rules which account for how responses are provided, further creating new slots to talk. A good example is the question *When does the plane arrive?* asked to another person waiting at the airport (Sacks 1992:103). The question provides for an opportunity and a slot to answer, being recognizably relevant in that setting, projecting some answer that everybody will be able to produce and to recognize as adequate; moreover, when the answer is recognizably finished, this provides for an opportunity to talk again. In this sense, the question initiates a possible conversation. Contrary to summons/answers initiating the opening, the question about the arrival of the plane, similar to a passerby's request for help or a street vendor's offer of a magazine, are not preceded by any proper opening but begin as early as possible with the proposed common business. This shows one specificity of these fortuitous encounters between unacquainted persons (for a contrast with acquainted ones, see De Stefani/Mondada 2018): they are often achieved on the fly and under time pressure in situations in which everyone can freely move away rather than having to stay or walk along and which can immediately be brought to a close by an absence of response, declining the first action (Llewellyn/Burrow 2008:568).

1.3. Issues in sequentiality: sequential vs sequence organization, and micro-sequential adjustments

In this paper, I discuss the practices through which one person approaches another person in public space, thereby proposing to engage in interaction, as a perspicuous context in which to revisit the mode of organization of copresence, pre-openings, and openings and to reflect on their sequential organization. The analytic focus chosen, namely, fleeting interactions in which one mobile party approaches another

mobile party who, in different ways, refuses to engage in the encounter, enables a discussion of the basic conditions that make social interaction possible. Moreover, it enables the study of different forms of emergent sequentiality, from clear-cut and audible verbal actions composing a sequence – like a question/answer adjacency pair – to more continuous and constantly transforming embodied adjustments.

Sequentiality is the crucial principle that grounds the ethnomethodological and conversation analytic understandings of interactional order and motivates their specific approach to social action. As Sacks (1992:99ff.) hinted at when speaking of *sequencing rules*, a simple action like a question, a noticing, or a request can initiate a conversation between unacquainted persons who are standing close-by, by offering an opportunity to talk, which itself could be taken as an occasion to talk again, and so on. This rudimental but powerful insight puts sequentiality at the core of interactional sociality.

Schegloff (2007:2) distinguished between sequential and sequence organization, referring to the former as a general principle permeating all levels of organization of social interaction and to the latter as a specific form of organization between two actions. Thus, in the sequence, one action does not only follow and respond to the other in an adjacent way, but the first also projects and makes conditionally relevant the second, thereby creating a normative expectation about its realization (Schegloff/Sacks 1973). The sequence is a basic form of interactional organization: given a first, the second is expectable, and normatively inspected in this way, generating the possibility of identifying its absence as well as specific rights and obligations among the participants. Forms of (dis)alignment, (dis)agreement, and (dis)affiliation between the first and the second build the ongoing dynamic interactional relations between parties (Pomerantz 1984; Raymond 2003). Constraints on the types of first actions allowed and on the second actions expected, as well as further specifications of rights and obligations to perform these actions, build the informality vs. institutionality of the encounter – and, therefore, can be considered as the building blocks of social order.

Beyond sequence organization, other forms of sequential organization which permeate all levels of social interaction are observable. Some have been commented on in early analyses of turn-taking, showing that as the speaker progresses in the production of their turn, they also constantly project more to come which the co-participant can anticipate and preemptively respond to, reflexively impacting what the first speaker was still telling (see early work on overlaps, Jefferson 1983; on participation in the construction of an utterance, see Goodwin 1979; on what makes early responses possible and their consequences on the progression of turns and embodied conducts, see more recently Deppermann et al. 2021).

Projection, anticipated responsiveness, and reflexive mutual elaboration of the ongoing action not only happen with turns-at-talk but also with embodied conduct, in which one participant can anticipate and preempt what another one is initiating or projecting (Deppermann/Schmidt 2021; Heath/Luff 2021; Mondada 2021a). In different terms, this was very early on alluded to by Garfinkel (1948/2005:184):

> A acts towards B as if the signs that B provides are not haphazardly given. When we say that A understands B we mean only this: that A detects an orderliness in these signs both with regard to sequence and meanings. The orderliness is assigned to B's activities by A. The 'validity' of A's conception of the signs generated by B are given

> in accordance with some regulative principle established for A when his return action evokes a counter action that somehow 'fits' A's anticipations.

Despite the semiotic and hermeneutic vocabulary, the dynamics described here concern situated *actions* rather than signs having general meanings attached, in a way that already sketches the reflexive mutual elaboration of each other's conducts.

This vision of sequentiality concerns a much more detailed granularity of actions, practices, and resources than does sequence organization and complements it. In particular, it concerns the emergent moment-by-moment contingent unfolding in time of social interaction in its multiple dimensions. This is particularly relevant for a dynamic conception of multimodality. Multimodally formatted actions are made intelligible by the mobilization of a diversity of resources, linguistic and embodied, such as talk, gestures, gaze, body postures, and movements, which each have their specific temporality (such as the movement of the hand rising to point at an object or the quick movement of a gaze shift) although being globally arranged in a holistic Gestalt (such as when the pointing towards an object is part of a larger movement in which the body leans over and the eyes inspect it) (Deppermann/ Streeck 2018; Goodwin 2017; Keevallik 2018; Mondada 2018). This complex array of multiple temporalities and their own, although interrelated, organization affords many opportunities for micro-sequential adjustments, plastically adaptable to the local circumstances and ongoing contingencies. In this paper, I further discuss this form of sequentiality, referred to here as *micro-sequentiality*, to highlight the fact that it concerns continuous adjustments rather than well-delimited adjacent actions.

The general notion of sequentiality enables us to consider both forms of responsivity: while analyses in terms of sequence organization have favored the latter – in the form of adjacency pairs, in which one action is realized in one turn and responded to in the action of the next turn – analyses of micro-sequentiality and adjustments have focused on the former. The latter insist on detailed responsive movements of different parts of the body with which the participants can engage, subtly adjusting to the conduct of other participants (Deppermann/Schmidt 2021; Mondada 2021b). As we shall see, in the encounters studied in this paper between unacquainted persons in public space, the latter are observable in classic adjacency pairs, such as greetings or questions like *do you have any time for me?*, whereas the former are observable in the adjustments of the stomping, stepping, walking, accelerating, and slowing down trajectories of the pedestrians.

2. Data

The analyses contained in this paper are based on video-recordings, realized with multiple cameras, of a portion of a street in the center of a Swiss-German city in which activists approached pedestrians and invited them to support an environmental organization. During four hours, my team and I recorded several hundreds of encounters with three activists, each of whom wore a cordless microphone. All participants were asked to give their informed consent.

The activists work for an organization active in the defense of the environment, nature, and wildlife. They call themselves 'dialoguers,' and this is the category I have used in this paper. Dialoguers are young professionals with whom the organization contracts to do fundraising in the streets; they are also all personally engaged

in the causes defended, and in most of the cases, also support members of the organization. Their task is to approach passersby and convince them to become new members.

While passersby who accept talking about a possible membership stop and engage for a substantial amount of time with the dialoguers, passersby who decline the approach generally do not stop and only engage in fleeting mobile interactions in which they display their refusal to further participate. This paper is focused on cases in which the dialoguer's approach is rejected by the pedestrians. These interactions are asymmetrically initiated by the dialoguers, who can be silently ignored, obtain a minimal response, or be rejected in more focused engagements by the pedestrians they approached.

The work of the dialoguers establishes a particular form of copresence in public space. They broadly cruise the street around their anchorage point, the stand. Although the stand is often not immediately visible to the pedestrians, the dialoguers move in public space in a way that is noticeable as different from most of the passersby. Whereas ordinary pedestrians walk up or down the street within direct trajectories, the dialoguers move in circles, back and forth across the street. Their movements make them visible to others – a visibility enhanced by the fact that they wear a T-shirt with the logo of the organization. Thus, two types of mobility associated with two types of visible recognizable categories – 'passersby' vs. 'street professionals' – are witnessable at-a-glance (Sudnow 1972) to anyone coming into that portion of the street. This defines a particular mode of copresence in which the dialoguers initiate the approach to pedestrians and are seen doing so. Dialoguers scan the environment searching for pedestrians and initiating converging trajectories with them; pedestrians monitor the environment while navigating, avoiding collisions, and seeing what dialoguers do with others and will eventually do with them. This enables them to anticipate convergent approaches and possibly avoid or counter them. These ways of inhabiting copresence project possible trajectories of action which cannot simply be categorized as unfocused vs. focused interactions and which often largely begin before the opening, if any, of an encounter is achieved. In this context, mutual adjustments are crucial before any other form of sequentially organized actions occurs, such as greetings, questions, or requests.

3. Analysis

The analysis demonstrates the sequential organization of ways in which pedestrians can refuse to be approached and/or refuse the activity that is being proposed by the approaching party. The most radical way of refusing is to ignore the approaching party (§ 3.1). This type of interaction raises interesting analytical challenges: although one party does not engage in interaction, both parties can be shown to adjust to each other. Another way of refusing is to minimally interact with the approaching party (§ 3.2). These cases are in contrast with those in which the approached party refuses what the approaching party proposes by engaging in interaction with them (§ 3.3). Displaying and claiming that you are in a hurry is another way of refusing the approach within an earlier temporality than in the previous cases, with some sequential consequences on the action that is being refused (§ 3.4). These ways of refusing occur at different moments within the emergence of the encounter: early

on, at a distance, within the emergent negotiation between converging/diverging trajectories, vs. during the first words of the encounter, typically the greetings, vs. in response to the reason of the approach. They also engage a diversity of embodied and verbal practices, which range from verbal turns saying "no" in second position within a sequence to progressive embodied disalignments within continuous subtle micro-sequential adjustments.

3.1. Doing ignoring

When approached, a basic option for a passerby is to ignore the initiative of the dialoguer. This produces a specific sequential unfolding characterizing a unilateral approach.

We join the first fragment when a dialoguer (DIA1) has just closed a fleeting encounter with another passerby: she is able to spot the incoming pedestrian, who likewise is able to see her and possibly other dialoguers (DIA2, DIA3) who are engaged in that portion of the street (fig.1). In this situation of copresence, vehicular units scan the environment and see other vehicular units (Goffman 1971:11) as well as the way they engage with each other, making sense of what is occurring. The dialoguers are identifiable in their activity of approaching and trying to stop passersby, while the pedestrians are identifiable in their passing-by trajectories and in their responses avoiding, refusing or accepting their approaches.

As soon as the interaction with the previous pedestrian is finished, the dialoguer (DIA1) turns in the direction of the upcoming trajectory of the pedestrian (PED). Orienting to the dialoguer, the pedestrian slightly changes her trajectory, walking in a more oblique way, beginning to avoid her (1). So even before the proper opening, i.e. before the dialoguer utters a summons in the form of a term of address (2), both of them have already mutually responsively adjusted their trajectories, the dialoguer projecting initiation of the encounter, the pedestrian projecting avoidance.

(1) DIALOG 0-17-21

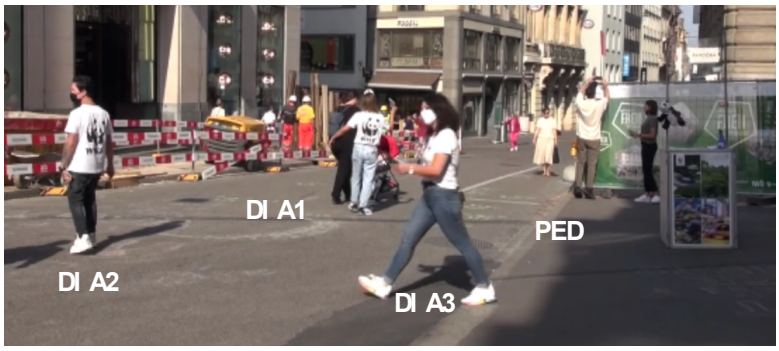


fig. 1

```
1          #(3) *(0.2) + (0.4)
   dia          *turns laterally to ped->
   ped     >>walks fwd+slightly more obliquely->>
   fig     #fig.1
2  DIA     mada:me#
           mam
   fig            #fig.2
3          (0.7) * (0.4)
   dia         ->*one lateral step->
4  DIA     wie ge- isch* ihre morge# bis jetzt?*
           how a-  is    your morning until now
   dia               ->*one more step, parallel to PED*
   fig                             #fig.3
5          *(0.8)*
   dia     *one step, as PED passes by her*
6  DIA     *wünsch ihne no en schönen# tag* klong*
           I wish you PRT a nice day       ((sound))
   dia     *one more step, leaning fwd----*Lfoot sounds on floor*
   fig                               #fig.4
```

2

3

4

The dialoguer's unilateral approach to the pedestrian is finely calibrated in relation to her upcoming walk. The dialoguer positions herself by stopping her body parallel to the incoming trajectory of the pedestrian (fig.2). The summons (2) is uttered in a louder than normal voice, as the pedestrian is still at some distance. As the pedestrian does not answer (3), the dialoguer does one parallel step to adjust to the approaching trajectory. She does another similar step (fig.3) while addressing her question (self-repaired from *wie ge-* projecting *geht es Ihnen* to a more elaborated and also sarcastic *isch ihre morge bis jetzt* (4), formulating the precise moment of their fleeting encounter). This question is perfectly calibrated in such a way that it reaches completion when the pedestrian walks at the level of the dialoguer and passes her (5). So, a response is projected and made expectable at the precise moment at which both individuals are face-to-face and maximally close to each other.

The pedestrian does not respond at all (5) but keeps walking, impassive. The dialoguer makes a further parallel step, thus maintaining their respective positions at the same level during the absence of response (5). She then does another step, this time leaning her body forward, still bodily aligned with the trajectory of the pedestrian but now partially at her back, while uttering the final closing greeting (6, fig.4). This posture projects stopping and leaving the pedestrian to walk away alone. This step ends with the left foot hitting the street and producing an audible noise (6), manifesting the stance of the dialoguer in closing the unilateral encounter with the pedestrian who ignored her.

In this extract, the dialoguer continuously responsively adjusts to the walk of the pedestrian and to her non-responses. The pedestrian – after her early change of trajectory in the pre-opening – does "doing ignoring" the dialoguer by keeping her walking pace, her straight trajectory, her body posture, and her facial expression unaltered. In this way, she achieves the encounter a s unilateral. The unilateral encounter is sequentially organized step-by-step by the dialoger in a way that is responsive to the walking trajectory of the recipient and its temporality.

3.2. Minimally responding

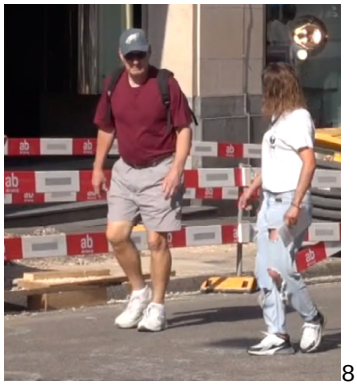
Unilateral approaches to pedestrians are often not totally ignored but rather receive a minimal response. Minimal responses are observable within the respective walking trajectories – continuing vs. converging – in similar ways to that sketched above.

In the next fragment, the dialoguer is scanning the environment and spots a pedestrian walking up the street. She walks perpendicularly toward him, and addresses the fact that he wears an Eagles cap, possibly playing on the double sense of Eagles as a sports team and eagles as a protected animal:

(2) DIALOG 0-17-41

```
1          (1)    *(0.6)*  (0.8)#(0.7)
   dia     >>scans*pivots*steps twd PED--->
   fig                        #fig.5
```

```
2  DIA     SIND SIE •EAgles fans?#•
           are you an Eagles fan
                    •points at cap•
   fig                          #fig.6
3          • (0.5)* #(0.5) •+ (0.5)
   dia     •,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,•
   dia          ->*walks parallel to PED->
   ped                      +looks slightly twd her->
   fig              #fig.7
4  DIA     f+indi g#uet.+
           I find that good
   ped     ->+turns to her+
   fig             #fig.8
```


8

9

```
5          + (.)
   ped     +looks straight->>
6  DIA     ±set± meh: >unterstützig ha.#ich wünsch en schöne *tag<*
           should get more support      I wish you a nice day
   ped     ±nods±
   dia                                                  ->*turns away*
   fig                                  #fig.9
```

It is observable from the dialoguer's sudden change of posture from cruising and scanning the environment to abruptly pivoting that she has noticed the pedestrian. She then begins to step toward him (fig.5). The first turn she addresses to him – referring to the cap and pointing at it, uttering a question, making an answer conditionally relevant – is perfectly calibrated with her steps toward him: at turn completion, she is not only close to him but at the same level (fig.6). She maintains the same relative position as he continues to walk, not responding, and she makes a step in parallel with him while retracting her pointing (fig.7). In absence of a response, she proffers a positive assessment (4): this is responded to by the pedestrian gazing at and turning toward her (fig.8). This gaze shift constitutes a form of minimal engagement within the unilaterally initiated and progressed encounter. As he withdraws his gaze and looks forward (fig.9), still walking at the same pace, she adds a turn-constructional unit (TCU) (6) in which she playfully refers to both the basketball team and the animal as needing to be supported, and closes with a final greeting.

In this case, too, the stepping toward the pedestrian characterizes the initial approach; the calibration of further steps toward and with him before dissolving the interactional space (Mondada, 2009) is not only skillfully coordinated with the continuous walk of the recipient but is also adjusted in such a way that the moment in which a response is made relevant, at turn completion, coincides with the two participants being at the same level – in a face-to-face formation. Thus, the dialoguer's walk and turns are continuously and reflexively responsively adjusted to the unaltered progression of the pedestrian's walk.

3.3. Refusing

When approached by dialoguers, pedestrians can engage in a focused interaction in which they explicitly verbally respond to the dialoguer and refuse the proposed joint activity. Although in this case, the refusal is uttered within a sequence constituted

by a first action initiated by the dialoguer and negatively responded to in second position by the pedestrian, this sequence is embedded in converging/diverging mobile trajectories that manifest the refusal well before it is verbally expressed. In other words, the initial adjustments – and negotiation of the encounter – happen during the incipient (pre-)opening and before the reason for the approach has been announced; foremost, they involve the embodied walking movements of the participants.

The next extract involves a vehicular unit of two pedestrians walking up the street. The dialoguer, stomping and looking around, sees them, stops, and waits for them, adjusting her position to their upcoming trajectory (fig.10):

(3) DIALOG 0-44-50

```
1       (3.2)   * (0.8)#(1.0)  *
   dia  >>stomps*stops and wait*steps twd PEDs->
   fig                 #fig.10
```

10

```
2  DIA  salü zäme:, $£ (.) *ganz kleine* moment #zei:t?* .hh#
        hello together (.) a very short moment of time
                        ->*spreads legs*lateral step*w backwards->
   ped1              $slightly changes trajectory->
   ped2               £slightly changes trajectory->
   fig                                    fig.11#     fig.12#
```

11

12

```
3  PED1 äh: [nein. $£[danke#
        eh   no       thanks
4  PED2     [(nei)   [xx
             (no)
5  DIA                [sehr #schade.
                       very sad
   ped1          ->$walks obliquely on the R->>
   ped2           ->£walks obliquely on the R->>
   fig                     #fig.13
```

```
6  DIA   >ich * wünsch ihne $£n schöne< t[ag$£#
         I wish you a nice day
            ->*pivots and steps aside->>
   ped1                  ->$passes by DIA--$
   ped2                   ->£passes by DIA--£
   fig                                      #fig.14
7  PED2                                  [danke, ihne au
                                          thanks same to you
8  DIA   da:nke sehr
         many thanks
```

13

14

The dialoguer positions herself quite in advance on the trajectory of the pedestrians (not yet visible on fig.10), stopping and then stepping toward them (1). As they come closer, she greets them (2). The greetings address them explicitly as a *with* (Goffman 1971:19), with the Swiss German expression *salü zäme* literally 'hello together' (2) (see Mondada in press). Just after her greetings, they begin to slightly change their trajectory, projecting avoidance of her on her left. She responsively adjusts to this change by spreading her legs and doing a lateral step to the left (fig.11), as well as walking backward in front of them (fig.12). By so doing, she preserves and actively maintains a common interactional face-to-face space.

Thus, even before the dialoguer's question about the availability of the pedestrians begins to be audible, they manifest an embodied disalignment with the trajectory initiated by the dialoguer, projecting their refusal in the next turn. The refusal (3-4) is produced chorally, as both pedestrians further obliquely turn toward the right (fig.13), circumventing the dialoguer on her left. In this case, the dialoguer produces the closing greeting as they pass by her (6, fig.14) – a final exchange of thank you occurs after they have overcome her (7-8).

In the next excerpt, the dialoguer approaches two pedestrians with a baby stroller in a similar way: she positions herself in front of them, blocking their trajectory, and they circumvent her:

(4) DIALOG 0-12-10

```
1          (3)            * (0.7) *      (3.1)      *
   dia     >>walks around*pivots-*5 big steps perp*
2  DIA     *salü zäme:# (.) ±ei kl*eine +moment+ für uns:.#
           hello together (.) a short moment for us
           *2 smaller steps-------*stops in fr and stands->
   ped1    >>looks PED2-----±looks DIA->
   ped2                                +...+moves stroll around D->>
   fig                #fig.15                              #fig.16
3  PED2    o[h: nei dankschön
           oh no thank you
4  PED1     [nei jetz grad nid.#±
             no now really not
   ped1                        ->±looks straight->>
   fig                          #fig.17
5          (0.3)
```

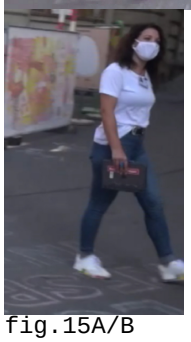


fig.15A/B

fig.16A/B

fig.17A/B

```
6  DIA     alles *klar.# i wünsch* ihne en schöne tag
           alright       I wish you a nice day
   dia         ->*1 step lateral*torso turns twd PEDs->
   fig                #fig.18
```

18

```
7          und gute [zei:t
           a good time
8  PED2             [dir [au:
                     you too
9  PED1                  [danks±chön*
                          thanks a lot
   ped1                      ->±looks straight->>
   dia                            ->*walks away->>
```

When the dialoguer spots the two pedestrians, she moves decidedly toward them (1) and stops in the middle of their way. She utters the greetings, which treat them as being together, that is, as a "with" (*zäme* 2), as she is still walking (fig.15A/B), and the question about their availability is produced as she stops in front of them (2, fig.16A/B). Although the pedestrians are engaged in a conversation and do seem to notice her relatively late, as the greetings have already been initiated (Pedestrian1 shifts her gaze from her partner to the dialoguer only after the greetings, possibly orienting to the expected response she makes relevant, 2), as soon as they notice her, they change their trajectory, even before the question is completed. In other words, the pedestrians begin an avoiding trajectory – which is an embodied response – before the reason for the encounter is produced, and this projects early on their verbal refusal. Next, they produce their refusal in a turn adequately positioned in response to the question (3-4), during which they look away from the dialoguer and walk around her (fig.17-18). The dialoguer liberates the pathway with a lateral step (6) as she produces the closing greetings, which they reciprocate and thank (8-9).

In these two cases, the negotiation between the initiating dialoguer and the responding pedestrians is achieved, first and foremost, in an embodied way, by mean of their trajectory disaligning with her convergent one, in multiple and continuous micro-sequential adjustments. Only then, the sequences of turns-at-talk make this refusal explicit.

In the previous cases, the dialoguer engages in the encounter with a pre-sequence that checks the temporal availability of the passersby, projecting a further action – and getting a negative response. In the next two cases, the dialoguer uses another type of pre-sequence which attributes a positive stance toward nature to the pedestrian, projecting a positive response. In these cases, the refusal is both embodied early on in the adjustments of the trajectory, and later on in a verbal response, adopting a "yes but" format.

We join the next extract as the dialoguer approaches two pedestrians (fig.19). After the greeting (2), she initiates a pre-sequence with a question about their love for nature (3), projecting a positive response:

(5) DIALOG 0-47-20

```
1        (1.3)    *(0.9)* (0.7)
   ped1  >>walks same pace than PED2->
   ped2  >>walks same pace than PED1->
   dia   >>cruises*turns*lateral steps twd PED->
2  DIA   #hallo, schöne gute tag zäme.*£$#
         hello a nice good morning together
   dia                                ->*
   ped1                                ->£changes trajectory->
   ped2                                 ->$changes trajectory->
   fig   #fig.19                           #fig.20
```

19

20

```
3        *>händ sie# a herz* für de naturschutz?<#
         do you have a hearth for nature protection
         *1 step in fr PEDs*one step back-->
   fig             #fig.21                  fig.22#
```

21

22

```
4        (0.4)*
   dia      ->*
5  PED1  £$*eh (.) eh hämmer£$ scho* abr mir #händ nu$r mittagspause*
         eh (.) eh we have PRT but we have our lunch break
   ped1  £at DIA's level£cont.walking looking back at DIA->
   ped2  $at DIA's level$cont.walking lking DIA$w and looks fwd->>
   dia   *one step following them*another step following them--*
   fig                                      #fig.23
```

23

```
6        *n (aso)xx
         and so xx
         *stompels->
7  DIA   ah >alles klar< dann wünsch ich£ schöne mittag*
         oh alright      then I wish you a good lunch
   dia                                              ->*stops
   ped1                                 ->£walks and looks fwd->>
```

The dialoguer calibrates her walk and talk in such a way that she is positioned in front of the pedestrians at the end of her greetings (fig.20). The pedestrians adjust to her approach by changing their walking trajectories at the completion of the greetings (2), responding in a way that displays their unavailability for what will come next. The dialoguer adjusts her steps in front of them (fig.21), keeping this position until the completion of her question (3, fig.22), which is uttered with a faster pace, adjusting to the progression of the recipients who continue to walk forward. While the dialoguer adjusts her steps (e.g., walking backward) in such a way as to maintain a frontal interactional space, the pedestrians continue their walk in such a way as to dissolve it. The transition relevance place (TRP) (4) and last moment (given their mobile trajectories) in which they are positioned face-to-face constitutes the expected opportunity, limited but timely created, for the pedestrians to respond. Pedestrian1 does so – aligning first with the preferred response projected by the question but then producing an account that negates their availability – as they bypass the dialoguer, who begins to follow them (fig.23) until the end of the response. At that point, the dialoguer aligns with their rejection and slows down, doing some small steps and definitively stopping at the end of her final greetings.

In this case as well, two sequential organizations unfold at the same time: a series of micro-adjustments of the mobile trajectories negotiating the establishment of a common interactional space and a sequence of turns constituted by the greetings and a preliminary question projecting more to come which is then rejected.

In the next fragment, a similar pre-sequence is initiated by the dialoguer. The pedestrian responds in a subtle manner with positive-but-negative multimodal format:

(6) DIALOG 0-49-50

```
1        (4.2)          •(0.5)#%(0.2)%*(0.3)#(0.4)*(1.4)%
   ped   >>walks straight fwd->
   dia   >>walks in circles----------*stops--*one step twd PED->
   dia   >>scans envrnmt•sees PED and cont. to gz at him->
   ped                     %.....%drinks-----------%
   fig                    #fig.24      #fig.25
```

24

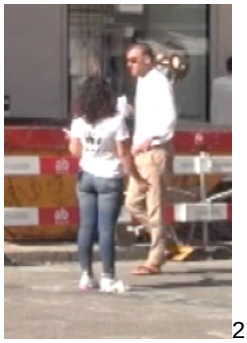
25

2 **%(0.3) * (0.6)*%±(0.4) ± (1.7) #**
ped %,,,,,,,,,,,,,,%
ped ±lks DIA±looks on his L->
dia ->*one st*5 perpend steps to PED->
fig #fig.26
3 **DIA** **ja schöne gu±te tag da %he±*rrs%::#**
yes nice good day the mister
ped ->±lks DIA------±lks down/in front->>
ped %raises LH%
dia ->*stops->
fig #fig.27

26

27

4 **(0.3)**
5 **DIA** **>sie+ haben bestimmt >a herz %für# %natur+°sc[hu#tz°%.<+**
you have for sure a heart for nature protection
6 **PED** **[>dankschön.<**
thank you
ped ->+walks R of DIA----------+at D's level-+
ped %.....%refusing gest---%
fig #fig.28 #fig.29


28

29

7 **+(0.3) * (0.2)+**
ped +overtakes DIA+turns twd the street on his R->>
dia ->*2 steps following PED->
8 **DIA** **alles klar i wünsch ihne n schöne dag=**
alright I wish you a nice day
9 **PED** **%=gli#ch%falls**
you too
%greet gest%
fig #fig.30

30

10 DIA **da*ng•ge sehr**
thanks a lot
->*walks away->>
->•looks away->>

As in the previous cases, the dialoguer is cruising, scanning the environment. The fact that she identifies an upcoming pedestrian as a target is observable in that she looks in his direction, stops, and then progressively steps toward him (1). Just after the dialoguer spots the pedestrian (fig.24) and as she stops, looking at him, the pedestrian brings a cup of coffee to his mouth and takes a sip (fig.25). Her further approach adjusts to this action that makes him unavailable for talking: she stands for a moment, then makes a first slower step toward him while he finishes drinking and then a second faster step. She accelerates as he has finished drinking, and he looks at her (2) before looking away. She makes five big steps toward him (fig.26) and greets him (3): she stops in front of him as she completes her greeting turn (fig.27). At the end of her first turn, she has created an opportunity to respond and has positioned herself exactly opposite him, blocking his trajectory. This completion of her approach and greeting is skillfully timed with the pace and the trajectory of his walk, timely creating an interactional space for a response.

The pedestrian briefly glances at her during the greeting but then continues to look forward. He orients to the projectable completion point and TRP by raising his hand (which can be seen as a greeting in response but also as an early refusal gesture) and looking away. He also slightly readjusts his trajectory in such a way to pass on her right.

She uses the window of possibility in which she stays in front of him and before he passes her (in total, seven seconds) to initiate another action, projecting the reason to approach him (5). She initiates a pre-sequence by attributing to him a love for nature, in a declarative form, projecting a further action that will address the protection of nature. She accelerates her turn as he comes closer to her and at turn completion, he reaches her. In this way, the moment at which she completes her turn, opening up a slot for him to respond, and the moment at which he passes her are perfectly coordinated (fig.28), as in the previous extracts. This is also the precise moment at which he responds: in overlap with turn pre-completion, he produces a >*dankschön.*< 'thank you' (6) and raises his left hand. This multimodal response orients to the double-barreled dimension (Schegloff 2007) of the dialoguer's conversational action: he verbally responds positively to her turn treated as a compliment, and he gesturally refuses the action understood as a pre-request. The latter is the type of response to which the dialoguer orients, treating it as closing-implicative

with *alles klar* and a final greeting (8). The greeting is reciprocated by the pedestrian, as he has already overtaken her: he does a gesture waving back toward her (9, figs.29-30), which she thanks (10).

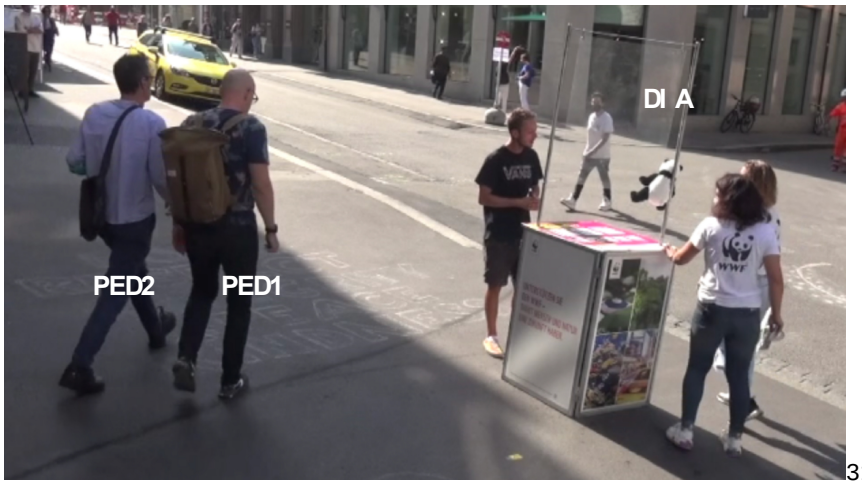
While in the first two extracts (§ 3.1-3.2), the pedestrians were mostly ignoring the dialoguer's approach, in the cases examined in this section, they align with the sequential constraints set up by the dialoguer's actions and engage in a focused encounter, although responding in a disaligning way. The refusal is not only expressed by a verbal negative response, but, much earlier on, by the reorientation of the ongoing mobile trajectory, in a way that diverges from the converging one of the dialoguers.

3.4. Displaying and reporting being in a hurry

A distinct case of disalignment and refusal is constituted by pedestrians who exhibit being in a hurry: like the pedestrians examined in the previous section, they orient, address, and respond to the dialoguer; unlike them, they do so by producing a turn accounting for their non-availability much earlier, in overlap with the greetings. In response, the dialoguer does not maintain her frontal position until the completion of her question or request, but steps out quite early, giving the way, and often abandoning her turn.

The next fragment shows two pedestrians in a hurry. The dialoguer spots them coming from another street and walks toward them (Fig.31). In this case, they do not change their trajectory at all and continue straight forward:

(7) DIALOG 0-35-30



31

```
1       (0.7) *(0.5)* (0.4)#(0.2)
   dia        *turns*walks frontally twd PED1/2->
   ped1  >>walks fast->>
   ped2  >>walks fast->>
   fig                      #fig.31
2  DIA   die zwei he:rre, $guezi* wo[:hl#
         the two misters   hello
```

3 PED1 **[mir# hends leid[*er press$ant#**
we are unfortunately in a hurry
4 DIA **[*darf i-**
can I
ped1 $gesticulates----------$
dia ->*stops frontally-----*...steps aside>
fig #fig.32 fig.33#

32

33

5 DIA **AC[H: (0.3) so furcht-**
ACH (0.3) so terrib-
6 PED1 **[es tut uns jo- [eigentlich lei:d. ab]er *mir**
[we are xx- actually sorry but we
7 PED2 **[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]**
dia *w along w them->>
8 PED1 **|chöme no#cher| [gli £z'ruck£**
come later back
9 DIA **[alles guet**
[alright
peds |-pass by DIA-|
ped1 £lks back£
fig #fig.34

34

The dialoguer addresses the pedestrians at some distance as she is walking toward them, greeting them (2). They continue their walk straight toward her at a fast pace, projecting the continuation of their trajectory. In overlap with the terminal part of the greetings (fig.32), one of them provides for an account (3), which further overlaps her request, which is abandoned (4). At the completion of their account, they are still at some distance from her (fig.33). As she responds (5), she is overlapped again (6) by some apologies and the promise to come back (8), uttered as they pass her (fig.34).

In the following two fragments, there is a very similar overlap, leading to the abandonment of the dialoguer's turn. Contrary to the previous case, the pedestrian changes trajectory very early, on the term of address used by the dialoguer.

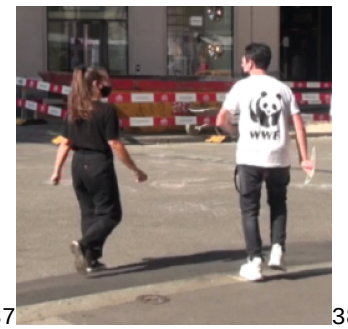
(8) DIALOG 0-56-30/1

```
1         (4.2)    *(0.8)* (1.6)
   dia    >>cruises*turns*walks twd PED->
   ped    >>walks down the street->
2  DIA    •.hh •d#ie* jungi +lady, (.) blibt •si#cher schnäu
          .hh the young lady (.) will surely quickly
   dia    •....•open arms--------------------•
   dia             ->*stops frontally->
   ped                     ->+changes trajectory->>
   fig           #fig.35A/B                    #fig.36
```

35a/b

36

```
3          [±bi *mir stoh# dr-
           [stop with me xx-
4  PED     [±sorry ich (bi am) % schaffe,*± s[o#rry
           [sorry I (am at) work, s[orry
5  DIA                                       [alles gu#:e[%(h)et
                                             [alright
6  PED                                                  [ähäh .äh
   dia        ->*...pivots laterally-----*walks with PED->
   ped     ±raises LH---------------------±
   ped                        %looks at DIA-----------%lks fwd->>
   fig                  #fig.37         fig.38#      #fig.39
```

37

38

39

```
7  DIA     en schöne tag *tschau,
           a nice day     bye
                        ->*stops
```

The dialoguer moves frontally toward the pedestrian walking down the street. She opens her arms (fig.35A/B) and produces a term of address (2), stopping in that position at some distance on her projectable trajectory. The pedestrian begins to change her trajectory on the term of address (2, fig.36), projecting a disalignment avoiding the dialoguer. In overlap with the dialoguer's turn, she produces an account (4), also raising her hand in a refusing gesture. Overlapped, the dialoguer does not finish her turn (3). She also pivots laterally (fig.37) in order to let the pedestrian continue her walk. She walks along with her until the final greetings and then stops (fig.38). Her *alles gu:e(h)et* is not only stretched but produced with an empathic accent and is responded to by the pedestrian looking at her (fig.39).

A very similar occurrence is the following one, with a dialoguer positioning herself frontally on the incoming trajectory of a pedestrian coming from the opposite direction.

(9) DIALOG 0-56-30/2

```
1          (8.1)                    *(0.9)* (0.6)
   dia     >walks up/down the street*turns*stands->
2  DIA     d•ie dame#::•, +grüezi w[o#hl. darf ich sie sch-
           the lady        hallo          can I xx- you
3  PED                               [han temi- han e termi::n
                                     [I have an appointment
   dia      •raises RH-•
   ped                   ->+changes traj->>
   fig             #fig.40          #fig.41
```

40

41

4 **%[(tut mir% leid)**
[(I am sorry)
5 **DIA** **[alles *guet**
[alright
dia ->*w w PED->
ped %looks DIA%straight->
6 **(0.3)**
7 **DIA** **wünsch# ihne schöne tag***
I wish you a nice day
->*
fig #fig.42

42

8 **(0.2)**
9 **PED** **glichfalls**
you too

The dialoguer waits for the pedestrian and, at some distance, utters a term of address (2, fig.40) and a greeting (fig.41). The pedestrian changes trajectory while greeted and produces an account and an apology in overlap with the greeting and the beginning of the request (3-4). As in the previous fragments, the dialoguer does not finish her request (2). Instead, she aligns with the pedestrian, both with an agreeing turn (5) and by walking with the pedestrian along the street (fig.42), until she produces the final greeting (7).

This section demonstrates that one way to refuse to engage in the encounter initiated by the dialoguer is to display being in a hurry in an embodied way and to formulate it with an explicit verbal account. Being in a hurry is displayed in the fast pace of the walk, which can be either straight forward without any deviation (extract 7) or with a relatively early change in its trajectory, that is, already on the address term (extracts 8-9). This temporality contrasts with that of the refusals expressed by a negative turn, in which the change of trajectory tends to happen a bit later, at the end of the greetings (extracts 5-6). Likewise, when the pedestrians proffer an account for being in a hurry, they utter it early on and in overlap with the ongoing initiating turn of the dialoguer, preempting and curtailing their request and occasioning its abandonment. This brings the encounter to a close, with the dialoguer

realigning with the reasons for not stopping (typically with *alles guet*). In this case, the positioning of the dialoguer frontally on the pedestrians' trajectory is quickly readjusted by pivoting laterally and letting the pedestrian pass, dissolving the interactional space of the encounter.

4. Conclusion

The paper has presented a range of methodic ways in which pedestrians refuse an approach and the activity that is being proposed by the approach. It has shown a diversity of formats in which refusals can be implemented, going from minimal interactions – such as ignoring the approaching party (§ 3.1) or minimally exchanging glances with them (§ 3.2) – to more focused engagements which verbally express the refusal within sequences of turns-at-talk – either saying "no" (§ 3.3) or claiming and accounting for being in a hurry (§ 3.4).

These fleeting encounters which end in refusals enable us to reflect upon the sequential organization of extreme forms of social interaction characterized by asymmetry, unilaterality, and disalignments. These cases reveal how copresence in public space can gradually move from civil inattention to a progressive fleeting interaction between divergent parties in which one initiates an approach while the other navigates to avoid it. Before a word is produced, these divergences are implemented in the mobile trajectories of the participants and witnessed, not only by parties implicated but also possibly by third parties at-a-glance. The party initiating the approach skillfully adjusts their walking trajectory to the incoming trajectory of the approached party and calibrates its temporality with the temporality of the address or first turn. These adjustments are oriented to by the approached party, which responsively adjusts to them – typically by changing the trajectory of their walk in a way that does not align with the person convergently stepping toward them but disaligns, divergently avoiding them. Both trajectories are asymmetrically adjusted: while the dialoguer visibly steps toward the pedestrian, stops in front of them, walks laterally and backward to establish and maintain a frontal interactional space, the pedestrians generally operate minimal changes in their trajectories, obliquing toward the right or the left of the dialoguer in an attempt to avoid them but without radically reorienting the direction of their walk. These mutual adjustments constitute a fascinating form of micro-sequentiality in which the parties respond to each other in a continuous way.

These adjustments characterize the pre-opening of the encounter, and continue during the opening and the entire interaction. They confirm the importance of visuality and mobility for the emergence of interactions in public space (Goffman 1971). They contribute to a better understanding and problematization of pre-openings (or pre-beginnings, Schegloff 1979; Mondada 2009; De Stefani/Mondada 2018): preliminary actions and positionings can be achieved by the initiating party which identify a possible future addressee well before the latter notices it; when both notice each other and are able to anticipate their trajectories, they do not yet engage in a reciprocal interaction, which is achieved only later by mutual gaze and mutual engagement. Thus, (micro-)sequential adjustments begin well before the opening of a focused interaction, although they constitute a crucial aspect of what makes this interaction possible.

As an alternative to minimal forms of silent embodied fleeting interactions, focused interactions in which the parties engage in talk are shaped by sequencing dynamics that are well-described by Sacks (1992:99ff.). It is noticeable that verbal openings are compact, with greetings that are generally not reciprocated and are immediately followed by the reason for the approach, often in pre-sequences (*do you have time*', *are you sensitive to nature*') that project some solicitation. Thus, these opening are more similar to institutional ones than to casual informal ones, presenting a "reduced" format (Zimmerman 1992) when compared to the "canonical opening sequence" (Schegloff 1986).

In this case, too, the mobile micro-sequential adjustments between the two walking parties are crucial. In particular, for the dialoguer, the adjustment to the pedestrian's progressive walk enables the creation and maintenance of an interactional space, thereby achieving a form of face-to-face, reciprocal, mutually accessible eye-to-eye contact that characterizes social interaction. These adjustments between walking trajectories are skillfully calibrated and coordinated with the turns-at-talk and their sequence organization: the dialoguers adjust their positions in front of the pedestrians in such a way that at the end of a turn, the interactional space between them secures relations of accessibility, proximity, and reciprocity. This creates a spatiotemporal window corresponding to a TRP in which a response to the turn asking a question or requesting something is possible and is expected. The negatie response is produced as this window progressively closes, given that the pedestrian continues to walk and the dialoguer slows down or stops when the denial becomes clear. The cases in which the pedestrians claim and display that they are in a hurry are interesting in this respect since they curtail the formulation of any further action after the greetings, preempting them with the provision of an account. By contrast, final greetings are often reciprocated in an aligned way, especially when the pedestrian has already overcome the dialoguer – this final alignment is bodily oriented by all parties as inconsequential for any prolongation of the encounter.

The fleeting interactions examined in this paper thus enable us to discuss on the basis of systematic analyses a diversity of forms of sequentiality. The focus on refusals demonstrates how they can be implemented in embodied micro-sequential adjustments as well as in sequences of turns-at-talk. In the former case, they are manifested in divergent mobile trajectories, responded to as such by the recipient adjusting to them; in the latter case, they are uttered within a sequence of verbal or multimodal responses to a first action. Most often, the latter are preceded by and embedded in the former. Embodied adjustments can exhibit very early responses, orienting to the incipient interaction even before its opening. Verbal negative responses, by contrast, tend to follow the turn expressing the first action within a canonical form of sequence organization, the adjacency pair – although (as shown by the cases of pedestrians in a hurry), they can anticipate, preempt, and curtail very early the first pair (cf. Mondada 2021b). While the micro-sequentiality of adjustments is characterized by fine-grained multiple temporalities responsively coordinated together – including forms of simultaneity typical of multimodal resources – sequence organization is characterized by a more linear form of successive temporality. This shows how temporality and sequentiality in their diverse manifestations are central to social life.

5. Transcription conventions

The transcripts use Jefferson's conventions for talk (2004) and Mondada's conventions for embodiment (2018), see
https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription

6. Acknowledgments

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