TEXT & TALK SUBMISSION

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Abstract

This study documents the mechanism by which a speaker accomplishes targeting the current turn at an unselected recipient; it does so by reference to what we will call participants' *differential relationships to a referent*. Several video recordings of Japanese ordinary conversations are examined with the methodology of conversation analysis. The findings show that the differential relationships are resources for generating double accountabilities of action; the targeted turn implements one action for the selected recipient and another for the target recipient. The use of differential relationships also provides publicly witnessable grounds for the distribution of turn-allocation techniques. We argue that targeting is a rich domain in which turn allocation and the accountability of action intersect.

Targeting and Double Accountabilities of Action in Interaction

1 Introduction

In systematizing Goffman's (1981) notion of "participation framework," Levinson (1988) introduced the concept of "indirect target." Speakers may address their turn at talk to one recipient while indirectly *targeting* it at an unaddressed recipient. Drawing on this notion, we distinguish *targeting* from *addressing*. We use the term *targeting* to refer to a special type of turn design: namely, designing a turn at talk as specifically "being for" a recipient other than the addressee, although the turn is *addressed* to the latter. This study documents a mechanism by which speakers target their turn at talk at an unaddressed recipient. We examine instances of targeting that are observed in the context in which the current speakers employ the "current-selects-next technique" – that is, an action that makes a specific type of responding action to it relevant is addressed to a specific recipient (Sacks et al. 1974). We examine the following two types of cases: (1) In the first type, the target recipient, who is not selected, self-selects to take the next turn without treating this self-selection as illegitimate or having it treated as illegitimate by their coparticipants; (2) In the second type, the *selected recipient* first produces the now-relevant responding action minimally, and then the *target recipient* responds to the same first utterance at the third turn. We illustrate what we mean by targeting with one example of the first type.

Excerpt 1 is a case of the first type. The excerpt is taken from a conversation among three participants, Akio, Bunta, and Chiaki, who have been good friends since they were students at the same college. Single arrows indicate the turns that execute targeting, and double arrows indicate the target recipients' responding turns. Before the

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excerpt, Bunta was explaining how powerful a particular entertainment production company is. In lines 01–04, Chiaki informs Akio of Bunta's sources of knowledge of the company. The magazines that Chiaki mentions are well-known Japanese gossip magazines (see Hajikano and Iwata [2008] for a detailed analysis of this excerpt). See the Appendix for the transcript conventions.

(1) [KB3]

```
01 Chi: -> >nee nee< koitsu::- no  nanka joohoo      gen
            ITJ ITJ  this.guy  PSS  like  information source
         Hey, this guy's information sources are
   aki.g:              ccccccCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCC
   bun.g:
   chi.g:   aaaAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

02      -> tte araigeenoo toka ⌐hontoo no⌐ hanashi toka=
            P   PN          or  |true   P | story   or
         Arai Entertainment or True Stories ((magazines))
03 Aki:                         Lahh ahh ⌐
                               ((coughing and laughing))
   aki.g:   CCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCcccc
   bun.g:
   chi.g:   AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

04 Chi: -> =son'na mon'      da  ka⌐ra:
            stuff.like.that AUX so|
         or stuff like that, so|
05 Bun: =>                       Liya: a:::⌐no::: are  ma⌐=
                                 ITJ  well|     that ITJ
                              No, well,|uhh that may |
06 Aki:                               Leh huhuhh      ⌐
   aki.g:
   bun.g:
   chi.g:   AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAaa

07 Bun: => =sore mo    aru n' des' kedo: i⌐ya kedo, sore-=
            that also  be  P  HOR  but    ITJ but    that
         also be true, but that-    |
08 Chi:                             Ln:.
                                    ITJ
                                 Yeah.

09 Bun: => =so- asoko rahen wa >des('ne)< zasshi  wa
            that about P   HOR          magazine P
10      kake       nai n'su yo.
         write.can not P HOR FP
         they cannot write something about that in
         magazines. [Lines 09-10]
```

In line 01, Chiaki uses the third-person referential form *koitsu* ("this guy") while gazing at Akio throughout his turn (indicated by the letter *A* in the transcript), thereby addressing his current turn to Akio. He produces an informing addressed to Akio, thereby selecting Akio as the next speaker, who is expected to accept or reject its informativeness (although an informing may have only limited conditional relevance – we will discuss this point in the next section). However, the turn is recognizably constructed as teasing targeted at Bunta, who is referred to in the third person. As it turns out, it is Bunta, the target recipient, not the addressee, who takes the next turn to resist the tease by correcting the information provided by Chiaki. Bunta's taking the turn is not treated as illegitimate: Chiaki displays his recipiency to Bunta's turn in line 08.

This study addresses the following two problems: (1) How are publicly witnessable grounds provided for the target recipient to take the next turn (when they do)? (2) How are publicly witnessable grounds provided for the current speaker to address their turn to a recipient other than the target recipient instead of directly addressing it to the target recipient in the first place? The documentation of "publicly witnessable grounds" should address what *enables* as well as *motivates* the use of the target recipient's and the current speaker's practices. Let us note here that by motivation, we do not mean the participants' internal drive to use the practices. Instead, we see motivation as part of the local order of the ongoing interaction; it constitutes the natural accountability of an utterance that provides a witnessable ground for the production of the utterance.

In our analysis of both sets of cases, we consider the participants' various kinds of relationships to a referent (epistemic, deontic, benefactive, etc.) that are differentially distributed among the participants, which we call *differential relationships*. By a

"referent," we mean broadly anything "out there" to which a current utterance relates, whether a person, object, event, fact, idea, time, or place, whether real or fictional. For example, in Excerpt 1, the speaker (Chiaki) refers to a person (Bunta) and the magazines that he unilaterally decides Bunta regularly reads. Through the analysis, we argue that differential relationships to a referent provide a publicly witnessable ground for using targeting and responding to it and that they do so by making the targeted utterance *doubly accountable*: the utterance implements one action (e.g., [jokingly] informing) for the sake of the addressee and another (e.g., teasing) for the sake of the target recipient.

The organization of this paper is as follows: We will first offer an overview of relevant literature for developing the background of this study in the next section. After briefly describing our data and method, in our data analysis section, we address the first of our two questions by examining cases of targeting of the first type, in which the unselected target recipient selects themselves as the next speaker. We then develop the answer to the second question by examining cases of the second type, in which the unselected target recipient selects themselves and takes a turn after the addressed recipient's minimal response. We conclude the paper with a discussion of the implications of the analysis for future investigations.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Turn-allocation techniques

In their seminal work on the turn-taking organization for conversation, Sacks et al. (1974) pointed out that there are two types of turn-allocation techniques: (a) the "current speaker selects next" technique and (b) the "next speaker self-selects" technique. They described in some detail the practices by which the first technique is employed. The

practices are divided into two groups: (a-1) the practice of *addressing* the current turn to a particular recipient and (a-2) the practice of constructing the first pair part of an adjacency pair (FPP)—that is, constructing a turn as an action type that makes the production of a particular type of action by another speaker at the next turn "conditionally relevant" (Schegloff 1968) or generally expectable (see Nishizaka and Hayano [2015] for an overview of turn-taking in conversation).

Regarding FPPs, Stivers and Rossano (2010: 9) observed the gradational nature of the conditional relevance of sequence-initiating actions. While a question, invitation, or request clearly projects its relevant sequence-responding action of a limited type (i.e., an answer or acceptance/rejection), an assessment or informing at a sequentially initial position creates only limited conditional relevance. While the absence of a response to the former is noticeable and sanctionable, the failure to respond to the latter may not be. We can add that the gradation of the conditional relevance holds not only between action types but also within an action type. The conditional relevance of the acceptance or rejection of the newsworthiness or informativeness of an informing may vary according to what the speaker is informing about; compared with an informing about someone's marriage or death, for example, the conditional relevance generated by the informing about the place where someone became captivated by a restaurant chain (Excerpt 2 below) may be rather limited.

2.2 Practices of addressing

Sacks et al. (1974) pointed out that the clearest (and perhaps strongest) practice of addressing is the use of an address term—a name or title syntactically separated from the turn components that constitute an action type. Another common practice of addressing that they mentioned is the use of gaze direction. Although the success of gaze as an addressing practice relies on whether coparticipants see that the current

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speaker is gazing at a particular recipient (Lerner 2003), gaze is used as one of the "explicit" addressing devices (Lerner 1996, 2003; see also Auer 2018, 2021).

Sacks et al. (1974: 717–718) mentioned a type of practice of addressing that utilizes turn designs: the practice of asking a repair-initiating question with a question word (e.g., *What? Who?*) or the (partial) repetition of the prior utterance with a rising intonation. By virtue of their design, which is systematically dependent on the previous turn, such questions select the just-prior speaker as the next speaker.

Lerner (1996) observed how, when a speaker uses a second-person singular pronoun, addressing and referring mutually contribute in following ways: First, if recipients can locate the referred-to person through the content of the utterance, its sequential position, or the spatial or social relation to the mentioned (e.g., requested) object, they can thereby also locate who is being addressed. Second, if a speaker gazes at a particular recipient while using a second-person singular pronoun and recipients can locate who is being gazed at, the recipients can locate who is being addressed and thereby also locate the referred-to person. We can extend this observation to a third-person pronoun in three-party interactions. If recipients can locate the recipient referred to by a third-person pronoun, they can thereby locate the addressee, who is neither the speaker nor the referred-to recipient, unless the utterance is "self-talk" (Goffman 1981) or a genuine monologue.

2.3 Differential relationships to a referent

Another addressing practice that Sacks et al. (1974: 718) mentioned is the employment of social identities, such as spouse. The participants' social identities frequently implicate "epistemic statuses" (Heritage 2012a, 2012b), which in turn implicate rights and obligations with respect to the knowledge associated with them. Lerner (2003: 190) also observed how social identities are used in "tacit addressing" in next-speaker

selection and further noted that momentary identities that emerge in a local sequential environment can also be used in addressing.

To highlight their capacity to differentiate participants, we use the term *differential relationships* to refer to the relationships or statuses that participants have vis-à-vis a referent of a current turn. Epistemic relationships to a referent are not the only differential relationships that can serve as an addressing device: deontic (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012, 2014) and benefactive relationships (Clayman & Heritage 2014), as well as possible further types of differential rights and obligations that have yet to be investigated, may also serve as such. Furthermore, if the referent is a person, the collection of categories of paired relationships that Sacks (1972) called "R" is a set of differential relationships to the person. R is conceptualized such that anyone is in one (and only one) of the paired relationships with any other person. These relationships are normatively ordered in terms of the diffused (i.e., unspecified regarding domains of relationship) rights and obligations that participants within the relationships are expected to have.

As we will demonstrate in this study the thus-implicated differential relationships to a referent, which are usable to address the current turn to a recipient, are also usable as a resource for targeting a current turn.

2.4 "Deviant" turn allocation and targeting

Previous studies have observed that when the participant selected by the current-selects-next technique displays difficulty in producing the sequence-responding action (such as a delay in responding), an unselected participant may take the next turn (Lerner 2019; Stivers & Robinson 2006). Furthermore, Lerner (2019) compiled observations of cases in which, even though the current speaker has employed a current-selects-next technique and the selected participant shows no sign of trouble in producing the next

action, an unselected participant self-selects to speak. He argued that "participants speak on grounds other than having been selected, but those grounds are directly bound up with the sequence-initiating action of the prior turn" (Lerner 2019: 391). These grounds, according to Lerner, include participants' entitlement to speak on their own behalf, their status as a member of an interactional team, and the intelligibility of the just-prior sequence-initiating action as challengeable to the selected participant or as repeatable by an unselected participant.

In this study, we pursue this line of research and demonstrate that the grounds for an unselected recipient's self-selection may be not merely "bound up with" the prior turn but *set up* in the prior turn: the implicated differential relationships to a referent are employed to target the current turn at an unaddressed recipient even though the current speaker appears to employ a current-selects-next technique and select another recipient as the next speaker.

3 Data and Methodology

We began the current study with the observation that when the current speaker employs a current-selects-next technique in certain ways, a participant other than the one selected occasionally responds to the sequence-initiating turn. We then collected 31 such cases extracted from Japanese interactions involving more than two participants (one audio- and eight videotaped interactions). We further divided the collection into two subsets according to whether the selected participant responds and then investigated the mechanism by which these sequences were organized. In some of them, the expectation of a specific unselected recipient responding appears to be set up in the design of the first utterance. Of the 31 cases, five were found to present clear examples of targeting. Most of the analyzed data were recorded by the authors and their colleagues on various

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occasions. We obtained informed consent from all participants. We also used two examples taken from the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (Koiso et al. 2022). We transcribed all the data using a transcription system adapted from the one developed by Jefferson (2004), anonymizing all proper names.

To analyze these data, we employed conversation analysis (Sacks 1992; Schegloff 2007). This study reports the results of the systematic single-case analysis of each selected extract; we ground our description of the mechanism in details of each interaction rather than in the commonalities of the examined cases.

4 Data Analysis

4.1 Grounds for the target recipient to take the next turn

In this section, we demonstrate that differential relationships to a referent operate as a mechanism for targeting the current turn at an unaddressed recipient. We show how targeting works in the context in which a current-selects-next technique is employed, though with a first action generating limited conditional relevance of a second action. An utterance may be targeted at a recipient who is referred to with a third-person referential form (Excerpts 1 and 2) or at a recipient other than the one to whom an utterance is addressed by the explicit use of a second-person pronoun (Excerpt 3). In these excerpts, taken from the same conversation among three friends, the target recipient selects himself as the next speaker.

In Excerpt 2, taken from the same interaction as Excerpt 1, the participants have been discussing a ramen noodle chain (Tarô).

(2) [KB]

```
01 Chi: -> k-  koitsu    mushiro nanka kanda no taroo:: de:
            this.guy rather  like  PN    P  Taro    at
         Th- This guy, rather, at the shop in Kanda
    aki.g:      ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc
    bun.g:
    chi.g:            bbbbbbBBBBBbbbaaaAAAAAaaa

02     -> hamatta        ┌rashii n'da yone.
            got.captivated |HS    P   FP
         got captivated, I heard.
03 Bun: =>                └hamari mashita.
                          got.captivated
                          I did.
    aki.g: CCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCccc
    bun.g:                aaaAAAAAAAAAAAA
    chi.g: aaAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

04        (0.8)

05 Bun: => kanzenni    hamari mashita.
           completely  got.captivated
           I completely did.
    aki.g:
    bun.g: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
    chi.g: aa

06 Bun:    >datte   boku< .hh  hajimete
            because I         for.the.first.time
07         tsurete'tta no ga:: ano tsureteikareta no
           take.PST   P  P   uh  be.taken.PST    P
08         moriyama san nan'desu yo::
           PN       HOR AUX AUX  FP
           Because I first took uh was taken ((there)) by
           Moriyama san.
           [Lines 06-08]

09 Aki:    aa:┌::
           ITJ|
           Oh::
10 Bun:       └'n::de . . .
               and . . .
           And . . . ((continues telling the story))
```

In lines 01–02, Chiaki provides information about Bunta, to whom Chiaki refers with
the third-person reference form (*koitsu* ["this guy"], line 01). The turn is constructed as
an FPP action (i.e., informing), making it expectable for the addressed recipient to
accept or reject its informativeness. This FPP turn is addressed to Akio via Chiaki's
looking at Akio toward the end of the turn (indicated by the letter *A*). Thus, Chiaki

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selects Akio as the next speaker. However, it is not Akio but Bunta, the one referred to with the third-person reference form, who speaks next (line 03).

The understandability of Chiaki's arrowed turn as targeted at Bunta is provided in the following ways: First, the fact about which Akio is informed belongs to Bunta's territory. Chiaki marks his knowledge of the fact as something that he gained accidentally by adding the "hearsay" marker *rashii* ("I heard") at the end of his turn (line 02). Second, Tarô's main shop is located in the neighborhood of the university from which the three participants graduated; therefore, it might be natural for them to become fans of the chain at the main shop, to which they had many chances to go when they were students. However, Chiaki informs Akio that Bunta "got captivated" by the chain at another shop in another town (Kanda), highlighting the unexpectedness of the location with the adverb *mushiro* ("rather"). In other words, the reported fact is presented as accountable, and thus, Chiaki's turn solicits Bunta's account of why he had not become captivated by the chain at the main shop. In fact, Bunta proceeds to provide the account from line 06 onward, and Akio displays his recipiency to the account, which suggests that Akio does not treat Bunta's taking the turn as illegitimate.[1]

Here, Chiaki's turn implicates relationships to the mentioned fact that are differentially distributed among the participants in the following way: the speaker (Chiaki) only has "hearsay" (accidental) knowledge of the fact; the addressee (Akio) is ignorant of the fact; and the target recipient (Bunta) owns the fact (O+). Furthermore, the differential relationships to the fact also make Chiaki's turn *doubly accountable* by assigning two different actions to it, namely, informing and solicitation of an account: the speaker (with "hearsay" knowledge: K+) informs the addressee (ignorant: K-) about the fact, and the speaker (with only "hearsay" knowledge) solicits an account of it from the target recipient (who owns the fact). Bunta's status as the *owner* of the fact both

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motivates and enables him to take the next turn to provide the solicited account (Table 1).

	Chiaki	Akio	Bunta
Informing	Speaker (K+)	Addressee (**K-**)	(K+)[*]
Soliciting an account	Speaker (O-)	(O-)	Target (**O+**)

Table 1: Differential relationships to a referent and double accountabilities of action in Excerpt 2 ([*]Bunta *owns* the reported fact [O+] rather than [merely] being knowledgeable about it.)

The same analysis applies to Excerpt 1, which we cited in the introduction. In Excerpt 1, Chiaki subversively uses the implicated relationships to the referent (i.e., the kind of magazine Bunta reads), which are differentially distributed among the participants in the following way: the speaker (Chiaki) speaks as if he were knowledgeable about what he reads; the addressee (Akio) is ignorant of what he reads; and the target recipient (Bunta) owns what he reads. These differential relationships to what Bunta reads motivate and enable Bunta to rebut what Chiaki mentions before Akio addresses it in response to Chiaki's turn (Table 2).

	Chiaki	Akio	Bunta
Informing (joking)	Speaker (jokingly claimed K+)	Addressee (**K-**)	(K+)[*]
Teasing	Speaker (O-)	(O-)	Target (**O+**)

Table 2: Differential relationships to a referent and double accountabilities of action in Excerpt 1 ([*]Bunta *owns* what he reads [O+] rather than [merely] being knowledgeable about it.)

In the next example, Excerpt 3, Akio addresses his informing to Chiaki, using the second-person pronoun *omae* ("you," lines 05–06). Prior to Excerpt 3, Bunta and

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Chiaki have spent several minutes explaining to Akio the popularity of another ramen noodle chain, Hanjôken. Bunta and Chiaki have been talking knowledgeably about the chain; specifically, they have been discussing that they always wait in a long queue outside a shop of the chain to be seated. During their explanation, Akio has been listening as if he had not experienced the chain. However, it is revealed that he has been to a shop of the chain (lines 06–07). Immediately before Excerpt 3, Bunta was saying that when he went there during a typhoon, he was able to be seated at the shop within 30 minutes, much sooner than usual (Akio refers to this in line 02). In line 01, by using the final part of the format to summarize a description of a referent, *A wa E teyuu X* ("A is an X like E"), Chiaki brings the explanation to completion. (Note that Chiaki uses the postposition *teyuu* such that its object is hearably the entire talk that precedes it.)

(3) [KB]

```
01 Chi:     teyuu (.) ⌜raamen ⌜ya.
           QT            |ramen.noodle.shop
           like ((that)), the ramen noodle shop is.
02 Aki:              ⌊sorede |mo sanju 'ppun    gu⌜rai.
                     even.then  30      minutes about
                     Even then, you had to ((wait))
           for about 30 minutes.              |
03 Bun:                     ⌊raamenya.         |
                            ramen.noodle.chain |
                            Ramen noodle chain.|
                                               |
04 Chi:                                        ⌊aa
                                                ITJ
                                               Yeah.


05 Bun:    n:⌜n.
           ITJ
           Mm|
06 Aki: -> ⌊omae ni ikkai tsurete'ttemoratta 'kkiri nanda
             you by once  was.taken              never P
   aki.g:              cccccCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCC
   bun.g: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
   chi.g: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

07      -> yo na ore:.
           FP FP I
           I have never been there since the one time you
           took me there. [Lines 06-07]
   aki.g: CCCCCCCCCCC
   bun.g: AAAAAAAAAA
   chi.g: AAAAAAAAAA

08 Bun: => aa  hanjooken iki mashita?
           ITJ Hanjoken  go  HOR.PFT
           Oh, have ((you)) been to Hanjôken?
   aki.g: CCCCCCCCCCCCCCCCcbbBBBBBBBB
   bun.g: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
   chi.g: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

09 Chi:    itta yone:.
           went FP
           ((You)) have, right?

10 Aki:    it⌜ta  itta.
           go.PST go.PST
           Yes, ((we)) have.
11 Chi:    ⌊an' toki mo   demo naran'- naran' ⌜da  yone.
           that time also but  wait    wait   |PST FP
           But at that time, ((we)) waited in a queue, too,
           right?                              |
12 Aki:                                        ⌊naran' da.
                                               wait  PST
                                               ((We)) did.
```

After the completion of the explanation, Akio informs Chiaki that he has *not* been to the

chain since the time he went there with Chiaki (lines 06–07) (Fact I). Akio gazes at

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Chiaki during the turn. (In addition, the subsequent exchange in lines 08–09 makes it evident that the second-person pronoun refers to Chiaki.) As far as what is reported (lines 06–07) is expected to be informative for Chiaki (who did not know how many times Akio had been there), Chiaki is selected as the next speaker to accept (or reject) the informativeness. However, following Akio's informing, Bunta selects himself as the next speaker to receipt the *implied* information that Akio *has* been there (line 08) (Fact II)—information implied by the expression "since the one time you took me there" (lines 06–07). This implied information flatly contradicts the assumption that Bunta potentially held (that Akio had *never* been to the chain) during his explanation regarding the chain. In these terms, this implied information (that Akio has been there) may be more newsworthy than the information that has been explicitly conveyed. In this context, Bunta appears to be the target of the report. Note that not only is Bunta's taking the next turn not treated as illegitimate by himself or others, but also the information revealed to Chiaki (i.e., that Akio has not been there since then) is never taken up by Chiaki (the addressee) or Akio (the speaker). Instead, Chiaki and Akio topicalize what they experienced at the shop—namely, they also waited for a long time then (lines 11–12).

This targeting is accomplished via the participants' different epistemic statuses (i.e., the fact that *only* Bunta did not know that Akio *had* been to the chain) that become locally relevant – in other words, locally relevant different epistemic statuses that are invoked by Akio's turn. Akio's arrowed turn implicates differential relationships to the facts related to Akio's experience with the chain in the following way: Akio (who owns the facts related to his experience) explicitly informs Chiaki (who is ignorant about Fact I while knowledgeable about Fact II) about Fact I; and Akio also informs Bunta (who is ignorant about Fact II, which Fact I presupposes) about Fact II. Bunta's epistemic status

of being the only participant who is ignorant about Fact II motivates and enables Bunta, the target recipient, to take the next turn to address his incorrect presumption regarding Fact II (Table 3).

	Akio	Chiaki	Bunta
Informing about Fact I	Speaker (K+)	Addressee (**K-**)	(K-)[*]
Informing about Fact II	Speaker (K+)	(K+)	Target (K-)

Table 3: Differential relationships to a referent and double accountabilities of action in Excerpt 3 ([*]Regarding Fact I, Bunta is not knowledgeable about the presupposition of the fact and therefore it may not make sense to speak of his knowing or *not* knowing it.)

In this section, we have suggested that the implicated relationships toward what is referred to in the current turn that are differentially distributed to participants provide a publicly witnessable ground for overriding the formal employment of a current-selects-next technique. Of course, the arrangement of differential relationships does not determine the upcoming turn allocation. Whether the target recipient self-selects to take the next turn may depend on the participants' differential relationships to the ongoing interaction as such (rather than a specific referent), as well as the degree of conditional relevance of the targeted turn.

As an instance, let us briefly consider Excerpt 4, an exchange at a restaurant. Hino assures her companion (Sakurai) of the quality of the food in the presence of the service person, who has just put a dish in front of Sakurai.

(4) [CEJC C002_016]

```
01 Hino: -> ko|re ga |oishii n'desu  yo.
            this  P  |good   AUX.POL FP
            I assure this is good.
   hino:      |looks at the served dish
   hino:              |leans toward the dish

02 Saku:     ⌐a soo_
            |oh really
            |Really.
03 Serv:    L(°°      °°)
04 Hino:    heh |heh heh h
   hino:        |looks at serv
```

Because of the use of the form *n'desu yo* (translated as "I assure"), Hino's utterance in line 01 is hearable as an informing (and assuring) addressed to Sakurai (line 01) while it may also be hearable as a compliment targeted at the service person (note that Hino, the speaker, looks at the service person while laughing [line 04], thereby possibly indicating that her first turn was [jokingly] targeted at the service person). The addressee (Sakurai) produces a news receipt (*a soo* "really.") in line 02 at the same time as the target recipient (service person) utters something inaudible. The reason for Sakurai's taking the next turn may be that the three participants do not have equal participation statuses in terms of the ongoing interaction.

As exemplified above, a target recipient does not always take the next turn upon the completion of the turn targeted to them. But this does not undermine our analysis that shows that a turn is targeted to an unaddressed recipient on the basis of the public grounds that motivate and enable the target recipient to take the next turn.

4.2 Grounds for using a targeting practice

4.2.1 First type of case

The next issue to address is what motivates and enables the current speaker *not to directly address* their turn at the target recipient *but to use targeting*. The users of targeting in the previous examples may have a specific motivation not to directly

address their turn to the target recipient. In Excerpt 1, teasing may be more efficient if the target of teasing is formally excluded from the teasing exchange temporarily (see Goodwin 1997). In Excerpt 2, if Chiaki had addressed to Bunta the solicitation of the account of his becoming captivated by the chain in Kanda, Akio, ignorant of the fact, might have been excluded from the interaction. In Excerpt 3, if Akio had informed Bunta of a fact that contradicts the assumption based on which Bunta has given the elaborate explanation about the ramen noodle chain, he might have been open to the complaint that he had not revealed the fact earlier. Therefore, it may well be that he formatted his turn as a report of information that is compatible with the explainers' (Bunta's and Chiaki's) assumption (that Akio does not have adequate experience with the chain) while conveying the more newsworthy information implicitly, as presupposed by the report.

In these cases, the speakers are enabled to use targeting by a specific arrangement of differential relationships to the referents. In Excerpt 2, only Akio does not know that Bunta became captivated by the chain in that city, and both this fact and the reason for the fact belong to Bunta's territory. These relationships to the fact enable Chiaki to target his turn that informs Akio of his accidentally known fact at Bunta to solicit the account of it.[2] In Excerpt 1, Chiaki exploits a similar arrangement for a mocking effect; he acts as if Akio is the only one who does not know Bunta's sources of information, which belong to Bunta's territory. In Excerpt 3, Bunta is the only one who does not know that Akio has been to the chain, and Chiaki (as well as Bunta) does not know that Akio has not returned to the chain since then. This arrangement of differential relationships enables Akio to target his turn that informs Chiaki about the latter fact at Bunta to inform him about the former fact. In sum, such an arrangement of differential

relationships provides a publicly witnessable ground that enables the use of targeting motivated by contextual reasons.

4.2.2 Second type of case: Mobilizing agreement

To further pursue the issue of what *enables* the use of targeting, we examine another set of clear cases in which targeting is used—cases in which the speaker mobilizes agreement from the addressee. In these cases, first, the selected speaker (selected via request for agreement [an FPP] being addressed to them) responds to the prior turn, and then, the target recipient responds to the first turn. We observed at least two common features in the cases in which the current speaker mobilizes agreement. First, the addressed recipient's response is minimal, and second, the addressed recipient displays an embodied orientation to the target recipient while producing their response.

Excerpt 5 is a case of the second type. The new owner of a tennis club (Takakura) discusses his ideas for making some changes to a regular event (a tournament) with two veteran members of the club (Horie and Yamaya), who are apparently more knowledgeable than the owner about the past activities of that club, as well as those of other tennis clubs in its neighborhood. In this context, Takakura's presentation of an idea provides a sequential position in which Horie and Yamaya are expected to offer comments or suggestions. The three participants are sitting side by side with Takakura on the left and Horie on the right. Prior to Excerpt 5, Takakura presented his idea of changing the set day for the event by saying, "I am thinking of moving ((the event)) to first Thursdays" (data not shown). During his turn, Takakura orients his face to each recipient alternately while the recipients fix their gaze on the memo in his hand. Targeting is used in Yamaya's turn in which she requests agreement (with the final particle *ne* ["right?"]) from Horie concerning the situation of another club (Wakaba), which indicates a potential problem with Takakura's idea (lines 02 and

04).

(5) [CEJC S001_018]

```
01 Hor:     ⌐fuu::n
           |ITJ
           |I see.
02 Yam: -> ⌐hee: ⌐mokuyoobi tte yuuto =
           ITJ  |Thursday  QT
           Oh   if ((it is)) Thursday,
03 Tak:         ⌐n::n
                 ITJ
                 Yeah
   tak.g:  (HHHHHHhhh)
   hor.g:
   yam.g:

04 Yam: -> =wakaba to    ⌐kasanaru ne:⌐:
           Wakaba with |overlap  FP |
           that would be the same day as Wakaba ((another
           club in the same neighborhood)), right?
05 Hor:                  ⌐n : n      ⌐n:n
                          ITJ         ITJ
                          Yeah        Yeah
   tak.g:                   hHHHHHh
   hor.g:                   yYYYytTTTt
   yam.g:   hHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHh

06 Tak:    wakaba to   ka(h)sana:ru(h) n'da yo. .hh
           Wakaba with overlap         P    FP
           It is indeed the same day as Wakaba.
```

Yamaya addresses her turn to Horie by turning from Takakura's memo to Horie while uttering the name of the club (Wakaba, line 04), as indicated by the letter *H*. However, produced in the sequential position where comments or suggestions on Takakura's idea are expectable, Yamaya's turn is also hearable as targeted at Takakura. In this case, Horie, the addressee, first produces two minimal agreement tokens with Yamaya's problem-indication (line 05), first immediately after Yamaya mentions the name of another club (at the point that the gist of Yamaya's turn has become recognizable; see Jefferson [1973]) and then at the completion of Yamaya's turn. Next, Takakura, the target recipient, produces the second response to the agreed-on problem-indication (line 06).

The addressee (Horie) of Yamaya's turn (lines 02 and 04) offers agreement with Yamaya (line 05) while only momentarily looking at Takakura (she promptly retracts her gaze from Takakura and directs it to the memo in his hand) without elaborating what she is agreeing with. Horie's behavior appears to relay their agreed-on problem-indication to Takakura, who then responds to the agreed-on problem-indication by claiming that he knows the possible problem and proceeds to offer the reason for the proposed change.

Yamaya may have motivations to use targeting instead of directly addressing her problem-indication to Takakura. The mobilization of Horie's agreement provides Takakura with stronger support for her concern. Furthermore, she may address it to Horie to avoid directly raising her concern about Takakura's plan to respect his primary deontic rights and responsibilities. Thus, Yamaya's arrowed turn (lines 02 and 04) implicates the following two sets of differential relationships to Takakura's club: Yamaya and Horie, as "veterans," are expected to be more knowledgeable about other clubs in the neighborhood of Takakura's club than Takakura, a (relative) "newcomer" (K+/-). This first set of differential relationships partitions the relevant population into two groups consistently (Nishizaka, 2021a) with the second set of differential relationships, which are implicated by Takakura's prior comment-seeking turn— namely, deontic relationships to Takakura's club differentially distributed between the "club owner" (i.e., decision-maker) and "club members" (i.e., non-decision-makers) (D+/-).

Yamaya's use of targeting is enabled by this specific arrangement of differential relationships to the club (Table 4). This arrangement enables Yamaya to mobilize agreement regarding another club's situation from Horie (a comember of the "veterans," i.e., those more knowledgeable about other clubs in the neighborhood than a

"newcomer") *and* simultaneously target the action of informing or caution-giving at Takakura (the "club owner," who is more responsible for the decision concerning the event than "club members"). (Table 5).

	Takakura	Yamaya	Horie
Right to decision	+ (club owner)	- (club member)	- (club member)
Knowledgeability	- (newcomer)	+ (veteran)	+ (veteran)

Table 4. Consistent partitioning in Excerpt 5

	Takakura	Yamaya	Horie
Request for agreement	(K-)	Speaker (**K+**)	Addressee (**K+**)
Informing/ caution-giving	Target (**D+**)	Speaker (D-)	(D-)

Table 5: Differential relationships to a referent and double accountabilities of action in Excerpt 5.

Let us consider another example. Excerpt 6 is taken from a tea ceremony lesson. Three students (Masa, Kazu, and Yuki) are watching the instructor (Tomo) prepare tea as "the host," sitting behind her side by side as "guests" (Figure 1). Masa's positive evaluation of how Tomo prepares tea in kimono (lines 01–03) forms a possible compliment to Tomo, who is the only person present in kimono at the session (and at all the other sessions the students have joined).
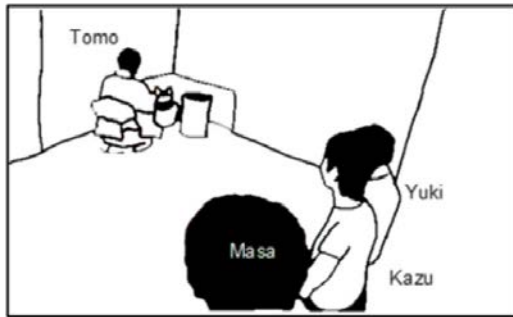
Figure 1: Participants' seating arrangement in Excerpt 6

(6) [Tea Ceremony]

```
01 Mas: -> |°↓yappari°   |yoofuku           to wa:| nanka (.)
            |as.expected |western.clothes P  P  | like
            |As expected, | from ((how it looks with))
            |Western clothes,                 |
    mas:    |turns to kaz |leans to kaz -------->|
    kaz:    ->>looks to tom ---->>

02      -> |tamoto  ga aru to   kanji=|
            |sleeves S  be  then feeling
            |with tamoto ((sleeves of kimono)), it looks
    tom:    |places the dipper          |
            on the kettle ----------->|

03      -> =┌|ga |chigau  |↑ne┌:
            ||S |different FP
            ||different.   |
            └|kk kk ((sound made when the dipper is put
            |    on the teakettle))
04 Kaz:     |           |  └nn::|n
            |           |    ITJ |
            |           |    Yeah|
    mas:    |turns to|          |faces back to
            kaz --->|           tom ->>

05          (1.3)

06 Tom: => |soo  yone┌: yat|teru- ya┌t::te┌temo chigai=
            |that FP  | doing-  doing    also different
            |Yes, indeed. Doing- when doing, it also
            |makes a difference. [Including line 07]
07 Mas:     |          └ne:: |         └ya- └n:
            |            ITJ  |             ITJ
            |           Right?              Yeah
    tom:    |takes the        |
            tea whisk ---->|

08 Tom: => =masu ┌yo(┌ne:)
            HOR   |FP |
09 Kaz:       └ a |:↓:.
              ITJ|
              Ah.|
10 Mas:         └nn::.
                ITJ
                Mm-hm.

11 Tom:     yappari   ocha wa kimono kana:
            after.all tea  P  kimono FP
            In the end, I guess the tea ceremony is best
            done in kimono.
```

However, Masa requests agreement (with the final particle *ne*) with her evaluation from Kazu by turning to Kazu around the end of line 03 instead of directly addressing the compliment to Tomo. (Throughout the exchange, Tomo keeps facing the tea set in front of her, and the three students keep facing and looking at Tomo, although Masa leans slightly toward and looks at Kazu while producing line 01.) Kazu's (the addressee's)

response (line 04) is minimal, without elaboration (although emphasized), and her gaze direction is maintained toward Tomo. It is Tomo, a target recipient, who substantially responds to the (agreed-on) assessment (lines 06 through 11).

Masa may have motivations to avoid directly addressing Tomo: the agreement from Kazu may increase the plausibility and sincerity of the evaluation, and, furthermore, directly addressing the compliment to Tomo might disturb Tomo's performance.

However, Masa's use of targeting is enabled by a specific arrangement of differential relationships to Tomo's preparing tea in kimono. Masa's arrowed turn (lines 01–03) implicates two sets of differential relationships to this referent. The first set consists of differential visual access to the referent (V+/-), partitioning the relevant population into two groups – those with visual access to the referent (Masa, Kazu, and Yuki) and the one without it (Tomo). Masa's evaluation focuses on *kanji* (translated as "looks") and is intelligible as an evaluation of the elegance of the movements of tea preparation in kimono, based on her visual access to it. Specifically, it is observably produced in response to Tomo's extending her right hand to scoop up hot water from a kettle with a dipper; the extension of her hand opens the big kimono sleeve. The second set consists of differential relationships to the same referent that partition the relevant population into the following two groups – the one in kimono who is preparing tea and the ones in ordinary clothes waiting for the tea (KM+/-). These two sets of differential relationships partition the relevant population consistently. This consistent partitioning of the relevant population enables Masa's mobilizing agreement from Kazu with her evaluation of Tomo's conduct while targeting the agreed-on evaluation as a compliment at Tomo (Tables 6 and 7).

	Tomo (teacher)	Masa (student)	Kazu (student)
Performing in kimono	+	-	-
Visual access to performing	-	+	+

Table 6: Consistent partitioning in Excerpt 6

	Tomo (teacher)	Masa (student)	Kazu (student)
Request for agreement	(V-)	Speaker (V+)	Addressee (V+)
Compliment	Target (KM+)	Speaker (KM-)	(KM-)

Table 7: Differential relationships to a referent and double accountabilities of action in Excerpt 6.

After some silence, during which Tomo completes the movements of pouring hot water into a cup, the target speaker, Tomo, offers another positive evaluation (lines 06 and 08) by doing "agreeing" with an agreement token (*soo* ["right"]). Although she does not have the same perceptual access to her movements, she constructs the evaluation as being based on other resources, namely, tactile and kinesthetic ones. Note that she constructs her evaluation as regarding preparing tea in kimono in general, rather than her current performance; she does so by beginning with the token *yappari* (translatable as "as expected") and topicalizing (with the topic marker *wa*) "tea ceremony" without any specification. Thus, while doing "agreeing," Tomo addresses the possible compliment by "avoiding self-praise" (Pomerantz 1978).

In this section, we examined cases in which the speakers mobilize agreement from a recipient to target their turns at another recipient. In these cases, the speakers use an FPP (i.e., request for agreement), and the selected recipient takes the next turn. However, this second turn is minimal and is followed by the target recipient's response to what is said in the first turns. We showed that this usage of targeting is also enabled

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by a specific arrangement of differential relationships to a referent that consistently partition the relevant population.

6 Conclusion

This paper has explored the possibility that targeting operates on turn-allocation through the implicated differential relationships to a referent. These differential relationships provide a specific mechanism in addition to the system elucidated by Sacks et al. (1974) for targeting *to work as part of turn-allocation*. Targeting also involves differential accountabilities of action. An action targeted at an unselected recipient and one implemented by the formal features of the targeted turn are different. Actions such as soliciting an account, teasing, informing about a different matter, and complimenting are overlaid with actions for the formally selected recipient, such as informing and requesting agreement. Such differential accountabilities of action are provided by implicated differential relationships to a referent.

Thus, targeting is a rich domain for investigating the inseparably intertwined relationships between turn allocation and accountability of an action. One limitation of this study, however, lies in the fact that the cases of targeting it examines are limited in variation as well as number. All the examined cases in which the formal employment of the current-selects-next technique is overridden by the target recipient's self-selection involve the use of informing (i.e., a week FPP) in the employment of the current-selects-next technique. Whether the target recipient takes the next turn in the context in which another recipient is formally selected as the next speaker may depend on the *degree* to which the FPP employed in the current-selects-next technique makes a response conditionally relevant. It remains to be discovered how this degree is related to

the fact that the formal employment of the current-selects-next technique is overridden by the target recipient's self-selection.

Drawing on Sacks's (1972) formulation of the "R" device, we use the notion of differential relationships to a referent throughout this study. While R's member categories are normatively ordered, when differential relationships to an object, such as a club or shop, are at issue, good analytic tools comparable to membership categorization devices are not yet available. The normative order of differential relationships to an object that we tentatively formulated in Section 2 is still speculative and crude. Indeed, we do not know what kind of order this normative order actually is. Some relationships may be incommensurable with each other (Nishizaka 2021b). However, we believe that we have identified an important direction for further investigation of differential relationships in various domains of interaction.

Notes

[1] See also Lerner [1992] for his analysis of a similar utterance: "Mike says there was a big fight down there last night," which prompts Mike's storytelling, although before Mike begins the storytelling, another participant receipts the news.

[2] Note that the mechanism for this targeting may be a variant of the one for "fishing" (Pomerantz 1980).

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The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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Appendix: Transcript Conventions

In all the excerpts, each line is composed of two or three tiers. First, there is a

Romanized version of the original Japanese. Below this are phrase-by-phrase glosses

where necessary. Finally, the third tier presents an approximate English translation. The

first tier of the transcript utilizes Jefferson's (2004) transcription system. In the second-

tier glosses, the following abbreviations are used:

AUX	auxiliary verbs
END	endearment marker
HOR	honorific expression
HS	hearsay
ITJ	interjection
N	nominalizer
P	particle
PFT	perfective aspect marker
PN	proper name
PSS	possessive marker
PST	past tense marker
Q	question particle
QT	quotation marker
S	subject particle

Some excerpts include annotations of the embodied conduct of each participant in the

extra tiers designated by lowercase abbreviations such as "yam" for Yamaya, for

instance. The starting and ending points of the movements are indicated by the sign |.

Participants' gaze directions to co-participants in the extra tiers are designated as ".g,"

e.g., "aki.g." In these extra tiers, a participant's uppercase initial indicates that the gaze is directed toward this participant. Small letters in these tiers indicate the transition of gaze directions.