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7. Linking clauses for linking actions: Transforming requests and offers into joint ventures

A 'joint venture' is commonly understood to be a business agreement in which two parties come together to take on a new project, making more or less equal investments in terms of money, time, and effort. Since the cost of starting new projects is generally high, a joint venture allows the parties to share the burden of the project as well as the resulting profits (and losses). Not surprisingly, there are also moments in the social world when a new project is 'costly' and when accordingly it could be advantageous for parties to share in the work of carrying it out. It is in moments like these that participants find themselves combining efforts (or actions) in the service of a common goal. And as we will show, in combining efforts and actions they may quite naturally find themselves combining clauses as well.

In this paper we will investigate a specific clause combination found in everyday naturally occurring talk-in-interaction which, we will argue, is used for bringing off joint ventures: we call it the *division-of-labor* pattern. We explore empirically its social interactional functions as well as its general schematic structure in English and Finnish conversations. At the same time we compare its specific structural variants in the two languages. In conclusion, we work out the characteristics of this clause and action combination as compared to other action combinations documented in language and described by, e.g., Ford (2001), Kärkkänen and Keisanen (2012), Rauniomaa and Keisanen (2012), and Steensig and Heinemann (2013).

The division-of-labor phenomenon

Our attention was first drawn to divisions of labor in talk-in-interaction by the following episode from a telephone conversation between Emma and her grown daughter Barbara. Emma's husband Bud has recently left her after a quarrel. Emma is now calling Barbara to enlist her help in persuading Bud to come down to their beach house for the Thanksgiving dinner she has planned for later that week. When we join the conversation, Emma has already asked Barbara twice to call her father but Barbara has avoided making a commitment. Now the following transpires:

(1) "Barbara" (nb025-3)

```
1  Emm:  [nyeah, .t.h W [ILL YOU HELP M]E OU:T OF [THI:S:,]
2→Bar:            [o k a y .    ]              [yeah ↑I ]'ll call
3→        him to↓ni:ght,hh
4         (0.2)
5⇒Bar:  [en you can] call] [me]
6  Emm:  [A:LRIGHT  ] DEA:]R [.h] [h.hh]
7⇒Bar:                      [↑you] call me at n:ine tomorrow
8⇒        ↓mo[rning.
9  Emm:     [.t alright darling I APPRECIATE *I[T.
10 Bar: :                                      [oka:y,
```

When Emma, in a pleading voice, once again asks Barbara to help her out
(line 1), Barbara finally agrees: she commits to calling Bud that evening
(lines 2–3) but goes on to ask Emma, in return, to call her the next morning
to find out what he said (lines 5 and 7–8). At the time of the recording,
these were long-distance calls; in fact, earlier in the conversation, Emma
has suggested that Barbara should call her collect. In other words, there
are grounds for concluding that from the participants' perspective the last-
minute endeavor of persuading Bud to join the family for Thanksgiving is
costly. What Barbara is doing is thus proposing that she and Emma divide
the labor and in a rather literal sense not only share the work but also the
costs of the endeavor.

The division of labor that Barbara proposes is accomplished through a
combination of clauses: the first clause is marked with → and the second
with ⇒ in ex. (1). Table 1 represents this division-of-labor structure:

Table 1. Division of labor in example (1)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(1)	↑I]'ll call him to↓ni:ght, hh	en	you can] call] [me] [↑you] call me at n:ine tomorrow ↓mo[rning.

In clause 1 Barbara commits to calling Bud and in clause 2 she asks her
mother to call her the next morning.[1] The two clauses are combined with
the conjunction *and*.

Something rather similar can happen in Finnish, as can be seen from
the following excerpt from a telephone conversation between Irja and her
grown daughter Sini. Irja wants her daughter to buy a long overcoat and has
agreed to finance it.

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1 Because Barbara's first attempt *En you can call me* (line 5) is fully overlapped by
  Emma's *Alright dear* (line 6), she breaks off and re-does it in the clear as *You call me
  at nine tomorrow morning* (lines 7–8).

(2) "Tukun rahaa" 'Pile of money' (Sg124_A03 Jess2)

```
01 Irja:  [ja ] tota<, (.) @ja a↑siahan on    kyllä niin että
           PRT   PRT           PRT  thing-CLI be.3SG PRT   so   COMP
          and so and the thing is actually that

02        ↑mie en  lähe siun  kans kauppoihin mihkää
           1SG  NEG go   2SG-GEN with shop-PL-ILL   anywhere
          I won't go browsing through any shops

03→       ↑kiertelemää,= mie  tuon     sinulle tukun     rahaa
           browse-INF-ILL   1SG   bring-1SG 2SG-ALL  stack-GEN money-PAR
          with you = I'll bring you a pile of money

04⇒       [ni sie   saat     mennä ostamaan sen
           PRT 2SG    get to-2SG go-INF  buy-INF-ILL DEM3-GEN
          and you can go buy the

05 Sini:  [£nsh hh h hi hi£

06⇒Irja:  takin.@
           coat-GEN
           coat
```


This example comes from a return call by Sini: prior to this call, Irja has
called Sini while Sini was taking a bath. It turns out that Irja had several
reasons for her original call. The two previous and extended sequences
dealing with these have been closed, and in lines 1–4 Irja introduces yet
a third issue, namely her daughter's overcoat. Although purchasing a new
overcoat is introduced to this call for the first time, the way it is presented
implies that the topic has been discussed earlier. The turn includes
elements such as the clitic particle *-han* (*asia-han* 'the thing' line 1) and the
demonstrative *se* (*sen takin* 'the coat' lines 4, 6) that index shared knowledge
of the matter (see Hakulinen et al. 2004) and knownness of the referent
(Laury 1997). Furthermore, the turn begins with a negative announcement
(lines 1–2), and negative announcements imply that there is an expectation
of a positive alternative (cf. Schegloff 1988), here that Irja and Sini will go
shopping together. This is supported by the particle *kyllä* (line 1), which is
used for countering positive presuppositions (see Hakulinen & Keevallik,
forthc.). Moreover, in negatively formulated utterances, the word *mihkää*
(*kauppoihin mihkää* 'to any shops', line 2) indexes negative affect (Kotilainen
2007). Browsing through the shops is thus formulated as a strenuous job
that Irja will not attend to. Instead, she proposes a division of labor: she will
bring the money and Sini will look for and actually buy the coat.

Table 2 represents the division-of-labor structure in this exchange:

Table 2. Division of labor in example (2)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(2)	**mie tuon sinulle tukun rahaa** I'll bring you a pile of money	**[ni** and	**sie saat mennä ostamaan sen [takin.@]** and you can go buy the coat

In clause 1 Irja commits to bringing the money for the coat, and in clause 2 she tells Sini to go and buy the coat. The clauses are combined by the particle *ni(in)*. Although the Finnish particle *ni(in)* is the equivalent of 'so' in English, in translating example (2) we have opted for 'and' in the interest of idiomaticity. The two actions of (Irja) bringing the money and (Sini) buying the coat will lead to the successful achievement of a common goal, ensuring that Sini has warm outdoor clothing for the winter.

In both these cases, (1) and (2), the speakers first promise to do something themselves and then ask their interlocutor to do something complementary in order to achieve a common goal. Together the two actions lead to the establishment of a joint venture. Yet interestingly, the order of the actions proposed in a division of labor structure can be reversed. That is, in both English and Finnish we also encounter cases in which speakers first ask the other to do something and then promise to do something complementary themselves. Here is a case in English:

(3) "Deliver another day" (Holt 1:3)
Lesley is a replacement teacher and has agreed at the last minute to substitute for a sick colleague on Thursday. She is now calling her grocer Mr Bathwick to reschedule the order and home delivery of groceries she had originally planned for Thursday.

```
11 Les:  =.hh and (.) I'm coming in tomorrow:
12       or I could pop in quickly on Wednesday,
13       I wonder .hhh
14       a:re you able to do: (.) deliver another da:y (.)
15       o:r: w-what d'you think.
16       (0.4)
17 Bat:  it would be very difficult t'deliver another da::y,
18 Les:  yes.
19 Bat:  uh:m
20 Les:  .hh well if I could (0.2) is it possible for me
21       to leave an order with you.=
22→Bat:  =that's perfectly alright.=leave the order with us,
23⇒      we'll make it up'n deliver it on Thursday.
24 Les:  .hh Yes.
```

Because Lesley will be unavailable for shopping on Thursday, she is ostensibly hoping that she can select her green groceries on Tuesday or Wednesday of that week and have them delivered the same day (lines 11–14). However, Mr Bathwick maintains that he cannot deliver on any day but Thursday (line 17), whereupon Lesley now asks if she can place her order early, i.e., on Tuesday or Wednesday (lines 20–21), implying that Mr Bathwick would then put it together and deliver it on Thursday. It is this implicit proposal for a division of labor that Mr Bathwick ratifies and explicitly confirms in lines 22–23. He does so by first instructing Lesley to leave the order with him and then promising to put it together and deliver it on Thursday. Together, their two actions will lead to the realization of a common goal, getting fresh green groceries to Lesley that week.

Like in (1) and (2), here too the proposal for a division of labor is accomplished via a combination of clauses, as shown in Table 3:

Table 3. Division of labor in example (3)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(3)	l<u>e</u>ave the order with us,		**we'll make it up'n deliver it on Thursday**.

In contrast to (1) and (2), the speaker here first directs his interlocutor to do something and then commits to doing something complementary himself in order to realize a common goal. Unlike (1), there is no overt combining element *and* in (3): this is a case of asyndetic clausal linkage (Quirk et al. 1985).[2]

The same order of actions is also documented in Finnish for a division of labor. In the following telephone conversation, Sepe has called his friend Simppa's house in order to check whether he (Sepe) and his partner can come over for coffee, but it turns out that Simppa is not at home. This is what now transpires between Sepe and Simppa's partner Vera:

(4) "Kahvi" 'Coffee' (Sg94_B01)

```
1  Sepe:  =me  'ltiin    tulos     k<u>a</u>hville
           1PL   be-PST-PAS-4        coming-INE   coffee-ALL
           we were coming for coffee

2          s<u>i</u>nnepäin    mut  tota noin   ni   (.)
           DEM3.LOC.about    PRT   PRT   PRT    PRT
            there but
```

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2   The two clauses are hearable as being in construction with one another on prosodic grounds: the first has slightly rising final pitch (continuing intonation) and the second picks up the prior pitch contour where it left off in order to complete it (see below).

```
3              täytyy    nyt oottaa  ku   se   Simp:pa
               Ø have.to-3 PRT  wait-INF  when  DEM3 Simppa
               Ø must  wait now until Simppa

4              tulee  sieltä   takasi.
               come-3  DEM3.LOC    back
               comes back from there

5  Vera:       nii tulkaa    e illemmalla.
               PRT  come-IMP.2PL   evening-COMP-ADE
                yes come later in the evening

6          (0.6)

7→Sepe:     mno [↑soi]t:tele< t (.) tännepäin    sitte_ku<
               PRT      call-FRE-IMP        DEM1.LOC.about   then   when
                well give us a call here when

8  Vera:        [(vai)]
                (or )

9          (.)

10 Vera:    joo:.=
               PRT
               yeah

11⇒Sepe:   =ku se  on ö  paikalla ni m: (.) [me tul]laan.
               when DEM3 be    place-ADE PRT           1PL come-PAS-4
               when he's back  and w- (.) we'll come

12 Vera:                                        [joo:. ]
                                                   PRT
                                                   yeah

13 Sepe:   [↑.jeh    ]
              yeah

14 Vera:   [>selvä<,]
              okay

15 Sepe:   ↑tehään näin.
              let's do it that way.
```

Having heard that Simppa is out, Sepe explains the reason for his call using the past tense *oltiin tulossa* ('were coming', lines 1–2), which marks the original plan as not valid any more. He then presents a somewhat vague alternative plan ('∅ must wait now until Simppa comes back', lines 3–4), which leaves open whether he and his partner will still come over to Simppa and Vera's or not. As a response to this, Vera suggests a solution for the get-together, namely that Sepe and his partner come later in the evening (line 5). She does not, however, specify the time by which Simppa will be home. Instead of straightforwardly agreeing to come (which would require Sepe to

call first and check whether Simppa has returned), Sepe first requests Vera to let him know when Simppa is home, and then commits to coming over himself (lines 7 and 11).

Like in (1)–(3), the proposal for a division of labor is accomplished via a combination of clauses, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4. Division of labor in example (4)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(4)	**[↑s<u>oi</u>]t:tele< t (.) tännepäin sitte_ku< =ku se on ö p<u>ai</u>kalla** give us a call here when when he's back	**ni** and	**m: (.) [me t<u>u</u>l]laan.** w- (.) we'll come

Like in the English example (3), the speaker here first issues a directive to his interlocutor to do something, and then links the directive to a commitment to do something himself in order to achieve a common goal: in this example the common goal is getting together for coffee. Like in the previous Finnish example (2), the two clauses that accomplish these two social actions are combined with the particle *ni*(*in*).

Although the order of actions being forwarded is different in (3) and (4) from that in (1) and (2), the phenomenon is the same: in both languages proposing to share the workload with one's interlocutor via a combination of two clauses. The agent of the action in one clause is typically first person: *I/we* or *minä/me*; the agent of the action in the other clause is typically second person, *you* or *sinä/te*. However, the order of the actions can be either "I"-"you" or "you"-"I". The combining element, *and* in English or *niin* in Finnish,[3] can be lexically explicit as in (1)–(2) and (4), or it can remain unexpressed as in (3).

Data and methodology

We have assembled a small collection of cases like those in (1)–(4) for both English and Finnish, using a moderately large corpus of everyday British and American English conversation as well as the Finnish Conversation Data Archive (located at the University of Helsinki). Currently there are approximately 54 exemplars in our collection, 27 for each language. The forms used in each exemplar have been tracked in tables like those shown above.

For each division-of-labor case we have carried out a close analysis of the sequential and interactional context in which the structure is found using the methods of Conversation Analysis (see, e.g., Sidnell & Stivers 2013). At the same time we have analyzed the linguistic forms encountered using the methods of Interactional Linguistics (see, e.g., Couper-Kuhlen & Selting

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3 The combining element *ja* 'and' is also documented in Finnish: see ex. (9) below.

2001). Our aim has been to understand what the division-of-labor structure is doing – why and when it is used – and how it is formed in the two languages, English and Finnish. We also wished to learn what similarities and differences there are between division-of-labor structures in the two languages in order to come to an appreciation of the language-independent and the language-specific dimensions of this phenomenon.

In the following we first explore the activity contexts in which division-of-labor structures occur and propose what we believe is their rationale (section 3). Next, we explore the linguistic forms used to promote a division of labor in the two languages and point out the recurrent features of the division-of-labor patterns documented, analyzing some of the similarities and differences between English and Finnish variants of the practice (section 4). In conclusion, we single out the specific and unique characteristics of the division-of-labor practice as a combination of two clauses and two actions (section 5).

Activity contexts and rationale for dividing the labor in talk-in-interaction

One of our initial observations was that the division-of-labor phenomenon is recurrently found in specific sequential environments. For instance, a good number of the structures in our collection are located in the context of *requests*. In (1) Emma has requested her daughter Barbara to call up Bud and persuade him to come down for Thanksgiving; in (3) Lesley has requested her greengrocer to deliver her groceries another day; and in (4) Vera has requested Sepe and his partner to come later in the evening. In these cases the division-of-labor structures are used by <u>requestees</u> in responding (positively) to a request. They use them to signal commitment to do what has been requested but at the same time to make a complementary request of their own: in (1) Barbara asks Emma to call her early the next morning, in (3) the greengrocer asks Lesley to leave her order with him, and in (4) Sepe asks Vera to let him know when Simppa comes home. These reciprocal requests are understood to be asking for actions that will complement what the requestee is committing to do in the service of a common goal, i.e., as part of a joint venture.

Yet divisions of labor are also sometimes used by a <u>requester</u> who is asking for something but at the same attempting to reduce the workload associated with that request for the requestee. Consider, for instance, the following sequence:

(5) "Avaimet virtalukkoon" 'Keys in the ignition' (Sg94_A5: [00:02:07])
Matti has lent his excavator to Pekka, who needs it to remove some big
stones from his yard. Now, however, Matti has phoned Pekka to announce
that he needs to get the excavator back by Monday because he has sold it.

```
1  Matti: no  joka  tapaukses se  (.)  'te m̲aanantaina  täytyy
           PRT  any   case-INE    DEM3      monday-ESS      must-3
           well in any case it needs to be picked up on Monday


2          kuitenki hakee  se  p̲ois, ni   saat    t̲oisen
           anyhow   pick up DEM3 away   PRT   get-2SG  another-GEN
           so you'll get another one to replace it


3          t̲ilalle jos  tarvi(it [sit),]
           instead  if   need-2SG    (PRT)
           if you need one


4  Pekka:                          [ .nhh]h >tota noin ni   j̲oo.
                                                well yeah.


5          =katotaan sitä n't öö öh:
             let's see now uhm


6          .hh sä haet sen pois koska.h
               when will you pick it up


7  Matti: [(-)            ]


8  Pekka: [>voit sä ha]kee s̲unnuntainaki jos sä haluut<.h=
             you can pick it up already even on Sunday if you want to


9  Matti: =ö:e̲:m minä viitti [py-
             no I won't bother


10 Pekka:                    [hh


11 Matti: ei si(i)tä pyhänä kato mirk- mitään virkaa
            no use you see on a Sunday


12         sinne t'lee: ö:y k- asiakas (.) m̲aanantaina (sinne.)
           the client will come on Monday
```

((20 seconds omitted, in which Matti explains that he has sold the excavator and participants
talk about its price.))

```
13   Matti: =okei  [tota (.)]
               PRT      PRT
               okay well


14   Pekka:        [.mhhh    ]


15 → Matti: jätä           maanantaiaamuna      avai[met< (.)]
            leave.IMP.2SG   monday-morning-ESS    key-PL
            leave the keys on Monday morning
```

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16    Pekka:                                         [mhhh      ]

17 →  Matti: siihen   virtalukkoo.
             DEM3.ILL    ignition-ILL
             in the ignition

18    Pekka: [joo:.      ]

19→   Matti: [ja  ovi au]ki.
             and door    open
             and the door open

20    Pekka: joo:.

21⇒   Matti: ni minä: (.)tota haen       päivä[n mittaan.        ]
             PRT  1SG      PRT  pick up-1SG day-GEN   along
             and I  will            pick [it] up during the day

22    Pekka:                                   [meneeks    ne     ovet]
                                               go-3-Q-CLI  DEM3.PL door-PL
                                               do the doors lock

             lukkoonki.
             lock-CLI

23    Matti: >ei: tarvii ovia      lukkoon laittaa ku jätät
             NEG   need   door-PL-PAR lock    put-INF  PRT leave-2SG
             no need to lock the doors just leave

24           avaimet virtalukkoon vaa[n<. ]
             key-PL   ignition-ILL    just
             the keys in the ignition
```

This sequence is initiated by an informing that the excavator needs to be picked up on Monday (lines 1–2), and Pekka's question about the pick-up time as well as his offer to give up the excavator already on Sunday (lines 5 and 8) are based on this knowledge. Matti declines the offer to pick up the excavator already on Sunday by referring to his own assessment of the situation: Sunday is a holiday and the excavator is only needed on Monday (lines 9, 11–12). The question about the pick-up time is, however, left open while the participants talk about the price of the excavator. Yet, it is potentially relevant for Pekka, in case he needs to be home when Matti comes on Monday. Matti then returns to the pick-up time first by straightforwardly requesting Pekka to leave the keys in the ignition and the door open (lines 15, 17), and then committing to come and pick up the excavator sometime during the day (line 21).

Since Matti is the owner of the excavator and a professional who deals with landscaping machinery, he has both deontic and epistemic authority over the procedures via which the machine should be returned. He is also displaying this authority by not accepting Pekka's offer to return the excavator already on Sunday, by not giving an exact pick-up time, and by

taking command over the procedures. Yet, by asking Pekka to leave the keys in the ignition and the door open, and by committing to pick up the excavator, he also liberates Pekka from staying home and waiting. By using a division-of-labor structure, Matti thus relinquishes part of his deontic authority and that way evens out the situation.

Here a division-of-labor structure is used by the requester in order to achieve a common goal, namely the successful return of the excavator:

Table 5. Division of labor in example (5)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(5)	**jätä maanantaiaamuna avai[met< (.)] siihen virtalukkoo. [ja ovi au]ki.** leave the keys on Monday morning in the ignition and the door open	**ni** and	**minä: (.) tota haen päivä[n mittaan.** I will pick [it] up during the day

As in our previous examples (3) and (4), the first clause here is a directive to the recipient (Other) to do something, and the second clause functions as a commitment by the speaker (Self) to do something. However, whereas in examples (3) and (4) the division-of-labor structure was used by the requestee, in this example it is used by the requester in order to share the rights and responsibilities connected with a joint project.

In yet other cases, the division-of-labor structure appears in the context of *offers*. For instance, in (2) Irja is offering to buy her daughter a new overcoat. And in the following examples (6) and (7), Milly is offering to take her friend Gina to the Bible group meeting that evening.

(6) "Go ahead Milly" (sbl031-4)
Gina has called Milly and after listening at some length to Milly's problems, has offered to take her to the Bible group meeting that evening. So far Milly has avoided any commitment.

```
1   Gin: hhh we:ll 'ee wil hh I
2        tell you wha:t wu- (.) eh-ihHe (.) you haven't eaten yet?
3   Mil: no we're just[now ]e a t ing.]
4→  Gin:              [well]why don'yo]u go ahead Milly hh
5        (0.2)
6⇒  Gin: en u-I:'ll sto:p o:n my way down en: if you feel like (.)
7        coming with me fi:ne an:d if y'[do:n't w h y   ]
8   Mil:                                [you're still go]↓*ing.
9        (0.3)
10  Gin: hh yeh I think I'll go o:n.=
11  Mil: =ah hah.
```

Prior to this episode Milly has been somewhat reluctant to accept Gina's offer of taking her to the Bible group meeting that evening. Rather than force an answer immediately, Gina now proposes a division of labor in the work of reaching a decision. She first suggests that Milly should go ahead and have her evening meal (line 4) and she then commits to stopping by on her way to the Bible group meeting to find out whether Milly will come with her (line 6). The common goal in this joint venture is to facilitate a (positive) decision by Milly about participating in the Bible group meeting that evening.

Table 6. Division of labor in example (6)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(6)	**[well]why don'yo]u go ahead Milly**	**en**	**u-I:'Il sto:p o:n my way down**

Several seconds later, as Milly initiates closings in the telephone call, the matter comes up again:

(7) "Stop by" (sbl031-6)
(Later in the same telephone call as (6).)

```
1   Mil: [THA:NK]S FER C]AHLLING ME:[a n d u h]=
2   Gin:                        [('t)ALRIGHT]=
3   Gin: =we [ll then ↑w]e:'ll hh
4   Mil:     [I really  ]
5        (.)
6→  Gin: we-:'ll keep it y-y- (.) k you thin[k ↓abou]*it.↓
7   Mil:                                     [y e: s.]
8        (.)
9   Mil: [hh
10⇒ Gin: [end uh
11       (0.2)
12  Mil: well may[b e I can(w)      ]
13  Gin:         [do you want me to] stop by:?
14  Mil: hh we:ll you ↑better no:t may:be: uhm becuz I- I sorta
15       dou:bt I: think Jan has a lotta wo:rk=
16  Gin: =[°Ohh°
17  Mil: =[en I'm sort'v uh t hhh MAYBE I'll ca:ll you if I decide
18       I can go [: would that be] be[tter? ]
19  Gin:          [↑ o k a : y    ]   [↓swel ]l.
```

When Milly moves into pre-closing in line 1, Gina returns to her offer: *well then we'll hh* (line 3) and *we'll keep it y-y-* (line 6).[4] She then breaks off and again launches a division of labor, first instructing Milly to think about coming to the Bible group (line 6) and then projecting a second, complementary action of her (Gina's) own (line 10). Although this second

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4 This turn-constructional unit is projectably launching 'we'll keep it you know… (open/at the back of our mind)'.

action is not fully expressed, it can analyzably be anticipated that it will be a promise by Gina to stop by on her way to the Bible group meeting in case Milly decides to join her. Evidence for this will be seen in line 13: here subsequent to Milly's silence in line 11 and her turn-initial *well* in line 12 – both foreshadowing a dispreferred response – Gina shifts from a projected promise ('I'll stop by') to a deontically weaker *do you want me to stop by?*. That is, rather than present her stopping by as a foregone conclusion, Gina now presents it as a mere possibility, giving Milly the opportunity to evaluate its desirability.

Table 7. Division of labor in example (7)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(7)	`you thin[k ↓abou]*it.↓`	`end uh`	`([do you want me to] stop by:?)`

The first clause of this structure directs Other to carry out an action, while with the second clause, Self commits to carrying out a complementary action in the service of achieving a common goal, facilitating a (positive) decision by Milly about attending the Bible group meeting that evening.

In cases such as (4), (6), and (7), the division-of-labor structure is used to initiate an offer: the <u>offerer</u> commits to doing something but also directs the offeree to do something complementary, e.g., in (4) to buy the coat, in (6) to finish eating first, and in (7) to think about attending the Bible group meeting. As (4) makes particularly clear, in promoting a division of labor, offerers are in a sense reducing their own workload.

Yet divisions of labor can also be proposed by <u>offerees</u> in responding (positively) to an offer:

(8) "Chairs" (sbl025-30)
Claire and Chloe are making plans for an upcoming bridge party that Chloe will be hosting at her house. On the occasion of Chloe's last bridge party, Claire had provided her with chairs. Towards the close of this conversation, Claire now suddenly asks whether she should bring the chairs again.

```
1   Cla:  hhhh do you want me bring the: chai:[rs?
2   Chl:                                      [hahh
3         plea::: (.) NO*: (0.2) °yah,°
4         (0.3)
5   Chl:  I:'ve got to get ch*airs. bring'em one more t*ime.

(17 lines omitted))

22→ Chl: [hh we:ll I'll keep sort of lookin
23⇒      but bring 'em one more time
24       maybe by: next time I can get some.
```

This sequence begins when Claire offers to bring chairs along to the bridge party that Chloe is hosting (line 1). Chloe initially rejects this offer (line 3), but then reverses her position in line 5 and asks Claire to bring the chairs *one more time* after all (line 23). But Chloe also commits to continuing the search for chairs herself (line 22).

Table 8. Division of labor in example (8)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(8)	`we:ll I'll keep sort of lookin`	`but`[5]	`bring 'em one more time`

In (8) then, the speaker is deploying a division-of-labor structure to reduce the workload of her interlocutor: by promising to keep looking for chairs herself, she implies that her interlocutor will not have to bring chairs again to future bridge parties. Together the two actions contribute to a common goal, i.e., hosting bridge parties at which there are enough chairs for everyone. Like in (4) and (6)–(7), the offer is transformed here into a joint venture through a proposal to share the work involved.

To summarize the argument so far: we have found divisions of labor primarily in two sequential contexts: (a) requests, where the structure can be deployed either by requesters or requestees, and (b) offers, where it is deployed either by offerers or offerees. These two sequence types, requests and offers, have in common that they typically involve asymmetric relations between the participants: one participant (Self) lays claim to having the deontic right to determine the future behavior of another (Other) (for more on deontic rights in talk-in-interaction see Stevanovic 2013). When Self *requests* Other to do something, this invites a commitment by Other to comply; when Self *offers* to do something for Other, this invites a commitment by Other to accept the plan. Divisions of labor transform such asymmetric situations into more symmetric ones by proposing that Self and Other share the work involved in the service of pursuing a larger common goal.

Note that the division-of-labor pattern is particularly at home in request and offer sequences whose trajectory has been in some way problematic. The problem or obstacle may be explicit, as in (8), where Chloe first adamantly rejects Claire's offer of bridge-table chairs, only later to request them after all. Also in (2), Irja expresses reluctance to browse the shops with her daughter to look for a coat, and in (3), Mr Bathwick rejects Lesley's request to deliver her green groceries on another day. In other cases, however, the problem or obstacle remains implicit, being indexed, e.g., by a recipient's hesitation

---

5   We attribute the use of *but* in this instantiation of the pattern to the fact that the context implies incompatibility between the two actions mentioned (if Claire looks for chairs and finds some, then Chloe will not need to bring any). Claire is basically denying this incompatibility by implying 'Although I'll do my part, your part is still needed'.

or lack of full commitment to a request or offer. This then prompts the co-participant to propose a second, alternative version of the offer or request, one involving a division of labor. We can observe something like this happening in (9) below:

(9) "Lehmät" 'Cows' (SG 112:B2)
Vikke and Missu are organizing a housewarming gift for a mutual friend of theirs. Here they are arranging how to include their other friends in the financing of the gift.

```
1  Vikke:    voisikkohan  sää   soittaa   Liinalle?,
             can-CON-2SG-Q-CLI 2SG    call       Liina-ALL
             could you call Liina


2  Missu:    .h voim    mää soittaa,h
                can-1SG  1SG  call-INF
                sure I can call (her)


3            (.)


4  Missu:    .hh ja tota pitäskö  sit soittaa  vielä >#m#<
                  PRT PRT   need-CON.3-QPRT call-INF    still
                  and uhm should one also call


5            Miialle ja  Ninnulle ja, (.) Marialleki   et
             Miia-ALL  and Ninnu-ALL   and       Maria-ALL-CLI COMP
             Miia and Ninnu and                  Maria (to find out)


6            mitä ne     om    miältä.
             what DEM3.PL be.3SG mind-PART
             what they think


7  Vikke:    °mm,° *.nii*


8            (0.3)


9→ Missu:  tai no jos  sanos   vaikka    Mar:- tota: .hh
           PRT   PRT if   Ø say-CON.3SG for instance Mar-   PRT
           or what if Ø tells for example Mar:- um


10→        Miialle et <soittais?>,
           Miia-ALL  COMP  call-CON.3
           Miia to call


11         (3.8)


12→ Missu: soittais vaikka    #m# Marialle ja
           call-CON.3 for instance   Maria-ALL   and
           to call for instance Maria and
```

```
13⇒          mää, (.) sanosin  >Liinalle et  soittais Ninnulle⁶
             1SG       say-CON-1SG Liina-ALL   COMP call-CON.3  Ninnu-ALL
             I    (.)  would tell Liina to call Ninnu


14           ni   ei  tarviit tässä nii kauheesti;<=
             so   NEG need    PRT   so  terribly
             so (one) needn't here now so terribly [much]


15  Vikke:   =mm, (.) no mää voin  soittaa  kyl  Miialle ja
             PRT        PRT 1SG can-1SG call-INF  PRT   Miia-ALL  and
             well I can surely call Miia and


16           Mariall[e ku] oon   menossa töihin  ni.
             Maria-ALL    when be-1SG go-INE    work-PL-ILL PRT
             Maria when I go to work so.


17  Missu:           [nii;]


18  Missu:   .hhhhhh °no joo. (.) ihan sama,°
                      well yes. (.) whatever.


19 Vikke:    mhh otetaan se sitten_näi.
                  let's do it like that then.
```

In line 1, Vikke asks Missu to call Liina, who Missu knows better, and to include her in their gift-giving plan. Missu agrees to do this (line 2) and then reciprocates by suggesting that their other friends (Miia, Ninnu, and Maria) should also be called to ask what they think about the housewarming gift (lines 4–6). Vikke only acknowledges this as a possibility with the particles *mm nii* 'mm' (line 7) (see Sorjonen 2001). After a short pause (line 8) Missu proposes an alternative plan, namely to set up a 'round robin' of telephoning (lines 9–14). She does this by using a division-of-labor structure:

Table 9. Division of labor in example (9)

Ex.	Clause 1	Combining element	Clause 2
(9)	tai no jos sanos vaikka Mar:- tota: .hh Miialle et <soittais?>,(3.8) soittais vaikka #m# Marialle or what if ∅ would tell for example Mar:- um .hh Miia to call (3.8) to call for instance Maria	ja and	mää,(.) sanosin >Liinalle et soittais Ninnulle I (.) would tell Liina to call Ninnu

---

6   We note that in this case the first part of the division-of-labor pattern (lines 9–12) is a complex clause and involves several self-repairs.

In this formulation, by using the zero-person form *jos ∅ sanos* 'if ∅ would tell', Missu first suggests that some unnamed person should call Miia to initiate one part of the round robin, and then proposes herself to call Liina and thereby initiate the other part of the round robin. Although Vikke's role is merely implicit, it can nevertheless be inferred that the unnamed person who should execute the other part is Vikke, and Vikke's response reveals an understanding that she was the one meant: she commits to do the calling by saying *no mää voin soittaa kyl Miialle ja Marialle* 'well I can surely call Miia and Maria' (lines 15–16).

In (9) Missu's initial suggestion (lines 4–6) to call around to other friends about the gift-giving is merely treated as one possibility among others by Vikke (lines 7–8). It is arguably Vikke's hesitation that prompts Missu to propose a division of labor as an alternative. Divisions of labor thus provide participants with a way to pursue a successful outcome of request and offer situations that are in danger of miscarrying.

The rationale behind these uses, we submit, is to shape what is inherently an asymmetric situation (request or offer),[7] with one speaker displaying strong deontic rights over another within a specified domain of action, into something more symmetric. Stated somewhat differently, the division of labor transforms a unilaterally motivated request or offer into a joint venture, one in which the work of the project is distributed more equally between the participants.

The symmetry achieved with such a division of labor expresses itself not only through a sharing of the workload, but also through a sharing of deontic rights and responsibilities for deciding on and planning the joint project. For example, reconsider (1), where Emma has requested Barbara to call up Bud and persuade him to come down for Thanksgiving. In replying *I'll call him tonight and you call me at nine tomorrow morning*, Barbara is not only *submitting* to Emma's deontic authority but is also claiming some deontic rights for herself: she is agreeing to do what Emma has asked, but she is also asking in return that Emma call *her* to find out what Bud said. Similarly, e.g., in (5): by using a division-of-labor structure in lines 3–9, Matti is giving up some of his deontic rights over Pekka by volunteering to do part of the work himself, namely to come and pick the excavator up, and simultaneously liberating Pekka from having to sit home and wait. He is thus suggesting that they share responsibility for the success of this joint venture.

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7   One anonymous reviewer suggested that even within the division-of-labor pattern, clause 1 can be seen as proposing something asymmetrical, which is then balanced out by the action of clause 2. However, this perspective is at odds with our understanding of the division-of-labor pattern as a holistic structure (see below), although we do not deny that the structure emerges incrementally in real time (Linell 2013). Moreover, we are not arguing that all asymmetries need to be balanced out. Instead, it is primarily those asymmetric sequences with problematic trajectories that find resolution through the division-of-labor practice.

Formal means in English and Finnish divisions of labor

So far we have seen that the underlying phenomenon of promoting a division of labor between participants in the service of a common goal is the same in both English and Finnish. And indeed when we look at the linguistic structures through which these divisions of labor are accomplished, there are striking similarities. Abstracting away from the specific forms documented in the tables for each of our examples to more schematic lexico-syntactic formats, we find that for each language there are two abstract constructional schemas involved.[8] What we are calling **Schema 1** in both English and Finnish has a second-person subject or verb form in clause 1 (or a zero-person form in Finnish)[9] and a first-person subject or verb form in clause 2. X and Y represent the actions encoded in clause 1 and clause 2 respectively.

Table 10: Schema 1 in English and Finnish

Clause 1: Other		Combining element	Clause 2: Self	
ENGLISH[10]				
(PRON2) IMPERATIVE	X	*(and)*	PRON1 DECLARATIVE MODAL *will*	Y
why NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE PRON2		*and*	PRON1 DECLARATIVE MODAL *will*	Y
FINNISH[11]				
IMPERATIVE [2]	X	*niin*	(PRON1) DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-1[12]	Y
DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-2	X	*niin*	PRON1 DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-1	Y
Ø DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-3	X	*niin*	DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-1	Y
jos PRON2 DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-2	X	*niin*	PRON1 DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-1	Y

(X is an action to be carried out by Other, Y is an action to be carried out by Self)

What we are calling **Schema 2** in both English and Finnish has a first-person subject or verb form in clause 1 and a second-person subject or verb form in clause 2:

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8   We adopt the term *constructional* schema from Ono & Thompson (1995), who use it to refer to conversational patterns that through recurrent use have conventionalized into more abstract grammatical prototypes that participants attend to.

9   For more on zero-person forms in Finnish, see Laitinen (2006).

10 The description for English is given in terms of sentence type: declarative, interrogative, imperative.

11 The description for Finnish includes sentence type (declarative, interrogative, imperative) as well as grammatical mood (indicative, conditional, etc.).

12 In colloquial Finnish a passive form can be used with 1st person plural meaning (see, e.g., example (4)); an overt 1st person plural pronoun is used as a subject in all of our cases except for one institutional call where there is no ambiguity as to who will be the agent of the action, so we have included these cases under 1st person forms.

Table 11: Schema 2 in English and Finnish

Clause 1: Self		Combining element	Clause 2: Other	
English				
PRON1 DECLARATIVE MODAL *will*	X	*and*	PRON2 IMPERATIVE	Y
PRON1 DECLARATIVE MODAL *will*	X	*and*	PRON2 DECLARATIVE MODAL *can*	Y
why NEGATIVE INTERROGATIVE PRON1	X	*and*	PRON2 DECLARATIVE MODAL *can*	Y
FINNISH				
PRON1 DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-1	X	*niin*	PRON2 DECLARATIVE INDICATIVE-2 MODAL (*saada* 'get to')	Y

(X is an action to be carried out by Self, Y is an action to be carried out by Other)

What these two schemas in English and Finnish have in common is that they represent **paratactic clause combinations** (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988) with a conjunction or connective particle as an explicit combining element between them.[13] As can be seen in Tables 10 and 11, in English the combining element is a coordinating conjunction *and*. In Finnish, however, the combining element is *niin* ('and/so/then'), which is also used in conditional constructions [*jos* 'if'… *niin* 'then'] (see also Vilkuna 1997). Nevertheless, in our Finnish division-of-labor patterns there is no strong conditionality ('if-and-only-if') between the two parts, not even in cases where clause 1 is initiated with *jos* ('if'). *Jos*-initiations in our division-of-labor structures are more closely related to *jos*-initiated directives (see Hakulinen et al. 2004: 1570; Laury 2012) than to canonical conditional constructions.

Schemas 1 and 2 have a number of characteristics in common. For one, there are (i) both semantic and lexico-syntactic constraints on the composition of the clause combinations involved. Each of the two clauses encodes a future concrete action, one with Self as agent and one with Other as agent. And each of the two clauses has recurrent forms:

Table 12. Recurrent forms in English and Finnish divisions of labor

	RECURRENT FORMS IN ENGLISH	RECURRENT FORMS IN FINNISH
Self	*I will...*	*(minä) teen* 'I (will) V'
	why don't I...	*me tehdään* 'we (will) V'
		minä tekisin 'I would V'
Other	*(you) V-IMP*	*tee* 'V-IMP'
	why don't you...	*(sinä) teet* 'you V'
	you can...	*jos sinä teet* 'if you V'

13 This is not to deny that due to its origin as the plural instructive form of the demonstrative *se*, Finnish *niin* is more diverse in meaning and use than English *and*.

Moreover, the two actions X and Y are ordered chronologically: X in clause 1 precedes Y in clause 2 in time.[14]

In addition, there are predictable relations between Schemas 1 and 2. The choice of one or the other schema is not free but is determined by how Self and Other map onto the chronologically ordered actions X and Y: If Other is the agent of X, then Schema 1 (Other-Self) is appropriate; if Self is the agent of X, then Schema 2 (Self-Other) is appropriate. Schema 2 is thus the counterpart to Schema 1, and vice versa, in terms of the mapping of agency.

Finally, in both schemas the combining element, if explicit, is *and* in English and *niin* or *ja* in Finnish.

On semantic and lexico-syntactic grounds, Schemas 1 and 2 would seem to represent variants of one and the same practice: together they could be said to constitute a *social action format* (Fox 2007; Kärkkäinen & Keisanen 2012) for the division of labor in talk-in-interaction. This hypothesis is further corroborated when we look at the prosodic-phonetic and pragmatic features of the schemas.

(ii) Prosodically, the two parts of the clause-combination structure are routinely produced either as a single intonation phrase or as two intonation phrases that cohere prosodically (see Couper-Kuhlen 2009; 2012 for more on the prosody of clause combining). In (4), for instance, the speaker makes no prosodic break at the joint between the two clauses: *ku se on ö paikalla ni m:* 'when he's back and w-' (line 11). In this case then, the two parts are produced in one intonation phrase. But if each part does form its own intonation phrase, then often (but not invariably) the first has final continuing intonation and the second picks up intonationally from where the first left off. In other words, the two units are produced together on one line of pitch declination (see also Couper-Kuhlen 1996). This is what we find happening in (1), where the speaker uses slightly rising pitch at the end of the first intonation phrase/clause (line 22) and the pitch of the second intonation phrase/clause begins from there. Finally, even if clause 1 is delivered in one or more intonation phrases with final intonation (as in exs. 5 and 7, where the pitch at the end of the first part is low-falling), it nevertheless pragmatically projects a subsequent part, in that it leaves open the question of 'why that now' and thus foreshadows that more will come. Thus, there is reason to believe that the schemas are partially conventionalized conversational routines in the sense of Ono and Thompson (1995).

(iii) Finally, there are pragmatic constraints on the clause combinations documented in our schemas. For instance, the Self part is pitched as a **commitment** that the speaker intends or (more weakly) is prepared to carry out some action in the future. The Other part is pitched as a **directive**, a request or (more weakly) a suggestion that the interlocutor carry out a complementary action in the future. Together the two actions could be said to implement an *action combination* (Kärkkäinen & Keisanen, 2012) – Schema 1: [directive & commitment] and Schema 2: [commitment & directive] – for the achievement of a common goal. In (1) the common goal

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14 This is assuming that the two actions X and Y have a natural chronological order.

might be said to be bringing off a mutually rewarding Thanksgiving dinner; in (2) managing a daughter's winter wardrobe needs in a mutually agreeable fashion; in (3) achieving a mutually satisfactory sale and delivery of fresh green groceries to Lesley; in (4) coordinating a mutually agreed upon coffee date, and so forth. Together, the combined actions thus contribute to a joint venture in which the work is divided more or less equally between the two participants.

Yet although the two schemas have in common that they build an action combination, each individual schema has alternate forms for the implementation of the actions in question: for instance, in English we find both an imperative form *X!* and an interrogative form *why don't you X?* for the directive part; in Finnish we have an imperative form *tee!* 'X!', a declarative indicative form *teet* 'you X' , and a declarative conditional form *tekisit* 'you would X'(± *jos*) for the directive part. These alternate forms are not interchangeable with one another: they position the speaker as displaying differing degrees of deontic authority (locally claimed or displayed deontic rights) and/or they represent the likelihood or advisability of the future action taking place with varying degrees of certainty. For instance, in English an imperative *X!* construes the speaker as having stronger rights to determine the future course of events than does an interrrogative *why don't you X?*. While imperative *X!* (± *you*) presents the other's compliance as self-evident or a foregone conclusion, *why don't you X?* allows Other to weigh in on the advisability of the action. In Finnish, the IMPERATIVE forms display stronger deontic rights than do, e.g., *jos* + CONDITIONAL and ∅ person forms (see Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki, 2015). The latter forms present the desirability of the nominated action and the action itself as not yet certain, in contrast to IMPERATIVE and INDICATIVE, which treat both the desirability of the action and the action itself as more certain.

Moreover, the alternate forms appear in different sequential positions in extended sequences of talk. In English, for instance, a division of labor with an interrogative *why don't you X?* implementing the directive action is more likely to be found at the beginning of extended sequences. By contrast, a division of labor with imperative *X!* (± *you*) is more likely to be found at the end of sequences, once the particulars of each party's contribution have been worked out. Recall that in (6) we found Gina using a [directive & commitment] action combination to promote Milly's decision to come to the Bible group with her. In line 4 she uses *why don't you X?* to suggest that Milly should first finish eating and then she (Gina) will stop by to see if she wants to come along. But in (7), which takes place several seconds later in the same phone call, Gina again uses a [directive & commitment] action combination in pursuit of the same goal; however, this time she chooses an imperative *(you) X!* form: *you think about it* (line 6) to implement the directive part. Thus, in this extended sequence the interrogative *why don't you X?* form is found when the speaker is promoting something for the first time, whereas the imperative *(you) X!* form is found in a similar division of labor when the sequence is about to be closed down. We conclude that the two forms, *why don't you X ?* and *(you) X!* have their own sequential slots, or home environments, in extended sequences.

In Finnish the situation is similar: deontically weaker forms for dividing the labor are found early in extended sequences, stronger deontic forms later. Zero-person forms are used when negotiation is needed as to how the labor will be divided among the participants (see also Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki, 2015). For instance, in (9) the division of labor being promoted (lines 9–14) is made only tentatively at an early point in the sequence, with forms that display a weak deontic stance (Stevanovic 2013) by virtue of treating the future actions as hypothetical (*jos*, conditional verbs) and leaving the agent of the future action unclear (zero-person forms).[15] This allows for maximum negotiation over what will be done and how the work will be divided. Once the tasks and the distribution of agency and responsibility between the participants have been determined, more definitive formulations are used, as we see happening in line 20, when Vikke initiates sequence closure by saying *otetaan se sitten_näi* 'let's do it like that then'.

In sum: In both English and Finnish, forms that index less authority and less certainty are used in proposing divisions of labor early in extended sequences, whereas forms that encode more authority and more certainty come later in extended sequences. For these reasons we believe that the alternate forms in the two schemas should be thought of as clustering together for the realization of each variant of the division-of-labor practice (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Relationship between schemas and alternate forms (AF)
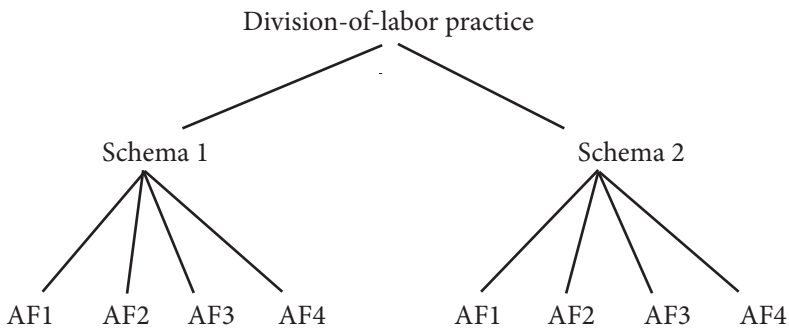
Yet although there are similarities between divisions of labor in English and Finnish, there are also some significant cross-linguistic differences. For one, the languages provide different resources for the division of labor. Finnish, for instance, allows for more formal variation due to the fact that (i) second person singular and plural are morphologically distinct in verb inflections (cf., e.g., *tulkaa* 'come-IMP.2PL' in (4) vs. *jätä* 'leave.IMP.2SG' in (5)), and that (ii) there are morphological inflections for marking conditional mood

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15 Stevanovic (2013: 23) introduces a notion of *deontic gradient*: deontically weaker forms display a deontically weaker stance, i.e., lay weaker claims to deontic rights, and respectively, deontically stronger forms display a deontically stronger stance, i.e., lay stronger claims to deontic rights.

on verbs (cf. the conditional verb forms *sanos* 'say-CON.3SG' and *sanosin* 'say-CON-1SG' in (9)). Moreover, whereas in English, person expression is always clearly encoded as either 1p or 2p, in Finnish, person may be left unexpressed through the use of zero-person forms (Laitinen 1995; 2006; Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2015): see, e.g., *jos sanos* 'if ∅ would say' in (9).

But it is not only that the two languages provide different grammatical resources for accomplishing similar tasks: even when they have the same or similar resources, they use them differently. For instance, English speakers make use of *wh*-negative interrogatives in both parts of the construction, i.e., for directing (*why don't you X?)* as well as for committing (*why don't I X?).* Finnish has such a resource but in our data speakers do not use it for this purpose. Finnish has a modal verb *voida* 'can' but unlike the English speakers, the Finnish speakers in our data prefer to use conditional inflections on the verb instead. On the other hand, based on our analysis, Finnish speakers appear to make greater use of *jos* 'if'-clauses and conditionality than do English speakers for this purpose.

All in all, it is our impression that Finnish speakers use more indirect practices in dividing the labor for the pursuit of a common goal. We find Finnish participants more frequently negotiating from the outset questions like: What is the labor, i.e., does this really need to be done? Should the labor be divided at all? If so, how should it be divided? This is different from English, where the speakers in our data appear to propose a division of labor without having negotiated the fundamentals. For more on this see Couper-Kuhlen and Etelämäki (2014). Yet regardless of these differences, the underlying phenomenon is the same: the joining of two clauses for the implementation of an action combination in order to transform a request or offer into a joint venture.

Summary and conclusion

We have argued that in both English and Finnish, speakers in request and offer sequences make use of a combination of two clauses in which one refers to something the speaker (Self) will do and one, to something complementary the recipient (Other) will do in the future. We have dubbed these action combinations [directive & commitment] and [commitment & directive] and argued that they are implemented by recurrent forms, or formats, for promoting a division of labor. We have shown that these formats are deployed in situations that would otherwise involve a steep deontic gradient, with one party displaying stronger 'rights' over the other in bringing about some particular future action. They are often found in request and offer sequences that have had a problematic trajectory. The rationale for using them is to re-construe the situation as more symmetric deontically, with the parties now sharing not only the work but also rights and responsibilities with respect to the success of what has become a joint venture.

There are other possible mappings between conjoined clauses and actions. For instance, two clauses can be combined for the implementation

of one action as, e.g., in conditionals such as ***if your husband would like their address my husband would gladly give it to him*** (Curl 2006:1261), or ***jos** me tullaan **niin** varmaan tullaan ehkä yheksän maissa* 'if we come so we will probably not come until about nine' (Laury 2012: 218). This situation could be schematized as in Figure 2:

*Figure 2: Conjoined clauses for the implementation of a single action*

Two clauses can also be conjoined but implement two separate actions, as, e.g., in the case of *and*-prefaced questions invoking a larger agenda-based activity: (from an informal medical encounter between a health visitor and a new mother) HV: *How old's your husband. (*M: *twenty-six in April.)* HV: ***And does he work?*** (Heritage & Sorjonen 1994: 5). In this case the schematization in Figure 3 would be appropriate:

Figure 3: Conjoined clauses for the implementation of separate actions

In the light of this, we believe that our phenomenon is a particularly telling case of combining clauses in order to combine actions, because it establishes an *iconic* relationship between two conjoined clauses (*sinä teet X **nii** minä teen Y* 'you do X **and** I'll do Y') and two conjoined actions ([directive & commitment] or [commitment & directive]) as a division-of-labor practice. This could be schematized as in Figure 4:

Figure 4: Conjoined clauses for the implementation of conjoined actions
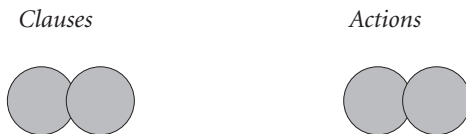
The actions being linked are at once immediate social actions implemented through language and future bodily actions to be carried out in the material world.

In terms of combining social actions, the closest relatives to this phenomenon might be [denial (*no*) & account] (Ford 2001), or [affirmation (*yes*) & elaboration] (Steensig & Heinemann 2013). Further kindred action combinations are [referent identification & offer] (Kärkkäinen & Keisanen 2012), and [acceptance & fulfillment of a request] (Rauniomaa & Keisanen 2012). However, the difference between all these and the pattern in focus here is that the action combinations these analysts describe involve only <u>one</u> agent and do not necessarily involve a combination of <u>clauses</u>, whereas the division-of-labor action combination involves <u>two</u> agents and <u>two</u> combined clauses. Our action combination is thus an example *par excellence* of the combining of clauses and actions.

We have seen that the division-of-labor practice is attested in both English and Finnish talk-in-interaction. This gives us reason to believe that it may be a more widespread social phenomenon: promoting a future action involving the other, whether through requesting or offering, can be a delicate matter and social actors can encounter problems in trying to do so. Dividing the labor with the practice we have described offers a way out, namely by transforming an asymmetric situation into a more symmetric one and sharing the burden and cost of the undertaking as a joint venture.

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