Atypical imperative constructions:
The case of YOU DO THAT

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Abstract

The interactional centrality of the imperative, its semantic-pragmatic versatility, and its different syntactic configurations have attracted considerable scholarly interest in various linguistic paradigms. Contributing to and extending this line of investigation through a Construction Grammar (CxG) approach, the present paper focuses on atypical (i.e., non-canonical) imperatives and their Addressee-encoding in terms of overt pronominal subjects, referred to as OBLIGATORY SUBJECT IMPERATIVES (OSIs). In so doing, the paper specifically investigates 'you do that' as an instance of a so-called weak imperative with consistent discourse-responsive scope over a previous Addressee-induced proposition p. In this context, 'you do that' will be argued to couch not the Speaker's (S's) intentions or wishes, as conventionally expected by an imperative, but the S's low endorsement of the fulfillment of p made manifest in gradient forms of (disinterested) acceptance, indifference, or acquiescence. The paper draws on synchronic, corpus-attested evidence (COCA data) to explore the construction in its dialogual contexts of occurrence and tease apart its inherited and idiosyncratic properties. It further seeks to establish and statistically validate the atypicality of the pattern while setting it apart from its seeming formal 'twins' (e.g., '*You do that just once…*'). Finally, the paper casts lights on the possible discourse correlates of 'you do that' and ventures into a discussion on the productivity of its imperative-based licensing template.

Keywords: atypical imperatives, overt pronominal subjects, 'you do that', Construction Grammar (CxG), gradient acceptance

1   Introduction

The interactional centrality of the imperative, along with its semantic-pragmatic versatility and its different syntactic configurations have to this day unceasingly fueled scholarly interest among different linguistic paradigms (cf., Bolinger 1967; Quirk et al (1985); Hamblin 1987; Wilson and Sperber 1998; Stefanowitsch 2003; Takahashi 2004, 2011; Portner 2004, 2007; Schwager 2006; Zanuttini 2008; Aikhenvald 2010; Condoravdi and Lauer 2010, 2012; Kaufmann 2012; von Fintel & Iatridou 2017). Integrating insights from the above and extending them to the direction of atypicality, the present paper makes a case for the functional richness of non-canonical imperatives. This functional richness is what in all likelihood prompted Aikhenvald (2010) to describe imperatives as "the illusion of simplicity" (2010: 1) and "a law unto themselves" (2010: 5). Similarly, von Fintel and Iatridou (2017) add that perhaps there is no obvious answer as to what imperatives mean.[1]

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[1] Note that the (folk-)linguistic term for the imperative is oftentimes a misnomer falling short of its wide repertoire of illocutionary forces. Cross-linguistically, the terms used for the imperative (both as a mood and a sentence type) are

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Against this background, the present paper adopts a Construction Grammar (CxG) view and aligns with the treatment of the imperative as a family of constructions, i.e., the IMPERATIVE (IMP), featuring both more and less prototypical members (Takahashi 2004, 2011), themselves further nested in networks or clusters of different degrees of specificity (Stefanowitsch 2003). In this context, the study sets out to show that 'you do that',[2] as in dialogual examples (1) and (2) below, is an interesting case of a less prototypical member of the IMP family.

(1)   - *"Maybe I'll go on another holiday."* *The Chief opened the top drawer of his desk and scooped Sully's life into it.*
       - *"Good idea.* **You do that***. And get your head screwed on straight while you're at it."*

COCA: *Taming the Moon*, Source: Fiction, Year of Publication: 2010

(2)   - *"Ah! You bitch! I will report you!"*
       - *"Yeah,* **you do that***. And make sure you tell your wife I said hello."*

COCA: *Law & Order*: *Special Victims Unit*, Episode: *Forgiving Rollins*, Release Year: 2014

Drawing on such empirical evidence, the paper puts forth that 'you do that' is an atypical, i.e., non-canonical imperative, with an idiosyncratic syntactic configuration, reflected in its verbally pre-posed and consistently pronominally fixed subject slot. It further entertains the idea that the formal atypicality of the pattern is mapped onto its fairly specific semantics and conventionalised discourse-pragmatics that foreground the Addressee's (A's), rather than the Speaker's (S's) intentions, as typically expected in an imperative. In this respect, 'you do that' will be shown to couch the S's gradient acceptance of the A's wishes or intentions expressed – and in certain cases also vented – in a given proposition p. This form of acceptance, as will be empirically demonstrated, entails low S's endorsement towards the fulfillment of p and is shown to vary from casual indifference to passive-aggressive or fully begrudging acquiescence. Importantly, the Addressee-induced proposition p (underlined in (1) and (2)), to which 'you do that' anchors itself, will be shown to invariably feature in the discourse part preceding the pattern, thereby motivating its *dialogual* (see Schwenter 2000; Traugott 2005, 2006; Geka, Marmaridou and Nikiforidou 2020) and *consistently discourse-responsive*, i.e., backward-pointing scope (see also Linell 1998, 2003, 2009; Fried and Östman 2005; Põldvere and Paradis 2019).

In light of the above, I propose that the syntactic configuration of 'you do that' and its semantics-pragmatics is an instance of an OBLIGATORY SUBJECT IMPERATIVE (OSI); a constructional cover term originally encountered but discussed only 'en passant' in Stefanowitsch's (2003) work. The term OSI will be provisionally adopted for the discussion of 'you do that', which will be argued to belong to a very specific sub-network of OSIs.

My constructional account will be guided by the following three main research questions (RQs).

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frequently associated with the meaning of 'command' and an increased directive force. Examples include the Greek term *prostaktiki* , the Turkish term *emir kipi*, or the Romance *imperative* from Latin *'imperare'* (for more examples, see von Fintel and Iatridou (2017: 288)). Moreover, it is interesting to observe that Quirk et al (1985: 831-832) have identified almost twenty different illocutionary acts associated with the English imperative including – inter alia – order, command, prohibition, request, plea, advice, recommendation, warning, suggestion, and instruction.

[2] The expression appears in single quotation marks (i.e., 'you do that') to signal *pattern type* and its corpus-attested instantiations (i.e., *tokens*) as opposed to conventional lowercase character typeset of small capitals, i.e., YOU DO THAT (as in the title), which signals *constructional status*.

RQ 1: How is YOU DO THAT different from its seeming formal twins as in (3) and (4) below?

(3) *"Every time **you do that**, humans rush into the streets and we get lots of shouting on the radio."*
                    BNC, Author: Terry Pratchett, Title: *Wings* W_Fict_Prose, Year of Publication: 1992

(4)   − *"···Anything could have happened to her...'*
        − *'Oh, shut up!' Before his hand could reach her face she jumped back, crying.*
        − *'You do that, Father, **you do that** just once and there'll be one less for breakfast tomorrow morning, and I mean that. With all my heart I mean that."*
                    BNC, Author: Cookson C., Title: *The Wingless Bird* W_Fict_Prose, Year of Publication: 1990

RQ 2: What are the inherited and idiosyncratic properties of YOU DO THAT that license its semantics and conventionalised discourse-pragmatics?

RQ 3: What are the discourse correlates and interdependencies of the pattern and how do they relate to its scope, function, and occurrence in genres or text-types promoting dialoguality?

To respond to these research questions, the study sought empirical validation for the atypicality of 'you do that' by adopting a composite framework of quantitative and qualitative analysis. This involved collecting and systematically tagging corpus evidence from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). Corpus findings were then interpreted into frequency counts subjected to stratified random sampling along with significance testing with respect to the following working hypotheses (WHs):

WH 1:   If 'you do that' is indeed an atypical IMP, then it should exhibit restricted (or at least relatively restricted) raw frequency in the corpus data.[3]

WH 2:   If 'you do that' functions responsively in discourse, encompassing wishes or intentions announced in discourse by an Addressee, then its frequency of occurrence should be higher in dialogual contexts and genres/text types promoting direct S-A interaction.

WH 3:   If A's wishes/intentions expressed in p are a contextual regularity of the pattern, then the lexical encoding of p should be compatible with phrasing that foregrounds potentiality/hypotheticality. Moreover, the context/co-text of the pattern would be expected to feature discursive devices employed in (gradient) agreement/disagreement, stance-coding and viewpoint evaluation/negotiation.

To effectively discuss all the above, the paper is organised into seven sections, including the present one that serves as its motivational springboard. Section two delves into a theoretical discussion of the atypicality of OSIs and the conditions under which overt IMP subjects may emerge. Section three details the research design adopted, and the data collection methods followed. Section four and its subsections provide empirical evidence

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[3] Although no conventional threshold of atypicality exists or could be established on the basis of frequencies (raw or normalised), identifying pattern frequencies in a corpus of one billion words, such as COCA, can allow for reasonable, albeit tentative, suggestions as to the (a-)typicality of a given pattern. In this sense, identifying the raw frequency of 'you do that', among those of its seeming formal twins, is considered a welcome first step from a methodological standpoint.

that sets 'you do that' apart from its seeming formal 'twins'. Section five proposes a constructional sketch of YOU DO THAT through a box notation diagram. Section six calls attention to the remaining 'open ends' which pave the way for further research into OSIs. And, finally, section seven offers some concluding remarks.

2   Background: Atypicality and overt IMP subjects

Imperative subjects and explicit Addressee-encoding have had their own fair share of attention in different accounts of IMPs with an emphasis on matters related to *intersubjectivity* (e.g., Boogaart and Reuneker 2017; Dickey 2019), *syntactical configuration* (e.g., Potsdam 1998; Zanuttini and Portner 2003), *vocatives* (e.g., Jensen 2003; Portner 2004; Hill 2007, 2014), *individuation* or *genericity* and the respective *semantic roles* (e.g., Mauck and Zanuttini 2005; Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014; Magionos 2019).

Against this background of theoretical discussion, the issue of optionality or ineluctability of an IMP subject merits particular attention (cf., Henry 1995; Flagg 2001; Stefanowitsch 2003; Magionos 2019; Shoulson 2020) in that it is precisely the research area to which this paper hopes to contribute novel insights. At this point, it is important to note that in CxG terms of analysis, optionality is an ipso facto questionable notion in terms of theoretical virtue. Its tenability, therefore, in accounts like the present one, is called into question in the light of the principle of *minimal constructional synonymy* (Goldberg 1995). Simply put, the presence or absence of an IMP subject is what may well determine the meaning differences between two related IMP-based constructional entities, thereby sanctioning their different (albeit minimally) theoretical treatment. In this sense, an IMP subject is critical for both the meaning and expressivity of a given pattern and the Speaker's overall intended meaning when employing it.

In line with the above, the paper gears itself in the direction of investigating atypicality through overt pronominal subjects in IMPs by integrating insights from previous accounts but casting them in a constructional light. In so doing, the study takes into consideration the works of Flagg (2001), Takahashi (2002, 2004, 2011), Stefanowitsch (2003), Condoravdi and Lauer (2012) and von Fintel and Iatridou (2017).[4] Adopting a largely chronological order, I will start by addressing Flagg's (2001) work first, which has been particularly influential for my understanding of possible restrictions applying to overt IMP subjects. However, as will be shown, Flagg's proposal cannot quite account for the special semantics-pragmatics of 'you do that'.

At the core of Flagg's (2001) proposal one finds the notion of *'immediate initiation'* of an action/event focused upon by an imperative with an overt subject, as in 5(a) and 5(b) below.

(5) a.   *"You sit down and do your work."*
     b. "*You sit down and have a cup of tea!*"

As Flagg observes, the two utterances differ in purpose and situational context, but they both share the S's common desire to impose (sensu lato for example 5(b)) on the A the immediate initiation of an action, and in that sense, also immediate compliance. In her treatment of the topic, covert subject IMPs do not seem to favour the encoding of the

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[4] To offer a targeted critique, the present section reviews the relevant theoretical proposals by drawing on examples provided in the respective publications.

immediate initiation of an action. To do so, they would typically require contextual supplementation in the form of temporal modifiers, as in (6) below, or knowledge of the extralinguistic situational context, provided in square brackets in (7).[5]

(6) *"Turn off the television right now!"*
(7) "*Get down* on the ground" [Screamed at a suspect by a police officer, suggesting immediate compliance.]

It is on such critical observations that Flagg bases her proposal by maintaining that the reference to the point of initiation of a given action is actually encapsulated in the syntax of the overt subject IMPs; a proposal fully in line with constructional frameworks. Elaborating on this, Flagg uses the following set of examples (8a and 8b) to illustrate that the felicity conditions applying to an overt subject IMP and its covert counterpart are, in fact, different.

(8) a. *"Keep doing your homework."*
     b. "*You keep doing your homework.*"

In her account, the examples are discussed as part of a hypothetical situation whereby spatial proximity would allow for visual contact between a mother and a child doing homework when the sound of a doorbell causes disruption. According to Flagg, example (8a) would most likely be uttered by the mother as a form of encouragement for the child's undisrupted continuation of the action of completing homework. Example (8b), on the other hand, would be felicitously employed only upon detecting resistance by the child and signs of stopping. In this sense, an overt subject IMP becomes relevant on the assumption that the initial action will be discontinued and a prompt for (re-)initiation of the activity (or for initiating its continuation) is needed.

Examples like these put aspectual differences between overt and covert IMP subjects into the picture, prompting Flagg to argue that the aspectual feature (i.e., [start$^+$]) is part of the syntax of overt subject IMPs and is, in fact, what licenses the phonological realisation of the pronominal IMP subject. This gives rise to further implications for the verbal candidates eligible for filling the v-slot of such IMPs in that verbs whose *sem*(antic) component lacks a punctual starting time to be picked out would automatically not qualify for possible verbal fillers. Verbs falling in this category readily involve a certain sub-type of statives, termed *'individual-level'* (i-level) predicates as opposed to *'stage-level'* (s-level) ones (see Carlson 1980; Kratzer 1989; Yao 2010). Individual-level predicates are conceptualised as unbounded, i.e., as not contained within a certain interval of time and, consequently, their semantic representation cannot feature an exact starting point. Stage-level predicates, on the other hand, are bounded and can thus be assigned specific starting and ending points, as examples (9) and (10) illustrate, accompanied by Figures 1 and 2, respectively.

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[5] As kindly suggested by one of the Reviewers, Flagg's account on covert Subject IMPs also misses out on other forms of contextual support that might not, however, require knowledge of the extralinguistic context, as in the example *"Finish off this pizza"*, in which the deictic element *'this'* would most likely prompt (or at least favour) a reading of immediate compliance and initiation of the action in focus.
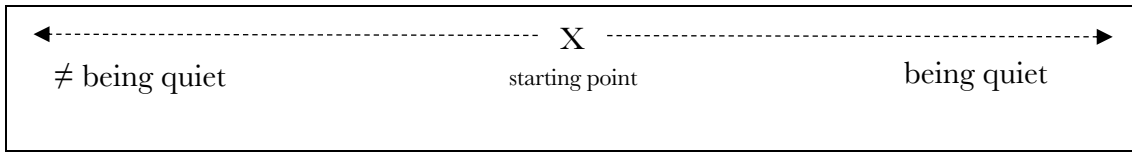
(9)   *"You be quiet."*

Figure 1: Start time for stage-level predicates (adapted from Flagg 2001)
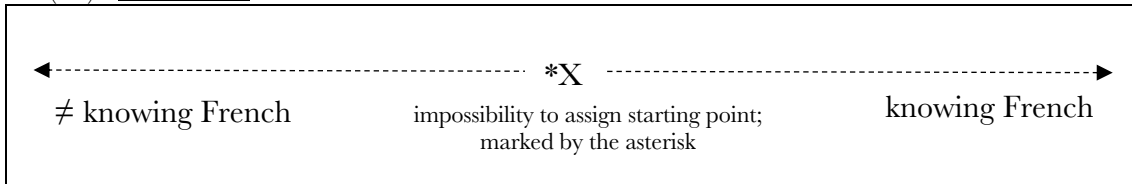
(10) "**You know French.'*

Figure 2: Impossibility to assign start time to individual-level predicates (adapted from Flagg 2001)

Flagg concludes her account by arguing that the above restrictions do not hold for cases of contrastive IMP subjects, as exemplified in (11).

(11)   *"A: Know French – it will help you get a job in Canada!*
        B: No, YOU know French – you're the one who wants a job in Canada."

Although contrastive IMP subjects do not fall within the scope of the present work, I am sympathetic to Flagg's suggestion, as I tend to believe that contrastive IMP subjects (see also Magionos 2019) form a distinct constructional sub-network of OSIs. This is an interesting observation to which I shall return after offering a constructional sketch of YOU DO THAT and pointing out how it embeds itself within the broader network of IMPs and the narrower sub-network of OSIs (see section five).

Mindful of Flagg's suggestions and findings, however, I cannot but notice at this point that 'you do that' qualifies for an imperative whose predicate is fully compatible with the semantics of activity initiation, and which allows for a 'stage-level' bounded interpretation. Yet, examples (1) and (2) discussed in section one for 'you do that', do not seem to favour the interpretation of an 'order' that the S imposes on the A for immediate compliance. At the same time, the subject involved in the pattern is clearly not contrastive in terms of reference. So, in that sense, it does not quite meet Flagg's requirements for theoretical exemption, so to speak. Such empirical evidence points to the need for revisiting Flagg's proposal, which has, however, contributed insightful observations to the present constructional account.

Takahashi's (2002, 2004, 2011) cognitive work on imperative prototypes and non-prototypes has also been pivotal in operationalising the specifics of my account of 'you do that'. As shown in Table 1 below, Takahashi argues that imperatives differ with respect to *force*, *identity*, and *semantic role of subject* as well as the involvement of *benefit* for the Speaker or the Addressee.

	IMP (Non)-Prototypes	
	Non-prototypical	Prototypical
	←	→
A. FORCE		
i. Degree of Force	lower than (near) [1⁻]	(near) [1⁺]
ii. Nature of Force	non-directive	directive
B. SUBJECT		
i. Semantic Role	non-agentive	agentive
ii. Identity	non-individuated/generic	individuated
C. BENEFIT		
Beneficiary	Addressee → Others	Speaker

Table 1: Parameters determining imperative prototypes (adapted from Takahashi's work 2004, 2011)

Along these lines, an imperative may be considered *prototypically atypical* when all the following conditions apply:

(a) The force, i.e., the psychosocial influence that the S exerts on the A is low, mixed, absent, or negative towards the fulfillment of *p* encoded in an imperative or over which an imperative takes scope. In such cases, the attendant force of the IMP will also drift closer to the non-directive end of the continuum. Consider for instance, the following examples cited by Takahashi (2004: 89) with respect to this type of atypicality *"-A: Excuse me. Do you know where Starbucks is? -B: Go straight ahead three blocks."* (low/mixed or absent force) or *"Put a proper Bostonian on the phone with a Texas oilman and here comes miscommunication"* (negative force).

(b) The subject involved is non-agentive, i.e., not a 'doer', and its identity is generic, as in the famous movie quote: *"Somebody stop me".* [6]

(c) The benefit arising from the actualisation of *p* is relativised to the Addressee's intentions and desires but *not* the Speaker's; the latter typically exhibiting low endorsement of the potentiality of *p*, as in "- A: Do you mind if I use this chair? - B: Go ahead." (Takahashi 2004: 1).

Apparently, even the presence of one of the above parameters would classify an imperative as atypical but would position it on different points along the continuum of atypicality. The exact position on the continuum will, of course, also relate to the illocutionary force of the specific imperative. Interestingly, for the purposes of this proposal, Takahashi (2004) argues that *acceptance* is "the weakest of all directives" (ibid.: 62). In this respect, 'you do that' - at least in terms of force - would not be expected to feature close to the plus maximum (i.e., 1⁺) side of the continuum. This is an interesting observation which will be discussed further in section 5.

Building on Takahashi's understanding of the IMP cline of (a-)typicality, the paper further integrates insights from Stefanowitsch's (2003) construction-based approach to the constituent structure and semantics-pragmatics of different imperative instances. In his attempt to account for these, Stefanowitsch concludes that the imperative is, in fact, a constructional family, i.e., the IMPERATIVE (IMP). OSIs receive special attention in his work in that, in his words, "a complete account [of IMPs] has to specify under what conditions the subject slot may actually contain overt phonological material"

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[6] Movie: *The Mask*, release year: 1994.

(Stefanowitsch 2003: 5). In outlining his proposal, Stefanowitsch concurs with the relevant literature that there are at least two conditions under which an IMP subject may be phonologically realised. These consist in *contrastive reference* and *non-second person reference*, illustrated in examples (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) *"You fell from 8 to 9. <u>Everybody don't forget</u> to vote."*
(13) *"<u>Someone do tell me</u> what "spoils of war" we Brits took out of World War 2!"*

Yet, he readily observes that there are puzzling instances of overt subject in cases where neither contrastive reference nor non-second person reference is an issue, as in the following BNC example he cites.

(14) *"Okay, <u>you carry on</u>, <u>you argue</u>, that's alright."*

He adds that this is also the case with inverted non-contrastive person, negative imperatives, as in example (15) which differs from example (16) which does not, however, involve a phonologically realised subject.

(15)   *"Erm but the most unfortunate thing that Old Edward NAME, the-- the old chap
        who owned the place he was living in part of the house and Old Jane NAME,
        his housekeeper, my mother she could bake bread and wash, her mother had
        taught her that, but it was making butter that was the problem. And old Jane
        NAME said, <u>don't you worry</u> my girl, er I'll make the butter for you."* (BNC)

(16)   *"A: Do you know what fraction that would be of a whole pizza?
        B: Er ⋯
        A: What fraction's that? ⋯ Well, <u>don't worry</u> if you don᾽t know. How
        many of those would you need to make a whole pizza?"* (BNC)

In putting all these together, Stefanowitsch ventures a rather intuitive comment in passing, which, to my understanding, extends Flagg's account and crucially opens up the area of research for the present proposal and, possibly, similar future endeavours. He proposes that the difference between 'don't you worry' in (15) from 'don't worry' in (16) and, perhaps, even more importantly the difference between 'you carry on, you argue' in (14) and its assumed counterpart 'carry on, argue' is a matter of S's interpretation of the A's intentions to actualise *p*. Simply put, in (14) with the overt subject the S is convinced that the A will carry on arguing no matter what and is, therefore, portrayed as the passive and reluctant recipient of the A's (almost) initiated action. Similarly, the difference between (15) and (16) is that in the former, the A has in all likelihood already initiated the 'action of worrying', while in the latter, there seems to be no such sign.

In this context of empirical evidence, Stefanowitsch ultimately posits the existence of OSIs as a separate construction which inherits the properties of IMPs but has further properties, particular to it. The present account aligns with this idea but will extend it in a twofold manner. Firstly, I propose that OSIs themselves create their own, nested sub-networks, one of which will be the focused on in this paper by my discussion of YOU DO THAT. And, secondly, I will cast light on YOU DO THAT, and especially its additional discourse-pragmatic functions and readings. In so doing, I ultimately seek to show that

YOU DO THAT is an interesting case of an OSI whose licensing template and idiosyncratic properties have not been previously acknowledged in the relevant literature.

I would like to wrap up the present section with a targeted, and consciously narrowed down, selection of a few more terminological insights offered by the literature on atypical imperatives, which profitably relate to 'you do that' as well. Condoravdi and Lauer (2012) approach the functional heterogeneity of the IMP family by observing that the variety of its illocutionary forces and corresponding speech acts may call for four different categories. These include *directives* as in *"Stand at attention"* or *"Don't touch the hot plate"*, *wish-use types*, e.g., *"Get well soon"*, *permissions-invitations*, e.g., *"Have a cookie"*, and *disinterested advice*, as in the following exchange between strangers, *"-A. Excuse me, how do I get to San Francisco? -B: Take the train that leaves from over there in 10 minutes"*. Arguably, the last category is particularly relevant to my work as it hosts imperative instances in which the S has no (or very limited) interest in the fulfillment of *p*. Condoravdi and Lauer add that perhaps what strikes us as unconventional in such cases is the absence (or rather moderated presence) of the IMP's *bouletic modality* component. In von Fintel's (2006) terms, bouletic modality (also referred to as boulomaic) concerns what is possible or necessary given a person's desires that typically function as the ordering source.

The absence of the bouletic component suggested by Condoravdi and Lauer roughly corresponds to Takahashi's property of 'low Speaker endorsement' and 'subsequent A's (rather than S's) benefit'. Their account, however, is restricted to examples with covert IMP subjects. In the context of my proposal, 'disinterested advice' will be preserved as a term of analysis, mostly in that it succeeds in capturing specific cases of gradience in S's acceptance.

Finally, von Fintel and Iatridou (2017) embed certain atypical cases in a discussion of what they term 'weak imperatives', expressing acquiescence, as in (17), and indifference, as in (18).

(17) *"A: It's getting warm. Can I open the window?"*
    B: Sure. <u>Go ahead</u>. <u>Open it!</u>"

(18) *"<u>Go left! Go right!</u> I don't care."*

Despite their differences, and the fact that both examples showcase covert IMP subjects, their common ground is once more that of low Speaker endorsement and the fact that neither of them imposes a S's desire or intention on the A. In other words, in both cases, the A announces an intention that the S, in one way or the other, accepts. Acceptance,[7] therefore, in its gradience, along with the notion of benefit are what will be focused upon in the next section which zooms in on the research design adopted for the collection and analysis of empirical evidence.

3   Data and methods

The aim of this section is to trace the methodological steps followed in collecting and analysing empirical evidence, in line with the research questions and working hypotheses considered in this study (see section one).

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[7] It is interesting to note that acceptance (and indifference) as function-notions have also received attention in other similar corpus-based constructional accounts as in that of Sommerer's (2023) treatment of *pleonastic conditionals* (PCs).

In investigating 'you do that' and its atypicality as an IMP instance, the study followed a usage-based approach in accordance with its CxG theoretical underpinning. A primary methodological commitment was therefore to collect linguistic evidence that would allow for the empirical validation of both the atypicality of the pattern and its constructional status in the language as an atypical imperative with specific properties, both inherited and particular to it (see RQ1 and RQ2 in conjunction with WH1). Furthermore, the linguistic evidence collected would also be used to establish the discourse profile of the pattern regarding contextual regularities, dialoguality, and genre/text-type preferences (see RQ 3 along with WH2 and WH3).

Pursuant to the above, the study sought linguistic evidence through COCA data which were subjected to statistical analysis through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (SPSS). SPSS was mainly chosen in that it lends itself to analyses of sizeable data sets that involve hypothesis testing so as to determine which (or whether) variables may have an influence on outcome measures (Jasrai 2020).

The total population (N) of 'you do that' available in the corpus amounted to 11.441 concordance lines automatically classified into the following 8 genres, so named by the corpus developers:

(a) TV/movies,
(b) spoken (data),
(c) fiction,
(d) blogs,
(e) web/general (data),
(f) magazines,
(g) newspapers,
(h) academic.

Interested in exploring any possible correlations between different genres and the use of the construction, the study not only retained this genre classification but also upgraded it into one of the working criteria of its research design. The first step was thus to examine the distribution of the overall N population of 'you do that' across this eight-category genre classification. Crucially, this step involved counting and sifting manually through all possible instances (i.e., tokens) of 'you do that', including, as will be exemplified in section 4.1, instances of the fully compositional 'you do that' in the indicative or instances whereby 'you do that' was part of other higher order CONDITIONAL constructions (see section 4.2).

Table 2 that follows presents the frequency counts for all the 'you do that' tokens that the corpus investigation yielded. Given, however, the aims of the present paper, only the atypical YOU DO THAT has been focused upon (see right column of Table 2) with a view to showing that frequency-wise at least, the pattern could well be considered *prototypically atypical* in that it accounts only for 3.91% of all cases. Further to this, frequency counts were also crucial for observing possible emergent trends as regards the genre-based allocation of the atypical YOU DO THAT.[8]

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[8] The observed data of Table 2 were also checked for normal distribution and statistical significance so as to confirm whether the frequency of occurrence of YOU DO THAT in the overall corpus (N) and its internal genre-based allocation were above chance level. The results confirmed both normal distribution and statistical significance (see Appendix, Table A; p-value=0.041< 0.05).

COCA Overall 'you do that' (*N*) & YOU DO THAT sampled (*n*)		
Genres	'You do that' Total (*N*) **(F)**	YOU DO THAT sampled (*n*) **(F)**
1. TV/Movies	6229 (54.4%)	352 (5.65%)
2. Spoken	2278 (19.9%)	5 (0.18%)
3. Fiction	1203 (10.51%)	90 (0.75%)
4. Blog	560 (4.89%)	0
5. Web/Genl	501 (4.37%)	0
6. Magazines	315 (2.75%)	0
7. Newspapers	285 (2.49%)	0
8. Academic	70 (0.61%)	1 (1.43%)
Total	11441 (**N**)	448 (3.91%)

Table 2: Distribution of 'you do that' (N) and YOU DO THAT (n) in COCA 'genre-strata'

To examine whether possible genre correlations hold, the next step was to conduct a Pearson's chi-squared test so as to assess whether the frequency sets across the genre distribution in the sampled population (*n*) would be positively associated with the genre distribution of the overall population (*N*). The test confirmed a positive association (p-value=0.001< 0.01, see Table 3) which lent support to my initial hypothesis that YOU DO THAT would be more frequently used in genres promoting a dialogual exchange between a Speaker and an Addressee, such as TV/Movies, spoken data and/or fictional contexts inviting dialogue.

Investigating Correlations through Pearson's chi-squared test (χ^2)			
		YOU DO THAT Sampled Population (n)	OVERALL POPULATION (N)
YOU DO THAT Sampled Population (n)	Pearson Correlation	1	.936**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	8	8
OVERALL POPULATION (N)	Pearson Correlation	.936**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	8	8
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)			

Table 3: Pearson's chi-squared test on correlations between the overall (N) and the sampled (n)

Aiming to make a case for the ability of inferential statistics to yield reliable insights for small samples, the study did not analyse the totality of the sampled population (n) of the constructional YOU DO THAT, namely the 448 tokens. Rather, the next step involved random stratified sampling practices (Cochran 1963; Thompson 2012; Parsons 2017) by examining a representative number of cases. The number of concordance lines to be

analysed was determined by the research randomizer software, freely accessible in https://www.randomizer.org/.

Random stratified sampling (RSS) was an informed methodological decision based on three important factors. Firstly, the distribution of the pattern in different genres has been a key concern of the study, mainly because of its strongly hypothesised dialoguality. So, in adopting RSS, the study would benefit from a genre-based stratification of data made by an objective third party, namely, the corpus developers. Secondly, stratified random sampling – unlike simple random sampling – breaks down an overall population into more manageable sample sizes, thereby allowing for both greater detail and significantly reduced sample bias. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, RSS would allow the study to function as a case of a 'sandbox' regarding the research possibilities couched in inferential statistics (Lavrakas 2008) which – to the best of my knowledge – remain underrepresented in current linguistic research. In this sense, the paper also poses as a case study of whether (and to what extent) a principledly random sample (n) would be in the position to yield reliable and comparable results to those extracted from analysing the entirety of a given population (N).[9]

Table 4 below reports on the number of concordance lines investigated per stratum as defined by the research randomizer generator. The final total number (i.e., 104 tokens) amounts to about a quarter of the total YOU DO THAT (*n*) population. In line with the initial frequency distribution and following mathematical principles of proportionality, the final sample for tagging purposes had to be proportionately extracted from the stratum of TV/Movies (i.e., 58 concordance lines), followed by fiction data (i.e., 40 examples) and spoken instances (i.e., 5 cases). Not surprisingly, as regards the stratum of academic texts, this meant that the only instance encountered had to be tagged.[10] [11]

	Stratified Random Sampling YOU DO THAT sample (n)	
Genres	YOU DO THAT population (n)	Stratified Random Sampling Confidence Interval: 90% Margin of Error: 10%
1. TV/Movies	352	58
2. Spoken	5	5
3. Fiction	90	40
4. Blog	0	0

[9] At the same time, I acknowledge that this could also be interpreted as a limitation in the sense that it sanctions an important future next step that would entail the comparison between the current results and those arrived at after an exhaustive tagging of all 448 tokens involved in the random stratified sampling.

[10] The only occurrence of YOU DO THAT in academic texts concerns the following example, which is part of a literature journal article reporting on a novel and using quotes found therein: *"Both sides read the same books. War is an art of becoming, and I suspect that if art is not art -- without art victory is an empty bauble. Let me make my statement clearly. " # " **You do that**, sir. " # " Science is an art. Let me read from my notes."* [Source: Review of Contemporary Fiction, Author: William Eastlake, 2007]. In this sense, this unique example is more of a false positive result that could well be included in the fiction stratum.

[11] The final stratified random sample collected was also statistically examined with respect to stratum distribution and statistical significance (see Appendix, Table B; p-value=0.001< 0.10).

5. Web/Genl	0	0
6. Magazines	0	0
7. Newspapers	0	0
8. Academic	1	1
Total	448 (n)	104 (about 23% of the randomly sampled *n*)

Table 4: Random sampling per genre-stratum in YOU DO THAT sampled (n)

Once securing that the random stratified sample could yield statistically significant and valid results, I shifted my attention to qualitative considerations. Every one of the 104 random tokens was thus subjected to manual tagging against qualitative parameters brought together on the basis of my initial working hypotheses and 'kick-start' assumptions as to what would routinely form part of a dialogual exchange involving a *p* to be - gradiently - accepted. My annotative approach to the data, therefore, was primarily informed by aspects pertaining to intention-announcing and the attendant evaluation/appraisal that this entails. In this context, my attention was first directed to the linguistic glossing of the intended *p* in discourse, which as will be shown, was found to be systematically compatible with hypotheticality/potentiality expressed – inter alia – though future tense reference, conditionals, interrogatives, etc. As Table 6 below illustrates, this is a consistent contextual regularity of YOU DO THAT attested by all tokens. Arguably, this was interpreted as a fairly expected finding given that the 'raison d'être' of YOU DO THAT in discourse is to grant S's (different forms of) acceptance to an A's 'soon to be realised' *p*.

Given that all the above take place in a context of dialogual exchange, the annotation grid of the study naturally involved tagging with respect to names/terms of address so as to examine whether explicit reference between the interlocutors (A & S) is favoured in the context of such an atypical imperative. As shown in Table 6, names and terms of address (mostly terms of endearment) were only marginally present in the data and mostly in cases where casual acceptance (cf., disinterested advice) was in evidence. This most likely points to the pairing of such terms with the positive end of the continuum of gradience, suggesting that when couching passive-aggressive or begrudging acceptance, YOU DO THAT draws on no other formal means of Addressee-encoding, other than its pronominal subject.

Most of the other tagging parameters involved possible linguistic manifestations of stance-taking vis-à-vis the Addressee-induced *p*. Stance-taking in verbal communication relates to how speakers position themselves in relation to others' belief systems and statements (Du Bois 2007; Simaki et al 2020). As Dubois (2007: 163) crucially observes "one of the most important things we do with words is to take stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stance takers and to invoke systems of sociocultural value." In this sense, YOU DO THAT features in view-pointed dialogual exchanges where interlocutors are expected to take stance and evaluate *p*s, position themselves against them and, ultimately, (dis)align with them i.e., (gradiently) accept them. Expectedly, therefore, the data were tagged for stance-encoding elements, such as markers of agreement, which formed the third most frequently occurring category of

contextual elements (see Table 6), as well as negative and positive polarity items, likely to be employed in processes of evaluation, both in the discourse part preceding YOU DO THAT and in what follows it.[12] At this point, it might be interesting to note that preceding negative polarity items feature as the second largest category of contextual regularities, present in about half of the tokens. This could in all likelihood be interpreted as an indicator of the building up of begrudging acceptance, discoursally culminating in the use of YOU DO THAT.

Following the above, the data were also tagged with respect to the contextual use of other imperative forms in the discourse environment enveloping YOU DO THAT. Their presence in about one third of the sample (see Table 6 below) suggests that perhaps dialogual exchanges submitting a *p* for evaluation and acceptance seem to favour the use of both canonical and non-canonical forms of imperatives as direct cueing of the S-A discussion and evaluation of *p*. Finally, the use of Interrogative forms for requesting elucidation of intentions or asking for intentions in the first place was also investigated as a potential regularity and part of the unfolding negotiation for acceptance.

Table 6 below reports on frequency counts for each annotation parameter (eleven in total). To illustrate how the parameters relate to the corpus data, each parameter is followed either by a part of the examples that will be discussed in detail in section 4.3 or by extracts of concordance lines comprising the random sample (n).

Annotation Parameters YOU DO THAT - Stratified Random Sample (n) Overall Frequency Set (F:) 104 concordance lines		
Parameter	**Example from data**	**Frequency counts (F:)**
Hypotheticality in p	**Future Tenses/Future Expressions** *(e.g., "I'm gonna text her…")* **Modals/Modal Expressions** *(e.g., "And maybe I could stay over...")* **Bouletic Expressions** *(e.g., "I want to call her…")* **(Let-) imperatives** *(e.g., "Let me check with Novak, since he was the only one…")* **Conditional Sentences** *(e.g., If you don't leave now, I'll call Sheriff Baker…)* **Interrogative Forms** **(questions & question tags seeking confirmation)** *(e.g., "Do you think I could take Tony along?")*	104
Preceding imperative	*"Face it, Derek…."* (see example 28)	35
Following imperative	*"Enjoy your birthday…"* (see example 27)	33
Preceding interrogative forms	*"-Where did you get these?"* *"-Back off man. Yo! I'm taking what's mine!'* *"-I'm calling Security!"* *"-Yeah?* **You do that**. *Then maybe you can explain to them why you're selling stolen property."* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *Campus Code*, Year: 2015]	32
Following interrogative forms	*"And then you'll let this go?"* (see example 28)	29

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[12] Note at this point that when it comes to acceptance and evaluation of intentions, negative and positive polarity items may be equally present in each concordance line, simply because they might be the different 'attitude vehicles' used by the interlocutors in the locus of a dis/agreement on the same issue.

Preceding negative polarity	*"- And afterwards, we're thinking Linda must have <u>ditched</u> you. Yeah, that's why you looked her up, to <u>wipe her out</u>."* *"- I want a lawyer."* *"- We'll get you a judge and jury, too.'* *"- **You do that**, cause I didn't <s>kill</s> her."* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *Cold Case*, Episode: *Maternal Instincts* Year: 2006]	53
Preceding positive polarity	*"-I <u>love</u> you, Ronnie. "* *"-I <u>love</u> you too. I'll study all the books in Dad's library that have to do with mapping and scientific -- "* *" -**You do that**."* (see example 27)	24
Following negative polarity	*"- Rite of passage? - (LAUGHING) (YELLING) So is that.* *"-Calm down. I'll ask around.* *- **You do that**. One of them's a football player. Scouted. Everyone knows who did this. Someone <u>had better bring me a fucking name. Someone had better</u>. (MANGROANING) Fuck."* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *London Boulevard*, Year: 2010]	27
Following positive polarity	*"- Okay. She's always on the phone, she's viewing tapes. She's probably got dozens of juicy leads."* *"- I'll watch her like a hawk."* *"- **You do that**. <u>I have confidence in you</u>."* *"- Now, I'm gonna go grab some steam. - <u>Great</u>. Ron, "* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *Wake Up, Ron Burgundy, The Lost Movie*, Year: 2004]	20
Markers of agreement & interjections (e.g., Oh, okay, yeah, good idea)	*"- Well, the rules are the rules. Guess I should start packing. [laughs]* *"- <u>Yeah</u>. **You do that**. Don't forget to write. Oh, it's gon na be a good day, Martha."* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *The Robot Chicken Lots of Holiday, Comedy*, Year: 2014]	38
Names/Terms of Address	*"- Like I said, I'll think about it.* *"- Okay, <u>my friend</u>. **You do that**. But you should know I don't like people that say no to me."* [COCA, TV/Movies, Title: *Blood and Bone*, Action-Drama,Year: 2009]	8

Table 6: Annotation grid, examples, and frequency counts

Given that the annotation grid was motivated by my working hypotheses, apart from its empirical validation, I also proceeded to statistical significance testing for the frequency counts across all eleven parameters. The results confirmed statistical significance with a p-value= 0.08<0.10.[13] However, to minimise potential researcher bias and secure that all eleven parameters formed a reliable scale, I also administered a Cronbach's Alpha (α) test. Calculating Cronbach's alpha (α) functions as an estimator of consistency, reliability, and interrelatedness for composite measures containing multiple category sets (Tavakol and Dennick 2011). In Cronbach's Alpha (α) test, the resulting coefficient ranges from 0 – 1. In practice this means that if all the items involved in a scale are entirely independent (i.e., are not correlated or share no covariance), then (α) would equal 0 (or would be close to 0). If, however, all the involved items exhibit high covariance, then (α) will approach 1 as the items in the scale approach infinity. Consequently, the higher the coefficient, the greater the shared covariance among the items and the greater the reliability in measurements (Osburn 2000; Thompson 2002 Ritter 2010).

As shown in Table 7 below, the results indicated high consistency (i.e., internal reliability), since (α)= 0.954, almost reaching the numerical value of an absolute 1, which is the highest that can be achieved in a Cronbach's Alpha (α) test. Put simply, this means that the decision to annotate the data with respect to these eleven parameters, albeit

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[13] As indicated in Table 4, the confidence interval in the SRS was set at 90% and the respective margin of error at 10%. Therefore, the cut-off point for significance in p-values was set at 0.10. Acknowledging that this could possibly allow for greater tolerance to error, I also ran a Cronbach's Alpha (α) test so as to confirm whether my eleven-parameter measurement scale would exhibit internal consistency and, by extension, reliability (see Table 7).

intuitive in its conception, was well-reasoned in that the parameters exhibit increased correlation with each other, and their being part of such a strongly reliable scale indicates interdependence.

Statistical Significance Random Stratified Testing: YOU DO THAT (n) − Tagging Parameters F:		
		Stratified Random Sampling YOU DO THAT (n)
N		11
Normal Parameters	Mean	36.64
	Std. Deviation	25.005
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.296
	Positive	.296
	Negative	-.162
Test Statistic		.296
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.008
Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha standardised on items	N of items
.544	.954	11

Table 7: Statistical significance & reliability measurements on the qualitative grid

Finally, given that hypotheticality was a given in all concordance lines but it manifested itself in different forms (see parameter 1 in Table 6 above), the frequency set collected was subjected both to statistical significance measurements and reliability statistics. As Table 8 below reports, statistical significance was confirmed through the K-S test with p-value=0.001< 0.10, while internal reliability was found to be exceptionally high with a resulting (α)= 0.978.

Statistical Significance Random Stratified Testing: YOU DO THAT (n) − Hypotheticality Frequency Set (F:)		
		Stratified Random Sampling YOU DO THAT (n)
N		6
Normal Parameters	Mean	17.33
	Std. Deviation	31.328
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.438
	Positive	.438
	Negative	-.301
Test Statistic		.438
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha standardised on items	N of items
.578	.978	6

Table 8: Statistical significance & reliability measurements on the frequency set of hypotheticality

Following the quantitative measurements presented above, the next section focuses on empirical, qualitative analyses of the corpus-collected data with a view to shedding light not only on the different 'you do that' patterns but also on the properties of YOU DO THAT.

4   Empirical analyses and findings

The present section is concerned with empirical analysis and is divided into three parts. The first part deals exclusively with examples of 'you do that' in the indicative. The second one focuses on 'you do that' mostly in the form of an imperative which occupies the hypothesis locus of different CONDITIONAL constructions and inherits the semantic-pragmatic, and discourse properties in line with this. And, finally, part three is devoted to the empirical analysis of YOU DO THAT , paving the way for its 'box notation' constructional sketch offered in section five. For the sake of economy, each sub-section discusses only a certain number of representative examples, thus offering a brief but targeted overview of each pattern.

4.1   Instances of 'you do that' in the Indicative

As stated in section one, identifying the differences between formal 'twins' of 'you do that' has been one of the main aims of this study (see RQ1) in that understanding their in-between differences ultimately allows for a better understanding of each individual unit. In this context, let us discuss the following selection of examples (19) – (22).

(19)   *"-To-night,   Dr.   Sandford,   when   you   go   round,   you could indicate to me what I want to know, and nobody else be the wiser. When we come to any case that is serious, but with hope, take hold of your chin, so; if any is serious without hope, just pass your hand through your hair.* **You do that** *often. " # -" Not when I am going my rounds, Daisy, " said the doctor, looking amused. # -" Only this time, for me, " I pleaded."*

COCA, Web. Daisy in the Field, 2012

(20)   *"-ERIC HARRIS: Laundry, take out the trash, vacuuming, sweep floors. JACK -DeVITA:* **You do that** <u>*without being told?*</u> *ERIC HARRIS: Yes, JACK -DeVITA: So when are you going to get with the program? ERIC HARRIS: Starting today."*

COCA, Spoken, Early Warning Signs, 1999

(21)   *"Shaggy: Men of integrity don't have affairs. They don't have affairs not because there aren't other wonderful women out there besides their wives, they don't have   affairs because as men of integrity they choose not to. # Uhhh, no. Friends don't do that kind of thing.* **You do that** <u>*when you're dating/in a relationship*</u>*. Sounds like he still wants that with you but isn't saying it because you stated you don't want more than friendship."*

COCA, Blog, 2 OSF in the same bed? what's the point? (2012)

(22)   *"Diversifying   across   time   means   buying   steadily   regardless   of   whether   the   markets bounce up or down.* **You do that** <u>*by dollar-cost averaging*</u>*: putting money into your 401(k) regularly or signing up for an automatic investing plan at a mutual fund."*

COCA, Magazine: *Money*, Title: fear FACTOR, Author: David Futrelle, 2005

All examples listed above showcase instances of 'you do that' which – with appropriate contextual modifications when necessary – can bear tense, as for example in the context of (19) above, i.e., *"you did that often"*. Moreover, they can all bear modal verbs or epistemics, as in "you may do that when you're dating" (example 21) or "you certainly do that by dollar cost-averaging" (example 22).

At the same time, all examples exhibit variety in terms of complementation, varying from – but not restricted to – adverbial modification (as in the underlined part of 19), temporal clause complements (as in the underlined part of 21), or prepositional complements (as in the underlined parts of 20 and 22). Further to the above, they all exhibit incompatibility with an assumed sentence-initial or sentence-final 'please' (typical of imperative sentences) and they all seem to impose no restrictions on their potential overt sets of subjects, as in the possible "He did that often" (in 19) or "They did that by dollar cost-averaging" (in 22).

Example (20) is particularly interesting in that it illustrates the ability of this 'you do that' to feature in interrogative (non-canonical in this case) configuration. The configuration of negation would be equally interesting in that it would be expected to follow the 'you don't do that' syntax, as in 'you don't do that without being told' of example (20) rather than the auxiliary-inverted 'don't you do that' syntax that would be expected in a negative imperative.

Finally, in terms of semantics-pragmatics, and discourse function, the pattern pairs with truth conditionality as it is fully compatible with assertive illocutionary acts. Interestingly, its contextual environment presents no demands for a dialogual context whereby an Addressee-induced proposition *p* would discoursally invite the Speaker' use of 'you do that'. In this context of empirical evidence, it becomes clear that the 'you do that' encountered in examples (19) – (22) above is a different, fully compositional unit of analysis which pairs with specific semantics-pragmatics and allows for tense- and other verb-related flexibility along with variety in complementation and subjects. Perhaps, even more importantly, it emphatically disallows typical imperative features and does not anchor itself to preceding Addressee-initiated discourse.

4.2   'You do that' in CONDITIONALS

This section extends the discussion on formal 'evil twins' initiated in section 3.2.1 by examining 'you do that' as part of different conditional structures. My aim, however, is not to engage in a detailed (micro-)analysis of such instances, most of which have already received considerable attention in the literature under the names of IMPERATIVE CONDITIONALS (IMCs), CONDITIONAL – 'AND' CONSTRUCTIONS (CACs), IMPERATIVE THREATS (IMTs) LEFT SUBORDINATION 'AND' / 'AND' CONDITIONAL IMPERATIVE (for an overview see Stefanowitsch 2003; Culicover and Jackendoff 1997; Takahashi 2004, 2011; Kaufmann 2012). Rather, my aim is to show that they are different units of analysis with respect to semantics-pragmatics and discourse functions and are, therefore, not related to the discourse-responsive imperative of gradient acceptance.

By analogy with literature-cited examples as *"Bring alcohol to school and you'll be suspended"*, *"You drink another can of beer and I'm leaving"* or *"You give anyone too much money and they'll go crazy"* (Takahashi 2004: 19), I propose that examples (23) – (25) below bring to the fore interesting differences between 'you do that' and its seeming 'twins' embedded in conditionals. More specifically, examples (23) - (25) exemplify variant forms of LEFT

SUBORDINATION 'AND' / 'AND' CONDITIONAL IMPERATIVES, whereby 'and' is overtly present, as in (23) and (25), or covertly, as in (24).[14]

(23)   *"-You ever show up in my office with a hoochie-mama outfit, you're fired. You got that? Okay, you're gon na be on this cart for two-and-a-half years, okay? I want you to live it, love it and name it. There's no ladder climbing in my office. I run a tight ship. Okay? - Yes, sir. - Move! I found that paper I was telling you about. - What are we looking at? - Shut up!* **You do that** *to me again, and I'll kick your ass!"*
                         COCA, *Transformers: Dark of the Moon* (Genre: Action, Adventure. Sci-Fi), 2011

(24)   *"-I want you to kill him. I want you to shoot him dead.* **You do that***, I swear to God, you're a free man. I'll walk you out the gate myself. What d' ya say? -I got to be honest with you, boss. You don't wan na give me that gun,' cause I'd probably shoot you with it. -That was the wrong answer, boy. You a fool. I'd have taken that deal. -I beg pardon? You say something to me?"*
                                 COCA, *Life*, (Genre: Comedy, Crime, Drama), 1999

(25)   *"-Well, I suppose I was. I'm just grateful none of my friends saw me. There you go- tensing up again. Look at you. I mean, you're standing there like a statue. I mean, the only things you're going to attract are pigeons. Sit down. Relax. Take a couple of deep breaths.* **You do that** *and everything you want will come to you. -That's all it takes? -Try it. Go on. See? -Are you expecting someone? Let's find out. -Surprise! -Well, for crying out loud, what are you two lovely ladies doing here? -You invited us, remember? -Oh, that's right. Come on in."*
                                 COCA, Star Trek: Deep Space Nine, (Genre: Action, Adventure Drama), 1998

All the above examples promote a conditional interpretation of 'cause-effect' patterning in which 'you do that' consistently forms part of the hypothesis conjunct.[15] Moreover, even in the absence of the connector, the two conjuncts follow a temporal order of iconicity, that is to say, the content of the second conjunct is expected to be realised only upon the actualisation of the content of the first one. In this respect, the conjuncts are also argued to be symmetric in terms of epistemic attitude (Takahashi 2004). What is interesting though is that their epistemic symmetry may vary. For instance, it can be negative as in (23), whereby the content of the first conjunct is not desirable and so is the content of the second. This accounts for the association of such conditional instances with threats, also termed "unwelcome promises" (Grant 1949: 362) since a threat is a commissive speech act whose illocutionary purpose is no other but to express a future consequence for the recipient under a certain condition. In other words, the ultimate aim is to encourage the Addressee *not* to make that condition true (Searle 1969; Blanco Salgueiro 2010). Epistemic symmetry can also be positive and desirable, as in making promises, another commissive speech act, illustrated by (24) or neutral as when making an impartial prediction, illustrated in (25). The desirability or undesirability involved in epistemic symmetry may also define the force of the imperative and, hence, its typicality

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[14] Although discussing differences between the overt and covert 'and' in examples (23) to (25) does not fall under the scope of the present paper, I concur with von Fintel and Iatridou who observe that *"inserting a conjunction into sequences of speech acts is not an innocent operation"* (von Fintel and Iatridou 2017: 301). This is all the more so in constructional frameworks of analysis, where formal differences make – at best – (minimally) variant forms, if not different constructional entities altogether.

[15] In that sense, they are also argued to inherit properties of PREDICTIVE CONDITIONALS (Dancygier 1998).

since a negative symmetry would expectedly pair with negative force in the sense that the action will not be in the interests of the Speaker. By extension, the readings of desirability or undesirability will also determine the co-occurrence of negative polarity items (e.g., *"I'll kick your ass!"* in (23)) or positive ones (e.g., *"you're a free man"* in (24)) in the immediate context of use, as a cursory glance at the previous examples may illustrate.

Further to the above, it is worth noting that among the 'you do that' encountered in the data, there are also tokens of 'you do that' featuring in the hypothesis locus of conditional or temporal clauses as in (26).

(26)   *"What we're doing on every snap this week is running to the football and finishing every play. <u>As long as</u> **you do that** consistently, your results should be better."*
                                        COCA, Web, Title: Saints defense working to figure out new system, 2012

Apparently, example (26) is not an instance of an imperative. Nonetheless, it merits attention in that it confirms that the data discussed showcase linguistic realisations of 'you do that' embedded in the hypothesis slots of the higher order construction (including sub-constructions) of CONDITIONALS. In so doing, these 'you do that' emerge as different units of analysis, i.e., different constructional entities, consistently paired with commissive speech acts and a 'cause-effect' conditional patterning of a desirable, undesirable, or neutral predictive interpretation.

4.3   YOU DO THAT as an atypical imperative of gradient acceptance

The present section completes the set of empirical analyses by examining data that showcase the main object of study in this work, i.e., YOU DO THAT as an atypical imperative. In so doing, my aim is to put together the constructional profile of the pattern by means of a targeted selection of examples encoding gradient acceptance. Gradience in this case will be shown to range from mild and casual acceptance taking the form of disinterested advice (example 27), to more passive-aggressive interpretations (example 28) and, ultimately, to readings of fully begrudging and acquiescing acceptance (example 29). In this context of empirical evidence, emphasis will also be placed on the contextual regularities, already discussed in section 3 as tagging parameters, which the pattern seems to invite to discourse, and which primarily highlight S-A stance-taking over *p*.

Example (27) below instantiates YOU DO THAT as part of a dialogual exchange between two fictional characters, an aunt, and her twelve-year old nephew, in a context of plan-making and intention-sharing. To ease processing strain, all the *p*s serving as the locus of the intention-announcement in discourse will be henceforth underlined. This is also expected to highlight the 'symbiotic' relationship between the preceding Addressee-induced *p* − consistently glossed in hypothetical terms − and YOU DO THAT which can be meaningfully interpreted only when anchored to that antecedent *p*.

(27)   *"-Working together? " His voice was eager. " -Doing stuff like Dad did for you? "*
        *" -Exactly. I'll look forward to it, Ronnie. " "-So will I. " He paused. " -But that's months away. Is that okay? I don't want you to be lonely, Aunt Hannah. " " -It's okay. I'll keep busy, and you'll be here before I know it. Now go back and have your cake. I love you, Ronnie. " " -I love you too. <u>I'll study all the books in Dad's library that have to do with mapping and scientific</u> -- " " **-You do that**. I'm sure it will help. Enjoy your birthday. Good-bye, love. " She hung up. What had*

she gotten herself into? Dealing with a twelve-year-old. Responsibility. Duty. Love. As long as there was love, she could handle the rest."
COCA, *Fiction: Shadow Zone*, 2010, Authors: Johansen, Iris & Johansen, Roy

Following the above, in this case, the *p* involving the announcement of intentions on the part of the Addressee (i.e., *"I'll study all the books in Dad's library that have to do with mapping and scientific --"*) is cut short, as the punctuation conventions indicate, by the Speaker's rather hastened use of *'you do that'*. This abrupt halfway interruption, coupled with the subsequent, contextual elucidation of Speaker's inner thoughts (i.e., *"What had she gotten herself into? Dealing with a twelve-year-old. Responsibility. Duty."*) indicates that *'you do that'* was more of a 'conversation stopper', signalling a form of mild, casual and disinterested acceptance of what the Addressee was just announcing as an intention.[16] After all, as discussed in section 2, actualising the content of *p* in this case clearly involves little to no benefit for the Speaker, which is a crucial feature of atypical imperatives. However, because of the overall positive contextual ambience, evident in the surrounding positive polarity items, including words such as *'love'* or *'enjoy'*, acceptance in this case enjoys Speaker's endorsement, which albeit low, qualifies for what Condoravdi and Lauer (2012) have termed as 'disinterested advice' (see section 2). Such an interpretation gains further support by the discourse continuation *"I'm sure it will help"* which points to an understanding of benefit for the Addressee, rather than the Speaker, as is the case in typical imperatives.

Example (28) is also retrieved from a fictional dialogual exchange in which, however, the announcement of intentions is cast within a setting of passive-aggressive disagreement between Quincy (the Addressee) and Derek (the Speaker).

(28) *"-Face it, Derek. There's no Goblet. There's no Curse. There is simply bad luck among the LaValle men. <u>I'll write up a few equations and show that it's mathematically possible for all twenty-nine men to have died without any supernatural intervention.</u> " " -Fine. " Derek stood up. " **You do that.** " " -And then you'll let this go? " " -Sure. " He turned away before Quincy could see the lie in his eyes. Curse or not, Les was going to be the last LaValle man to die at age thirty-one. He was going to find that Guardian and do what he had to do."*
COCA, *Fiction: Date me baby, one more time, N. Y.: Warner Forever, 2006, Author: Rowe St.*

In disagreeing with Derek, Quincy decides to announce his intentions to debunk the former's supernatural theory as completely unfounded (i.e., *"I'll write up a few equations and show that it's mathematically possible for all twenty-nine men to have died without any supernatural intervention"*). To this *p* announcing future intentions, the Speaker responds by employing *'you do that'* along with *'fine'* used as a marker of agreement; an assumed agreement, however, which is anything but sincere as the upcoming discourse reveals (i.e., *"Sure. He turned away before Quincy could see the lie in his eyes"*). Due to this setting of disagreement, the context is interspersed with negative polarity items, such as words and expressions *like 'curse'* and *'bad luck'*, preceding imperatives, which seem to contribute to tension-building, as in *'Face it, Derek'* and following interrogatives inquiring into the Speaker's intentions this time, as in *'And then you'll let this go?'*. In the context of (28), therefore, the acceptance couched by YOU DO THAT is more of a passive-aggressive one that consciously flouts the Gricean maxim of quality. Moreover, in this case, actualising *p* is not a neutral operation

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[16] The context preceding the pattern also shows signs of discouraging the Addressee from expanding on intention-sharing, through the use of other imperatives, as in *"Now go back and have your cake"*.

to Speaker's interests. Rather, its successful actualisation will result in undermining Speaker's credibility. In this sense, actualising *p* will run counter to Speaker's benefit, which emphatically argues for a passive-aggressive, non-veridical, and possibly, ironic flavour of interpretation.

Example (29) is taken from a dialogual exchange, part of a TV series script, in which the characters openly engage in a dispute that ends up in the announcement (or rather the reiteration of the announcement) of one's intention to quit. The example is particularly interesting in that it showcases an instance of a resigned, fully begrudging acceptance, taking the form of acquiescence to Addressee's announcement of future intentions, i.e., *"I'll stop by to quit as soon as I'm off"*.

(29) *"-Whoa, wait, wait, wait, wait- this is crazy. You and I have been working together for 14 years." "-Sammy, can't you be happy for me? I mean, I've found a job that pays me a lot of money." "-Fine, all right, fine! I'll tell you something, you want to quit, you have the courtesy to come to my bar and tell me face-to-face. And until you do that, I consider you still employed at Cheers." "-Okay, fine! I'll stop by to quit as soon as I'm off." "-Yeah, **you do that!" "-**Okay, I will!" "- Yeah, fine!" "-Fine!" "-Yeah, fine back!"*

<div align="right">COCA, TV/Movies: Cheers, (Comedy/Drama), Episode: The beer is always greener, 1982</div>

The example features orality traits and tension-building which is palpably present in context though lexical repetition (*'wait, wait, wait, wait'*), interjections (*'whoa…yeah'*), negative polarity items (*'crazy…have the courtesy to come to my bar and tell me face-to-face'*) and markers of (assumed) agreement (*'Okay, fine! …Okay, …Yeah, fine! Fine! Yeah, Fine back'*). Apparently, in this context of acute dispute, the actualisation of the Addressee's intentions couched in *p* is an operation to which the Speaker can remain neither just a disinterested nor a passively aggressive observer. Rather, the Speaker takes a negative stance vis-à-vis *p* and emerges as utterly pugnacious against the Addressee's intentions, which markedly clash with the Speaker's benefit. The Speaker in this sense is clearly positioned in discourse as disaligning with the Addressee and acceptance in this case is but an act of resigned concession.

In light of the above, YOU DO THAT is empirically shown to be highly non-compositional, in the sense that despite the individual meanings of its components, it means more than its compositional sum. In fact, in certain cases it might even be prone to denote the opposite of its typical compositional interpretation since what the Speaker would like the Addressee to do is in fact *not* to do that. This suggests that the linguistic string of 'you do that' brings a semantic-pragmatic import to discourse that could not have been (compositionally) predicted and that the meaning of gradient acceptance emerges on top of the propositional semantics-pragmatics of its components. Moreover, the pre-verbal encoding of the subject in its syntax, i.e., its OSI-based licensing template, is crucial for the pragmatic meaning of the pattern and the agentive function reserved for the Addressee that undertakes the responsibility for the initiation of an action. At the same time, its conditions of use in terms of a dialogual context motivate its discourse responsiveness and invite specific contextual regularities. The latter argue for its treatment as a construction paired with broadened discourse scope, rather than an instance of fixed, idiomatic patterning of narrow intrasentential scope.

Following all the above and aligning with Croft's (2001) symbolic 'architecture' of a construction in which the form side encompasses syntactic, morphological, and phonological properties, and the meaning side semantic, pragmatic, and discourse-

functional ones (and both sides are connected by a symbolic correspondence link), YOU DO THAT ultimately emerges as a conventionalised constructional entity with specific properties in its form and meaning pole.

However, at this point, it should be stressed that form-wise, the scope of the present account is necessarily restricted due to lack of access to audio files for the spoken data, thus leaving the phonological properties of the construction unspecified. My presumptive, and to a certain extent, intuitive response to that, however, would be that YOU DO THAT pairs with a very specific prosodic contour that differs from that of the patterns discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2. Therefore, I would welcome any further research on the issue as complementary to the present account.

The question that arises then is how all the above can be captured by means of a constructional sketch. This is precisely the focus of the next session.

5   YOU DO THAT in its constructional sketch

Although no strict formalisation of any sort is intended, the aim of this section is to offer a box notation diagram (Kay and Fillmore 1999; Fried and Östman 2004; Nikiforidou 2015) for the licensing template of YOU DO THAT as a specific instance of an atypical IMP, embedded in the sub-network of OSIs. In this respect, the diagram and its nested boxes spell out the information involved in the attribute of each constructional component that navigates upwards (hence the use of upward arrows in Figure 3 below) motivating the construction as a whole.[17]

In the form of an interim summary, and fully in line with what has been argued, YOU DO THAT inherits properties from the IMP, but on account of its overt subject, it also inherits properties from OSIs and its specific pronominal subject YOU. The pronominal subject is critical because its anaphoric and contextually retrievable status licenses the anaphoric use of the pattern with respect to the Addressee. Thus, the latter (i.e., the Addressee), in terms of Information Structure (IS) and packaging (Krifka 2006, 2008; Kratzer and Selkirk 2020), qualifies for a *given*, *highly accessible* (Ariel 1988, 1990) and *maximally salient entity* in the *Common Ground* (CG) of discourse. What is particularly relevant for the present account, though, is that the pronominal subject in this case is also Agentive with a volition$^+$ semantic component. In this sense, its encoding in the imperative syntactic configuration motivates, and in fact, licenses not only the initiation of the action described as an intention but also the subject's willingness and responsibility to do so. Simply put, the pronominal subject in this case is semantically portrayed as an *Agent*, i.e., a Doer, who willingly and, in certain occasions, also willfully (in the latter case, against the Speaker's wishes) assumes the responsibility to act as announced in the antecedent *p*. The subject's willingness or willfulness is what largely determines the Speaker's form of acceptance which, as shown, may vary from casual, disinterested acceptance (example 27) to passive aggressivity (example 28), or a form of begrudging, resigned acquiescence (example 29).

The above are further motivated by the verbal filler of the construction, namely the verb 'do' which is par excellence *agentive* on account of its semantics and fully compatible with a start$^+$ semantic component. At the same time, though, 'do' is also a functional light

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[17] Following Fried and Östman (2004), the notation […] is herein used in certain prag(matics) attributes as a typographical shortcut for indicating that although a value merits further specification, it will presently not be spelled out for reasons of focus and lack of space. Prag(matic) attributes, however, may include a formalisation of generic properties, such as +/-given.

verb used – inter alia – for *substitution* purposes.[18] Its substitutive function, which is by default *anaphoric*, along with the use of the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun 'that', which marks *'givenness'* for its object of reference, are pivotal for the motivation of the discourse responsiveness of the construction. These substitutive-anaphoric properties essentially license the intersentential scope of the construction over the antecedent discourse part and account for its systematic occurrence in dialogual contexts.

In putting all these together, we avail ourselves of a unified constructional account of YOU DO THAT which integrates insights from Flagg's (2001) work since the semantics of initiation and the presence of a verbal filler compatible with it are indeed central to the construction. However, the present account extends Flagg's proposal by bringing to the fore the semantic component of volition applying to OSIs occurring in dialogual exchanges and taking scope over Addressee-induced discourse. In light of this, YOU DO THAT is indeed a weak imperative in von Fintel and Iatridou's (2017) terms that does not impose an obligation on the Addressee. In fact, the intention itself and, even more importantly, any possible 'obligation' arising from it, stem from the Addressee who also undertakes the responsibility to actualise it. This takes us back to Stefanowitsch's intuitive suggestion that the phonological realisation of a subject in an OSI encodes the Speaker's awareness that the Addressee is already thinking about realising (or rather initiating the realisation of) the event referred to.

Finally, the OSI in focus is atypical not only in relation to its syntactic configuration but also in relation to the parameters of *force*, *subject,* and *benefit* proposed by Takahashi (2004, 2011 (see also section two)). More specifically, in Takahashi's (2004, 2011) terms, the force of this IMP, which is in fact a specific type of an OSI (see section six), is by no means directive and, in this sense, it is also far from the 1^+ maximum side of the force continuum (see Table 1, section two) that would render it (proto)typical. Yet, the subject involved is both individuated and agentive, which would prima facie shift YOU DO THAT closer to the prototypical side. However, the notion of 'benefit' involved in the actualisation of *p* and the subsequent Speaker endorsement complicate the issue as there is limited (example 27) to no benefit (examples 28 and 29) for the Speaker. Consequently, there is also limited to no Speaker endorsement, thus giving rise to the gradient forms of acceptance or the begrudging acquiescence empirically observed.

Figure 3 below summarises all the above in constructional box notation terms.

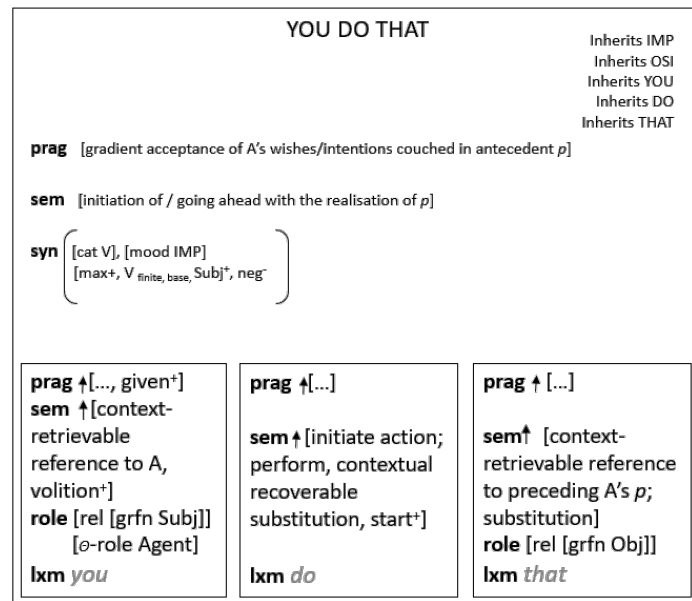[18] In Jespersen et al's (1954) terms, 'do' is, in fact, the lightest of all the light verbs.

Figure 3: YOU DO THAT in its box notation form

6   Open ends: A broader network of OSIs?

In tracing YOU DO THAT back to its licensing template, I put forth the issue of the 'productivity of atypicality', which at first may read like a contradiction in terms, but which poses as a springboard for further investigation. In this context, the research question to be addressed is if, and to what extent, the imperative-based licensing template of YOU DO THAT can be profitably related to other language patterns and what that would mean for the atypical OSIs.

To briefly illustrate this point further, let us have a look at a corpus-retrieved example of the lexically related language pattern 'you do you', which has recently attracted attention (Shoulson 2020). As example (30) below shows, 'you do you' is uttered by the Speaker as a response to the Addressee's statement that indirectly announces an intention, i.e., *'I need to sleep'* (underlined in the example).

(30) *"-Let's go get some breakfast." "-Look... <u>I need to sleep</u>." "-Yeah, okay. Yeah, no problem. **You do you.**" "-Um, I'll be back, a couple hours, with the limo, okay?" "-Good night, Fish. Good work." "-Thanks."*
      COCA, TV/Movies: Seven Seconds, (Crime/Drama), Episode: Brenton's Breath, 2018

In a similar vein to what has been herein argued, therefore, in using 'you do you' the Speaker accepts the potentiality couched in A's *p*, namely that of going to sleep. Interestingly, however, even if there is apparently limited to no direct benefit for the Speaker in the fulfillment of *p*, s/he decides not to go against the Addressee's announced intentions. In a straightforward manner, the Speaker simply retorts that the Addressee can do as they wish.

Yet, there are more puzzling language patterns that instantiate OSIs which share a common pronominal subject but behave quite differently, like 'you make the call' (example 31) or 'you tell me' (example 32), to mention but a few.

(31) *"Now they are dead, and he lies to the American people, because it might hurt his chances for re-election. # It is not legally murder, but is it morally?* **You make the call.** *Is this the kind of individual that you want in the White House for four more years? You make the call.*

<div align="right">COCA, Web: President Obama Begs Off Answering Whether Americans in), 2012</div>

(32) *"Can either Nevada or Fresno pull off what they mostly failed to do in a prior, WAC-y life?* **You tell me.** *Vote in the poll and leave a comment as to which former WAC rival presents a tougher test for the Broncos this year. #*

<div align="right">COCA, Blog: Who will be the tougher opponent: Nevada or Fresno State? 2012</div>

Both patterns are instances of OSIs on account of their syntactic configuration, but their semantics-pragmatics and discourse functions seem to differ from that of 'you do that' or 'you do you' in that they are indeed genuine invitations to the Addressee to initiate the actions of deciding or replying, respectively, to the preceding question (in both cases, a rhetorical one). In this sense, the force, benefit, and Speaker endorsement are different. However, this is not the case for their discourse-responsiveness, and their agentive and individuated subjects; the latter sharing unmistakable similarities with the pronominal subjects of 'you do that' or 'you do you'.

Along these lines, Flagg's (e.g., *"You sit down and do your homework" / "You be quiet"*) and Stefanowitsch's examples (e.g., *"Okay, you carry on, you argue, that's alright"*) discussed in section two are also further examples of yet more instances of OSIs that behave differently. Such empirical evidence is important for two reasons. Firstly, it attests to the fact that the IMP is indeed a constructional family of more and less prototypical members. Secondly, and importantly in the context of this work, it empirically confirms that OSIs form a well-specified network within the IMP family that has its own nested sub-networks, one of which hosts language patterns like YOU DO THAT and, in all likelihood, YOU DO YOU as well. How many OSI subnetworks are out there, what semantic-pragmatic properties they share, and what discourse function space they occupy, however, pose as intriguing questions for the future. In fact, I reckon that two of the most challenging aims for any future research endeavour venturing into this direction should be to first unveil the broader, abstract image-schema at work behind OSIs and then define their node position within the overall network of IMPs.

7   Concluding remarks

The paper has sought to contribute to the discussion of IMPs as a highly versatile constructional family by inviting attention to its less prototypical OSI members and critically casting light on the presence of at least one well-nested sub-network of OSIs expressing gradient acceptance and residing in dialogual contexts of use. These specific OSIs have been shown to idiosyncratically grant the Addressee, rather than the Speaker, an elevated role in relation to actualising what is discoursally entertained.

In this context of atypicality, the paper has provided empirical and statistical evidence that confirms the constructional status of YOU DO THAT. In particular, it has argued that its specific semantic-pragmatic properties, its discourse function, and its systematic occurrence in dialogual environments allow it to anchor itself to a preceding Addressee-induced p that the Speaker casually, passively or begrudgingly accepts. Furthermore, the study has also shed light on the discourse correlates of YOU DO THAT, its contextual regularities and, crucially, its licensing template as a whole. The latter is expected to be

instrumental in paving the way for further research gearing itself to the direction of OSIs with a view to unveiling even more conventionalised sub-networks.

In arguing for all the above, the paper has also made a descriptive contribution to our understanding of 'you do that' as a linguistic string which has not up to now received proper lexicographic treatment. It is important to note, for instance, that none of the three highly established and standardised dictionaries, namely *Cambridge Dictionary*, *Collins Dictionary*, or *Oxford English Dictionary* offer an entry for it. Interestingly, however, this is not the case with crowdsourced, online dictionaries, such as *Urban Dictionary*, which although by no means credited as a reliable academic source, includes 'you do that' among its lemmas. In fact, *Urban Dictionary's* approach to YOU DO THAT bears striking similarities to what has been herein argued in that it treats it as a synonym of *'I don't care'* employed by *'someone when annoyed but not affected by a comment'*.[19] Importantly, this indicates that language users are at least partially aware of the non-compositionality of the pattern and its special semantics-pragmatics that transcend its components; an observation which makes the contribution of the present work all the more novel and compelling.

Reaching its end, the paper is hopefully expected to spark off more research interest, contributing to or extending the present account in ways that could possibly remedy its absence of a discussion on phonological properties. Alternatively, other approaches to the issue could also encompass methodological considerations on the language users' awareness of these, or similar instances of OSIs. Such a line of investigation could probably benefit from a direct comparison between native and non-native speakers' understanding of such patterns and their special discourse-pragmatics; an area which I reckon would be particularly amenable to an Applied Construction Grammar view.

Acknowledgements

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[19] https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=You%20do%20that

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Appendix

Statistical Significance Testing: (N) & (n) of 'you do that'		'You do that' Total population (N)	YOU DO THAT population (n)
N		8	8
Normal	Mean	56.00	1430.13
Parameters	Std. Deviation	123.602	2064.144
Most Extreme	Absolute	.410	.294
Differences	Positive	.410	.294
	Negative	-.325	-.255
Test Statistic		.410	.294
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.041

Table A: Statistical Significance results for 'you do that' (N) and YOU DO THAT (n) through K-S test

Statistical Significance Random Stratified Testing: YOU DO THAT (n) & Stratified Sampled (n)		YOU DO THAT (n)	Stratified Random Sampling YOU DO THAT (n)
N		8	8
Normal Parameters	Mean	56.00	13.00
	Std. Deviatio n	123.602	22.797
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.410	.387
	Positive	.410	.387
	Negative	-.325	-.284
Test Statistic		.410	.387
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.001

Table B: Statistical Significance results on stratified random sampling through K-S test