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Non-standard forms of the pronoun “you” in English

Nestandardní formy zájmena „you“ v angličtině

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Ďakujem PhDr. Gabriele Brůhové, Ph.D. za trpezlivosť a všetky cenné rady a pripomienky, ktoré mi pri vypracovávaní bakalárskej práce poskytla.

Abstract

The present thesis focuses on the non-standard forms of the pronoun “you” which have emerged in the varieties of English in the last centuries. In the Early Modern English period *thou*-forms (expressing singular) dropped out of the pronominal paradigm, as *you*-forms assumed the singular reference in addition to the plural one. As a result, horizontal homophony on the level of second person became a possible source of ambiguity. In the following decades, non-standard 2nd person plural (2PP) forms started emerging to fill the lexical gap in the pronominal paradigm in the respective varieties of English. These innovative 2PP forms can be classified into following categories. While some of them are formed synthetically by addition of a plural suffix -s to *you*, the others are constructed periphrastically by certain quantifiers, numerals or noun phrases standing in apposition to *you*.

The analytical part is a corpus-based study of 100 examples extracted from the following corpora. The examples of *you guys* and *y'all* were obtained from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). While the examples of *youse* were extracted from the International Corpus of English-Ireland corpus (ICE-IC), the sample of *you lot* was obtained from the British National Corpus (BNC). For each of the 2PP forms, a random sample of 25 examples was extracted from the respective corpora. The examples were then analyzed to investigate whether they all express plurality, what would be in accordance with the general assumption that non-standard forms emerged to rectify the deficiency in the pronominal system. Furthermore, the contexts were examined for other occurrences of the same type of 2PP form or whether the unmarked *you* occurs in the proximity of these 2PP forms. The present study also investigated whether *you guys* has undergone semantic bleaching. All four 2PP forms were also examined for the sentence types and syntactic functions in which they can occur. The main objective of the present study was to determine to what extent are these non-standard 2PP forms behaving as regular personal pronouns.

Abstrakt

Táto práca je zameraná na používanie neštandardných foriem zámena *you*, ktoré sa objavili v dialektoch anglického jazyka počas posledných storočí. Počas obdobia skoršej modernej angličtiny tvary *thou* (pôvodne vyjadrujúce singulár) vymizli zo systému osobných zámen, keďže tvary *you* začali byť používané na oslovenie nie len viacerých, ale aj jednej osoby. Dôsledkom vzniknutej horizontálnej homofónie na úrovni zámen druhej osoby je potenciálna dvojznačnosť. V nasledujúcich desaťročiach sa začali objavovať neštandardné formy zámena *you* v jednotlivých dialektoch angličtiny, aby vyplnili lexikálnu diery v systéme. Tieto novotvary zámen druhej osoby množného čísla je možné začleniť do nasledovných kategórií. Zatiaľ čo niektoré sú tvorené syntakticky, a to pridaním prípony označujúcej plurál -s k *you*, ostatné sa tvoria opisne, pripojením určitých univerzálnych kvantifikátorov, čísloviek alebo substantívnych fráz, ktoré fungujú ako prístavok k *you*.

Analytická časť práce pozostáva z analýzy 100 príkladov získaných z nasledujúcich korpusov. Príklady na *you guys* a *y'all* boli vybraté z Korpusu súčasnej americkej angličtiny (COCA). Zatiaľ čo príklady na *youse* pochádzajú z Medzinárodného korpusu angličtiny - Írsky korpus (ICE-IC), vzorka *you lot* bola získaná z Britského národného korpusu (BNC). Pre každú z neštandardných foriem bola vybraná náhodná vzorka 25 príkladov z jednotlivých korpusov. Následné boli príklady analyzované či vyjadrujú plurál, čo by bolo v súlade so všeobecným predpokladom, že tieto formy vznikli ako náprava neúplného paradigma osobných zámen. Tak isto bolo skúmané kontexty jednotlivých foriem a to z dôvodu, či sa v ich okolí nachádzajú neštandardné formy rovnakého typu alebo bezpríznakové *you*. Táto práca taktiež analyzovala, či u *you guys* prebehla sémantická generalizácia. Všetky štyri neštandardné formy boli skúmané pre typ viet a syntaktické funkcie, v ktorých sa môžu vyskytovať. Hlavným cieľom tejto práce bolo zistiť, do akej miery sa tieto neštandardné formy správajú ako osobné zámená.

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List of abbreviations

2PP	2 nd person plural
AmE	American English
BNC	British National Corpus
BNSC	British National Spoken Corpus
BrE	British English
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
COHA	Corpus of Historical American English
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
ICE-IC	The International Corpus of English: Ireland corpus
IrE	Irish English
OBJ	Objective case
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SG	Singular
ME	Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
PL	Plural
PDE	Present Day English
SFP	Southern Focus Poll

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with non-standard forms of the pronoun *you* in the regional varieties of English. Specifically, the focus is on the second person plural (2PP) forms, as this category of pronouns manifests the highest degree of variation across the dialects of English. Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi (2004, 1154) mention 34 out of 46 varieties of English that exhibit innovative 2PP forms. From the diachronic point of view, the paradigm of personal pronouns (being one of the closed-class parts of speech) has always been relatively stable besides the occasional phonological changes. Millward (2012, 104) states that: “Of all the word classes of English today, by far the most conservative are the personal pronouns.” Occurring in the Late Middle English period, the most profound system change in the pronominal paradigm led to *thou*-forms falling out of use and, consequently, *you*-forms assuming the role of both singular and plural 2PP pronoun. The “horizontal homophony¹” (Cysouw, 2003) on the level of 2PP has since been the source of ambiguity resolved only by the extralinguistic context. However, the appearance of innovative 2PP forms that potentially disambiguate between *you* referring to a single person and *you* referring to more than one person seems to prove that the lexical gap may be filled in the future.

Personal pronouns form the core of the lexicon and these words are usually disinclined to either borrow or lose lexical items. However, as the following evidence will show, the emergence of non-standard 2PP forms in various dialects of English proves that the pronominal paradigm, in fact, is more inclined to accept new lexical items than has originally been thought. However it must be noted, that while innovative forms have emerged in the spoken regional varieties of English, Standard English appears to suffice with a single 2nd person pronoun for both numbers.

The theoretical part focuses on the historical development of the second person pronouns in general. The paper also analyzes various grammatical means by which these non-standard pronouns were formed and juxtapose their advantages and disadvantages for language usage. The historical and social contexts which engendered respective pronouns will also be examined. The theoretical part, moreover, consists in mapping the dissemination of these forms and prognosis

¹ (Cysouw, 2003, 102) defines horizontal homophony as “a combination of a singular with a non-singular category into one morpheme.”

for the future development. Very briefly, peripheral non-standard second person pronouns will be mentioned.

The empirical part is based on the corpus findings. Specifically, the study examines *you guys* and *y'all* in American English (AmE), *youse* in Irish English (IrE) and American English and *you lot* in British English (BrE). Out of 100 examples, 25 examples of *you guys* and 25 of *y'all* will be extracted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), 25 instances of *you lot* from the British National Corpus (BNC) and 25 examples of *youse* from the International Corpus of English: Ireland Corpus (ICE-IC).

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Personal pronouns in general

For a long time, personal pronouns have been disregarded in the studies which exclusively focused on other parts of speech. However, in the last decades, personal pronouns have sparked the interest of linguists, and this word class has been the subject of a number of studies. Wales (1996) deals with the pronouns in Present day English; Howe (1996) analyzes personal pronouns in the Germanic languages; Howe (2010) focuses on the addition and loss of the pronouns in English and Japanese; Taavitsainen (2003) offers an anthology of publications on this topic, and the category of the person is examined more generally in Siewerska (2004) to name but a few.

The category of pronouns forms an indispensable part of any discourse, as pronouns contribute to the cohesion of both written and spoken communication and, thus, it is of uppermost importance that the identity of referents is unambiguous. Specifically, second person pronouns have a deictic function. As Quirk et al. (1985, 347) point out, “The 1st person and 2nd person pronouns, when they have specific reference, are used to refer to those directly involved in the discourse situation: viz. the speaker(s)/writer(s) and the addressee(s).” While there are two distinctive forms for 1st person: *I* (singular) and *we* (plural), *you* refers to both one person and more than one person. For instance, the pronoun *you* in the sentence “You can look it up later.” can refer either to a group of students or one specific student that the teacher is addressing. Only extralinguistic context of the utterance (The teacher looks at a particular student or points at him.) can dissolve ambiguity. As (2004, 7) Siewerska emphasizes, “The actual identity of [the speaker and the hearer] depends on who utters the utterance that contains them to whom, when and where”. Another possible resolution is the use of a non-standard 2PP forms when addressing a group of people.

As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, 2nd person pronouns had been expressed in two distinctive forms up until the Early Modern English period (EModE), when *thou*-forms gradually became restricted in use and eventually dropped out of the paradigm. Only in the category of reflexive pronouns, Present Day English (PDE) distinguishes between singular (*yourself*) and plural form (*yourselves*). To sum it up, the paradigm of personal pronouns used to distinguish between three persons, each having a different form for singular and plural respectively, while the PDE personal pronoun paradigm consists of 5 members as the second person singular and plural forms were subsumed under the uniform *you*.

2.2. Second person pronouns in a diachronic perspective

2.2.1. Old English

To fully comprehend the present state of personal pronouns, it is crucial to look back at the development of this part of speech since the times of Old English (OE). This West Germanic language was spoken by the inhabitants of British Isles between 5th and 12th century. At this stage of English, singular and plural second person pronouns were represented by two distinctive pronouns: *þū* and *gē*, see Table 1. In addition to that, OE pronominal paradigm had a three-number system: singular, plural and dual. The dual number, which was used to indicate “‘twoness’ of the situation” (Millward, 2012, 105), however, occurred only in the first and the second person. Apart from this and certain sound changes, the OE personal pronoun paradigm virtually corresponded to the Middle English one.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st Person	īc	wit	wē
2 nd Person	þū	git	gē
3 rd Person	hē, heō, hit	x	hiē

Table 1 Personal pronouns in Old English (nominative case)

2.2.2. Middle English

The Middle English period (ME), dating from 12th to 15th century, was an era of tremendous changes in the language. ME continued tendencies that had already started in OE, i.e. the largely synthetic language was gradually becoming an analytic one with the preference for periphrastic constructions rather than inflections. However, “in the personal pronoun the losses were not so great. Most of the distinctions that existed in Old English were retained” (Baugh et al., 2002, 149). Between Old English and Middle English, the loss of dual number and merge of the dative and accusative cases represent the most profound changes in the system. As for the 2nd person pronouns, distinction between singular and plural is still prevalent, see table 2. However, in the Middle English period the process of neutralization between the respective numbers of 2PP had been initiated by *ye* expanding its meaning to polite address to a single person.

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	Ich, I	we
2 nd Person	þou/thou	ȝe/ye
3 rd Person	he, heo, hit	he

Table 2 Personal pronouns in Middle English (nominative case)

Polite address has its origins in the Latin language. The plural *vos* was in this manner used to address an emperor in the 4th century. As Brown and Gilman (1960) observe by then there were two emperors in the Roman Empire: one located in Constantinople and the other one in Rome. The plural *vos* was considered more suitable to refer to one of the emperors for the following reasons. When addressing one of the emperors, the presence of the other one was always implied and therefore the speaker was actually addressing two people. The other reason was that an emperor, in fact, represented “the summation of his people and (could) speak as their representative” (Brown and Gilman, 1960, 254). Under the influence of French *tu* and *vous*, a polite plural was also established in Middle English. The second person distinction “shifted gradually to a more sociologically based number” (Millward, 2012, 169) and was losing its original meaning. In Middle English second person plural pronouns were beginning to be used not only to refer to a larger group of individuals but also in polite conversation to address someone of a higher social status. It was only in the following centuries that singular use of *you* was more firmly established in English.

2.2.3. Early Modern English

The Early Modern English period (1500-1800) witnessed gradual dissemination of *you* as both a singular and polite plural pronoun, cf. table 3. If in doubt, speakers of EModE preferred the honorific pronoun rather than potentially offending somebody by improper pronoun choice. Lower orders followed the example of aristocracy and ceased to use *thou*-forms, which gradually became a feature of intimate discourse. According to Strang (1970, 139), “From about 1600 the ‘plural’ was the unmarked or normal form of address to a single person; use of *thou* marked a relationship as not belonging to the central type.”

2.2.4. Present Day English

Present Day English functions with a five member paradigm of personal pronouns with “horizontal homophony” occurring in the 2nd person, see table 4. Horizontal homophony which can be “characterized by a morpheme that is used for a combination of singular and non-singular categories” (Cysouw, 2003, 165), is close to unattested in the world languages.

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	I	we
2 nd Person	you	
3 rd Person	he, she, it	they

Table 4 Personal pronouns in Present Day English

The pronoun *thou*, which is no longer part of the pronominal paradigm, still persists in use in the liturgical use, naïve poetry and in a few regional varieties of British English such as the northern counties (Cumbria, Durham, North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire (Trudgill, 1990, 86)).

To sum it up, the speaker of PDE no longer has to make a choice between two distinctive 2PP when addressing one or more people or between formal or informal address. One simply uses the pronoun *you* in all of the aforementioned contexts. As Gramley et al. (1992, 196) proclaim, “For all intents and purposes English has only one second person pronoun, *you*.” Wales calls attention to the fact that “this multivalence for *you* is an advantage in certain registers, for example advertising and propaganda, where a consumer readership or audience is simultaneously an individual singled out” (Wales, forthcoming). Wales specifically mentions U.S. propagandistic posters recruiting soldiers for the army. “I want you for U.S. army.” conveniently refers to both mass of American citizens and also to the particular person looking at the poster giving him a sense of individuality.

2.3. Factors underlying the emergence and spread of the innovative 2PP forms

Languages are in a perpetual state of flux. Words are constantly added into the language, while redundant forms have a tendency to drop out of the lexicon. It was only few decades after the last

recorded use of singular *thou* that innovative 2PP forms started to emerge across English varieties. Although Wright (1997, 170) remarks that “each variety inherited a pronominal system in which the old second person singular pronoun was [by then] dead and buried”, Kytö (2003) found a number of instances of *thou* being used during the Salem Trials in 1692 on the American continent. *Thou* eventually dropped out of the system even in American English by the end of the 17th century (Hickey, 2003, 358).

Remarkably, the old plural form *you* has continued to have the acquired singular reference, while new 2PP forms emerged to repair the loss of the distinctive plural form. While these innovative forms were formed by various processes (such as retention of an older form, addition of a plural suffix or periphrastically by addition of a quantifier, numeral or noun phrase, see table 5); Wright (1997, 171) calls attention to the fact that there is “a strong resemblance of the variant forms across varieties,” as most of them are derived from “the base form *you*”, in other words by analogy.

Process of formation

Retention of an older form		Thou/Thee (sg.) Ye
Addition of a plural suffix	+s/se +z	Yous/se Yez
You +quantifier		You all> Y'all (by reduction) You ones> You'uns/Yins (by reduction) You together You both
You +numeral		You two You three
You + noun phrase		You guys You lot ² You people You fellows You boys You girls You chaps

Table 5 Classification of the non-standard forms for 2nd person singular and plural³

² *Lot* can also be regarded as a quantifier but in this study it is classified as a noun with the colloquial meaning “a considerable number, quantity, or amount” (OED).

Non-standard 2PP forms are most likely to emerge in conversation, as second-person pronouns prevail in this type of discourse. Although the all-purpose *you* still prevails in formal and written discourse for both numbers, the innovative 2PP forms are gradually spreading and losing their stereotypically rural and colloquial connotation. As a result of immigration and globalization, some of the pronouns have disseminated across varieties of English from the place of their origin. As contributions from Ireland to American English, Montgomery (2001, 149) identifies: the Southern *y'all*, the Southern and Midland *you all*, the Midland *you'uns*, and the Northern urban *yous(e)*.

There appear to be two probable reasons behind the emergence and spread of innovative 2PP: a lexical gap in the pronominal paradigm and language contact between various languages.

2.3.1. A lexical gap in the pronominal paradigm

The most logical cause behind the emergence of innovative forms is to fill a lexical gap as horizontal homophony on the level of 2nd person pronouns is cross-linguistically exceptional (Vogelaer, 2007, 4). As Hickey (2003, 347) states, “It is only expected that with the development of new varieties of English the desire for a distinction in the second person for pronouns would lead to new paradigms arising.”

On the contrary, Vogelaer (2007, 6-7) proposes three arguments against considering the motivation behind the emergence of innovative pronouns to be a need to fill a lexical gap. The first argument against this is the fact that “the majority of 2PP. forms appears to have originated in a contact situation.” The circumstances of their origins imply that native English speakers suffice with a single pronoun for both numbers. Only those speakers of English whose mother tongue has a number distinction in the second person, would, therefore, feel the need to form innovative pronouns to distinguish between the respective numbers. The second Vogelaer’s argument is based on the evidence that there is a considerable hiatus between the last occurrence of *thou* as a second person singular pronoun and the emergence of innovative forms of 2PP⁴. Thus, it appears that English speakers managed to function with a five-member pronominal paradigm for a considerable period of time, and even nowadays the innovative 2PP are restricted

³ This table is based on a number of studies of this topic., all of which are mentioned in the references.

⁴ Wright (1997: 182), on the contrary, postulates that the hiatus might be “an expressive transition between traditional and new dialects”.

to specific contexts and are used only by a portion of the English-speaking population. In the third argument, Vogelaer shows that identical methods are used to form both innovative 2PP pronouns and other non-standard pronouns, e.g. the quantifier *all*, which in addition to occurring in the combination *you all* also appears in the expressions such as *we-all*, *who-all* or *what-all*. However, the other non-standard forms have never disseminated to such an extent as innovative 2PP have. Vogelaer (2007, 7) concludes with the statement that even though the filling of a lexical gap might not have been the ultimate trigger for their emergence, the innovative 2PP are undoubtedly “very useful from a functional point of view”. It is their user-friendliness that seems to be the factor behind their dissemination, not deficiency in the system of personal pronouns.

2.3.2. Language contact

The principal motivation behind the borrowing is “the tendency in speakers to accommodate to other speakers’ in language usage” (Vogelaer, 2007, 1). When non-English speakers came into contact with English speakers and began acquiring English, they transferred the features of their mother tongue to English. This type of circumstance can account for a number of the non-standard 2PP pronouns. Vogelaer (2007, 6) asserts that “most innovative forms (*y’all*, *you’uns*) [...] appear to have emerged in contact situations”. Siewerska (2004, 273) also points out that this linguistic change works in both directions, “prolonged language contact may underline both the acquisition and loss of person markers”, (c.f. the loss of *thou* presumably due to French influence), but at the same time Siewerska emphasizes that it is not straightforward to determine whether the acquisition of a new form is a result of language contact or of language-internal factors (ibid.).

2.4. Additional functions of non-standard 2PP forms

Besides the restoration of the lack of number distinction in the second person, non-standard 2PP forms seem to also have other non-pronominal functions. Hickey (2003, 363) distinguishes between four additional uses as can be seen in table 6.

Function	Example
Informality marker	Are <i>youse</i> going to the disco this evening?
Non-specific address	Which of <i>youse</i> (guys) is going to pay?
Institutional address	Do <i>ye</i> have bicycle tyres? (shop)
Presupposed general knowledge	It's not just <i>your</i> average pizzeria, no way, it's really great.

Table 6 Additional Functions of the non-standard 2PP according to Hickey

The function of 2PP as an informality marker stems from the vernacular character of dialects in which these non-standard forms have emerged. According to Hickey, the second use (non-specific address) derives from the speaker's tendency to be indirect as part of politeness strategy (Brown and Levison, 1987, 198f.). The function of 2PP as institutional address is related to viewing one person as part of a larger group/institution. The last use is not restricted to non-standard plural pronouns (Hickey, 2003, 363-4) and therefore will not be further analyzed. According to Wagner-Garcia (2012, 72), non-standard forms can also "index certain aspects of identity such as social class, region, or ethnicity". As regards, Wagner-Garcia proposes that this expression might be "emerging as a type of discourse marker" on the basis of its potential prosodic detachment from surrounding utterances (ibid., 75). Furthermore, *y'all* occurs in the context of "high affect such as indignation, frustration and surprise" and even possibly in the context of positive feelings (ibid., 75).

2.5. Grammaticalization

To achieve a full status of a 2nd person plural pronoun, the non-standard forms must undergo a process of grammaticalization, which can be defined as a "change from lexical item to grammatical marker" (Siewerska, 2004, 246). Grammaticalization of lexical items to personal pronouns is quite common in the evolution of languages, as Siewerska (ibid.) states, "person markers, like most other grammatical markers, are taken to originate from lexical items". While Croft (2000, 69-70) considers innovative 2PP to be instances of grammaticalization⁵, Vogelaer (2007, 6) comments that even though Croft's theory explains a plethora of innovative forms across varieties of English, it does not clarify the fact that innovations in the pronoun rarely occur in other persons apart from the second person plural pronouns.

⁵ Howe (2011:101) mentions *y'all* (*you all*) and *you-uns* (*yunz*, *yinz*) as examples of grammaticalization among non-standard 2PP forms.

The process of grammaticalization itself involves a number of changes, namely phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic ones (Siewerska, 2004, 246). The phonological changes consist in “reduction or loss of phonological material resulting in shorter forms”, while the morpho-syntactic changes involve “loss of independent word status, cliticization and affixation” what can already be observed in the case of *you all* which underwent fusion to *y'all*⁶ (ibid.). Tillery et al. (2000, 290) mention fusion of periphrastic ‘going to’ to a single lexeme *gonna* as example of successful morpho-syntactic change. Siewerska (2004, 246) defines the semantic-pragmatic changes as a “loss of specific semantic content and acquisition of more general, often more abstract meanings”. This type of change can already be seen occurring in the case of *you guys*. The noun *guy* is gradually losing its male-only connotation and can also be used in both mixed and female-only reference as will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.6. Retention of a historical 2nd person pronoun

2.6.1. Thou

Thou-forms have been largely marginalized from Standard English since the Middle English times. The only context in which this historically 2nd person singular pronoun can nowadays be found is the liturgical discourse. Wales considers the reasons behind *thou* being restricted to this particular usage to be: its symbolical value, exclusivity, super-deference and connotation of intimacy (Wales, forthcoming). However, Trudgill (1990, 85) in his study of the dialects of England observes that the old forms for 2nd person singular have also been maintained in the northern and western dialects. The northern region includes the dialects of Cumbria, Durham, North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and parts of South Yorkshire, while the western region covers the Northern Southwest and the Western Southwest (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire). While *thou* is preferred in the northern area, *thee* is mostly used in the western region. Trudgill, further, observes that it appears both *thou* and *thee* are gradually disappearing even from the aforementioned regions.

Wales offers a very similar view based on the data extracted from the British National Spoken Corpus (BNSC) with only thirty occurrences of *thou*-forms in eleven million words. As expected,

⁶ There is considerable disagreement over whether *you all* and *y'all* are two unrelated forms or the later one was formed as a reduction of the full form (Montgomery, 1987).

the majority of occurrences are in religious discourse (Wales, forthcoming). Yet, there are two fixed phrases in which *thou* has not been supplanted by *you* and are relatively frequent in PDE. Wales mentions the expression “‘thou shalt (not)’, [as] a parody of the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament” and a completely lexicalized adjective ‘holier-than-thou’ (ibid.), even though the alliteration of respective components of the letter one might be the ultimate reason for retention of *thou*. Wales also provides an interesting piece of evidence of *thou* still surviving in speech:

In Sheffield *thoo* as vocative was part of a farewell formula admittedly, uttered by a bus driver” (Wales, forthcoming).

Despite the fact that there are still some regions in Great Britain where *thou*-forms persist in use, the numbers of speakers using them to address a single person is steadily decreasing.

2.6.2. Ye

Ye, initially with plural reference only, began assuming singular polite reference by the end of ME period. Gilman and Brown (1960, 267) note that, “the first uses of *ye* as a reverential singular occur in the thirteen century”. In the following centuries *ye* yielded to *you* in the nominative case and consequently dropped out of use, see table 3. *Ye* has been retained in usage to express plurality, while *you* continued to have assumed singular reference only in a few regions of Great Britain, Irish English and Newfoundland English (Hickey, 2003). During the time of plantations of Ireland *ye* was still part of the pronominal paradigm in England and therefore English speakers transferred *ye* into Irish English (cf. table 7). The explanation of *ye* occurring in Newfoundland English lies behind the extensive Irish emigration to this region of Canada.

From the phonological point of view, Hickey (2003, 365) stresses the difference between “orthographic *ye* as a reduced form of *you* [jə] and as a continuation of older [ji], the nominative second person plural pronoun”. According to Upton and Widdowson (1996, 66) and Beal (1993) *ye* spoken in Newcastle is the reduced *you* [jə], while *ye* pronounced as [ji] is used to express plurality. The most recent quotation of *ye* that OED provides is from a novel taking place in Cork, Ireland:

We could have sworn *ye* were two steamers! (Cónal Creedon, *Passion Play* xii. 89, 1999)

The corresponding possessive forms for this pronoun are *yeer* and *yeers*, while *your* and *yours* acquired exclusively singular reference (Hickey, 2003, 349). Unlike *youse*, *ye* is also “acceptable in the supra-regional standard of the south of Ireland” (ibid.). As an explanation of this, Hickey (ibid., 356) mentions “the lack of phonological profile” of *ye*, as the speakers of Irish English can “move on a scale with [ju:] at one extreme, [ji:] at the other. However, Hickey also admits that the aforementioned possessive forms have not been found in A Corpus of Irish English.

2.7. Innovative forms of the second person plural pronoun

2.7.1. 2PP forms composed by adding a plural suffix –s/-se/-z

In some varieties of English, the historical loss of number distinction in second person personal pronouns has been repaired by formation of synthetic plural forms such as *yous(e)* and *yez*, pronounced /ju:z/ and /jiz/ respectively. The paradigm of English personal pronouns itself is not morphologically transparent, as the respective plural forms are not derived from their singular counterparts but rather are represented by unique unrelated lexemes. The aforementioned non-standard 2PP forms are, however, formed by attachment of a grammatical plural inflection –s/-se/-z behind *you*. Hickey (2002, 7) labels them as “productive formations reached by morphological analysis of other regular plural”. In other words, the speakers of English as a second language reapplied the rule that is used to form plural in the nouns to disambiguate between the individual numbers in the 2nd person. This class of innovative 2PP forms is considered to be especially “stigmatized and more typical of strongly local varieties of English” (ibid.).

2.7.1.1. Yous(e)

According to Hickey (2003, 350), *yous(e)* originated in a contact situation when the speakers of Irish came under influence of the English language between 17th and 19th century in Ireland, cf. table 7.

ye	from 12 th century
youse	not before 19 th century
yez	not before mid 19 th century

Table 7 Hickey’s classification of the 2PP forms in Irish English

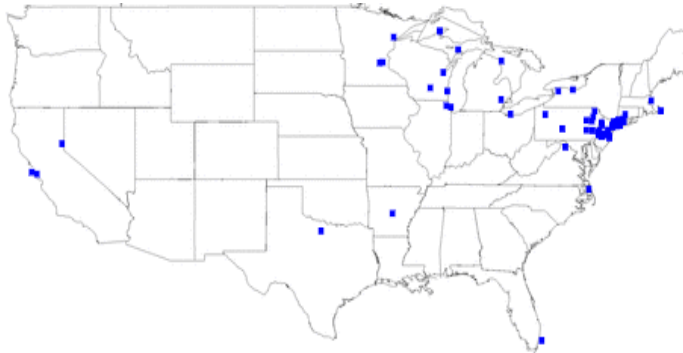
The emergence of this innovative form in Hiberno-English appears to be due to Gaelic influence (Wales, forthcoming) and only in the following decades was *yous(e)* transplanted into the other varieties of English via Irish immigrants. In Montgomery’s view (2001, 149), Gaelic speakers compensated for the lack of number distinction in English by generating *yous(e)*, as the Irish Gaelic pronominal system has two distinctive forms for singular and plural, *tú* and *sibh* respectively. Hickey (2003, 351) states that *yous(e)* originated in the speech of “(rural) Irish speakers during the period of language shift”. Based on the findings of Harris and Miller in Irish and Scottish urban dialects, Wright (1997, 174) holds different opinion and considers *yous(e)* to be a “urban working-class innovation”. According to OED, the earliest written record of *yous(e)* is from 19th-century newspaper article:

It’s well for *yous*, a pair of foreign jintlemen, that you happened to ax a man of my edicashun and jintility. (1835, *Dublin Penny Journal*, 21 Feb., 266)

Hickey (2003, 350) in his study of corpora validates *yous(e)* to be an Irish provenance and observes that while *yous(e)* is absent in both Early English Correspondence Corpus and Helsinki Corpus of English (specifically in the Early Modern English section), A Corpus of Irish English abounds in the form⁷. According to Wright (170, 1997), *yous(e)* can be also heard in North America, Australia, Scotland and England, where it has been transferred via Irish immigrants. In England the occurrence of *yous(e)* is restricted to few areas such as Liverpool (Trudgill, 1986, 139-141), Newcastle (Beal, 1993) and Glasgow in Scotland. There is a direct correlation between the patterns of Irish immigration and the occurrence of *yous(e)* around the world (Hickey, 2003). Furthermore, Hickey (ibid.) distinguishes between two waves of Irish immigration. During the first wave, the immigrants were generally from the poor rural areas and therefore English was generally their second language. The second wave of immigrants settled in the urban north-east

⁷ Especially the plays of John Millington Synge exhibit a high frequency of *yous(e)*.

of the United States in cities such as Boston and New York, where the number of occurrences of *yous(e)* is highest in contemporary American English as the results of Harvard Dialect Survey (2003) confirm:



Map 1 Distribution of *yous(e)* in the United States according to Harvard Dialect Survey

Yous(e) has also been transferred via Irish immigration to the American Midwest (Montgomery, 2001, 332), Australia (Hickey, 2003, 361-2) and New Zealand (Bauer, 1994, 400f.). *Yous(e)* is a stigmatized shibboleth of Irish English and the speakers of broad Australian accent likewise consider *yous(e)* to be a barbarism (Wright, 1997, 180). In contemporary Ireland, the occurrence of *yous(e)* is higher in the northern Irish English, while *ye* is preferred in the south (Harris, 1993, 139f). *Yous(e)* also appears to be performing additional non-pronominal functions. As Hickey (2003, 351-2) asserts “A switch from *you* to *yous(e)* is quite possible as part of a general process of vernacularisation whereby one adds a little local flavor to one’s language”. Some speakers of Irish English also acknowledge using *yous(e)* for singular reference in the same way as *y’all* can be used (Henry, 1995, 38). Hickey (2003, 356) considers the singular use of *youse* (example a.) and double marking (example b.) as a proof of *yous(e)* functioning as both informality marker and a plural pronoun:

What do *youse* [jəz] think you’re doing? (with a single addressee)

Are the both of *youse* [jəz] having a drink?⁸

⁸ Although Hickey classifies ‘both of *youse*’ as an instance of double marking, it could also be identified as a partitive of-construction.

While Hickey does not provide definition for the concept of double marking, it can be defined as marking of a certain form for plurality in two distinctive grammatical means, out of which one is redundant, e.g. *youse guys*.

2.7.1.2. Yez/Yiz

Similarly as *youse*, *yez* and *yiz* are formed by addition of a plural ending *-z*. This class of innovative 2PP forms is a typical example of “double marking” (see section 2.7.1.1.). The affixation of a plural ending *-z* is redundant, as *ye* already denotes plurality, being a historical second person plural pronoun. These quasi-pronouns were generated in the period of language shift when Irish Gaelic speakers were switching to English in the middle of 19th century (cf. table 7) and did not recognize *ye* as a plural pronoun (Hickey, 2003,354). In contemporary English this innovative form is “especially characteristic of ‘Anglo-Irish’ dialect” (Wright, 1997, 173). The earliest Irish English quotation of orthographic variant of *yez* that OED provides is from 1802:

And have I found your honour alive again?.. I'll go to the world's end to sarve *yees*.

(1802, R. L. Edgeworth & M. Edgeworth, *Essay on Irish bulls*, xvi. 293)

For more recent usage, Wright (1997, 173) refers to James Joyce’s private correspondence:

I will send him very gladly if that will make *yiz* all happy and loving.

(1908, James Joyce, *Letters*, 8 December (1966), II.226)

2.8. You + noun phrase

This class of innovative 2PP forms is constructed by *you* followed by a common noun denoting a category of people in plural. Wales identifies *you* in this type of 2PP form as “an apparent determiner” (Wales, forthcoming), while Quirk et al. (1985, 344) recognize the succeeding noun phrase as “lexical additions”. Semantically, the only type of nouns that can be used in this kind of non-standard 2PP form are the ones referring to human beings, e.g. *you guys*, *you people*, *you fellows*, *you boys*, *you girls* and *you chaps*. While some of these innovative 2PP forms are gender neutral (*you guys*, *you people*, *you lot*) or increasingly used in this way (*you guys*), the others are restricted to male-only reference (*you fellows*, *you boys*, *you chaps*) or female-only reference (*you girls*). *You guys* appears to be preferred by the younger generations, whereas *you chaps* functions as a corresponding expression used mainly by the older speakers (Wales, forthcoming).

Siewerska's study (2004, 247) shows that this method of forming plural is not something unprecedented in the evolution of languages as "the expressions used to denote person [personal pronouns] are transparently related to, or even homophonous with nominals denoting various types of human relationships, kinship or titles". Their principal disadvantage compared to the other synthetic non-standard 2PP such as *you(e)* and *yez* is that this type of 2PP is composed of two individual components and there is yet no indication of any degree of fusion in neither of them. Therefore, Vogelaar (2007, 6) notes that it would "not [be] accurate to consider them pronouns in their own right". However, Vogelaar also adds up that "at least *you guys* has certainly grammaticalized to some extent" (ibid.) and has been undergoing semantic bleaching as will be discussed in the following section.

2.8.1. You guys

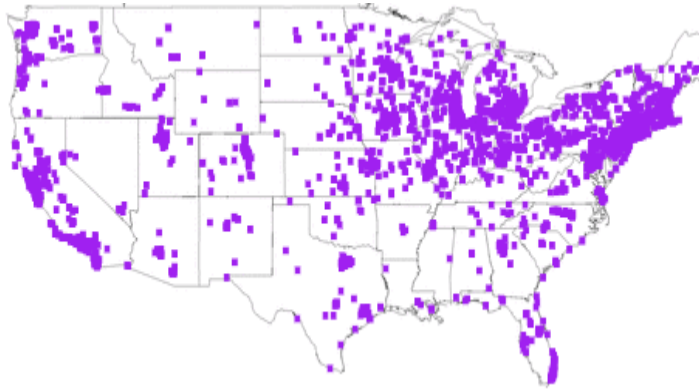
The most recent non-standard 2PP form *you guys* is formed periphrastically by "a two-word noun phrase of the pattern [you+noun_{pl}]" (Heyd, 2010, 37) and is popular especially among middle-class white speakers (Algeo, 2001, 333). Unlike the other emergent 2PP forms used in the United States, *you guys* is an indigenous form and has no stigma attached to its use. Sienecki (2014, 22) defines an appositive construction as "a referring expression, in other words, with the deictic function of profiling a particular group of addressees in relation to the speaker". As regards *you guys*, this appositive construction lacks any additional evaluative function which the other appositional nominal phrases with *you* have, e.g. *you fools* and *you guys*. The first quotation of *you guys* that OED provides is from a novel by George Ade, published in 1896:

You guys must think I'm a quitter.

(George Ade, *Artie. A story of the streets and town*, 1st ed: 1896)

The fact that *you guys* first appeared in the novel in 1896 suggests that the form must have been established in the speech of speakers of AmE for some time prior to its first attested usage in fiction. Harvard Dialect Survey, conducted in 2003 by Vaux and Golder, revealed that *you guys* is enjoying huge popularity with the respondents. The majority selected *you guys* (42.53%) when answering a question: What word(s) do you use to address a group of two or more people?. Remarkably, only 24.82% of respondents chose the standard unmarked pronoun *you*. As the following map suggests, this 2PP form occurs mostly in "the West, Midland, Northern, Mid-

Atlantic, and New England regions, in addition to select areas in Florida and the South” (Sienecki, 2014, 44).



Map 2 Distribution of *you guys* in the United States according to Harvard Dialect Survey

The relatively equal distribution of *you guys* across the regions of the United States indicates that unlike *yous(e)* or to some extent *y'all*, *you guys* is not restricted to a specific region and therefore functions as a supra-local 2PP form.

In his dissertation on the topic, Sienecki (2014, 16) proposes a hypothesis that if it can be proven that three following conditions are satisfied then it can be assumed that *you guys* is undergoing grammaticalization. The conditions are as follows: the frequency of *you guys* must be steadily increasing, the morpho-syntactic constituency of *you guys* must be weakening and enrichment and semantic generalization must have begun. Heyd (2010, 37) shares a similar view and considers *you guys* to be “on the road to grammaticalization”, functioning as “a semantically unmarked generic noun”. Futhermore, Sienecki (2014, 77), on the basis of Google search results, identifies other orthographic variants of *you guys* such as *you-guys*, *ya guys*, *ya'guys*, *y'guys*, and *yguys* which he interprets as an evidence of “increasing univerbation, or representation as a single morpheme”. Sienecki’s data demonstrate that the frequency of *you guys* is increasing, while Heyd’s research of the *Friends* corpus proves that semantic generalization has begun.

Futhermore, Sienecki (2014, 1-2) proposes that *you guys* is represented in the following syntactic functions:

Syntactic function	Example
Subject	Aw, say, <i>you guys</i> give me a pain! (1914: COHA, Zone)
Predicate complements (direct objects)	I won't forget <i>you guys</i> . (1930: COHA, Cimarron)
Predicate complements (other)	Did she give <i>you guys</i> any coffee? I'll bet she didn't. (2006: COHA, Sleeper Novel)
Object of preposition	The only difference between me and the rest of <i>you guys</i> is that I admit that I chase around with rats... (1924: COHA, Plastic Age)
Vocative ⁹	Give me the once-over, <i>you guys</i> . Do I look like a murderer? (1923: COHA, Adding Machibe)
Possessive determiner ¹⁰	<i>You guys</i> ' sister is getting married tonight. (2005: COHA, Ploughshares)

Table 8 Sienecki's classification of the syntactic functions of *you guys*

Another essential aspect regarding *you guys* that should be addressed here is the process of semantic bleaching. Previous studies suggest that *you guys* has been undergoing semantic generalization, i.e. losing exclusively male connotation. Firstly, it is imperative to look back at the etymology of the noun *guy* to fully comprehend the evolution of its meaning. According to OED, it has roots in the effigy of Guy Fawkes who made an attempt to blow up James I and the House of Parliament in 1605. Clansy (1999, 285) mentions the association with this infamous conspirator as a possible hindrance to British English speakers' acceptance of *you guys*. In the following decades the word *guy* attained a meaning of "a person of grotesque appearance"¹¹ (OED). Afterwards *guy* acquired even more general meaning and came to refer to "a man, fellow" (OED) in the United States. Heyd (2010, 36) remarks that "the early instances [of *you guys*] typically occur in pronounced 'male' setting—mysteries, adventure tales, sports fiction—and towards male addressees". Sienecki (2014, 92) mentions as early as 1920's as the period when the first gender-neutral references of *you guys* begin to occur, as the quote from a movie script of *Widow of Chicago* by Earl Baldwin demonstrates:

You guys got a swell sense of humor. Mullins [male] and Polly [female] laugh.
(COHA, *Widow of Chicago*, 1930)

⁹ Heyd (2010, 37) mentions that *you* can be omitted in the vocative constructions, e.g. (*You*) *guys*, come over here.

¹⁰ Jochowitz (1983, 69) in his article from 1982 denies existence *you guys* in the possessive case and considers the sentence "These books are *yours guys*." to be ungrammatical. It should be noted that in Sienecki's example the noun is in the possessive case, while Jochowitz provides an example with *you* in the possessive case.

¹¹ This meaning seems to be restricted to male referents, as all of the examples provided by OED refer to men, e.g. "He was such an old *guy* in his dress".

The final stage of semantic bleaching would be “the further loss of restrictions to a human-animate meaning” which *you guys* has yet to undergo, even though there some instances of *you guys* referring to the dogs (Sienecki, 2014, 111) or a swarm of blowflies (Clansy, 1999, 288).

Apart from Sienecki’s research on *you guys* in COCA and COHA, Heyd’s corpus-based study of dialogues in the television series *Friends* considerably contributed to the discussion over this non-standard form. Heyd defines the type of discourse found in *Friends* as “a form of staged orality whose meticulous planning allows for the explicit staging of items that are perceived as typically oral, spontaneous, or intimate, such as *you guys*” (Heyd, 2010, 34); for that reason, the frequency of some phrases might be higher than in natural conversation. Therefore, it should be noted that while the results of study are revealing, they do not strictly follow patterns of the real language usage. The comparison of distribution of *you guys* and *you* provided unexpected results: 47, 8% of 2PP forms were *you guys*, followed by *you* with 42, 3% of the sample (ibid., 42). An important variable might be the fact the actors in the show are young, white, urban speakers, a social group that exhibits the highest frequency of *you guys* in general. Heyd’s investigation into the gender of the addressees of *you guys* revealed that two-thirds of the tokens had mixed-reference, while male-only was 17% and female-only reference was only slightly lower (12%). Heyd (2010, 60) concludes that “*you guys* shows no gendered pattern of use—neither with regard to its speakers using it nor in terms of its reference”.

In the same way as *y’all*, *you guys* is considered to have additional non-pronominal functions apart from unambiguous plural reference, as it carries connotations of “friendliness, camaraderie, informality” (Lawson, 1982, 158), “cool solidarity” (Kiesling, 2004, 282) or “group strength” (Heyd, 2010, 43). On the basis of these associations of *you guys*, Lawson (1982, 158) asserts that it should be considered as “register participle”. Jochnowitz (1983, 68) contradicts this assertion by stating that *you guys* essentially functions as “the unmarked plural of *you*”, while *you* is favored in more formal contexts. From his point of view, “*guys* has become an allomorph of the plural morpheme, occurring after *you* or as a free morpheme when used in the vocative”. This type of usage can already be observed in Hawaiian Creole, occurring with animate nouns (*horse guys* meaning horses) and since 1920’s with inanimate nouns (*house guys* for houses) (ibid., 69). Even though, *you guys* has been proven to occur also in female-only context (Heyd, 2010) and (Wagner-Garcia, 2012), there is a considerable opposition to this 2PP because of its bias against

women. The opponents of *you guys* consider this type of 2PP forms to lack gender neutrality; therefore excluding and marginalizing women in the conversation (Clansy, 1999, 286).

2.8.2. You lot

You lot, a chiefly British form, is composed by addition of *lot* behind the pronoun. The noun *lot* is used in the colloquial sense of “a considerable number, quantity, or amount” (OED) and as a result, this non-standard 2PP form attains unambiguously plural reference. In Biber’s LGSWE, the section devoted to the problems of the use of personal pronouns completely disregards *you lot* as a possible non-standard plural pronoun, while including all of the other aforementioned variants. In contrast, Montgomery (2001, 149) rather precipitately suggests that “British *you lot* and *you together* are attested as common phrases on their way toward pronominalization in England”. However, it seems that the component *lot* is relatively productive as it co-occurs with other pronouns apart from *you* (Wales, forthcoming):

- (a) Objective case pronouns e.g. *us lot*, *them lot*.
- (b) Demonstrative phrases e.g. *this lot*, *that lot*
- (c) Equivalent to the partitive or quantifier phrase *a lot of you*

Unlike the other innovative forms which usually invoke camaraderie and informality, *you lot* has slightly disparaging, retorting or even exhortative connotation (ibid.) as is exemplified in the following example:

[studio discussion]: ‘Get Bert on the phone I want a word with him now. Come on *you lot* you know where he is get him on the phone I want to talk to him...’ <f_008001-S>

2.9. You + numeral

As Siewerska (2004, 10) points out “English personal pronouns can [...] co-occur with some of the modifiers that are found with nouns. One mechanism used to distinguish between the singular and plural *you*, is by periphrastic attaching a numeral ($n > 1$) to *you*. Unlike the other innovative 2PP which do not indicate an exact number of referents, the numeral in apposition to *you* enables the speaker to be even more explicit as regards the number of the addressees. As anticipated, *you two* is the most frequent collocation. Biber (2002, 331) observes in LGSWE that, “*you two* is found about forty times per million words in British conversation and twenty times per million

words in American conversation”. The numeral *two* co-occurs also in combination with other pronouns which are inherently and unambiguously plural e.g. *we two, us two, them two*. It can be presumed that the higher the numerical element, the lower the frequency of occurrences in the corpus will be. Mencken (2006, 449) mentions *you three* as a limit beyond which “the device begins to fade”.

2.10. You + quantifier

Another means of periphrastically forming plural is by addition of a quantifier (*all, ones, together* and *both*) to *you*. By means of cliticization and reduction, some of these non-standard 2PP, specifically *y'all* (from *you all*) and *you'uns* (from *you ones*), are formed. According to Hickey (2003, 353) these quantifiers function as “host(s) with attendant phonetic reduction”. *You together* is only marginally used and can be found in the dialects of the Eastern Counties of England (Trudgill, 1990, 85).

2.10.1. You'uns

You'uns (pronounced /'juənz/), being an example of compounding of *you* and a reduced form of *one*, occurs also in other orthographic variants such as *yinz, yunz*. It seems to be of Scottish provenance “where one is frequently encliticized in a general process” to pronouns and adjectives (Montgomery, 2001, 149), though it is attested as a phrase rather than pronoun in Scots (Hickey, 2003, 357). Wright (2014, 176-177) proposes a contradictory opinion and considers *you'uns* to be of American origin as it appears to have roots in Gullah/Caribbean Creole *unu/una*. The first recorded use that OED provides is from 1810, in an American traveler’s journal:

Youns is a word I have heard used several times, but what it means I don't know.

(1810, M.V.H. Dwight, *A journey to Ohio*, 10 Nov. [1912], 37)

OED also has an entry for *we'uns*, which suggests that suffix *-uns* might be a relatively productive clitic, albeit *we'uns* is restricted to American South. *You'uns*, on the other hand, can be heard in both the Midlands and in the Appalachian mountains (OED). Butters (2001, 333) labels *you'uns* as a highly stigmatized 2PP, which is characteristic of Southern, rural, mountain white speech. *Yinz/s*, out of which *Yinzer/Yinser*, a term for a local resident of Pittsburg, was derived, can be heard predominantly in the surrounding area of Pittsburg (Johnstone, 2013, 17). Harvard Dialect Survey showed that out of 10,764 respondents from all over the United States

only 0.37% acknowledged using *yins*, while 0.20% of respondents chose *you'uns* over other non-standard 2PP. Even when specifically looking at Pennsylvania, the percentage was not much higher (0.94% for *you 'uns* and 3.81% for *yins*).

2.10.2. You all

Out of all innovative 2PP forms, the most studies have been devoted to *you all*. The journal *American Speech*, in particular, published a considerable number of articles on the subject¹². The articles from the beginning of the 20th century, lacking the necessary evidential basis, are mostly founded on “the personal testimony of true believers” (Tillery and Bailey, 1998, 257). The attitude to this regionalism has evolved from being generally condescending (Axley, 1927), to more descriptive one (Lipski, 1993) as *you all* has been rapidly disseminating across the United States. This type of 2PP is composed of *you* (functioning as a head) and *all*¹³ (in apposition) and pronounced /'ju: ɔ:l/ in full form and /jɔ:l/ (*y'all*) as a reduced one. OED provides several orthographic variants, such as *you all*, *you-all*, and *y'all*, *y'awl* with an apostrophe to indicate the contraction. Montgomery (1989) provides two possible reduced forms: *y'all* and *ya'll* and even goes as far as to suggest that the second form might have higher likelihood of becoming an accepted form.

2.10.2.1. Etymology

There is a considerable disagreement about the origins of *you all*. Montgomery (1992) considers the pronoun to be a derivation from Ulster Scots phrase *ye aw/all* (*ye* as the historical second person plural pronoun of ME), which has been brought to the United States by the immigrants in the 18th century. Montgomery (1992) refers to an excerpt from a letter by a Scotch-Irish emigrant written in 1737 as the first attested use of *ye aw*:

“Now I beg of *ye aw* to come over here.”

Montgomery's theory best clarifies the fact that not *all* but the pronoun *you* is reduced (Hickey, 2003, 354), thus not in accordance with the rules of contraction in English¹⁴. That is the principal argument why Montgomery refuses *y'all* to be a contraction of *you all* and regards them as two

¹² (Hills, 1926), (Morrison, 1926), (Axley, 1927), (Shewmake, 1938), (Vowles, 1944) and (Spencer, 1975) to name but a few.

¹³ Wright identifies *all* as “the generalized, bleached lexeme” (Wright, 1997: 178).

¹⁴ Tillery et al. (2000: 290) understand *y'all* as a consequence of fusion rather than a product of contraction.

separate forms with distinctive etymologies.¹⁵ However, Hickey points out that the reason behind reduction of the pronoun *you* instead of *all* might essentially be the fact that “*yóu ’ll* would have resulted in homophony with the contracted future tense” (ibid.). Another stance as to the etymology of *y’all* is proposed by Butters who suggests that this 2PP form is indigenous to the American South where it was generated as a calque of African American English. This view is also supported by Lipski (1993). African American English and Caribbean creoles, as Hickey (2003, 355) explains, have a number distinction in second person pronouns and therefore when acquiring English, Creoles would feel the need to transfer this distinction into English. The first citation of *you all* that OED provides suggests that the origins of the form might be, contrary to what Montgomery suggests, in the language of slaves:

Children learn from the slaves some odd phrases;..as..will *you all* do this? for, will one of you do this? (1824, A. Singleton, *Letters from the South and West*, 82)

2.10.2.2. Singular reference of y’all

Another important issue regarding *y’all* that needs to be addressed here is its potential singular reference. While *y’all* appears to have emerged to repair the loss of number distinction, some English speakers use the form also to address a single person. There are several theories about the connotations of the form when used in singular. While Edwards (1974, 15) suggests “it is occasionally (and informally) applied in the singular to symbolize solidarity”, Morrison (1926, 133) proposes that *all* functions as “a respectful suffix”, which salesgirl would use when addressing a customer. Algeo (2001, 332), on the other hand, understands *y’all* as “a formulaic utterance”, therefore not as a true singular. Montgomery (1992, 359) and Wright (1997, 177) also regard *y’all* as a “tone-setting device to express familiarity and solidarity”, and this view is shared by Morrison (1926, 133) who considers the motive behind the use of *you all* to be “a courteous desire to include anyone”. The singular context of *y’all* was also examined in a more recent article by Spencer (1975, 316) who came to the conclusion that the singular use of *y’all* “connotes informal social dialogue of a friendly nature”. The view that *you all* can have singular reference is also maintained by Tillery and Bailey (1998, 265) who in *Survey of Oklahoma Dialects* found out that approximately one third of respondents acknowledged using *y’all* in the singular. Quirk et al. (1985, 344), by contrast, claim that *y’all* expresses plurality under all

¹⁵ For the purpose of this study, *y’all* is considered as a reduction of *you all*.

circumstances when used by native southerners and only the outsiders can at times misunderstand plural reference for singular one. This view is shared by Axley (1927), Vowles (1944) and Mencken (1948), who are vehemently opposed to the idea of *you all* having a singular reference. Similarly, Richardson’s (1984, 56) examination of singular use of *y’all* revealed “a one hundred percent preference for the exclusive plurality of *y’all*”. Butters and Aycock (1987, 191) contributed to the debate with an opinion that singular *y’all* only occurs “in pseudo-Southern dialect” in Hollywood movies. Hickey (2003, 356) offers a compromise by suggesting that the non-standard 2PP may function simultaneously as “plural pronoun and informality marker with either of these characteristics backgrounded or highlighted, according of the pragmatics of the concrete situation”.

2.10.2.3. Syntactic functions of *y’all*

Lipski (1993, 26) identifies a number of syntactic functions in which *y’all* can occur in contemporary Black English and White Southern English:

Syntactic function	Example
Subject	<i>Y’all</i> don’t have them out there? (LAGS #772)
Genitive	I passed <i>y’all’s</i> house. (LAGS # 258)
Quantified	The rest of <i>y’all</i> find you a place around (LAGS # 570)
Direct object	Ah mean to carry <i>y’all</i> to Palatka...(Hurston 1935: 189)
Indirect object	What kind of problems did they give <i>y’all</i> for dancin’? (Louisiana: recorded by JL)
Object of preposition	Just be glad he’s not the first grandchild for <i>y’all</i> . (LAGS #117)

Table 9 Lipski’s classification of the syntactic functions of *y’all*

The genitive *y’all* (pronounced /jɔ:lz/) is also mentioned in Quirk et al. (1985) and (Lass, 1999) which is evidence of some degree of acceptance of this syntactic function in the grammar books:

I really like *y’all’s* new car. [‘your family’s new car’]

Gramley et al. (1992, 287) acknowledge the existence of possessive *you all* in both full form *you all’s* and in reduced one *y’all’s*. While *y’all* can occur in the genitive constructions, it is usually avoided in the tag questions which are unstressed:

Y’all are going to the party, aren’t you/**y’all*? (Lipski, 1993, 48)

Furthermore, Lipski notes that there is no reflexive pronoun derived from *y'all*. The most probable reason is the fact that English already has a distinct form for reflexive pronoun in plural, i.e. *yourselves*.

2.10.2.4. American English vs British English

While in American Southern English *you all* is chiefly used to address more than one person, in British English *you all* “seems to function as an emphazier, as well as making explicit not only that *you* is plural, but also the inclusiveness of the group addressed: cf. ‘all of you’” (Wales, forthcoming). British English *you all* is pronounced with an emphasis on the second element, whereas both components of Southern *you all* have equal stress with slightly more emphasis on *you* (Shewmake, 1938, 164)¹⁶. The study by Shewmake investigated the possibility of the southern *you all* appearing with the identical meaning in Shakespeare’s times. As a reaction to Smith’s article (1907), who suggested a link between *you all* found in English classics of the Elizabethan and the Victorian era and *you all* heard in the South, Shewmake reached the conclusion that two meanings are divergent. Shakespeare favored *you*, *you both* and *you two* over *you all* when referring to two individuals and those instances of *you all* that can be found in the plays by Shakespeare are used in the sense of ‘all of you’ (ibid., 167). To sum up, *you all* in Shakespeare’s plays coincides with the usage found in contemporary British English c.f. ‘all of you’, not with the southern usage of the form.

2.10.2.5. Additional functions of y'all

Apart from the original function of *y'all* to express plurality, Montgomery identifies four additional functions of this non-standard 2PP:

¹⁶ Another important distinction between British and Southern *you all* is the fact that while in Britain *you all* is used to address more than three people, speakers of Southern American English use the phrase when referring to two people at the least (ibid.).

Functions of <i>yall</i>	Examples
Unambiguously plural	That's why I asked <i>yall</i> [the seven committee members] to come here today.
Associative plural	What hours are <i>yall</i> working this summer? [addressing only Bailey but referring to the office staff as well]
Institutional plural	I've just been waiting for <i>yall</i> to ask me to teach by distance learning. [addressing only Bailey but referring to UNLV]
Addressed to a group ¹⁷	I knew <i>yall</i> would be back to get these. [waitress addressing a group of people but referring only to the one who left the sunglasses on the table]
Direct address	<i>Yall</i> pay attention.
Greeting to a group ¹⁸	Nice to see all of <i>yall</i> here today. [administrator addressing a group of faculty]

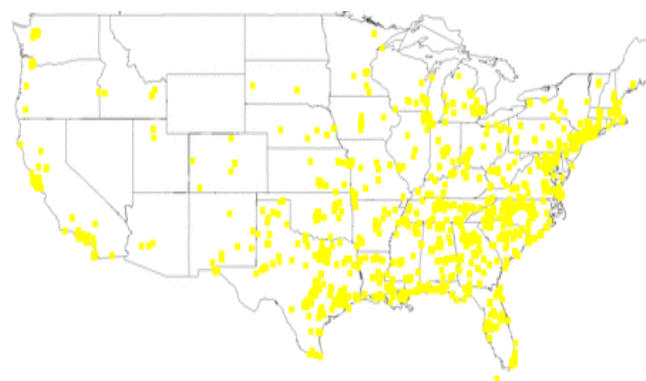
Table 10 Montgomery's classification of the functions of *yall*

2.10.2.6. Previous research on *y'all*

Tillery et al. based their study of *y'all* on findings from the fall 1994 and 1996 Southern Focus Polls (SFP). Covering a sample of 800 Southerners and 400 non-Southerners, the surveys asked the respondents to self-report about their use of *yall* and *you-all*. Interestingly, their results revealed that 43, 51% of non-Southern respondents in 1994 SFP and 48, 82% in 1996 SFP admitted to using either of the forms.¹⁹ Based on the finding of Harvard Dialect Survey, both *y'all* and *you all* seem to be spreading outside of the South (Tillery et al., 2000), as can be seen in the following maps:



Map 3 Distribution of *you all* in the United States according to Harvard Dialect Survey



Map 4 Occurrence of *y'all* in the United States according to Harvard Dialect Survey

¹⁷ only one of whom is the potential referent

¹⁸ to create a sense of familiarity and informality

¹⁹ Tillery et al. also examined in which regions outside the South *yall* is most likely to occur and mention states bordering the South (Kansas and New Mexico) and the Rocky Mountain region, while in New England, California, Nevada, the Great Lakes States and Upper Midwest *yall* is generally avoided.

According to the maps, both *y'all* and *you all* follow similar patterns of dissemination. As for the demographic makeup of the speakers, it seems that individual age groups prefer different variants of this type of 2PP. Based on the study by Tillery et al., Maynor (2000) suggests that the reason behind the preference of older generation for *you all* could be that it preceded *y'all* in spreading outside of the southern region. There also seems to be a tendency for younger generations to use *y'all* and *you guys*, while older speakers prefer *you all*.

3. MATERIAL AND METHOD

3.1. Material

The empirical part of the present study is a corpus-based analysis of innovative 2PP forms such as *you guys*, *y'all*, *youse* and *you lot*. These particular innovative 2PP forms were selected for the reason that each (apart from *you guys* and *y'all* which are both typical of American English) is characteristic of a different regional variety of English: American English, Irish English and British English, respectively. The expectation is that the respective varieties exhibit the highest frequency of individual non-standard 2PP forms and therefore represent the most opportune and varied sample. The examples of *you guys* and *y'all* were obtained from the Corpus of Contemporary American English. As for *yous(e)*, the instances were extracted from the ICE-Ireland Corpus, as the form is indigenous to Irish English and in all probability has the highest frequency in this dialect of English. *You lot* was generally disregarded in English grammar books and no study was specifically devoted to this form; nevertheless the examples of *you lot* were extracted from the British National Corpus to represent British English. While the Corpus of Contemporary American English consists of 450 million words, the British National Corpus is composed of 100 million words. The ICE-Ireland corpus, composed of 1 million words, represents one of the 18 national components from 18 countries around the world where English is an official language or mother tongue for the majority of population. For each of the 2PP forms, a random sample of 25 examples was extracted from the respective corpora. The search was restricted to the spoken component of each of the corpora. As for COCA, the sample of both *you guys* and *y'all* was extracted from the unscripted talk shows from radio and TV channels such as NBC, CSB, MSNBC, FOX, NPR, CNN and ABC. In the case of BNC, the search was restricted to spoken discourse, specifically to a broadcast. Seeing that the search yielded only four results, the restriction was extended to include the entire spoken component of BNC and as a result the remaining 21 examples were extracted. Similarly, the sample of *youse* was extracted from the transcriptions of spoken conversations from the ICE. The spoken components were selected for the reason that non-standard 2PP forms are presumed to be characteristic of spoken discourse. The further restriction to broadcasting was imposed for the reason that the formality of this register is higher than in the traditional conversation and unlike the conversations in TV series which are scripted, the dialogues in talk shows are generally spontaneous.

3.2. Method

This study investigates whether the innovative forms fulfill a function of a regular 2nd person plural pronoun. Innovative 2PP forms are classified from several points of view such as the number of referents, whether they are used consistently within the same context, the sentence types in which they occur, whether *you guys* has undergone semantic generalization, the issue of double marking and syntactic functions in which these four non-standard forms occur. The study aims to investigate whether any of the aforementioned 2PP forms has potential for becoming a fully grammaticalized pronoun.

4. ANALYSIS

One of the principal attributes of a pronoun that Quirk et al. (1985, 335) mention is that “their meaning in itself is general and undetermined: their interpretation therefore depends to an unusual extent on what information is supplied by context”. All of the 2PP forms meet this criterion as can be seen in ex. 1, where *you guys* anaphorically refers to three women: Shana, her sister and her best friend.

(1) Shana is a good friend of our show's, her sister is there with her and her best friend. We want to thank *you guys* for coming to see us. [YG13]

The identity of *you guys* completely depends on both linguistic and extralinguistic context as the speaker, while uttering those words, probably makes eye contact or points at the addressees in addition to verbally specifying the referents.

4.1. Singular vs. plural reference of non-standard 2PP forms

A particularly problematic task was to identify whether each 2PP form has either a singular or plural reference as the transcriptions of the conversations were of fragmentary nature and profoundly relied on the extralinguistic context which was not supplied. Out of all examples, ten 2PP forms were impossible to disambiguate by means of surrounding linguistic context. In only three cases, the reference of the innovative forms was unambiguously singular (exx. 4, 6 and 7), while in the vast majority of examples (89%) the reference was plural. As already mentioned, one of the principal motives for the emergence of innovative forms seems to be repletion of a lexical gap in the pronominal paradigm. Therefore, if it is presumed that these non-standard forms have emerged to rectify a deficiency in the system by establishing an unambiguous distinction between singular and plural number, then these innovative 2PP should be restricted to this particular usage.

Number	You lot	You guys	Y'all	Youse	Total
Singular	1	—	—	2	3%
Plural	22	22	22	23	89%
Ambiguous	2	3	3	—	8%
Total	25	25	25	25	100%

Table 11 Category of number in the examples of all four 2PP non-standard forms

With statistics of 22 out of 25 examples (see table 11), *you guys* proves to be generally limited to the second person plural reference such as in ex. 2, where *you guys* refers to the elementary school chorus:

(2) We love *you guys*. [YG1]

The remaining three examples of *you guys* are most likely to be of plural reference, however the context provided by COCA does not allow for determining the reference with sufficient certainty. While *you guys* has not been detected in any of the aforementioned literature as being addressed to a single person, *y'all* and *youse* are suggested to also have singular reference, in addition to the original plural, for some speakers of IrE (Henry, 1995, 38). If indeed these forms can also function as singular pronouns, it would be in direct contradiction to the motive for their emergence, i.e. to disambiguate homonymous *you*. While the studies, quoted in the chapter on singular use of *y'all* (see section 2.10.2.2.), acknowledge some instances of singular reference, the sample extracted from COCA suggests contrariwise. Out of 25 examples, none of *y'all* was unambiguously used to refer to a single person, even though in three cases it was impossible to determine number or identity of the addressees (see table 11). The following example offers further support for considering *y'all* as 2PP form that is limited to plural reference. In ex. 3, one of the speakers bases his assumption about the number of kidnapers on the victim's use of non-standard 2PP form:

(3) (From 911 tape): OK! What do *y'all* want is what I'm asking you? HOLLY EASON: She used the term "y'all". So we told the surrounding agencies and the dispatchers that there are possibly going to be two occupants in the vehicle. [YA17]

As regards *you lot*, the corpus-study has yielded one instance of unambiguously singular reference:

(4) I think we'll, we'll just about move on to the next paragraph please, is that *you lot* [pause] Paul. [YL20]

In ex. 4, *you lot* is succeeded by 'Paul' which functions as a vocative in the sentence. The vocative, denoting the identity of the person to whom the sentence is addressed, is co-referential with *you lot*, which validates singularity of this 2PP form. A plausible motivation behind using *you lot* in this particular sentence might be to invoke camaraderie and informality (see section 2.8.2.). Thus, *you lot* would function as an informality marker rather than a potential 2nd person

plural pronoun. In the same way as *you lot* (see table 11), a vast majority of *youse* examples were of plural reference, with only one instance of singular reference. In ex. 5, *youse* anaphorically refers to a couple (you and Anthony) mentioned in the previous clause, while ex. 6 proves that singular reference is possible as this 2PP form anaphorically refers to a single person: Angela.

(5) you know what I mean you and Anthony and when *youse* didn't know they were being taken you know [YS6]

(6) No plans Angela Why What 're *youse* up to [YS4]

(7) Were *youse* over at the funeral? [YS8]

Youse, in ex. 7, is also used to address a single person, as it is part of a dialogue between two friends and the addressee's response is: "I was over."

It should be, however, noted that there is a possibility that the speaker is referring also to another person or people who are not present in the situation, but are connected with the referent by implication. These results, with some specific exceptions, prove that innovative 2PP forms predominantly function as replacement for unambiguously plural pronoun.

4.2. Other occurrences of non-standard forms within the same context

Investigation of the immediate context for other occurrences of the respective innovative 2PP forms revealed that only in a small quantity of instances non-standard 2PP were used repeatedly in close proximity to each other. In any the examples, there has not been detected a co-occurrence of two different 2PP within the same context which be caused by the fact that each 2PP form is specific to a different region. The sample suggests that provided that there is more than one occurrence of 2PP form, English speakers tend to be consistent in using them. However, the majority of examples proved that innovative forms tend to occur individually, although in the sample of *y'all* (ex. 8) and *youse* (ex. 10) there were some instances of multiple occurrences of the same 2PP within the same context. Ex. 8 demonstrates an especially high frequency of *y'all*:

(8) *Y'all* can say what *y'all* want to say. *Y'all* can write what *y'all* want to write. [YA25]

The context of ex. 8 reveals that the sentence is an emotional response to intrusive questions of the media. Therefore, emotionally colored and emphatic speech might be the ultimate motivation for heightened frequency of this type of non-standard 2PP. In ex. 9, the speaker addresses the

employees with *you guys* in two consecutive sentences, although he switches to the unmarked *you* in the following clause²⁰:

(9) Well, you know I use to, like, feed *you guys*, make sure there was food [...]. Just making sure *you guys* get- that *you're* comfortable and making sure the people get in. [YG12]

Similarly, the speaker in ex.8 addresses his friends with two consecutive examples of *youse*:

(10) Well *youse* 'll hardly be staying there overnight will *youse* [YS20]

However, examination of a wider context of ex. 10 reveals that the speaker switches to the unmarked *you* in the following lines: “Jeez *you* wouldn't want to stay in Limerick”.

The rest of the examples follows similar pattern and show that prior or after using a non-standard 2PP form to establish unambiguously plural reference, the speaker reverts to using the unmarked form *you*.

(11) I mean, *you've* had 40 years with the same party, and *you guys* are still moaning and complaining. When are *you* going to hold the Democrats accountable for some of your failures [YG9]

In ex. 11, all 2PP forms (two instances of *you* and one instance of *you guys*) are all co-referential. While *you guys* explicitly establishes plural reference, *you* is more ambiguous, but the fact that it occurs in close proximity to *you guys* establishes its plural reference. Based on this example, it seems that *you guys* (and the other 2PP forms) do not function as regular pronouns as they are not used consistently throughout the speech. However, there seems to be no evident motivation for choosing one or the other in ex. 11 or elsewhere. In the vast majority of examples, the speakers freely oscillate between the unmarked *you* and one of the innovative forms. As a result, it is impossible to rely on the respective forms to indicate the number of referents. While non-standard forms, in most cases, are restricted to plural reference only, *you* can stand for both singular and plural pronoun. Although, this piece of evidence seems to be contradictory to proving that these 2PP forms are bound to become members of English pronominal paradigm, the variation between two forms with identical meaning represents an essential step in the evolution of language. In the Middle English period, when *you*-forms began replacing *thou*-forms as a 2nd person singular pronoun (see section 2.2.2.), the innovation was gradual and for many decades to come, it was commonplace for both pronouns to co-occur even within the same discourse and the switching between *thou* and *you* “acts as a barometer of their evolving attitudes and

²⁰ *You* which functions as a component of a comment clause ‘you know’ represents formulaic language and therefore the substitution of *you guys* for *you* is not possible in this case.

relationships” as Crystal (2012, 194) notes in his study of Shakespearean language. *Thou* gradually acquired marked meaning and was used only in restricted contexts, only to drop out of the pronominal paradigm altogether. A close parallel to this variation and subsequent change can be found in Present Day English. As has been observed in the previous examples, both *you* and the innovative forms can function alongside as pronominal forms for plural within the same discourse. Even though, *youse*, *you lot*, *you guys* and *y'all* are to some extent marked as informal forms, they seem to be losing this connotation as they are increasing in frequency even in more formal contexts. *You guys* is especially ubiquitous as this 2PP form is not restricted to a specific region, and therefore there is no stigma attached to its use.

4.3. Sentence types in which non-standard 2PP forms occur

There is a preponderance of declarative sentence types in the sample of all four non-standard 2PP forms. Forming 69% of the sample; declaratives are followed by the interrogative sentences (23%). This kind of distribution of sentence types adheres to the natural pattern of spoken language, see table 12.

Sentence type	You lot	You guys	Y'all	Youse	Total
Declaratives	15	19	19	15	69%
Interrogatives	5	5	4	9	23%
Imperatives	2	1	1	1	5%
Exclamatives	2	—	—	—	2%
Verbless sentence	1	—	1	—	1%
Total	25	25	25	25	100%

Table 12 Frequency of the non-standard 2PP forms in various sentence types

The following sentences exemplify each of the sentence types in which non-standard 2PP were found to occur:

- (12) *You guys* sound energized. [YG4] (Declarative)
- (13) How *y'all* doing? [YA1] (Interrogative)
- (14) So don't *youse* dare whenever it comes up to it go [YS15] (Imperative)
- (15) *You lot*, that sounds awful! [YL12] (Exclamative)
- (16) *You lot* of woofers. [YL1] (Verbless clause)

As regards imperative sentences, there is a discrepancy between the standard imperative sentences and those containing innovative 2PP forms. As noted by Quirk et al. (1985, 896), “The

implied subject of the imperative verb is *you* but absence of the subject is the norm with imperatives, and where the imperative subject *you* does occur, it receives stress; eg: 'You sit down.'. The redundant *you* can convey admonition, strong irritation or persuasive attitude, but more importantly, *you* may be used “in the sense of addressee-distinguishing, singling out one person or one set of persons” (ibid.). In the following examples (ex. 17, 18, 19 and 20), the motivation behind expressing the subject in the form of non-standard 2PP is most likely to emphasize plural reference of the command:

- (17) I mean it's typical government policy, bang, there it is now *you lot* sort it out! [YL14]
 (18) I don't think they're about to get sucked into an argument that says *You guys* kill the bill. [YG15]
 (19) Four days into the two-week long carnival of the Summer Olympics, the message from Atlanta to the world is still, '*Y'all* come.' [YA12]
 (20) So don't *youse* dare whenever it comes up to it go [YS15]

Needless to say, “The presence of the subject in the imperative sentences is characteristic of spontaneous spoken discourse” (Dušková et al., 2009, 12.13).

4.4. Semantic bleaching of *you guys*

The present analysis of reference of *you guys* has shown that this 2PP form can occur in both female-only and mixed reference in addition to the original male-only reference. It should be noted however, that the majority of examples (88%) represent mixed-reference, i.e. the addressees formed a further unspecified group of both sexes. While only in 2 out of 25 examples (exx. 27 and 28) the sex of the referents could be unquestionably identified as male, ex. 26 alone represents female-only reference, cf. table 13.

Type of reference	Number of examples	Percentage
Male	2	8%
Female	1	4%
Mixed	22	88%
Total	25	100%

Table 13 Sex of the intended referents of *you guys*

- (21) *You guys* sound energized. [YG4]
 (22) So, how do *you guys* describe your music? [YG8]
 (23) See, this is the great thing -- great thing about the Cutaway Club is that *you guys* at home get to see stuff that... [YG7]

In ex. 21, TV-presenter refers to the audience, presumably consisting in both women and men. Similarly, *you guys* is used to address a band in ex. 22, including both female and male members of the band. Concerning the number of addressees, ex. 23 proves that there is no restriction on the quantity, as *you guys*, in this particular case, refers to as many as millions of TV-viewers and in the same way as the previous two examples addresses both women and men without exception. Another set of examples in which the addressees are of mixed reference consists of instances where the addressees are couples (presumably heterosexual). As can be seen in exx. 24 and 25, *you guys* often refers to the parents:

(24) What do *you guys* think about those two? [YG3]

(25) I just want you to know that I'm fine, love, miss *you guys*. [YG18]

As ex. 25 shows, the gender neutral *you guys* can be followed by the noun *guys*, with specific connotation of male setting (see section 2.8.1.), without any restriction. The sentence in ex. 25 is followed by the speaker saying "I got to get back to the guys." where *guys* refers to a group of (probably male) soldiers. The proximity of these two distinctive uses of *guys* suggests that the speaker understands *you guys* as 2PP form with semantically bleached meaning of *guys*, while *guys* as a noun has specifically male-reference for the speaker.

Out of all examples of *you guys*, only ex. 26 was specifically addressed to a group of women:

(26) We want to thank *you guys* for coming to see us. [YG13]

By analyzing the context of ex. 26, the identity of the addressees could be established, i.e. "the beautiful girls behind the news desk". Concerning the male-only reference, the assumption was that it would be the predominant type of reference since the noun *guy* originally had male-only reference. However, only two of twenty-five examples (exx. 27 and 28) could be identified with absolute certainty from the surrounding context as addressing men alone:

(27) Tell us how it unfolds and what *you guys* discovered... [YG20]

(28) *You guys* are professional escorts. [YG2]

While in ex. 27, the addressees are two brothers, in ex. 28, the immediate context specifies that the escorts are males. Even though, the sample does not contain any animate non-human reference of *you guys*, the analysis has yielded one instance of non-standard 2PP having this type of reference. In ex. 29, the referent of *you lot* are flowers:

(29) even if she did, she should keep her place in the garden with *you lot* [unclear].

This particular example comes from a passage in fictional text in which one of the characters addresses the personified flowers in the garden.

4.5. Double marking

One aspect which opposes regarding 2PP forms as potential pronouns can be identified as double marking, i.e. marking the form for plurality in two distinctive grammatical means (cf. 2.7.1.1.). It can be observed in non-standard 2PP forms such as *yez* (a historical plural pronoun with a redundant plural ending *-z*) or *youse guys*²¹ (combination of two innovative 2PP forms: *youse* and *you guys*). It is disputable whether the following three examples (exx. 30, 31, and 32) can be considered as instances of double marking or the quantifier *all* only has a function of highlighting the fact that the speaker intends to include everyone present. While in exx. 30 and 31 the quantifier is preceding two different types of 2PP form, in ex. 32 *all* stands in apposition in the predicative position:

(30) when you convince yourself I'll do *all you lot* good but I can make *you all* members of the Communist Party [YL8]

(31) So they're stepping up today finally to say we were wrong for letting *all y'all* Negroes [YA18]

(32) *Youse* are *all* coming out as well on the Tuesday [YS13]

(33) My negative is I'm still here with *y'all people*. [YA20]

Ex. 33 differs from the previous ones, as *y'all* is succeeded by a noun *people* standing in apposition, which is usually combined with *you* only and forms a construction analogous to *you guys*, therefore it could be regarded as an instance of double marking with reasonable certainty.

²¹ The additional search in COCA yielded only 9 results of *youse guys*, therefore it seems this type of non-standard 2PP form is used only marginally and in highly informal contexts.

4.6. Syntactic functions of 2PP forms

Syntactic roles	You lot	You guys	Y'all	Youse	Total
Subject	11	19	13	15	58%
Subject complement	1	—	—	—	1%
Possessive Genitive	—	—	1	—	1%
Direct object	2	5	2	1	10%
Indirect object	2	—	1	4	7%
Partitive of-construction	1	1	3	1	6%
Prepositional complement	3	—	2	4	9%
Vocative	5	—	3	—	8%
Total	25	25	25	25	100%

Table 14 Frequency of the non-standard 2PP forms in various syntactic functions

As regards the syntactic functions of non-standard forms, the vast majority of 2PP were in the function of a subject, see table 14:

(34) *Youse* 're all being really healthy. [YS9]

At the second highest frequency, 2PP forms were functioning as direct objects in ten of examples:

(35) We love *you guys*. [YG1]

In 9% of the examples, innovative forms occurred as prepositional complement such as in ex. 36:

(36) My negative is I'm still here with *y'all* people. [YA20]

Altogether, in eight examples non-standard 2PP forms function as vocatives in the sentence. Quirk et al. (1985, 773) define a vocative as “an optional element, usually a noun phrase, denoting the one or more persons to whom the sentence is addressed”. In ex. 37, *you lot*, in initial position in the sentence, functions as a vocative. Therefore, its function seems to be to establish plurality of the reference.

(37) *You lot*, that sounds awful! [YL12]

Interestingly, Quirk et al. mention non-standard 2PP forms as a specific category amongst the other forms of vocatives. Unlike *you*, which is marked as impolite when occurring in the vocative, *you guys* and *you all* in the vocative are not considered impolite (ibid.).

Partitive of-constructions which Quirk et al. (1985, 149) define as “constructions denoting a part of a whole” were also frequent compared to the other marginal syntactic functions. While vocatives occurred in 8% of all examples (see table 14), all four types of the 2PP forms occurred in the partitive constructions, forming 6% of the whole sample:

- (38) I guess *one of y'all* taking the other day on [YA11]
- (39) Yeah did youse </[> </[> *any of youse* see Superman last weekend no [YS24]
- (40) ...a bit of *all of you lot* so come on people you're not doing yourself justice. [YL5]
- (41) How *many of you guys* watched that? [YG11]

The fact that all four innovative forms can occur in the partitive constructions proves their predominantly plural reference. The sample has also proven that non-standard forms can function also as indirect objects (ex. 42) and subject complements such as in ex. 43:

- (42) And I drew *y'all* some pictures. (indirect object)[YA24]
- (43) is that *you lot* [pause] Paul. (subject complement) [YL20]

Above all, the analysis has proven that at least one of 2PP can function as possessive genitive. As can be seen in ex. 44, possessive is formed regularly by the addition of an ‘s’ with an apostrophe:

- (44) This is totally not *y'all's* cooler. [YA23]

4.7. Additional functions of 2PP forms

Building on the classification in table 6, four functions can be identified in non-standard 2PP forms in addition to the unambiguously plural reference: informality marker, non-specific address, institutional plural and presupposed general knowledge. While grammaticalized pronouns are usually restricted to marking plural reference, the innovative 2PP forms are considered to have additional non-pronominal functions. Ex. 45 demonstrates that *y'all* can be used as a greeting to a group to create a sense of familiarity and informality:

- (45) Bye, *y'all*. [YA19]

In ex. 46, *you guys* is addressed to the editor on behalf of an entertainment news website, i.e. it functions as non-specific plural:

- (46) Harvey, *you guys* broke that story that Britney Spears checked in, and checked out of rehab 24 hours later. [YG17]

The following sentence (ex. 47) illustrates an example of institutional address, i.e. *you guys* is addressed to people present but the whole organization of which they are members of is implied:

(47) I mean, you've had 40 years with the same party, and *you guys* are still moaning and complaining.
[YG9]

5. CONCLUSION

While Standard English does not distinguish between the singular and plural number in 2nd person pronouns, in the respective varieties of English, a pragmatic solution has been found in the form of innovative 2nd person plural forms such as *you lot*, *y'all*, *you guys* and *yous*). It is too soon to tell which of the aforementioned forms represents the best candidate for the position of 2nd person plural pronoun. As a single lexeme, *y'all* has a great advantage over periphrastic phrases such as *you guys* and *you lot*. On the other hand, *y'all* has been associated with the southern uneducated speech what might be a great hindrance to its future dissemination. However, some studies suggest that *y'all* is losing the stigma attached to its usage and therefore is free to expand outside of the South. *You guys* has a disadvantage of marginalizing women, although there seems to be a shift in the meaning towards more gender neutral connotation as the previous studies indicate.

The data gathered in the empirical part prove that the sample of four 2PP expresses plurality in the majority of cases (89%) with only few exceptions (3%) which arguably refer to other people not present at the situation but connected with the referent by implication. These results provide confirmatory evidence that aforementioned 2PP predominantly function to express plurality. Even though, in 8% of the examples, the number of referents could not be established with absolute certainty as the immediate context did not impart enough information.

As regards several different types of 2PP occurring within the same context, there has not been a single instance when speaker would use two different 2PP forms in the proximity of each other. Provided that there were multiple occurrences of non-standard 2PP, the speakers tend to adhere to one type of 2PP form (especially in the case of *y'all* and *youse*). The evidence has also revealed that all four 2PP forms are not consistently used, as the individual non-standard 2PP forms occurred only occasionally in the context of abundance of unmarked *you*. On these grounds, it can be argued that while the usage of non-standard 2PP forms is nowhere consistent, variation between the old and new forms is necessary step before the non-standard form can be grammaticalized. Moreover, the previous studies have shown that the frequency of *you guys* and *y'all* has been increasing. *You lot* and *yous(e)*, on the other hand, have not been investigated sufficiently to draw any conclusions as to character of their past or future development.

Furthermore, the evidence seems to suggest that there is no evident restriction on the sentence types in which these innovative 2PP forms can occur. Only discrepancy between the regular 2nd

person pronoun *you* and non-standard 2PP forms that could be detected was in the case of imperative sentences. While this sentence type is usually subjectless, the research yielded five instances of imperatives with expressed subjects in the form of non-standard 2PP form. These results provide some evidence that the ultimate motive behind expressing subject in the form of non-standard forms is to emphasize plurality of the referents. The imperative sentences with expressed subject *you* likewise single out the person who is being addressed. Further research in this area may include comparison of the frequency of imperatives with subjects in the form of unmarked *you* with the imperatives containing non-standard 2PP forms.

As regards *you guys*, the results of this study have proven that this 2PP forms has been undergoing semantic bleaching and is nowadays used to refer to both male and female referents (88%). Only in two examples, the referents were unarguably male (8%).

While the concept of double marking has not yet been examined properly, the occurrence of double marking with non-standard 2PP could be considered as evidence against accepting them as potential 2nd person plural pronouns. The sample has yielded only one instance of unambiguous double marking: *y'all people* which seems to be analogous with *youse guys*.

As for the syntactic roles, the empirical part of the present study has proven that non-standard forms can function in all syntactic functions in which personal pronoun would occur, although the sample was too small for each syntactic role to be represented by all four non-standard 2PP forms. It should be however noted, that the most significant syntactic role for proving grammaticalization of these 2PP forms is possessive genitive, as it requires addition of an apostrophe + s. While *y'all* has been proven to occur in this role, there is no evidence about the other 2PP forming this type of genitive which might be caused by periphrastic character of *you lot* and *you guys* and the fact that possessive form *youse's* /ju:zɪz/ might be difficult to pronounce.

In conclusion, the present thesis has demonstrated that all four 2PP forms behave as 2nd person plural pronoun in the following points: they can occur in all sentence types, function in all syntactic roles (apart from the possessive genitive) and express plurality in the majority of examples. However, the fact that these innovative 2PP occur only occasionally in the speech as the speakers usually opt for the unmarked *you* suggests that *you lot*, *y'all*, *you guys* and *youse* are not yet firmly established in the English language.

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7. RESUMÉ

Témou tejto práce je používanie neštandardných foriem zámena *you* v dialektoch anglického jazyka. Zatiaľ čo v prvej a tretej osobe osobné zámena rozlišujú medzi singulárom a plurálom, v druhej osobe zostáva pre obe funkcie jednotný tvar *you*. V modernej angličtine sa následkom tohto na úrovni zámen druhej osoby vyskytuje horizontálna homofónia. Pri oslovení jednej ako aj viacerých osôb sa používa jednotný tvar *you*. Hypotézou tejto práce je, či by potenciálne neštandardné formy zámena *you*, ktoré sú využívané najmä na oslovovanie viacerých ľudí mohli v budúcnosti zaujať pozíciu regulárneho osobného zámena 2. osoby plurálu.

Kým ešte na začiatku obdobia strednej angličtiny boli používané dve rôzne zámená v druhej osobe, tvary *thou* pre singulár a tvary *you* pre plurál, v nasledujúcich storočiach paradigma osobných zámen stratila stabilitu a jeden z jej členov vypadol. Postupom času *thou* nadobudlo familiárny význam, zatiaľ čo *you* bolo preferované vo formálnejších kontextoch. Podľa vzoru vyšších tried sa v skoršej modernej angličtine *thou* začalo nahrádzať *you* postupne vo všetkých kontextoch, a následne sa z *you* stal bezpríznačový tvar pre obe čísla.

Literatúra sa zhoduje, že tieto neštandardné formy vznikli na základe niektorého z nasledujúcich dôvodov. Jedným z hlavných motívov pre ich vznik mohla byť lexikálna medzera v paradigme osobných zámen, vzniknutá obmedzeným využívaním *thou*. Druhá z teórií hovorí o kontakte anglicky hovoriacich ľudí s tými, ktorých materinský jazyk bol iný ako angličtina. Ak ten druhý jazyk disponoval dvoma rôznymi formami pre singulár a plurál v druhej osobe, dôsledkom toho mohli byť tieto inovatívne formy požičané do anglického jazyka.

Teoretická časť mapuje všetky známe neštandardné formy zámen druhej osoby, ktoré sa vyskytujú v rozličných dialektoch angličtiny. Taktiež sú spomenuté archaické formy ako napríklad *thou*, ktoré sa stále používa v liturgii, poézii a v niektorých dialektoch britskej angličtiny na vyjadrenie singuláru. Teoretická časť sa taktiež zaoberá spôsobmi, akými sú tieto inovatívne zámená tvorené. Z írskej angličtiny pochádza *yous(e)*, ktoré je tvorené syntakticky a to pridaním plurálovej prípony *-s* podľa vzoru tvorenia množného čísla pri podstatných menách. *You lot* a *you guys* sú naopak tvorené z prístavku vo forme podstatného mena v množnom čísle. Pridaním univerzálneho kvantifikátora za zámeno *you* je vytvorené *you all*, pri ktorom ako jedinom prebehla redukcia na *y'all*.

Metodologicky je práca založená na získaní po 25 príkladov z každého zo štyroch vyššie spomenutých neštandardných foriem zámena *you* (celá vzorka pozostáva zo 100 príkladov).

Neštandardné formy, *you lot*, *y'all*, *you guys* a *youse* boli vybraté pre analýzu ako typický predstavitelia britskej, americkej a írskej angličtiny. *Y'all* a *you guys* sa síce používajú hlavne v americkej angličtine, pričom sa vyskytujú v rôznych regiónoch Ameriky a sú typické pre rozličné sociálne triedy.

Keďže niektoré zdroje uvádzajú, že tieto inovatívne formy zámena *you* (v literatúre sa spomína *y'all* a *youse*) sa taktiež využívajú na oslovenie jednej osoby, čo by bolo v nesúlade z predpokladom, že tieto tvary vznikli ako náhrada za dnes už archaické *thou*, bolo potrebné najskôr overiť, či príklady odkazujú na jednu alebo viac osôb. Kým v 89% príkladov sa tieto tvary vzťahovali na viaceré osoby, v 3% príkladov boli adresované jednej osobe. Aj v tých troch príkladoch je možné, že hoci veta bola adresovaná len jednej osobe, hovoriaci mal na mysli aj ďalších neprítomných, ale v situácii zaangažovaných, ľudí. Počet príkladov, pri ktorých sa nedalo jednoznačne určiť, či ide o singulár alebo plurál bol relatívne vysoký (8%), čo bolo čiastočne spôsobené obmedzeným kontextom.

Analytická časť práce taktiež skúma, či sa v okolí týchto neštandardných foriem vyskytujú aj iné typy inovatívnych foriem, alebo hovoriaci využívajú konzistentne jeden typ. Z výsledkov vyplýva, že len málokedy využívali hovoriaci opakovane tú istú alebo inú inovatívnu formu. Naopak, v okolí neštandardného tvaru väčšinou používali bezpríznačkové *you*, a teda funkciou týchto foriem bolo len zdôrazniť plurálovú referenciu. Na rozdiel od osobných zámen, neštandardné formy nie sú v reči používané konzistentne.

Analýza taktiež potvrdila predchádzajúci výskum tvaru *you guys*, podľa ktorého je možné používať tento tvar bez obmedzenia na oslovenie ľudí oboch pohlaví. Z celkového počtu 25 príkladov, len v dvoch bolo *you guys* jednoznačne mierené na adresátov mužského pohlavia. Podobne boli touto inovatívnou formou adresované ženy len v jednom prípade. Dôležité ale je, že v 88% príkladov boli referentmi *you guys* muži a taktiež ženy. Výsledky teda jasne ukazujú, že *you guys* je možné používať bez akýchkoľvek obmedzení na oslovenie oboch pohlaví. V literatúre sa taktiež spomínali zvieratá ako potenciálny referent *you guys*, avšak ani v jednom z príkladov sa tento typ referencie nevyskytol. Pozoruhodne sa v jednom z príkladov na *you lot* vyskytli kvetiny ako referent tejto neštandardnej formy.

Ďalším predmetom analýzy bolo určenie, v akých vetných typoch sa tieto formy vyskytujú, a či fungujú v rámci vety rovnakým spôsobom ako osobne zámená. Analýza ukázala, že hlavne rozkazovacie vety si zaslúžia pozornosť. Vyjadrený podmet v tomto type viet vyjadruje varovanie, podráždenie, ale hlavne je podmet, teda *you* vyjadrený so snahou o zdôraznenie

adresáta rozkazu. Na základe toho je možné tvrdiť, že vyjadrený podmet vo forme neštandardnej formy zámena *you* v rozkazovacích vetách slúži na zdôraznenie väčšieho počtu referentov, ako by rozkazovacia veta bez podmetu vyjadrovala.

Len jeden príklad bolo možné jednoznačne určiť ako “double marking”, t.j. forma, v ktorej je plurál vyjadrený dvoma odlišnými gramatickými spôsobmi, a teda jeden z nich je redundantný. Tým príkladom bolo *y'all people* zložený z neštandardnej formy *y'all* a *people* vo funkcii prístavku, ktorý sa normálne vyskytuje v kombinácii s bezpríznakovým *you*.

Analýza taktiež ukázala, že neštandardne formy sa môžu vyskytovať vo všetkých syntaktických funkciách. Pozornosť si však zaslúži hlavne vokatív, ktorý je považovaný za nezdvorilý ak pozostáva výhradne z *you*, avšak v prípade, že pozostáva z neštandardnej formy ako napríklad *you guys*, je pokladaný za menej nezdvorilý.

Záverom sa dá povedať, že aj keď neštandardne formy slúžia prevažne na adresovanie referentov v množnom čísle, vonkoncom nie sú používané konzistentne. Vo väčšine prípadov boli použité len príležitostne. Práca taktiež potvrdila, že *you guys* je možné používať na oslovenie tak žien ako aj mužov, hoci výsledky naznačujú, že väčšinou slúžia na oslovenie skupiny zloženej z oboch pohlaví. Analýza vetných typov potvrdila, že zámená sa v nich vyskytujú bez obmedzení a hlavne v rozkazovacích vetách majú užitočnú funkciu. Rozbor syntaktických funkcií ukázal, že sa vyskytujú relatívne často vo vokatíve, čo môže byť motivované tým, že kým *you* vo vokatíve môže pôsobiť nezdvorilo, majú neštandardné formy zámena *you* majú zmierňovaciu funkciu.

8. APPENDIX

YOU LOT

Number	BNC code	Example
YL1	HE5 107	You lot of woofers.
YL2	HMA 43	...and then you'll just call my dad like you always have done every time I've run away from home and then every time you lot have took me back home and then I end up getting pregnant.
YL3	HV0 150	Come on you lot you know where he is get him on the phone I want to talk to him.
YL4	HV0 773	Int-- I don-- well not from you lot does it?
YL5	D91 669	...a bit of all of you lot so come on people you're not doing yourself justice.
YL6	F74 29	...did I explain to you lot yesterday about er, that was yesterday sorry about er collage or pottery...
YL7	F7G 299	...the way that you lot are going on...
YL8	F8R 847	when you convince yourself I'll do all you lot good but I can make you all members of the Communist Party
YL9	FLY 370	Now you lot have all have the tetanus <pause> vaccine.
YL10	FM7 228	What's common sense, you lot ?
YL11	FML 277	...for the day we want you lot to pretend that you're archaeologists as wel.
YL12	J8D 319	You lot , that sounds awful!
YL13	J8D 317	No it doesn't matter you lot can keep me right.
YL14	J8D 1380	I mean it's typical government policy, bang, there it is now you lot sort it out!
YL15	J9A 783	even if she did, she should keep her place in the garden with you lot .
YL16	JJE 152	The people at G C H Q, whose rights you lot took away, to joining Trade Unions, where are th-- where's their rights?
YL17	JJF 123	the sooner you lot get out of the way and let us get on with it, the better.
YL18	JJS 1096	I keep having to remind you lot about your sub- headings.
YL19	JT2 459	In that case, take the first paragraph erm take this first paragraph, you lot over here.
YL20	JT2 682	I think we'll, we'll just about move on to the next paragraph please, is that you lot [pause] Paul.
YL21	JT4 1057	Well, what we were going to sort of do, is similar to what you lot did, but it kinda came out wrong.
YL22	JYM 270	Melanie you got the message across but by by excluding you you lot she said all the best people.
YL23	KB5 286	Where do you lot got with last night, pissed off.
YL24	KB7 6624	Said I bet you quite enjoyed yourselves you lot .
YL25	KB7 12059	But you come home late at night when people are asleep [...]and you lot , and stroll in after half past four an-- five o'clock in the morning, you know, you do.

YOU GUYS

Number	Example
YG1	We love you guys .
YG2	You guys are professional escorts.
YG3	What do you guys think about those two?
YG4	You guys sound energized.
YG5	You guys too enjoy the food.
YG6	...did you guys see this young girl who won one of those Indy 500 races?
YG7	See, this is the great thing -- great thing about the Cutaway Club is that you guys at home get to see stuff that...
YG8	So, how do you guys describe your music?
YG9	I mean, you've had 40 years with the same party, and you guys are still moaning and complaining.
YG10	I'd just like to say to Joe, thank you for caring for me, and I love you guys .
YG11	How many of you guys watched that?
YG12	Just making sure you guys get- that you're comfortable and making sure the people get in.
YG13	We want to thank you guys for coming to see us. you
YG14	I like you guys
YG15	I don't think they're about to get sucked into an argument that says You guys kill the bill.
YG16	I know, you guys didn't make the selection; people, your listeners, that contributed their votes
YG17	Harvey, you guys broke that story that Britney Spears checked in, and checked out of rehab 24 hours later.
YG18	I just want you to know that I'm fine, love, miss you guys . I got to get back to the guys.'
YG19	And I will say to the public, if you guys continue to put this stuff out, let's stop going to the movies.
YG20	You and your brother, you find out who Jay is and this big family scandal. Tell us how it unfolds and what you guys discovered
YG21	Here's what I've heard from some of the Democrats, and you guys are free to dismiss what they are saying...
YG22	You guys aren't going to have one, I'm going to have one
YG23	Yeah, you said you guys are very close friends but if he had decided he wanted to step down you would have been right there at a moment's notice.
YG24	Can I take it back? You guys ...
YG25	You guys made that look like two sisters who stole each other's sweaters...

Y'ALL

Number	Example
YA1	How y'all doing?
YA2	I don't mind y'all being out here, but please give me a break.
YA3	I can't imagine either one of y'all lookin' bad at any time, day or night.
YA4	I was like, y'all need to stop, seriously.
YA5	I mean, it's Denzel Washington, y'all .
YA6	How is it that y'all seem not to find some of the most talented folk in this country?
YA7	I can tell y'all had doughnuts this morning.
YA8	She went center stage on y'all .
YA9	I don't -- I -- y'all didn't come here to talk to me
YA10	That's a 34-foot wall, y'all .
YA11	I heard y'all -- I guess one of y'all taking the other day on "Morning Edition" or something, and I was just curious about the rain. you
YA12	Four days into the two-week long carnival of the Summer Olympics, the message from Atlanta to the world is still, ' Y'all come.'
YA13	If a soldier gets killed y'all cover it. I think it's important that y'all cover more about the wounded warriors...
YA14	No, y'all ain't goin' to leave me out.' crows like a rooster
YA15	I think it's important that y'all cover more about the wounded warriors
YA16	Well, Newt Gingrich says that the editorial writers in the newspapers are a bunch of socialists, and all of y'all are a bunch of liberals hawking opposition.
YA17	OK! What do y'all want is what I'm asking you? HOLLY EASON: She used the term " y'all ". So we told the surrounding agencies and the dispatchers that there are possibly going to be two occupants in the vehicle.
YA18	So they're stepping up today finally to say we were wrong for letting all y'all Negroes... .. get lynched back in the day
YA19	Bye, y'all .
YA20	My negative is I'm still here with y'all people.
YA21	How did y'all get this out of Home Depot?
YA22	If y'all think that y'all are suffering now you're really in trouble when you get to
YA23	This is totally not y'all 's cooler.
YA24	And I drew y'all some pictures.
YA25	Y'all can say what y'all want to say. Y'all can write what y'all want to write.

YOUSE

Number	Example
YS1	I really really appreciate it and youse are all brilliant and fair play to youse
YS2	And of course it has been a tremendous uh season for youse you see I've actually seen you winning your uh Munster Cup recently and you won the double
YS3	What are youse whispering about over there...
YS4	What 're youse up to...
YS5	I was delighted to do that for youse by the way help youse out in some way
YS6	No it 's not Youse are wrong
YS7	Would somebody 've helped youse
YS8	Were youse over at the funeral
YS9	Youse 're all being really healthy
YS10	they don't look tiny either ... Youse actually don't look
YS11	Did youse all try to be Leroy
YS12	Nice to see youse to see youse nice
YS13	Youse are all coming out as well on the Tuesday
YS14	I 'm giving youse three months ' notice
YS15	So don't youse dare whenever it comes up to it go
YS16	Youse 'll listen to me and Natalie now
YS17	No but I'll tell youse
YS18	Aye we 're more mature than youse
YS19	Have youse been beat already
YS20	Well youse 'll hardly be staying there overnight will youse
YS21	Youse are so many people
YS22	Go to the cinema and we'll all go with youse
YS23	Were they not walking up the road with youse or behind youse then
YS24	Yeah did youse any of youse see Superman last weekend no
YS25	Aye there 's different things every, like Lesley Garrett 's on at five past eight if youse want to hear it