A DIACHRONIC AND SYNCHRONIC STUDY OF THE ALTERATION OF
UNIFORM EXPRESSIONS FROM THOSE WHO TO THOSE THAT

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ABSTRACT: It is widely acknowledged that ‘those that’ is used to refer to things. However, ‘those that’ is also used to refer to people, as is ‘those who’. This study reports that this commonly accepted idea is not valid based on synchronic and diachronic analysis. Synchronically, it is not rare to encounter ‘those that’ being used to refer to people. Diachronically, the usage of ‘those that’ in reference to people appeared before the establishment of prescriptive grammar. The conclusion of this study elucidates why ‘those that’ as used to refer to people is due to the operation of ‘that’ as a relative pronoun. When an antecedent includes either people or things on one hand and people or animals on the other, ‘that’ is chosen as a relative pronoun. Consequently, ‘those that’ is a uniform expression used to denote both people and things; furthermore, it is an old and unremarkable expression.

KEYWORDS: A phraseological unit, Those that, Uniform, Synchronic and diachronic perspectives, Unmarked that

INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising to come across English phenomena unaccounted for by existing grammatical rules and explanations. Research regards them as irregularities and has not fully investigated them so far, although it is vital for linguistic research to tackle such irregularities. As an instance of one these irregularities, Inoue (2011b)1 deals with the it looks that-clause. Generally, it has been long considered that it looks takes as if, as though and like as complements. However, drawing on data from contemporary English corpora, Inoue (2011b) shows that it looks also takes the that-clause and that the it looks that-clause has an assertive function. In addition, Inoue (2011b) concludes the following: (i) the it looks that-clause is observed because of the analogy of the it seems that-clause; (ii) the pattern [dummy it + look/seem + that-clause] is uniform and (iii) the principle that underlies the formation of it looks that involves the least effort of linguistic economy.2
Because such interesting and new phenomena are outside the reach of established English grammar, they will be overlooked if we concentrate only on that established grammar. In other words, grammatical rules are merely coordinators that arrange elements in a sentence in order (Widdowson 1989). We might not notice linguistic trends or currents such as using the phrase *those that* to refer to people, which is the main focus of the study. Instead, we might see them simply as mistakes if we cling to the notion that received grammar is everything. Linguistic research needs to tackle new phenomena by taking stances focusing on real examples regardless of their frequency in corpora and the position of widely known grammatical rules. This study depends on a stance that comes from a phraseological perspective and that diachronically and synchronically shows that the widely followed rule stating that *those that* refers to things is not always applicable. Section 2 surveys the works related to *those who* and *those that*. Section 3 outlines data used to analyse *those that* from the synchronic and diachronic standpoints. Section 4 and 5 discuss the qualitative and quantitative analysis of *those that*. Section 6 explains peripheral phenomena such as *people that* and *guys that*.

**PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THOSE WHO AND THOSE THAT**

(a) **YAGI (2007)**

Yagi (2007: 77ff.) explains why *those that* is used to refer to people by drawing on data from BNC (original in Japanese): ‘Results obtained from BNC data show that *those who* and *people who* are far more frequently used than *those that* and *people that* (the use of both which imply people). A new expression *guys that* can be also observed. These three expressions (*those that*, *people that*, and *guys that*) are not only used in spoken English but also in written English, implying that they have come to be widely used. The reason why such interesting phenomena appear is that languages are heading toward a uniform trend. In school grammar, it is widely taught that there is a rule that not *which* but *that* tends to be chosen when an antecedent is modified by words like *the only*. Once we have learned the rule, it is likely that we freely speak or write without being concerned about the rule. It is true that previous research mentions that *who* is used preferably to *that* in the case of a subjective relative. However, it is no wonder that the versatile word *that* comes to have been used instead of *who* and *which* because it can be used flexibly, whereas *who* implies people and *which* shows things. *Those that* is merely a trend and not an unforeseen and uncommon phrase. Table 1 shows the frequency of *those that* implying people collected from data of Larry King Live Corpus from April 1997 to March 2003. *Those who* appears 1061 times and *those that* 201 times. Out of 201 occurrences of *those that*, 151 are used to indicate people. When compared the frequency of *those who* (1067 times) and with that of *those that* (151 times), *those that* is not a highly frequent phrase.
Table 1. Frequency of *those that* implying people in Larry King Live Corpus (Yagi 2007:77)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>35</td>
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The total number of words each year is almost the same, so the usage of *those that* indicating people appears to grow year by year, although this is not scientifically verified. Examples (1) and (2) show *those that* is used to show people’.

1) It’s like people that are harboring *those that* are going to go out and kill and perform mayhem. (LKL, Aug., 1998; Yagi 2007))

2) The police have had the estate under video surveillance for many weeks. They claim to have carefully identified *those that* they wanted to arrest. (BNC; Yagi 2007)

**(b) DICTIONARIES, PAPERS AND GRAMMAR BOOKS**

Previous research describes *those who* in detail but does not adequately deal with *those that*. According to dictionaries published in Europe and the United States, *those who* is generally defined as ‘people who’ and is further specified as being ‘used to talk about a particular type of people’ (*LAAD*). On the other hand, *those that* is expressed as follows: ‘Many writers would now use *those who* in speaking of persons, and *those that* in speaking of things (where *those which* is also possible, though not natural)’ (Jespersen 1954: 99). It can be concluded from previous research that *those who* has the following syntactic patterns: 1) *those who* functions as a subject in a sentence; 2) there are + *those who*; and 3) *those who* is used as the object of a preposition. (3) shows examples of all syntactic patterns from dictionaries and previous research on *those who*.

3) a. There are *those who* say (=Some people say) she should not have got the job. (*OALD*).

   b. *Those who* could not walk were left to die by the roadside. (*MED*).

c. There are *those who* disapproval of all forms of gambling. (*LDCE*).

d. *Those who* saw the performance thought it memorable. (*LDCE*).

e. There are *those who* still insist the world is flat. (*LAAD*).

f. There are *those who* believe it, though others are more sceptical. (Jespersen 1933; Ando 2005: 450)

g. 75 percent of *those who* returned the questionnaire were in favour of the proposal. (Leech and Svartvik 2002: 280)

h. Whoever laughs last, laughs longest. = *Those who* laugh last, laugh longest. (Leech and
Svartvik 2002: 328)
i. Those who can, do. Those who can’t, teach. (Swan 2005: 584)
j. Those who broke the law could expect no leniency. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1504)
k. Those who obtain a score of 90% will win a prize. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1504)
l. The council will show no leniency towards those who break its law. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1510)
m. Those who try hard deserve to succeed. (Quirk et al. 1985:373)
n. All things to come to those who wait.

This study quantitatively and qualitatively addresses the issues shown in (4), which previous research on those who and those that does not cover.

4) a. Does those that refer to people in the same way as does those who?
b. If the answer for a. is yes, how frequently are those who and those that used?
c. Does the use of those that to refer to people follow the same syntactic patterns as those who?
d. In which register (spoken or written) and in which English (American or British) is those that most often used to indicate people?
e. Do people that and guys that behave similarly to those that?

DATA USED IN THE STUDY

This study used the data collected from existential corpora as follows: The Corpus of Contemporary American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/, COCA), British National Corpus (http://bnc.jkn21.com/, BNC), WordBanksOnline (http://wordbanks.jkn21.com/, WB), The Corpus of Historical American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/, COHA) and Modern English Collection (http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/modeng/, MEC). It is a basic requirement of research that a third party verify the research results. Corpora make it possible for a third party to verify the research results whenever he or she intends to do so. The former three corpora are used to investigate those that from a synchronic standpoint, and the latter two corpora are used to investigate it from a diachronic standpoint. Note 7 provides the date access for the corpora.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Actual Behaviour of Those That from A Synchronic Standpoint
Quantitative Investigation
Frequencies of Those Who and Those That
Those who is much more frequently used than those that in the case of the BNC (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Frequency of those who and those that in the BNC

Figure 2 shows the usage for 500 instances of those that, which were randomly chosen from 1562 examples. Of these 500 instances, 169 (10.8%) were used to refer to people and 44 (2.8%) were used to refer to animals. In 287 of the 500 examples, the term was used to refer to things.

Figure 2. Breakdown of 500 examples of those that in the BNC

*Of the 169 instances, 1 was used to refer to God.

Comparing those who in Figure 1 with those that in Figure 2, the frequency and percentage of those that indicates that the usage to refer to people is not as high.
Figure 3. Frequency of those who and those that in the WB

Those who appears 6258 times and those that appears 555 times in the WB (Figure 3). In 87 (15.6%) of the 555 instances of those that, the phrase indicates people, which is much less frequent than the usage of those who (Figure 4). In addition, in 9 (1.6%) instances, those that is used to denote animals. In the remaining 459 examples, those that indicates things.

Figure 4. Breakdown of 555 examples of those that in the WB

Figure 5. Frequency of those who and those that in the COCA
Similar to the BNC and the WB, *those that* is overwhelmingly used less than *those who* in COCA (Figure 5). The COCA includes 20 million words each year from 1990 to 2012. The study randomly chose 100 examples from each year (50 examples of spoken English and 50 examples of written English) from the 8077 examples shown in Figure 5. *Those that* is used 641 times to denote people in the COCA (Table 2). Similarly to the BNC and the WB, it is less frequently used than *those who*. It is also clear that *those that* indicating people is used from 20 to 30 percentages on average each year (Figure 6).

**Table 2. Uses of *those that* to refer to people each decade in COCA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>the number of occurrences</th>
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<td>1992</td>
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<td>2004</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
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<td>2006</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>sum from 1990 to 2012</td>
<td>641</td>
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**Figure 6. The number of occurrences of *those that* used to refer to people each decade in the COCA**
REGISTER WHERE *THOSE THAT* IMPLYING PEOPLE IS USED

Data collected from the BNC, the WB, and the COCA regarding the use of *those that* to refer to people shows that *those that* is much more frequently used in spoken than in written English (Figures 7, 8 and 9).

![Graph showing percentage of *those who* indicating people in each register of the BNC](image1)

**Figure 7. Percentage of *those who* indicating people (169 examples) in each register of the BNC**

* One example indicates God.

![Graph showing percentage of *those who* indicating people in each register of WB](image2)

**Figure 8. Percentage of *those who* indicating people (87 examples) in each register of WB**
The above figures show that speakers do not generally separate *who* from *that* in informal conversation. The use of *those that* to signify people is also observed in written English, so this usage is not a mistake. The usage also appears in American and British English, and there is little difference in this regard between American and British English.

**QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION**

As mentioned in Section 2.2, previous research on *those who* shows that *those who* has the three syntactic patterns: 1) *those who* as a subject of a sentence; 2) existential there are + *those who* and 3) *those who* used as the object of a preposition. The same syntactic patterns are observed in the use of *those that* to signify people. (5), (6) and (7) are examples of 1, 2 and 3.

5) a. She said that those who believe in God stay in Bible class, and *those that* don’t go somewhere else. (COCA, spoken, 1995)

b. Her friends, *those that* were well-traveled, had marked on a map the stations close to the museums. (COCA, written, 2012)

c. ... most policemen and women at Easton have not even drawn their gun, let alone fired it. *Those that* have did so while stationed elsewhere,.... (BNC, written, 1991)

6) a. There are over protective parents and there are *those that* will defend the indefensible as far as their children are concerned. (BNC, written, 1991)

b. Look at the most recent Fox News poll. Your unfavorability rating was still very high at 56 percent. And there are *those that* have worked with you, *those that* know you in the establishment who describe you as erratic or risky. (COCA, spoken, 2012)
Ms-TORSOK: (Voiceover) There’s some people who can’t pay and then there are *those that* we continue to track down. (COCA, spoken, 2006)

7) a. DAVID HOGAN: Forrest, the survivors are pretty badly injured. The majorities of *those that* were admitted to hospitals have been admitted with severe head injuries, .... (COCA, spoken, 1995)

b. RUDIN: I am not in a habit of talking to people about my life. !

UNIDENTIFIED-MALE: She would just come in and she would say hello. !

DOW: To *those that* knew her, Lee was a sweet quiet woman. (COCA, spoken, 2001)

c. ...; but, there was no marked difference between *those that* heard Mozart or those who heard Schubert. (COCA, written, 2007)

d. Writers, poets, lawyers and speakers are among *those that* Howard Gardner sees as having high linguistic intelligence. (COCA, written, 2010)

When *those that* in (5) to (7) is used to refer to people, a word or phrase denoting people appears near *those that*.

Beyond the given three syntactic patterns, *those that* is also used as the object of a verb and as the complement of the verb to be (see examples (8) and (9)).

8) a. BETH NISSEN: (voice-over) It was a day for celebration and commemoration.

MARCHER: Remember *those that* have died of AIDS. (COCA, spoken, 1995)

b. Germaine wrote Victoria a stinking letter saying that *those that* born with titles should respect *those that* earn them . (WB, written, 1992)

9) a. These customers are typically *those that* will be most likely to purchase your product. (COCA, written, 2008)

b. And so you have a really perverse situation where the people that you wanted most to help are *those that* are then most hurt. (COCA, spoken, 2011)

*Those that* in (10) refers to both people and things. This usage is rare. In (10a), *those that* refers to vehicles and pedestrians. *Those that* in (10b) signifies communities and people.

10) a. There were vehicles and pedestrians everywhere and most didn’t pay any attention when she blew the horn. *Those that* did react didn’t have anywhere out of the way to go, anyway. (COCA, written, 2006)

b. Most agree that indigenous communities and peoples are *those that* demonstrate historical continuity (and have occupied land) before colonization or invasion, .... (COCA, written, 2012)

*Those that* can refer both to people and things because of the rule stating that *that* is used when an antecedent includes both people and things (e.g. I made note of the *peoples and places* that
excited my interest, quoted from *Youth Progressive English-Japanese Dictionary*).

*Those that* can signify people in other syntactic patterns. As an example, *those that* in (11) is established as a PU for *those that*, which is used to mean for everybody who can do something.

11)  a. ROOK: …. Joining us now, CNN Special Assignment Correspondent Art Harris. Art, for *those that* did not see that news conference, kind of summarize it, if you would. (COCA, spoken, 1996)

                  b. SPRINGER: OK. Let’s see what they’ve -- what they’ve been up to since the last time they were on. Here are Tony and Marisa. Welcome back. T -- Tony, you -- for *those that* didn’t see the show the last time, you are an adult film actor. (COCA, spoken, 1997)

                  c. HANNITY: And you were able to sneak out. And then you wrote a book about your experience, also. You know, for all *those that* say that we talk show hosts are stubborn, don’t have an open mind, we have closed minds,..... (COCA, spoken, 2002)

The PU one of *those that* (used to refer to someone who can do something) is observed in (12).

12)  a. FMR-GOV-BARBOUR: .... Romney had a big victory in Illinois on Tuesday. I’m not one of *those that* thinks that you should say to people, “you got to get out.” (COCA, spoken, 2012)

                  b. Iago:....., you are one of *those that* will not serve God if the devil bid you. (WB, written, 1995)

                  c. The fans in the seats cannot see whether he is there or not, but he is. No. 44 played the game the right way, and he watches it the right way. “I’m not one of *those that* leaves in the sixth inning,” he says. (COCA, written, 2012)

The use of *those that* to signify people in (13) refers to collective nouns. In (13a), *those that* denotes families; in (13b), *those that* indicates groups of people.

13)  a. For many families, best as I can understand, *those that* have insurance want to make sure that it’s affordable in the future and .... (COCA, spoken, 1993)

                  b. Erm and the difference in appraisal between the groups of people that knew about the speaker before and *those that* didn’t know anything, they say it is important to the similarity attraction. (BNC, spoken)

(14) shows that *those that* is used similarly to all *those that* (used to indicate all individuals who do something).

14)  a. His father used to be a a blacksmith at erm place name and he’s had a few machines of
one sort and another. But erm I don’t think there was anybody now living that er Y ou see all those that used to be members I started the branch of our Yorkshire our Association. (WB, spoken, 1978)

b. Do you say “Hands up all those that feel that they are better today than they were yesterday, or do you apply some perhaps more objective criteria of describing that ?” (BNC, spoken)

c. VERJEE: All right. Well, what we are hearing now is that all those that were holed up in the prison in Jericho, in the West Bank, have given up. (COCA, spoken, 2006)

(15) is a derivation of the proverb those who can, do; those who can’t, teach.

15) Their argument is the old saying: those that can, do, those that can’t, preach.(WB, written, 1993)

These examples of those that reveal that those that is used to indicate people in various syntactic patterns. This means the usage has become a household PU. In (16), those that is used to mean animals and sharks.

16) a. Although many species of sharks do not need to swim to breath, those that do suffocate in nets. (COCA, written, 1994)

b. We know from other free-ranging sharks, especially those that migrate hundreds or thousands of miles, .... (COCA, written, 1994)

In contemporary English, those that is used to refer to things, people and animals. When those that refers to people, it is used in almost the same way as those who, but either those who or a word or a phrase implying people is used near those that to clearly show that those that is signifying people. As example (16) shows, a word or phrase referring to animals can be observed near those that when it is used to denote animals.

Those that refers to things, people or animals because of the influence of the relative pronoun that. When the antecedent is people and things or people and animals, neither the relative pronoun which nor who is used; instead, that is used. This rule applies to situations in which the relative pronoun that is used, even when the antecedent is people. Hence, those that denotes people. The results collected from corpora show that the use of those that to signify people is used in spoken English, so the unmarked that is used to avoid having to quickly decide whether who or which would be best suited for an informal conversation. In other words, the rule that those who denotes people and those that denotes things, which is noted in prescriptive grammar, is not true. (17) schematically illustrates the results from the study.
(17) those who human human/things/animals things, those that, those which

Similar to PC (politically correct) expressions, such as chairperson, the use of those that to refer to human, things and animals is placed in the neutral position between those who on one hand and those that and those which on the other.

**ACTUAL BEHAVIOR OF THOSE THAT FROM A DIACHRONIC STANDPOINT**

The results retrieved from COHA and MEC show that those that was first used to refer to people in 1815 in COHA (see (18a)). (18b) and (18c) show examples quoted from MEC.

18) a. He mourned with those who mourned, and wept with those that wept. (COHA, written, 1815)
b. To all those that observe dayes, moneths, times and years (microform) : this is written, that they may see whether they follow the example and doctrine of the Apostle, or whether they are such as the Apostle testified against. (MEC, 1660)
c. Memorandums for those that go into the country to dispose the corporations to a good election for members of Parliament (microform) : to be read by them often. (MEC, 1688)

Other than (18a), most of the instances in the COHA of those that observed in the 1810s were used to refer to things. In the MEC, the use of those that to signify people began to be observed around the late 1500s. As examples (18b) and (18c) show, the use of those that to refer to people is not newly observed PU but is an old, unremarkable one because it was used in 1500s before prescriptive grammar was established.

It is generally believed that prescriptive grammar was established after the 1760s. Two major foundational texts were published during that decade: The Rudiments of English Grammar, Adapted to the Use of Schools (published in 1761) and A Short Introduction to English Grammar with Critical Notes (published in 1762). Examples of those that in the COHA and MEC indicate that those who (i.e. people) and those that (i.e. things) began to be used around the late 1700s or 1800s. It is not wrong to assume that the expressions were established through prescriptive grammar.

The use of those that to indicate people was continuously observed from the 1810s to 1980s, and the use of those that for animals has remained roughly flat in each decade since the 1820s.
Consequently, *those that* was used to signify people before and after the establishment of prescriptive grammar; therefore, it is not an innovation but is an unrecognized, widespread PU.

**PERIPHERAL PHENOMENA**

As mentioned in (4), this section focuses on *people that* and *guys that* and examines their behaviour.

**PEOPLE THAT**

Similar to the use of *those that* to indicate people, *people that* is not frequently used in the corpora examined in this study compared to *people who* (Figures 11, 13 and 15). In terms of the register in which *people that* is used, the same phenomena as that discussed for *those that* holds true, which means *people that* is used more often in spoken language than in written language (Figures 12, 14 and 16). To put it differently, an unmarked *that* is chosen in informal conversation. (19) shows quoted examples of *people that* used in each register.
Figure 11. Frequencies of *people who* and *people that* in the BNC

Figure 12. *People that* observed in the spoken and written register of the BNC

Figure 13. Frequencies of *people who* and *people that* in the WB
Figure 14. Breakdown of *people that* used in the written and spoken registers of the BNC

Figure 15. Frequencies of *people who* and *people that* in the COCA

Figure 16. Breakdown of *people that* used in written and spoken registers of the COCA

19) a. LAUER: Donny, what do you think’s going happen? 
Mr-DEUTSCH: Yeah, look. This is a man who was a great man by many standards. You talk
to the people that came through and he affected them, who obviously made a bad judgment call. (COCA, spoken, 2012)

b. “…. Can we fish in the river? Are there places to rent boats?” All these questions. I kid and tell people that I’m the telephone directory for southern West Virginia. (COCA, written, 2012)

Historically, COHA shows that people that appeared in 1810s and that it has been increasingly used since then. Hence, people that is a PU with a long history.

**GUYS THAT**

*Guys that* is a less familiar and less widespread PU than *guys who* (Figures 17, 19 and 21). In addition, *guys that* is not a typo because it appears in writing and has gradually increased in written language (Figure 18, 20 and 22). (20) shows an example of *guys that* used in each register.

![Figure 17. Frequencies of guys who and guys that observed in the BNC](image1)

![Figure 18. The number of guys that used in each register of the BNC](image2)
Figure 19. Frequencies of **guys who** and **guys that** in the WB

Figure 20. Occurrences of **guys that** used in the written and spoken registers of the WB

Figure 21. Frequencies of **guys who** and **guys that** in the COCA
20) a. VAN-SUSTEREN: And we should probably emphasize the subpoena is not going out for the president. It’s going out for people who work at the White House, right?
STEPHENS: Right. They have to talk to the guys that do the work at the White House, the Office of Management and Budget. (COCA, spoken, 2012)
b. Mark Mulder and Dan Haren (each with two years of club control remaining) were dealt for prospects. But even Haren, traded in December 2007 from Oakland to the Diamondbacks, is stunned at the state of affairs. “It’s amazing that two or three years later after I left, I couldn’t name two or three guys that I played with that were still on the team…..” (COCA, written, 2012)

Data obtained from the COHA show that guys that first appeared in 1872 and that it has not in widespread use until 1910s. Guys that began to be used in the 1910s, so it is safe to say that guys that is a newly observed PU in contemporary English.

CONCLUSION

The use of those that to refer to people was used long before the establishment of prescriptive grammar, but it was avoided for a long time because prescriptive grammar regards it as a mistake. However, data used in this study show that the use of those that to refer to people was widely used and that its usage is located between the usages of those who and those that (those which) to refer to things. The answers to the research questions in (4) are given in (21).

21) a. Does those that refer to people in the same way as does those who?
   -> Yes, it does.
b. If the answer to a. is yes, how frequently are *those who* and *those that* used?
   -> The frequency of *those who* is much higher than that of *those that*.

c. Does the use of *those that* to refer to people follow the same syntactic patterns as *those who*?
   -> Yes, it does. Two other syntactic patterns (verb + *those that* and be verb + *those that*) are also observed.

d. In which register (spoken or written) and in which English (American or British) is *those that* most often used to indicate people?
   -> The use of *those that* to refer to people appears more often in spoken language than in written language. There is no difference between American and British English.

e. Do *people that* and *guys that* behave similarly to *those that*?
   -> Yes, they do. *People that* and *guys that* are used to refer to people.

It is easy to assume that the use of *those that*, *people that* and *guys that* to refer to people widespread without causing any semantic confusion.

**Notes**
1. Inoue (2011b) also discussed (i) the semantic difference between *it looks as if/as though/like* on one hand and the *it looks that*-clause on the other hand and (ii) the semantic difference between the *it seems that*-clause and the *it looks that*-clause. For (i), *it looks as if/as though/like* mainly follows the subjunctive mood, which implies counterfactual content. However, it sometimes co-occurs with the indicative mood. In that case, it works as a visual guess because of the working *look*. For (ii), the *it looks that*-clause has a visual assertive function comprising the function of *look* (the visual judgment) and the use of the indicative mood in the *that*-clause (which means the event actually occurs). However, the *it seems that*-clause is used to judge the contents in a context subjectively because the *it seems that*-clause co-occurs with the indicative mood, which implies that the contents of the *that*-clause actually occur.

2. The main principle of effective communication is to avoid using words that tend to cause misunderstandings. This principle consists of the ‘least effort’ in which words tend to be excluded if they fall within a scope that might give a false impression, such as *pirate version* (see Inoue 2011a), and ‘redundancy’, in which similar words, such as *and yet*, are used unnecessarily (see Inoue 2009).

3. ‘Communicative competence is not a matter of knowing rules for the composition of sentences. It is much more a matter of knowing a stock of partially pre-assembled patterns, formulaic frameworks, and a kit of rules, so to speak, and being able to apply the rules to make whatever adjustments are necessary according to contextual demands. Communicative
competence in this view is essentially a matter of adaptation, and rules are not generative but regulative and subservient’. (Widdowson 1989:135)

4 The present study adopts the most widespread term: phraseological units (PUs). In phraseological research, PUs are defined as repeatedly used strings consisting of at least two words.

5 The ‘Larry King Live’ Corpus (for short ‘LKL’ Corpus) is a spoken corpus produced by Professor Katsumasa Yagi, Ph.D. He has downloaded transcripts of ‘Larry King Live’ and ‘Larry King Weekend’ (http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/) from CNN since 1994. The number of words as of March 2003 is about 13,000,000 running words. ‘Larry King Live’ and ‘Larry King Weekend’ are interview programs on CNN. The host, Larry King, invited a man, woman, or several people who had entered the news or were concerned with a current event to talk with Mr King on the program. Politicians, such as Colin Powell and John Kerry, diplomats, attorneys, doctors, mayors, witnesses to events, and Captain Waddle of the United States Navy Submarine Corps were among the guests. Some guests spoke American English with distinct local accents. Other guests, such as former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, spoke British English. Others spoke various versions of accented English. Inoue (2003) refers to the English used in interviews as formal spoken English or the third register, which comes after written and spoken, because interviews have features of written and spoken language (Quirk et al. 1985).

6 In the data retrieved from the BNC, WB and COCA, those which is observed 1411 times, 211 times, and 589 times, respectively (as of 9 Sept 2014). The following two samples are clear examples of those which: (i) ‘The most difficult theoretical surveys are those which seem to promise to answer difficult questions about art in general, perhaps especially in the modern world’ (BNC, written, 1991). (ii) ‘These immigrants came to Europe in order to build railroads, work in the coal mines, clean streets, and do the jobs that Europeans did not want to do. Both “push” and “pull” factors affect immigration. Push factors are those that lead the immigrant to leave his homeland while pull factors are those which attract him to a different country’ (COCA, written, 2009). In the first example, those which denotes surveys, while in the second example, it denotes factors.


Corpora
BNC: British National Corpus
COCA: The Corpus of Contemporary American English
COHA: The Corpus of Historical American English
MEC: Modern English Collection
WB: WordBanksOnline

Dictionaries

REFERENCES