

# Discourse variation, grammaticalisation and stuff like that<sup>1</sup>

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General extenders (such as *and stuff*) are analysed here in the speech of adolescents from three English towns. There were no consistent patterns of gender or social class variation in their use, but a clear social class difference in the use of certain forms, with *and that* favoured by the working-class speakers and *and stuff* and *and things* preferred by the middle-class adolescents. The most frequent forms were analysed in terms of phonetic reduction, decategorisation, semantic change and pragmatic shift, changes that together make up the process of grammaticalisation. *And that* and *and everything* were the most grammaticalised, followed by *or something*, with *and stuff* and *and things* lagging behind. The multifunctionality of the general extenders caused problems for a rigorous analysis of their pragmatic functions. The paper argues that we must consider their functions within the local contexts in which they occur, to take account of their interaction with other linguistic forms. It is also important to avoid generalising about their functions and, instead, to prioritise the fact that as pragmatic particles they are multifunctional. In this data the general extenders had functions in every communicative domain, often simultaneously. The implications for the quantitative analysis of discourse forms are also considered.

KEYWORDS: Discourse variation, grammaticalisation, general extenders, pragmatic functions

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Expressions such as *and stuff*, *or something* and *and everything* occur very frequently in the interviews with adolescents that we recorded for a recent research project (Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 1999). The extract below gives just one example of the extent to which the young people sometimes use the forms in relatively short stretches of speech (the expressions are in bold type).<sup>2</sup>

**Extract 1:** [*The extract follows a stretch of speech where Jake has been talking about the band he plays in, and has said that the band hopes to be given a contract to make a record: NME was the name of the principal weekly rock music journal at the time*]

Ann Williams: do you know people who've done it who've I mean do you know how to go about it because I wouldn't have the first idea really I mean

- Jake: to get a record deal?  
 Ann Williams: mm  
 Jake: yeah well . when we've done our GCSEs **and everything** . umm I don't know we'll maybe make a tape **or something** when we've got some better songs . and . well we'll just send it off to NME **and stuff** but also our uncle knows a man who's . I think he's coming to the one on Tuesday and they'll like . you know apparently we're playing in this . charity one in June **or something** at . Hunter Hospital **or something** and there's a band that played there last year called . oh I don't know er but they got a record deal from that concert

As yet there is no generally accepted term for referring to expressions of this kind. They have been variously referred to in the literature as set marking tags (Dines 1980), vague category identifiers (Channell 1994), approximators (Erman 2001), general extenders (Overstreet 1999), discourse extenders (Norrby and Winter 2002), extension particles (Dubois 1992) and more. Many of their discourse functions resemble those of pragmatic particles such as *sort of* or *you know*, but they differ from most other pragmatic particles in having a fixed position within a clause: they occur immediately after a word, phrase or clause and rarely, in our data, before them. I have decided to use Overstreet's term 'general extenders' in order not to proliferate the terms that are used to refer to them. I define them, again like Overstreet (1999: 3), as a class of expressions that typically occur in clause final position and have the basic form of conjunction (*and* or *or*) plus noun phrase. The word 'typically' is important, as in our data the forms sometimes occur within a clause and occasionally (just 9 times out of a total of 1191 forms) without a conjunction. The complete set of forms from the adolescents' interviews that I included in the category of general extenders is listed in the appendix.

The general extenders are thought to be grammaticalising in some varieties of present-day English from longer constructions such as *and stuff like that*, *or something like that* and *and everything like that* (Aijmer 2002; Brinton 1996). Their high frequency in our data makes it possible to analyse quantitatively the extent to which the changes associated with grammaticalisation have occurred.<sup>3</sup> One of the aims of this paper, therefore, is to present an analysis of this kind. In particular, I will try to establish whether the changes have affected the different forms to the same extent: some researchers imply that they have (for example, Aijmer 2002; Brinton 1996), whereas Overstreet and Yule (1997: 256) suggest that *and stuff* is further advanced, in American English at least, comparing its current usage to that of *y'know*. Some individual forms have been analysed in detail in previous research (for example, see Erman 1995 on *or something*), while others, especially *and that*, are neglected in most – perhaps all – accounts that focus on grammaticalisation. I will suggest that *and that* is the most grammaticalised of these expressions in the three varieties of British English analysed here, followed by *and everything* and *or something*, with *and stuff* and *and things* lagging behind.

As part of the grammaticalisation process, the forms are acquiring interactional functions in addition to – or instead of – what is assumed to have been their original meaning of indicating that the clause element to which they are attached should be seen as an exemplar of a more general set (Aijmer 2002; Brinton 1996; Erman 2001; Overstreet 1999). A wide range of functions has been claimed for them in the literature, although recent research usually stresses that, as pragmatic particles, these expressions are multifunctional with the context, both linguistic and non-linguistic, helping to constrain the interpretation on particular occasions of use (Aijmer 2002: 3; Erman 2001: 1341; Overstreet 1999: 11; Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 63). Nevertheless, most researchers have then gone on to assign the forms a principal function, albeit recognising that they may simultaneously have others. A second aim of the paper is to extend our understanding of the meanings and functions of general extenders by considering how they are used in our data. I will identify some pragmatic functions that have not been previously reported, and will argue against attempting to specify a principal function for them. A substantial section of the paper will be devoted to this part of the analysis, and I therefore give a brief review at this point of the different functions that previous researchers have proposed for these forms.

The plethora of terms used to refer to these expressions reflects the lack of consensus concerning their function. Early work assumed that the main function was to implicate a category – hence the term ‘set marking tag’: Dines (1980: 22), for example, claimed that ‘in every case, their function is to cue the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of some more general case’. The more general case, she pointed out, could be ‘known’, in which case the tag was illustrative, or ‘unknown’, in which case it was tentative (1980: 29). She stressed that despite popular opinion that the tags indicate inarticulate expression, there was nothing in her data to suggest that the tags marked vague or inexplicit speech, since interlocutors never requested clarification. The terms ‘vague category identifier’, used by Channell (1994), or ‘vague category marker’ (O’Keeffe 2004, 2006), on the other hand, clearly foreground the idea that the forms have vague reference, as does Erman’s ‘approximator’, which she defines as ‘giving listeners a rough but sufficiently exact idea about a certain state of affairs for the general purposes of the conversation’ (2001: 1341). Several researchers draw attention to the fact that the category that is indicated may be a covert one that speakers agree exists, but for which there appears to be a lexical gap (Channell 1994; Cruse 1977), or an *ad hoc* category made up by the speaker during the spontaneous construction of speech (Barsalou 1983; O’Keeffe 2004, 2006; Overstreet 1999). The covert or *ad hoc* categories may indicate the speaker’s assumptions, real or projected, about different depths of knowledge that they share with their interlocutors. O’Keeffe (2004) shows that in an Irish radio phone-in show they mostly index a pool of shared societal information about local customs and culture, helping to create and sustain the pseudo-intimacy that is required for this kind of radio interaction. Evison, McCarthy and O’Keeffe (in press) find that in academic discourse the forms may show local knowledge

of the discipline and academic practices, as well as assumed shared societal and cultural understandings. In some contexts they may also refer to global knowledge that is interpretable by most mature experienced people throughout the world (O'Keeffe 2006). Youssef (1993) foregrounds the fact that shared knowledge may be projected rather than actual in her analysis of the use of Trinidad Creole *an ting* by doctors and patients in counselling sessions, where the effect is to break down power differentials. Labov (1982: 394) similarly notes that the use of *and 'em* by adolescent boys when there is a power differential amongst gang members is a way of projecting shared knowledge, whether real or not, and presenting oneself as 'in' in order to circumvent interrogation.

The emphasis placed on the marking of shared knowledge has led several researchers to claim that whether or not the expressions refer to a general set, their primary function is now as markers of intersubjectivity through which speakers indicate solidarity, self-connection or an assumption of shared experience (Overstreet 1999: 66; Overstreet and Yule 1997: 250; Stubbe and Holmes 1995). It has been suggested that where the participants are not already socially close, the forms may represent an invitation to move closer (Overstreet 1999: 66).

Finally, the general extenders have been considered as politeness strategies. For example, Erman (2001: 1341) points out that as approximators or hedges on discourse they have a face-saving function. Overstreet (1999) draws a distinction between adjunctive forms (general extenders beginning with *and*, such as *and things like that*), which function as positive politeness devices in the construction of solidarity, and disjunctive forms (beginning with *or*, such as *or something*), with functions in the expression of negative politeness.

Thus whereas early research tended to stress the referential meanings of the forms, seeing them as implicating a category, with functions therefore in what might be considered the information management component of language, more recent work has focussed instead on their functions in the interpersonal domain. It is possible that the change in focus reflects an ongoing development of the meaning of the forms, as they become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective attitude towards the proposition (Traugott 1995a). Traugott (1995b: 47) suggests that the tendency towards subjectification may be correlated with the early stages of grammaticalisation of elements.

As mentioned above, most researchers recognise that the general extenders are multifunctional, whilst nevertheless feeling able to assign them a principal function in specific contexts of use. I will argue in this paper that although in certain situations the forms may have a single principal function (for example, in conversations between friends they may well be mainly used to mark intersubjectivity and shared knowledge and experience), it does not help us to understand the nature of the general extenders (nor of pragmatic particles in general) to prioritise one function over another. To generalise about their function on the basis of their use in one specific discourse genre overlooks the flexibility and multifunctionality that is the most salient characteristic of these linguistic

forms. I assume, with Fischer (1998, 2000), that the basic communicative domains are information management, interpersonal relationships between speaker and interlocutor, textual organisation, speech management (production and processing) and turn-taking. We will see that in the interviews with adolescents that I analyse here the general extenders function in every one of these discourse domains, often simultaneously. We will also see that it is often important to consider the interaction of a general extender with the other pragmatic particles and relevant linguistic features that co-occur within an utterance. Example 1, with which this paper began, illustrates this point very clearly, and I return to this example later in the paper (in Section 5.2.4).

A third, final aim of this paper is to contribute to the quantitative analysis of variation in discourse features. This is still at a very elementary stage, as Macaulay has frequently reminded us (Macaulay 2002b: 749, 2005: 190). A point stressed by Macaulay (2002a: 298) is that further studies are needed to assess our confidence in the social differences in discourse variation that have been claimed to exist. He also points out, however, that it is difficult to compare results from different studies since the data have usually been collected under very different circumstances (Macaulay 2002b: 749). We will see in the following section that in our study the adolescents were recorded in similar situations in three distinct regional locations in England. In each location they were grouped according to the conventional large-scale social variables of gender and social class. This makes it possible, in principle, to systematically compare regional and sociolinguistic variation in the use of these discourse features with more confidence than is possible for smaller-scale studies. Nevertheless, a rigorous quantitative analysis was problematic for some of the changes that are part of their grammaticalisation: thus a question that will be returned to towards the end of the paper is the extent to which a quantitative analysis is suitable for the study of discourse variation.

The paper is organised as follows. In Section 2 I briefly describe the study on which this analysis is based. Section 3 provides an overview of the overall frequencies of the general extenders in the adolescent interviews, comparing this with the results of previous research, and in Section 4 I consider sociolinguistic variation in their use. This is followed by a substantial section, Section 5, where I report the results of the analysis of grammaticalisation of these forms, paying particular attention, in 5.2.4, to their pragmatic functions. Section 6 provides a summary of the main findings, and Section 7 is the conclusion to the paper.

## 2. THE DATA

The interviews were recorded as part of a research project investigating dialect levelling in three English towns: Hull, Milton Keynes and Reading (Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 1999). Milton Keynes and Reading are in the South of the country, whereas Hull is in the Northeast. Ann Williams was the main

fieldworker (referred to as AW in all the examples that follow) and she recorded all the interviews with the exception of six in the Milton Keynes data set, where Paul Kerswill was the interviewer. There were 32 adolescent interviewees in each location, all aged between 14 and 15: the total number of speakers, then, was 96. In each town, 16 of the 32 adolescents attended a school in a leafy middle-class area, with the other 16 attending a school in a more working-class area. We defined 'class' loosely, on the basis of housing and parents' occupation. The interviewers recorded eight male speakers and eight female speakers in each of the schools, first in a one-to-one interview with the fieldworker and then in pairs of friends, again with the fieldworker. Group sessions were also recorded, and a number of language-related tasks carried out (see Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 1999; Kerswill and Williams 1999); these, however, do not form part of the data analysed in this paper. The research design ensured that many aspects of the situation were constant in each of the towns: the speakers were the same age, they were recorded in the same surroundings (in a small room on school premises) and, except for the six interviews in Milton Keynes, the interviewer was the same person. The interviewers put the same questions to all speakers in order to elicit information needed for our focus on dialect levelling. What differed in the research design, then, were three of the large-scale social parameters conventionally used in sociolinguistic research: the speaker's gender, social class and geographical locality.

Although previous research has suggested that general extenders are more frequent between social intimates, there were no significant differences in the frequency with which they occurred in the one to one sections of the interviews between the interviewer and the adolescent, and the second part of the interviews, where the interviewer spoke to two friends together. The analysis that follows, therefore, is based on both parts of the interviews. The interviews were relatively informal in style, especially, of course, in the second parts.

Six elderly speakers were also recorded in each of the towns, to provide a baseline for comparison with the young people's speech.

### 3. OVERALL FREQUENCIES

Table 1 shows the overall number of general extenders used per ten thousand words by the adolescent speakers in each of the three towns. The table shows that they occur with broadly similar frequencies, albeit less often in Milton Keynes, and that in each of the three towns adjunctive forms (beginning with *and*) occur more often than disjunctives (beginning with *or*). This is the reverse of what most previous studies have found: for example, in Overstreet's corpus of informal middle-class American speech (1999: 7) there were more disjunctive forms than adjunctives, and in both COLT (the Corpus of London Teenage Speech) and the LLC (the London Lund corpus) disjunctives occur roughly twice as often as adjunctives do (Aijmer 2002). Levey's analysis of pre-adolescent London speech (forthcoming), however, also found more adjunctives than disjunctives,

**Table 1:** Overall frequency of general extenders in three English towns

	Adjunctives	Disjunctives	Total	No. words	No. gen extenders per 10,000 words
Reading	234	162	396	70,320	56.31
Milton Keynes	238	106	344	83,539	41.12
Hull	343	108	451	76,236	59.16

and adjunctives were also more frequent in Overstreet's formal spoken data (1999: 7). These different distributions may relate to the social distance between speakers, with the age differences between interviewer and interviewee in our research and Levey's leading to more overall formality; or they may relate to the nature of the talk, with the more topic-focussed talk of interviews and, in Overstreet's data, radio broadcasts, favouring adjunctives whereas informal chat favours disjunctives. Previous work has sometimes assumed that the different general extenders share common functions and can therefore be analysed as a group, within the same analytical framework (see, for example, Dubois 1992: 180). Overstreet (1999), however, assumes that different forms may have different metacommunicative functions: in particular, she suggests that the adjunctive forms may signal 'there is more', thus indexing shared knowledge or experience, whereas the disjunctives signal 'there are alternatives', with consequent implications for the speaker's projected need to be accurate or specific. The differences across different studies in the overall frequencies of use of the disjunctives and adjunctives confirm that if we are interested in the functions of the general extenders they should not be treated as a uniform group. At the very least, adjunctives should be separated from the disjunctive forms.

Table 2 shows some comparable results from studies carried out elsewhere in the English-speaking world. The figures confirm my initial impression that the frequency in our interview data is high. Despite a general view that the use of general extenders (and other expressions often considered to express vagueness such as *sort of*) is typical of young people's language (Aijmer 2002: 182), frequencies are low in COLT, and the adults in COLT use general extenders in particular and vague language in general more often than the teenagers (Stenström et al. 2002: 89). Levey's corpus of informal speech from 7–11 year olds in London (forthcoming) has higher overall frequencies, but the figure is still much lower than in our data. Younger speakers in Wellington (aged between 18 and 34) use the forms more frequently than older speakers (aged between 40 and 55) do, but there are still only 39 per 10,000 words (Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 72). Previous studies, then, show wide variation in overall frequencies. Only Norrby and Winter's (2002) analysis of adolescent interviews in Melbourne reports similar frequencies to those found in our interviews. Interestingly, not only is their analysis based on interviews, like ours, but also the topics discussed appear to have been similar. This confirms the extreme context-dependency of these expressions:

**Table 2:** Overall frequency of general extenders in other varieties of English

Corpus	Frequency of general extenders per 10,000 words
Adolescents in London (Stenström et al. 1996: 89)	15.80
Adults in London (Stenström et al. 1996: 89)	31.00
Pre-adolescents in London (Levey in press)	21.11
Adults aged 18–34 in Wellington, NZ (Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 72)	39.00
Adults aged 40–55 in Wellington, NZ (Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 72)	19.00
Adolescents in Melbourne (Winter and Norrby 2001: 3)	51.76

as Overstreet (1999: 12) pointed out, their frequency depends on a host of linguistic and non-linguistic factors such as the speech act, the topic, and the relationship between speakers. It also confirms Macaulay's point (see earlier) that comparisons are difficult when data are collected under different circumstances, and should caution us from concluding that differences in frequencies between different age groups reflect either age grading (Dubois 1992) or language change in progress (Stubbe and Holmes 1995). We cannot safely make assumptions on the basis of age differences unless we can be sure that the data from different age groups is comparable in both content and context.

#### 4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION

##### 4.1 Frequency

The fact that different forms of the general extenders may have different discourse functions means that they are not obvious candidates for an analysis using the concept of the sociolinguistic variable. Nevertheless this does not rule out the possibility of a quantitative analysis, and it is instructive to compare their sociolinguistic distribution in our data with the results of previous quantitative analyses.

The previous research presents a mixed picture of variation with social class. Working-class speakers have sometimes been found to use general extenders more frequently than middle-class speakers do (Dines 1980; Macaulay 1991), but in COLT there were no significant social class differences (Stenström et al. 2002; see also Dubois 1992 for a similar finding for Montréal French). Table 3 shows that although working-class speakers in Hull used more general extenders than middle-class speakers did, the pattern is reversed in Milton Keynes and Reading. In our data, then, there is no general pattern of social class variation in the overall use of these forms. There were no consistent patterns of gender variation in our data either, though this time this is consistent with the results of previous analyses

**Table 3:** Social class differences in the frequency of general extenders per 10,000 words by adolescent speakers (number of forms)

	Middle class	Working class
Hull	54.18 (232)	65.54 (219)
Reading	62.87 (258)	47.12 (138)
Milton Keynes	42.96 (223)	38.27 (121)

(Dubois 1992; Norrby and Winter 2002: 4; Stenström et al. 2002: 102; see also Wouk 1999 with reference to Indonesian and Dubois 1992, again, for French). This does not mean that sociolinguistic variation may not exist if we were to take pragmatic function as a starting point in the analysis and consider the general extenders alongside other linguistic forms that serve the same function. Cheshire (2005), for example, focussed on the marking of discourse-new items in the same interviews analysed here: general extenders were used for this function, but so were a range of other linguistic forms that included existential clauses, extended noun phrases and phonetic phenomena. It was only when the entire range of forms was included in the analysis that social class and gender differences in the marking of discourse-new entities were revealed.

These comparisons indicate that we need to be just as cautious in generalising about gender and social class variation in the use of general extenders as with variation with age. Presumably the reason is the same: as I have stressed, the use of general extenders is heavily dependent on the linguistic and situational context. A further important factor is that individual speakers vary greatly in the extent to which they use general extenders. All the adolescents we recorded used the forms to some extent, but some individuals used as many as 24 in a one-hour interview while others used only two or three. This is consistent with analyses of other pragmatic particles such as *you know* (see, for example, Macaulay 2002b: 764; Vincent and Sankoff 1992: 207): in fact, Macaulay (2002) concluded that it may be more instructive to analyse the use of *you know* in the speech of individuals than in the speech of social groups. Macaulay (1985) makes a similar point in his analysis of *and that* (and other forms) in the speech of a Scottish coal miner. As Dines (1980) pointed out, there are many other linguistic strategies that speakers can use to accomplish the functions served by the general extenders (and for most other pragmatic particles, including *you know*), and this makes the analysis of discourse variation very different from that of phonological or morphosyntactic variation. Nevertheless there is a clear difference in the social distribution of the adjunctive forms, as we will see below.

#### 4.2 Form

Although there were no clear patterns of sociolinguistic variation in the overall frequencies with which the adolescents used general extenders, there was a robust

social-class distinction in the use of certain forms, as Table 4 shows. Of the adjunctives, *and that* was preferred by the working-class speakers in all three towns, as was the less frequent *and all that*. The middle-class speakers, on the other hand, preferred *and stuff* and *and things*, again in all three towns, though in Hull the middle-class adolescents used *and stuff* far more often than *and things* (the relatively high frequency of *and stuff* for the working-class group in Hull was due to just three speakers, one of whom was responsible for 10 of the 18 tokens). The social class difference is very strong across the entire data set, especially for *and that*. This is consistent with the findings of Stenström et al. (2002) for COLT. Of the more infrequent forms (not listed in Table 4), *and (all) that lot* was also almost entirely confined to the working-class interviews. There is a middle-class preference for *or something* in Reading and also in Hull, though in Hull the numbers of tokens are lower; however, this social class difference does not exist in the Milton Keynes data set. *Or summat* occurs a few times in working-class speech in Hull, as does *or owt (like that)* in negative contexts.

The social class differences between *and that* on the one hand and *and stuff* and *and things* on the other are of interest since they could indicate that the forms function as social indicators, forming part of the broad sociolinguistic backdrop from which individuals can create, through their language, a range of personal identities (Coupland 2001, in press; Eckert 2001). I will suggest in the following section that the social class difference may also have a role in the rate of grammaticalisation of *and stuff* and *and things*, and perhaps *and that*.

In the analyses that follow I consider only those forms of the general extenders that occur frequently in the interviews (at least 20 times). I have further restricted the analysis to just those forms that were used by at least eight speakers within a social class group. This is because of my focus on grammaticalisation: obviously, large numbers of tokens are needed for quantitative analyses, but it is necessary to guard against the distorting effect of individual variation (if a form occurs very

**Table 4:** Frequency per 10,000 words (number) of the most common general extender forms

Form	Reading		Milton Keynes		Hull	
	m.cl.	w.cl.	m.cl.	w.cl.	m.cl.	w.cl.
<i>and that</i>	0.97 (4)	16.7 (49)	1.73 (9)	13.91 (44)	2.34 (10)	19.75 (66)
<i>and all that</i>	0.97 (4)	4.78 (14)	0.36 (2)	1.27 (4)	0.23 (1)	1.20 (4)
<i>and stuff</i>	8.78 (36)	2.05 (6)	8.67 (45)	1.58 (5)	14.48 (62)	5.39 (18)
<i>and things</i>	7.80 (32)	0.00 (0)	6.74 (35)	0.00 (0)	2.80 (12)	1.50 (5)
<i>and everything</i>	5.12 (21)	5.46 (16)	4.24 (22)	5.70 (18)	7.01 (30)	9.28 (31)
<i>or something</i>	17.55 (72)	6.83 (20)	5.78 (30)	5.38 (17)	5.37 (23)	0.90 (3)
<i>or summat</i> *						1.79 (6)

\* combined frequency for *or something* and *or summat* for Hull working-class speakers is 2.69

frequently, but only in the speech of one speaker, it would hardly be instructive to consider it in terms of language change). In addition, although a high frequency of occurrence is not essential for grammaticalisation to occur (see Hoffmann 2005), it is usually considered that a high frequency of co-occurring forms within a construction is a trigger for the linguistic changes that together are known as grammaticalisation (Bybee 2003: 605).

The forms I focus on are *and that*, *and stuff*, *and things*, *and everything* and *or something*. Together with the longer forms *and stuff/things/everything like that* and *or something like that*, these account for 75.7 percent of all the general extenders used by the adolescent speakers.

## 5. GRAMMATICALISATION

### 5.1 A brief diachronic perspective

Grammaticalisation can be studied both diachronically and synchronically (Traugott and Heine 1991: 1). The main focus of this paper is synchronic, but some preliminary points can be made from a diachronic perspective, on the basis of three different sources.

First, we can consider the most frequent forms of general extenders used by the elderly working-class speakers we recorded. These are *and that* and *and all that*, followed by *and (all) that sort of thing*. In addition to these, the elderly speakers used several forms not heard in the adolescents' speech such as, in Reading, *and all that old game*. Unfortunately, it is not possible to systematically compare the linguistic behaviour of the six elderly speakers with that of the adolescents, since the amount of speech recorded from the older speakers was relatively small, and the speakers were all from the same social class. Our data suggest, however, that *and that* has been firmly entrenched in working-class speech for at least three generations, in all three locations.

Second, we can examine the historical record although, as quintessentially spoken forms, it is difficult to trace the history of general extenders through conventional sources: for example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* lists only *and that*, describing it as 'now chiefly in substandard speech or representations of it' (and thereby confirming its role as an indicator of social class). Nevertheless there are indications that some forms, including *and that*, have a long history of use. Poutsma (1916: 914) lists *and (all that)* as a form that 'sometimes stands for a vague *etc.*, which the speaker is not prepared to specify in the hurry of the discourse', giving illustrative examples from early nineteenth century writers. Poutsma also notes that *and that sort of thing* is 'often applied in a similar way'. His examples from contemporary works of literature do not suggest that *and (all) that* was a working-class form at that time. Perhaps, then, it has followed the trajectory of *ain't* and other forms that were once used by educated speakers but are now avoided by them. Note, however, that although in Australia *and that* appears to have once been a working-class form (Dines 1980), in Melbourne it

is now used as often by middle-class adolescents as by working-class adolescents (Norrby and Winter 2002). The only other general extender that Poutsma notes is *or something*, which he describes as 'an idiom'. Jane Austen used *or something* as a general extender in the representation of speech in her 1818 novel *Persuasion* (Overstreet 1999: 117): *or something*, then, like *and that*, has an attested history of use in British English over at least the last two centuries.

Finally, we can consider the general extender forms that occur in earlier corpora of spoken English. In the London Lund corpus, recorded during the 1970s, *and things* is the most frequent adjunctive form whereas *and stuff* occurs only rarely (Aijmer 2002: 233). This could indicate that *and stuff* is a more recent form than *and things*. In COLT, the corpus of London teenage speech that was recorded more than 20 years later, *and that* is also more socially mixed, *and stuff* is frequent whereas *and things* is not. Perhaps, as Dubois (1992) and Aijmer (2002) have suggested, rapid change takes place between one generation and another, with younger speakers choosing to use different lexical forms as general extenders. If so, the resulting social indexation (the marking of age differences) may speed up the process of grammaticalisation, which is otherwise typically slow (Lichtenberk 1991: 75). Beeching's work on French (2005) shows that sociolinguistic variation can act as a trigger for the grammaticalisation of pragmatic forms: in London, then, *and stuff* and *and things* may have leapfrogged in successive generations, each time progressing a little further along the grammaticalisation continuum. Perhaps this has been more typical of the two locations in the south of England: as we saw in Table 4, *and things* is used less often by the adolescents in Hull. If sociolinguistic variation affects the course of grammaticalisation we might also expect *and that* to be more grammaticalised than other forms. The analyses that follow indicate that this is indeed the case.

## 5.2 A synchronic perspective

In the following sections I explore the progress of grammaticalisation in the general extenders from a purely synchronic perspective. Grammaticalisation consists of a collection of interrelated language changes within a construction, that includes phonetic reduction, decategorisation, semantic change and pragmatic shift (Bybee 2003). The changes may occur simultaneously, though not necessarily at the same rate. In a grammaticalising construction, words that were formerly separate become stored and processed as a prefabricated phrase. Phonetic reduction contributes to the lack of transparency of the individual words in the construction, and eventually they may become entirely bleached of their original semantic meanings. In the case of general extenders containing a lexical item such as *stuff* or *things*, that item gradually loses the semantic and syntactic properties characteristic of its word class, in the process referred to as decategorisation. New pragmatic functions arise in those discourse contexts where the constructions are frequently used, such that new interactional functions may develop even before the internal structure has become opaque,

while the literal meaning of the individual words can still be discerned. Some of these linguistic changes are easier to analyse quantitatively than others: in particular, we will see that whereas it is straightforward to analyse phonetic reduction and decategorisation, it is more difficult to remain rigorously objective when analysing semantic change, and more problematic still when it comes to the analysis of pragmatic shift.

### 5.2.1 *Phonetic reduction*

I assume, like Overstreet (1999), that the short forms *and stuff*, *and things*, and *everything* and *or something* derive from the constructions *and stuff/things/everything like that* and *or something like that*. I also assume, with Erman (1995: 136) that items occurring in contexts that are further away from their original contexts are at a later stage of the grammaticalisation process. *And that* may also have developed from an earlier longer construction, but its origins are uncertain. It may derive from *and that lot*, which occurred occasionally in the interviews, as we saw earlier, or it may derive from *and that sort of thing*: this also occurs occasionally in the speech of both the adolescents and the elderly speakers in the interviews, as in Extract 2. Although the head nouns in the other general extender forms have little lexical content, *and that* has none: nevertheless the process of reduction from *and that lot* or *and that sort of thing* would have been similar, resulting from loss of the final part of the construction.<sup>4</sup>

#### Extract 2 (Hull, w.cl.)

Kathy: you can just get like a bus and get straight into Hull **and that sort of thing**

The adolescents often use the longer forms alongside the shorter forms, as Extract 3 shows, demonstrating the layering of older and newer forms that is typical in grammaticalisation (Hopper 1991: 22):

#### Extract 3 (Milton Keynes, m.cl.)

Tom: uh I quite like the English food actually I love roasts **and things like that**  
 AW: do you cook?  
 Tom: uh I cook occasionally . on weekends **and things**  
 AW: what do you cook?

Table 5 shows that the longer constructions are less frequent in the interviews than are the shorter forms. The table does not include *and that*, since the long form to which it might correspond is not clear. With the exception of *and things* in Hull, all these general extenders can be seen to show signs of phonetic reduction, in that the reduced forms are far more frequent than the older, longer, full forms. *And everything* is very far advanced, as is *and that*. *Or something* is also well advanced. This supports the suggestion made in the previous section that *and stuff* and *and things* have begun to grammaticalise more recently than have the other forms of the general extenders, at least as far as the phonetic reduction aspect of the process is concerned. The short forms show further signs of reduction in form:

**Table 5:** Frequencies per 10,000 words of long and short forms of general extenders

Form	Reading	Milton Keynes	Hull
<i>and stuff</i>	5.98 (42)	5.99 (50)	10.49 (80)
<i>and stuff like that</i>	1.42 (10)	2.63 (22)	3.67 (28)
<i>and things</i>	4.56 (32)	4.19 (35)	2.23 (17)
<i>and things like that</i>	2.56 (18)	2.15 (18)	3.54 (27)
<i>and everything</i>	5.26 (37)	4.79 (40)	8.00 (61)
<i>and everything like that</i>	0.00 (1)	0.00 (1)	0.23 (2)
<i>or something</i>	13.08 (92)	5.63 (47)	3.41 (26)
<i>or something like that</i>	3.56 (25)	3.23 (27)	1.05 (8)

the unstressed *and* is reduced to [n] in every case, and *or* in *or something* is almost always pronounced as a schwa.

### 5.2.2 Decategorisation

In a general extender construction that has not grammaticalised, we might expect the head noun in the construction to always have the same syntactic and semantic properties as a preceding noun to which it relates anaphorically. In other words, we could expect *and stuff like that* to refer to a preceding mass noun, such as *Indie music* in Extract 4, and *and things like that* to a preceding inanimate plural count noun, such as *roasts* in Extract 3 above. *And everything* and *or something* would refer to a singular count noun. *And that*, on the other hand, has no obvious anaphor: *that* could refer to any part of the preceding utterance or, indeed, to all of it.

#### Extract 4 (Milton Keynes, m.cl)

Melanie: they're probably more into like Indie music **and stuff like that**

*Thing(s)* has long been used with reference to a range of grammatical and semantic types (see O'Keefe 2004: 10). Fronek (1982: 645) considers that the plural indefinite *things* can have such vague reference as to be almost indefinable although, as O'Keefe (2004: 10) argues, what may seem indeterminately vague to the analyst may be communicatively and pragmatically adequate for speakers. Consider, for example, Extract 5, where *things* is used twice with no explicit referent (though presumably it points to the events that befall the characters in the TV series). It is clearly adequate for the purposes of the interaction, however, as seen by Wilf's agreement marker (*yeah*). Perhaps *stuff* is similarly used to refer to a broad range of phenomena: if so, the fact that *things* and *stuff* are frequent head nouns in general extender constructions is hardly surprising.

**Extract 5** (Hull, m.cl.) [*the discussion is about TV programmes*]

Jake: in 'Friends' things always turn out right  
 Wilf: yeah most things have a happy ending  
 Jake: yeah

Nevertheless, we will see that in the longer form *and things like that*, which I assume to be older, *things* matches a preceding noun both semantically and syntactically more often than in the shorter *and things*. Dines (1980) commented that although in her data *and things* occurred only with inanimate plural count nouns and *and stuff like that* only with mass nouns, as expected, *and stuff* also occurred with plural count nouns, and all the forms sometimes referred to an entire preceding predicate. In our data, all the frequent forms of the extenders failed to match a preceding noun on several occasions, though some more than others. As examples, consider Extract 6, where *and things* refers to an animate referent, and Extract 7, where *or something* refers to a preceding adjective.

**Extract 6** (Reading, m.cl.)

Michael: no well they own this sort of minibus company . they just have a I think it's two or three minibuses and they take children to school and they take disabled children **and things** around

**Extract 7** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

Brenda: it just makes you think and that's why mum says 'don't wander around'  
 Carol: but it's just down the road it's just unbelievable  
 AW: and didn't they find the body on a bonfire or [by a bonfire or  
 Brenda: [yeah burnt **or something**  
 it's just incredible

All the frequent forms of the general extenders sometimes referred to entire clauses, as in Extracts 8 and 9. *And everything* was exceptional in that on almost every occasion the entire clause, or predicate of the clause, fell within its scope, as in Extract 9.

**Extract 8** (Reading, m.cl.)

AW: and do people divide into groups according to what they like?  
 Ann: yeah well not according to what they like  
 Sadie: their personalities  
 Ann: who's friends with them **and stuff**  
 Sadie: yeah

**Extract 9** (Reading, w.cl.)

Sandra: and the witness came and like they shot this woman and a woman saw it **and everything** and they had to find the witness . bring the witness in and try to find these men

Figure 1 shows the percentage of adjunctive forms that occur after the 'expected' type of noun (in other words, that match both syntactically and semantically a preceding noun to which they appear to refer), then the proportion that refer to

other types of noun phrase, and finally the proportion that cannot be interpreted as referring to noun phrases, but seem to refer instead to other elements of the preceding clause (including an entire predicate or the entire clause). Figure 2 does the same, this time for the disjunctives *or something* and *or something like that*.

Sometimes the anaphoric reference was ambiguous: this was the case, for example, in Extract 10. Here the first *or something* might refer either to the noun *languages* (in which case Sally might be considering teaching something other than languages) or to the entire predicate, *teach languages*, in which case she might be considering doing some job other than teaching languages – working in a bar, for instance. The second *or something* is less ambiguous: the mention of Canada in the following clause indicates that it refers to *France*, since Sally is entertaining the idea of going to other countries as well as or instead of France.

**Extract 10** (Milton Keynes, m.cl.)

Sally: I might go over and teach languages **or something** in France **or something** . I'd quite like to go to Canada

I excluded ambiguous tokens such as Sally's first *or something* from this analysis, but included tokens where the context suggested a plausible anaphor, such as Sally's second *or something*.

Figure 1 confirms that *and everything* refers less often than the other general extender forms to a noun phrase. When it could be interpreted as referring to a noun phrase, it did not usually match it either syntactically or semantically: that is to say, the noun phrase did not match *thing* in referring to a single inanimate entity. *And everything*, then, seems to be an entirely fixed expression. There is no indication in our data that speakers or hearers decompose it into the individual words *and*, *every* and *thing*. The short forms *and things* and *and stuff* refer less often than their full forms to a noun phrase, and the syntax and semantics match less frequently. This seems clear evidence that decategorisation is occurring. Perhaps it is more advanced for *and stuff* than *and things*, since in all three towns *and things* occurs more often with an 'expected' plural inanimate count noun.

The comparison between *or something* and *or something like that* in Figure 2 shows that *or something* is also involved in decategorisation. However, it has not become an entirely fixed expression: in negative contexts the form used is always *or anything*, as in Extract 11, or occasionally, in Hull, *or owt*, as in Extract 12:

**Extract 11** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

John: for hairstyles you're not allowed . steps =  
 AW: = mm =  
 John: = any kind of dye **or anything** . you're not allowed gel  
 AW: you're not allowed gel?  
 John: no they think it's dangerous **or something**  
 AW: dangerous? [you might (xxx) it by mistake?  
 John: [I think that's . yeah like when um. in science they think it's flammable

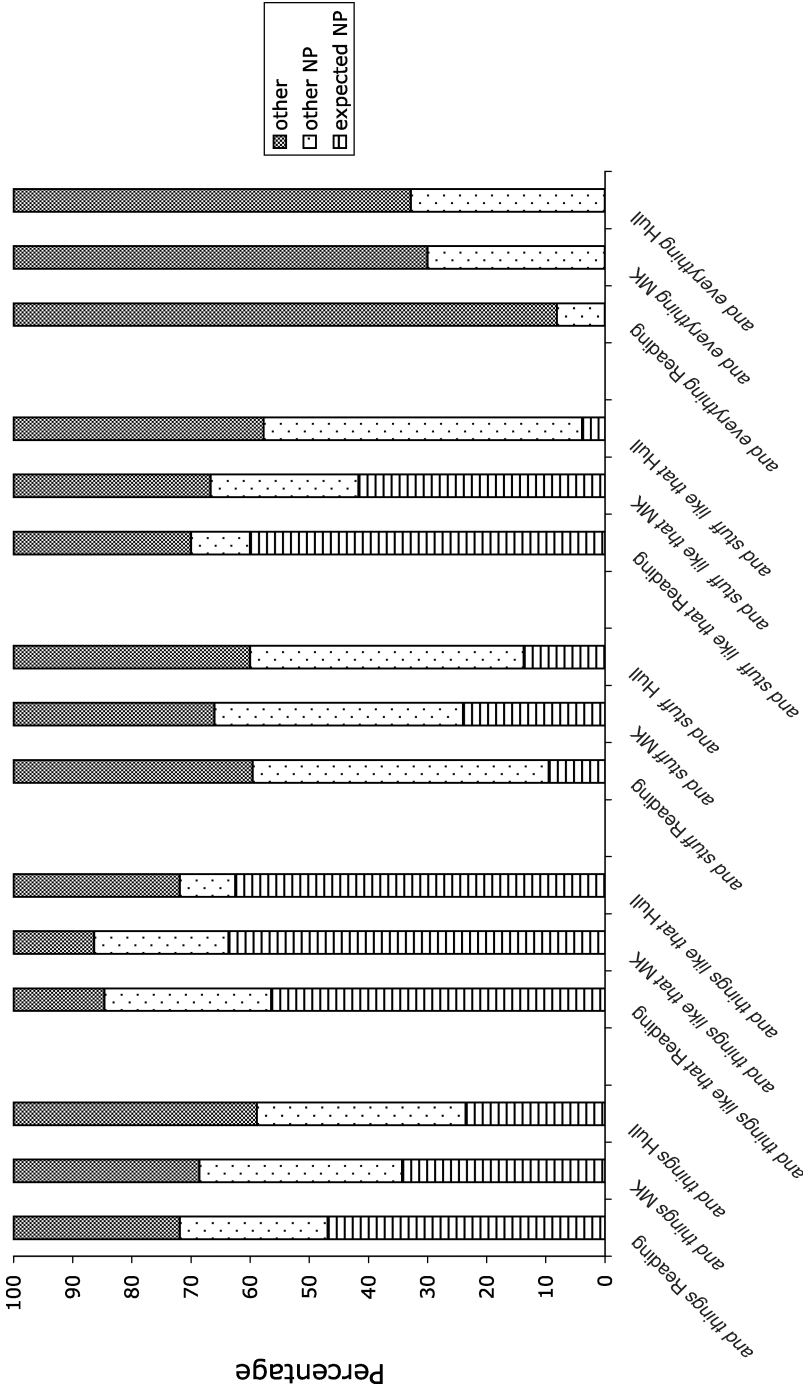
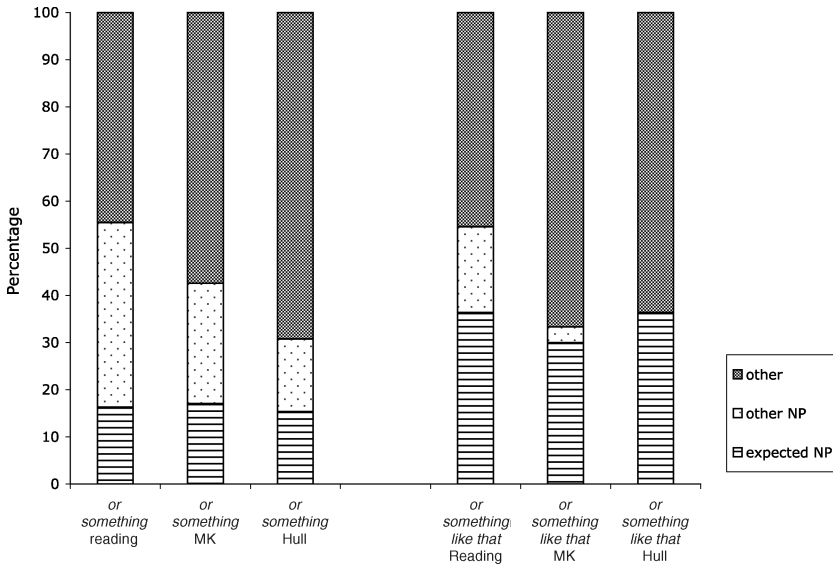


Figure 1: Decategorisation: Adjunctive forms



**Figure 2:** Decategorisation: *or something (like that)*

**Extract 12** (Hull, w.cl.) [*the discussion is about Andy's knee injury*]

Andy: he said I should just rest it for six months or so .. without playing it **or owt** . and he said like 'if you play the more you use it the more pressure and that you put on it the worse it'll get for when you're older'

Both *and things* and *and stuff* remain syntactically productive, in that they occur with intervening material between the conjunction and the generic noun *things* or *stuff*. Consider, as examples, Extracts 13, 14 and 15:

**Extract 13** (Milton Keynes, m.cl.) [*the speakers are discussing a film that had been shown on TV the night before*]

Josie: and there was also another sister and then they find out that she's distantly related to them cos she gives a false name **and all that kind of stuff**

**Extract 14** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

Hayley: and she thinks he's dead so she said 'oh I'll wait for you forever' **and all these things** and then he's assumed dead so she married the other brother

**Extract 15** (Reading, m.cl.)

Christine: because people who have kissed someone else's boyfriend **and silly things like that** which are wrong but some . they take it too far

Interestingly, in Hull both the short form *and stuff* and the full form *and stuff like that* occur only rarely after a mass noun, suggesting that here decategorisation

is occurring at roughly the same pace within both the full construction and the shorter form – in fact, Figure 1 indicates that the pace may be even more rapid within the full construction. Perhaps this is related to the social distribution of the frequent adjunctive forms in Hull compared to the two southern towns. In Milton Keynes and Reading both *and stuff* and *and things* are used by the middle-class adolescents, whereas in Hull the middle-class adolescents in our study use *and stuff* far more often than *and things*. For the Hull middle-class adolescents, then, only *and stuff* may be a relevant indicator of social class. In Reading and Milton Keynes, where there are two adjunctive forms acting as sociolinguistic indicators for middle-class speakers, decategorisation is occurring more slowly. We would need to check this distribution with a larger number of speakers, however, to confirm that these forms act as social indicators. Furthermore, the idea that there is a straightforward relationship between a speaker's social class and his or her use of a given form runs counter to current thinking about how speakers deploy the linguistic resources that are available to them to construct a range of different and sometimes fleeting personal identities (Coupland 2001, in press). Nevertheless the fact that in Hull decategorisation appears to be taking place more quickly than phonetic reduction confirms, at the very least, that the different changes associated with grammaticalisation do not necessarily occur at the same time.

Not surprisingly, *and that* occurred after all kinds of clause elements, including noun phrases, adjectives and entire clauses, as shown in Extracts 16, 17 and 18 below:

**Extract 16** (Reading, w.cl.)

Ann: no I wear his socks . his jumpers and all that lot . when I ain't got no new socks **and that** I borrow his  
 AW: doesn't he mind?

**Extract 17** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

Darren: well since Ian Wright the footballer he has . he dyed his hair blond and some black people now put their hair blond **and that** cos they don't see why they shouldn't have that colour

**Extract 18** (Reading, w.cl.)

Mandy: oh it makes me sick the thought of having to eat chickens . in Safeways they've still got the hair on their legs **and that** it makes me ill

I expected *and that* to occur most frequently after a noun phrase, simply because noun phrases were the most frequent clause elements in the discourse. Table 6 shows, however, that although noun phrases were the most frequent anaphors for *and that* in Reading and Hull, this was not the case for the Milton Keynes interviews. This suggests that the form retains some kind of meaning, or that it has specific pragmatic functions that occasion its use. I will discuss these points in the following two sections.

**Table 6:** Anaphors per 10,000 words of *and that*

	Reading	Milton Keynes	Hull
Noun phrase	69.81	47.17	61.84
Other anaphor	28.07	52.83	38.16

In summary, the data suggest that although all the frequently occurring general extenders are involved in decategorisation, *and that* and *and everything* have progressed the furthest along this path, with *or something* following. This is the identical pattern that was found for phonetic reduction. *And stuff* and *and things* (in that order) lag somewhat behind, again as was the case for phonetic reduction. Decategorisation seems to be occurring more quickly with *and stuff* in the northern town.

### 5.2.3 Semantic change

As mentioned in the Introduction, Dines' use of the term 'set marking tag' was prompted by her assumption that the forms she analysed cued the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of a more general category (1980: 22). Many other researchers have similarly assumed that this is the core meaning of the forms, whilst accepting that they also have other important interactional functions (see, for example, Stubbe and Holmes 1995: 83). Several of the examples given in this paper do seem to implicate a more general category: consider again, for instance, Extract 3, reproduced here as Extract 19. Here it can be routinely inferred that *roasts* is one member of the previously mentioned category of 'English food'.

#### Extract 19

Tom: I quite like the English food actually I love roasts **and things like that**

As found in previous studies, general extenders sometimes occur in the interviews at the end of a list, as in Extract 20: here too it is easy to infer a category.

#### Extract 20 (Milton Keynes, m.cl.) [*the discussion is about the magazines the girls like to read*]

Sally: yeah I buy them you know 'oh I'll buy that one now'

AW: what about you?

Sue: oh 'Elle' 'Looks' sort of 'Minx' **and stuff**

Sally: mmm 'Minx'

AW: do you think most girls of your age read them?

Obviously, as decategorisation progresses and the semantic and syntactic ties between the lexical item in the general extender and its referent in the previous discourse weaken, it becomes more difficult to routinely infer a category. Even so,

as Overstreet (1999: 43) has pointed out, it is often possible to infer an *ad hoc*, possibly non-lexicalised category that speakers create spontaneously. Overstreet, in fact, found that the majority of forms in her data referred to categories of this kind. It was possible to infer *ad hoc* categories for many of the forms in our interview data too, but I often found it difficult to ground my interpretation objectively. On some occasions the subsequent progress of the discourse could be taken as justifying my interpretation: this was the case, for example, in Extract 21, where Jason explains why he is frightened of the rough kids in his school. He makes it clear in the discourse following his *and stuff* that breaking someone's leg can be taken as one example of the 'sort of things' the rough kids do when they 'beat you up'.

**Extract 21** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

Jason: one of my brother's friends knew them . one of them . or a couple of them  
and he knew that they had broken someone's leg a few weeks before  
**and stuff** and they do those sort of things just beat you up

More often, however, although it seemed to me as the analyst that the phrase preceding a general extender implicated a spontaneously constructed category, there was nothing in the surrounding discourse to justify such a claim. Worse, the subsequent discourse sometimes suggested that not only did the addressees not interpret the general extender as implicating a category, but neither did the speakers use them in this way. Consider, for example, the two tokens of *and things* in Extract 22. Here Sandy volunteers that she rides horses in answer to a question from the interviewer about her hobbies. She tells the interviewer that she likes riding and that she has a pony on loan. She then has to explain what having a pony on loan involves. Her first token of *and things*, in turn i, might (albeit with a generous stretch of the imagination) indicate that paying to ride the pony is just one example of what you can do if you have a pony on loan. The *ad hoc* category would then be 'what you can do if you have a pony on loan'. However the interviewer does not treat paying to ride the pony as one activity within a potential set: instead, she asks for more details about that specific activity. As for the second *and things*, in k, the speaker herself does not treat this as implicating a category, even an *ad hoc* one. Rather than presenting *if he's got lessons* as one of the set of situations that might prevent her from riding the pony, Sandy adds more detail about this specific situation (*he doesn't usually have that many lessons*).

**Extract 22** (Reading, m.cl.)

Sandy: a. I horseride  
AW: b. oh do you? oh whereabouts?  
Sandy: c. erm Bells riding centre I've got a pony on loan  
AW: d. you've got what?  
Sandy: e. a pony on loan  
AW: f. I've never heard of that  
Sandy: g. so it's like someone else owns it someone erm well  
AW: h. so how do you do that then somebody else owns it but you =

- Sandy i. = yeah  
 but you pay them so much to be able to ride it **and things**  
 AW: j. and is that to be able to ride it when you want?  
 Sandy: k. yeah but because it's in the riding school if he's got lessons  
**and things** you can't ride him but he doesn't usually have that  
 many lessons

Of course, it is never possible to be objective in a discourse analysis based on inferences that we assume interlocutors may draw (see further Wouk 1999: 201). Nevertheless it is important for our understanding of the grammaticalisation of the general extenders to try to assess the extent to which their literal meaning has weakened. I therefore counted just those forms where as the analyst I found it completely impossible to infer a category, even of an *ad hoc* kind and even with a very generous stretch of the imagination. Thus I excluded from the count tokens such as Extract 21 above, where the subsequent discourse suggested that a category had been invoked. I also excluded tokens such as those in Extract 22 where, as the analyst, I could imagine an *ad hoc* category, even if the subsequent discourse did not show that the speakers had used or interpreted the general extender in this way. I also excluded general extenders occurring after a measurement phrase, as in Extract 23, since these could be interpreted as indicating that the measurement is intended to be an example (and therefore a member of a 'category' of possible measurements) rather than a precise indication of size or length. On the same basis, I did not count general extenders occurring after reported speech, as in Extract 24, since here too the reported speech could be inferred to be a member of, in this case, the set of 'really stupid questions' teachers sometimes asked their students.

**Extract 23** (Hull m.cl.) [*the discussion has been about school rules on dress*]

- Hilary: well we're not we're not allowed to wear platforms we're not allowed  
 platforms no  
 AW: why not?  
 Susan: cos the heel's too big  
 Hilary: yeah it's not allowed to be like two and a half centimetres [**or something**]  
 Susan: [yeah or  
**something** it's got to be really flat

**Extract 24** (Reading, m.cl.)

- Caroline: they ask really stupid questions like 'can you bring one to school' **and things like that**  
 Beth: they can be a bit patronising  
 Caroline: these are the sort of things that they think of sometimes

The tokens I did consider to have lost their literal meaning of implicating a category included those in the illustrative Extracts 25–27, where not only did the speakers not treat the general extender as implicating a category, but as the analyst I could not envisage any kind of general set to which the preceding phrase could refer.

**Extract 25** (Hull, w.cl.)

- AW: when you did your paper round did you get up by yourself?  
 Patrick: I had my alarm but in the mornings my mum comes in and shouts at me  
 Kevin: I get I normally . apart from my dad cos he works nights . and he comes home I'm normally the first one up I get up get all my brothers up **or something**  
 AW: aren't you good? you don't have your mother get you up then?

**Extract 26** (Milton Keynes, m.cl.) [*the discussion is about whether smoking should be allowed in school*]

- Hayley: I think they [teachers] say 'erm ... should you be doing that?' but maybe if like parents have given permission **and things** first they probably like might think 'why am I saying that?' you know but I think it would be because it's just like I don't know it's not really a school thing is it?

**Extract 27** (Reading, w.cl.)

- AW: do you like having a school uniform?  
 Dave: no  
 AW: would you rather  
 Dave: I'd prefer wearing other clothes to school because I don't like ties they're really . they choke me **and that**  
 AW: do you have to wear one?

Table 7 shows the number of forms where the literal meaning appeared, in my judgement, to be completely absent. It is probably an underestimation, since I erred on the side of caution in an attempt to be as objective as possible within the constraints of this kind of analysis, but it provides a reasonably systematic basis for comparing the different forms. I do not mean to imply that speakers and hearers necessarily orient towards category implication for every token not included in these figures: we will see in the following section that many different pragmatic functions can be attributed to the general extenders, and that these usually bear no more than a loose relation to the etymological meaning of the forms. The figures in Table 7 simply indicate, then, the number of occasions when

**Table 7:** Percentage (number) of tokens where no category could be inferred

Form	Reading	Milton Keynes	Hull
<i>and things</i>	21.88 (7)	22.86 (8)	17.65 (3)
<i>and things like that</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>and stuff</i>	19.05 (8)	32.00 (16)	31.25 (25)
<i>and stuff like that</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>and everything</i>	24.32 (9)	42.50 (17)	36.07 (22)
<i>or something</i>	23.91 (22)	6.38 (3)	0.00
<i>or something like that</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>and that</i>	39.62 (21)	56.60 (30)	35.52 (27)

the forms appear to have clearly lost their original meaning. The figures present a rather confused picture, but it is striking that in all three towns it was only with the short forms of the adjunctives that set marking functions were sometimes impossible to identify. For the longer forms *and things like that*, *and stuff like that* and *or something like that* it was always possible to imagine some kind of general category to which the element preceding the general extender could refer. *And that* occurred very frequently with no apparent set marking function, again in each of the three towns. *And everything* also occurs relatively frequently in contexts where no category could be inferred, as does *or something* in Reading and *and stuff* and *and things* in each of the towns. Note however that in Hull *and stuff* occurs more often with an apparent bleached meaning than *and things*, adding to the accumulating evidence that here *and stuff* is more grammaticalised than *and things*.

In summary, despite the problems of analysing the meaning of the general extenders in the interviews, it seems reasonable to conclude that in all three towns semantic bleaching is furthest advanced for the short forms of the adjunctives, especially for *and that* and, perhaps, *and everything*. This is hardly unexpected, for it coincides with the progress of decategorisation and phonetic change, both of which are necessary for the individual words in the constructions to lose their meaning and for the resulting composite forms to become fixed expressions. The other adjunctive forms (*and stuff* and *and things*) appear to be heading in the same direction. I hesitate to draw any firm conclusions concerning *or something*, since the semantic analysis was carried out using such strict criteria, but it seems possible that in terms of semantic change this form is lagging behind the others (in Milton Keynes and Hull, at least – though not, perhaps, in Reading). This would fit with the fact that *or anything* rather than *or something* continues to be used in negative clauses: just as the semantic and syntactic ties with the preceding clause remain, so does the literal meaning.

#### 5.2.4 Pragmatic shift

As mentioned in the Introduction, I used Fischer's model of discourse structure (Fischer 1998, 2000) to account for the functions of the general extenders in the interviews. Other models of discourse could have been used, of course, but most organise the different aspects of interaction into fewer separate components: for example, many analyses of pragmatic particles consider their meanings and functions in terms of just two levels: the textual/ideational and the interpersonal, as Erman (2001: 1339) points out. I prefer Fischer's model because it allows me to show the extreme functional flexibility of the general extender forms. I assume, therefore, that the basic communicative domains are information management, textual organisation, speech management, turn-taking, and the interpersonal relationship between the speakers.

I examined all the frequent forms in their discourse context, and tried to determine their discourse function on the basis of how the next speaker respon-

ded or, if the forms occurred in mid-turn, how the discourse proceeded. This was in an attempt to be as rigorous and objective as possible. It was not always possible to determine a function in this way, but there were enough occasions to provide an overview of the different domains of discourse in which the forms could play a role. I found, in fact, that they had functions in every communicative domain.

In the domain of information management the forms occurred after a discourse-new entity, in the way described in Cheshire (2005). In Extract 28, for example, Charlie's *and stuff* occurs in a descriptive context where he is explaining exactly what kind of work he did during his work experience, perhaps triggered by the interviewer's *oh*. His *and stuff* marks two discourse-new items. This interpretation is justified by the interviewer's *mm*, indicating that she has understood what the work of 'Parcel Force' involves.

**Extract 28** (Reading, w.cl.)

- AW: no right well what do you want to do when you leave school then?  
 Charlie: I don't really know  
 AW: mm did you do work experience?  
 Charlie: yeah  
 AW: well what did you do then?  
 Charlie: I went to a Parcel Force [.sorting parcels [and] doing deliveries **and stuff**  
 AW: [oh] [mm]  
 mm and what do you think of that then?

Consider, too, Extract 29 where there are two tokens of *and stuff*. The first is used in a similar way to *and stuff* in the previous example: Scott gives an example (framed by *like*) of the kind of people who travelled on the bus his father drove, perhaps to make it clear that although the interviewer's father may have been a bus driver he probably didn't drive the same kind of bus as Scott's father did. In other words, the general extender marks *old age pensioners* as a new discourse entity. As before, the function of *and stuff* on the information plane of discourse, helping to secure comprehension, is confirmed by the interviewer's response (*yeah I know*) and the speakers' subsequent agreement on the colour and size of the bus.

The second *and stuff* again occurs after a preceding new discourse entity, introduced with the noun phrase (*rides*), but this time the general extender also marks the thematic structure of the discourse. The foregrounded information is that Scott's father injured his back and no longer works as a bus driver (note that his reply in his second turn, *he was a bus driver*, is in the past tense). Scott paints a picture of the occasion when the accident happened, marking as background information the fact that it was during a kind of Open Day where there were rides and other things, using *and stuff* and *sort of thing*. He then uses *a certain* to mark the important foregrounded information that his father went on one of the rides but then fell off. Perhaps *and stuff* is multifunctional here, marking a new discourse entity and simultaneously indicating that it is part of the background structure. In any event, the interviewer's behaviour suggests that she has understood the textual function of the general extender:

she anticipates and co-articulates the important foregrounded information *fell off*.

**Extract 29** (Reading, w.cl.)

- AW: OK and what do you want to be when you leave school? do you know?  
 Scott: uhm..I'm not sure .eh uh..electronics [music  
 AW: mm [does your dad do that  
 kind of thing? [is he  
 Scott: [my dad was a um .like a..he was a bus driver  
 [which is  
 AW: [oh really? my dad was a bus driver too  
 Scott: this is one where you go like pick up old [old-aged pensioners **and stuff** like  
 AW: [yeah I know yeah that's right the  
 sort of dark yeah [the] smallish [bus] yeah yeah yeah  
 Scott: [yeah] [yeah]  
 and uh . he went on a ride . and damaged his back fell [off it and damaged  
 his back so  
 AW: [oh no was he helping  
 some of the old people to get on?  
 Scott: well no . this was what this was . he used to do Red Cross **sort of thing**  
 AW: oh right  
 Scott: and he . they . like used to have a a Open Day **sort of thing**. and there was  
 rides **and stuff** there and he went on **this certain** ride and he [fell off] it  
 and damaged his back  
 AW: [fell off  
 so you don't fancy driving you think for your living then do you?  
 Scott: well . I don't know. depends if I pass my test

Like many other pragmatic particles, the general extenders have the textual function of marking a section of reported speech, both direct and indirect (see, for example, Macaulay 2002a on *you know*, and Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999 on *be like*). All the frequent forms were used in this way. Some examples are shown in Extracts 30 to 33. The longer forms were occasionally used after a stretch of reported speech too: in Extract 24, for example, *and things like that* occurred after a stretch of direct reported speech.

**Extract 30** (Reading, m.cl.)

- Sue: I look at nursing and then I think 'that'd be a nice thing to do to help people' **and things** but I don't really see that it goes anywhere apart from the fact you get a pension at the end of it

**Extract 31** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

- Darren: people say 'watch out' you know 'you might get mugged' **or something**

**Extract 32** (Hull, w.cl.)

- AW: so you had your spies then  
 Colin: no they just rang up and said 'oh are you going to watch the fight or are you staying in your house watch your windows' **and that** 'get your baseball bat out get your cricket bat out'

**Extract 33** (Hull, m.cl.)

Ruth: but I mean she says that . I don't know. she hates her dad **and everything** .  
I mean I don't know her full background but from what I've heard her dad  
treats her like dirt and her mum's a total and utter cow really

The forms also have a function in speech production, indicating that speakers have not found the appropriate word or not remembered all the terms they wanted to use. In Extract 34 this function is confirmed by the content of the rest of Melanie's utterance.

**Extract 34** (Milton Keynes, m.cl.)

Melanie: no my dad's a senior lecturer um . at Upfield University  
AW: right and what does he lecture in?  
Melanie: um oh compu . computing and computer science **and things** I can't  
exactly remember he's a doctor of . something or other . I can't . I  
always forget

The function of *or something* as a turn-yielding signal was mentioned by Duncan (1972: 287), together with other 'stereotyped expressions' such as *but uh* and *you know*. In the interviews all the general extender forms sometimes occurred at the end of a turn, as shown in Extracts 35 and 36, sometimes in conjunction with *so*, as in Extract 35, or *but*. However, they appear to signal more than that the speaker is prepared to yield the turn, since on every occasion the turn following a final general extender continued on the same topic, frequently focussing directly on the clause element immediately preceding the general extender, as in these examples:

**Extract 35** (Hull, w.cl.)

AW: have you got a favourite film?  
Mick: don't really watch films  
AW: not unless one springs to mind  
Mick: I likes watching sport **and stuff** [so  
AW: [do you well we'll talk about that then

**Extract 36** (Reading, m.cl.) [AW is asking about Sam's favourite footballers]

AW: right and what about Chelsea who do you like there?  
Sam: er Gianni Franco Zola probably  
AW: right yeah [I saw him recently actually  
Sam: [or . Ruud Gullit **or something**  
AW: oh yeah do you think Ruud Gullit does a good job?

In turn-final position, then, the forms also have a function in topic management. This was not confined to turn-final position, however. In every case, when a general extender occurred within a turn, the speaker continued talking about the same topic. Some of the earlier examples illustrate this: see, for example, Extracts 21 and 26.

Finally, the general extenders occurred in contexts that support an interpretation in terms of solidarity or politeness. This was often the case in the

paired sections of the interviews, when the use of the general extender seemed to underline the shared experience of two friends who are interviewed together. Extracts 23 and 24 above provide examples of this. A further example is Extract 37, where the interviewer has asked two friends for their views on the Spice Girls, an all-female band popular in the 1990s.

**Extract 37** (Hull, m.cl.)

- Ann: a. I think they're out for a laugh I don't like 'oh my God the Spice Girls' .  
I like...
- Sue: b. I don't worship them =
- Ann: c. = no
- AW: d. do you like their music?
- Ann: e. [no
- Sue: f. [no I bought one of theirs . well my sister bought one
- AW: g. the nine year old [eleven year old?
- Sue: h. [yeah no the nine year old
- Ann: i. but I admire like they've what they've done . how they've got so. far  
**and stuff**
- Sue: j. the girl power =
- Ann: k. = the girl power thing

In this short extract the two girls show their shared views of the Spice Girls in their co-construction of turns a–c. In turn j Sue shows her understanding of what Ann has said in i by offering a term, 'girl power', that sums up what it is that Ann admires. Ann agrees in k. The general extender can thus be said to contribute to the construction of solidarity between the friends, by appealing to their assumed shared experience.

A further function of the general extenders in the interpersonal domain appeared to be as face-saving devices. Although Overstreet (1999) draws a distinction between the adjunctives, which function as positive politeness devices in the construction of solidarity, and the disjunctives, which function in the expression of negative politeness, in our interviews both adjunctives and disjunctives could be interpreted as having negative politeness functions. Sometimes they mitigate the fact that the speaker knows more than the interviewer, as in Extract 38, where the interviewer admits that she has never heard of Debbie's favourite film:

**Extract 38** (Hull, m.cl.)

- Debbie: I like this one called 'House Party Three'
- AW: oh I don't know that
- Debbie: it's American about all these American singers **and things**

Extracts 22 and 1 above are similar examples, where in a preceding turn the interviewer has made it clear that she lacks understanding of what is being discussed.

All the frequent forms were used in all the ways just described. It might seem to be a simple procedure to simply count the number of times that each

form was used in each of these communicative domains, in order to track the course of their pragmatic shift, but a quantitative analysis raised several problems. First, it was not always possible to ground my analytical decisions in the surrounding discourse. Consider again, for example, Extract 34, where *and things* appeared to be indicating that the speaker could not immediately access the word that refers to her father's area of academic expertise. An equally feasible interpretation, however, is that the speaker was distancing herself from the topic, thereby displaying her lack of interest in the field, and forestalling any attempt by the interviewer to discuss this further (the extract was part of a section of the interview where Ann Williams and Melanie were exploring possible career opportunities). The content of the rest of her utterance, indicating that Melanie can never remember the exact field of expertise, supports this interpretation just as much as an interpretation in terms of speech production.

Furthermore, there is no reason why Melanie should not have been expressing both her inability to find the exact word and her lack of interest in the topic as well as, perhaps, a polite acquiescence to the question and answer sequences of the interview. This represented a second difficulty for a quantitative analysis. As mentioned in the Introduction, pragmatic markers are typically multifunctional, not only shifting their meaning according to the context but sometimes expressing several meanings simultaneously (Aijmer 2002: 3). Although some researchers working on pragmatic markers have been able to confidently assign a principal function to each of the tokens in their data, on most occasions I could see no reason to prioritise one function over another. Most of the short forms of the general extenders, especially, appeared to be multifunctional. Even those forms with clear textual functions, such as those occurring after reported speech, could be said to simultaneously function in the interpersonal domain, marking an assumption that the hearer would see the reported speech as a typical example of what might have been said. This was also true of some of the longer constructions: consider again, for example, Extract 24. Here *and things like that* marks the end of a stretch of reported speech, but it also implicates the set of 'really stupid questions' that Caroline's teachers ask. In the following turn Beth implies that she is familiar with these kinds of questions and she shows agreement with Caroline's view by adding her own negative evaluation to what her friend has said about the teachers' behaviour. Together the two speakers construct a shared evaluation; in addition to functioning in the textual domain, then, the general extender could be said to underline the two friends' overall expression of solidarity.

A final problem for a quantitative analysis was that even if it were possible to attribute a single pragmatic function to each of the general extender forms, this would ignore the contribution of other aspects of the linguistic context to that function. In the interview data this was particularly true for forms functioning in the interpersonal domain. In Extract 37, for example, we saw that *and stuff* may function as a solidarity marker. It does this, however, in conjunction

with co-constructed turns and repetition of key lexical items: to ignore these linguistic strategies gives too much prominence to the contribution of the general extender in this communicative domain. Even when general extenders occur in clusters the contribution of other forms may be just as relevant as the other general extenders in the cluster: as Stubbe and Holmes point out, at those points in the discourse where the overall frequency of pragmatic particles increases 'the whole is somewhat greater than the sum of its parts' (1995: 84). This is clear in the first example used in this paper, reproduced below as Extract 39 but this time with both the general extenders and other relevant forms in bold type:

**Extract 39** (Reading, m.cl.)

AW: do you know people who've done it who've I mean do you know how to go about it because I wouldn't have the first idea really I mean

Jake: to get a record deal?

AW: mm

Jake: **yeah well** . when we've done our GCSEs **and everything** . **umm I don't know** we'll **maybe** make a tape **or something** when we've got some better songs . and . **well** we'll **just** send it off to NME **and stuff** but also our uncle knows a man who's . **I think** he's coming to the one on Tuesday and they'll **like** . **you know apparently** we're playing in this . charity one in June **or something** at . Hunter Hospital **or something** and there's a band that played there last year called . **oh I don't know er** but they got a record deal from that concert

Jake uses a very large number of pragmatic markers, many of which appear to indicate a lack of certainty (including, for example, *I think*, *apparently*, and *I don't know* as well as *or something*). This is despite the fact that he must surely know very well the date and the location of his forthcoming gig, at the very least. Perhaps Jake is distancing himself from the content of his utterance in order not to sound arrogant or conceited, or not to tempt fate (since he is clearly hoping for a record deal); alternatively, or in addition, he may be downplaying the fact that he knows more than the interviewer does about how to get a recording contract. Another possibility is that he is acquiescing to the questioning routine but wanting to maintain some distance from the task and from the detail and accountability of his answer. He may be trying to reduce the social distance between the interviewer and himself, by projecting shared knowledge where it may exist (for example, concerning the amount of work and stress surrounding GCSEs (public examinations)), to counter the knowledge that Ann Williams has indicated she does not share (how to get a record deal). Many interpretations are possible, but the point remains that to separate out *and everything*, for example, from the entire set of forms that suggest speaker uncertainty (including, that is to say, not just other general extender forms) would obscure the role played by the combination of discourse forms in the interpersonal domain of the discourse.

For these reasons I abandoned my original intention of performing a quantitative analysis of the pragmatic functions of the general extenders. I did, however, analyse the extent to which the forms co-occurred with other discourse markers (disregarding, however, the forms that occurred in clusters), since Aijmer (2002: 2) suggests that this is one of the ways that speakers help their addressees to deal with the ambiguity of pragmatic particles.

Table 8 shows the percentage of collocations for each of the forms. I did not count turn initial discourse markers such as *oh* or *well*, since these usually have a different kind of discourse function, creating coherence between speaker turns. The table shows a regular pattern across all three towns. Interestingly, the forms that were furthest advanced in terms of phonetic reduction, decategorisation and semantic change (in other words, *and that*, *and everything* and *or something*) tend to occur more often alone, whereas the forms that are less grammaticalised (*and stuff* and *and things*) occur more often with another discourse particle. Note, however, that with the exception of *and everything*, the patterns are less clear in Milton Keynes. Those tokens that could not be interpreted as implicating a category (in other words, those represented by the figures in Table 7) rarely occurred with another discourse form.

Table 9 shows the discourse particles that co-occurred with the different forms of the general extenders. *Like*, *just* and *sort of* occur with all the general extender forms, but other than this, the discourse particles used with *and stuff*, *and things* and *and that* tend to differ from those used with *or something*. The adjunctives occur with *kind of* and *about* (in addition to *sort of*) whereas *or something* co-occurs with markers of epistemic modality, such as *probably*, *I think* and *I don't know*.

Perhaps, then, as the general extenders acquire new pragmatic functions, speakers direct their addressees to the expressive meanings that the forms are intended to convey. Overstreet (1999: 146) suggests that the two most common forms in her corpus, *and stuff* and *or something*, can be characterised along two distinct dimensions. *And stuff*, she says, signals 'I am in danger of not saying enough' whereas *or something* signals 'I am in danger of not being strictly accurate', and 'there are alternatives'. She further suggests that in each case the forms also signal 'we are close and you know what I mean'. In the interviews

**Table 8:** Percentage of general extender forms (N) co-occurring with discourse markers

Form	Reading	Milton Keynes	Hull
<i>and stuff</i>	35.71 (15)	48.00 (24)	33.75 (27)
<i>and things</i>	59.34 (19)	31.43 (11)	35.29 (6)
<i>and everything</i>	5.41 (2)	5.00 (2)	13.11 (8)
<i>and that</i>	11.32 (6)	32.08 (17)	11.84 (9)
<i>or something</i>	28.26 (26)	36.17 (17)	28.13 (9)

**Table 9:** Discourse markers co-occurring with general extenders

	like	just	sort of	kind of	about	I mean	you know	probably	possibly	I think	(I) don't know
<i>and stuff</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
<i>and things</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				
<i>and everything</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓							
<i>and that</i>	✓	✓	✓								
<i>or something</i>	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

analysed here the 'we are close' meaning is debatable (though the adolescents could, of course, be expressing their solidarity with the interviewer). The discourse markers that co-occur with the adjunctive forms, however, confirm a basic meaning of approximation, in the early stages of grammaticalisation at least, and a meaning of uncertainty for *or something*. As the grammaticalising forms become more established as fixed expressions with a range of conventional pragmatic functions, they may tend to be used more frequently without a reinforcing discourse marker.

There was no sociolinguistic variation in the discourse markers that co-occurred with the general extenders. On some occasions the general extenders were used with no obvious pragmatic function. This was mainly, but not exclusively, when there was no indication of a set-marking function. Extracts 25 to 27 above are examples, as is Extract 40, where *and everything* seems to simply break up the flow of discourse.

**Extract 40** (Milton Keynes, w.cl.)

- AW: and is there anyone you really admire? I mean you must have lots of sort of sporting heroes do you?  
 Will: er I admire my best friend  
 AW: oh right  
 Will: cos erm he's had a lot of problems **and everything** with his family **and everything** so and he's still coping **and everything**  
 AW: you've been a good mate to him then

In these cases the general extenders are no longer, perhaps, a pragmatic particle in the sense in which the term is usually understood. There are parallels here with Macaulay's (2002b) findings in relation to *you know*. Macaulay, following Vincent and Sankoff (1992), suggests that *you know* should in these instances be considered a punctator: a form that shows 'a high degree of phonological reduction' and that has lost 'all or most of [their] original meaning or function' (Vincent and Sankoff 1992: 206). Macaulay (1985: 115) similarly suggests that *and that* and other expressions occurring after a clause or clause element, including *as I said*, *you see* and *I mean* can function as 'a kind of punctuation feature, almost the oral equivalent of a comma or full stop'. As the general extenders become more grammaticalised, then, they may function as punctators.

## 6. SUMMARY

The main findings of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

- A quantitative analysis of the overall frequency of use of the general extenders and a comparison with previous studies showed that the adolescents in all three locations used more adjunctives than disjunctives – the reverse of what most previous research has found. The implication is that the general extenders do not function as a uniform group and that adjunctives and disjunctives should be separated in analyses of their use.
- Comparison with other studies showed that the overall frequency of the general extenders in our data is high, with the only comparable figure occurring in a similar discourse type (interviews) with adolescents. The implication is that comparisons are problematic if the data are collected under different circumstances.
- There was a great deal of individual variation in the use of the general extenders, and no consistent patterns of social class or gender variation in their frequency (nor in their pragmatic functions). There was, however, a clear social class difference in the frequency of use of *and that*, which was favoured by the working-class adolescents, and in the frequency of *and stuff* and *and things*, which were preferred by the middle-class adolescents.
- *And everything* and *and that* were the most advanced in terms of phonetic reduction, followed by *or something*.
- *And everything* was the most advanced in terms of decategorisation, functioning as an entirely fixed expression. *And that* was also far advanced, followed by *or something*. *And stuff* and *and things* were still syntactically productive. In Hull, decategorisation was taking place more quickly than phonetic reduction, confirming that the different changes associated with grammaticalisation do not necessarily occur at the same rate, nor at the same time.
- Semantic bleaching was more advanced for the short forms of the general extenders, especially *and that* and, perhaps, *and everything*.
- The general extenders had pragmatic functions in every communicative domain.
- The general extenders sometimes co-occurred with other discourse markers, confirming that this is one way for speakers to help their addressees to cope with their ambiguity. All the frequent forms co-occurred with *like*, *just* and *sort of*, but only the adjunctives co-occurred with *kind of* and *about*, and only *or something* co-occurred with markers of epistemic modality.

## 7. CONCLUSION

One of the aims of this paper was to explore the pragmatic functions of the general extenders in a different text type from those that have been the subject of most previous research. The forms were used with a wide range of pragmatic

functions, in every one of the discourse domains that speakers and hearers must attend to during communication. Some of these, such as the marking of reported speech, had not previously been identified. It was not possible to identify a principal function, and in my view it is counterproductive to attempt to do so. This is partly because pragmatic particles are by their nature multifunctional, and to assign them a single main function may lead us to overlook this. It is also because within a specific context of use their meaning is inevitably locally contextualised, often with the help of other linguistic forms, and the interaction of a given general extender with other forms always needs to be taken into account.

A second aim was to consider the extent to which the different forms of the general extenders have grammaticalised in the varieties of English analysed here, by investigating their phonetic reduction, decategorisation, semantic change and pragmatic shift. It was difficult to perform an objective analysis of semantic change, and even more so for pragmatic shift, but overall the four analyses pointed in the same direction, with *and that* and *and everything* the most grammaticalised forms, and *and stuff* and *and things* the least grammaticalised. Although Overstreet and Yule (1997) suggested that in American English *and stuff* is further advanced in the grammaticalisation process than are the other general extender forms, this is not the case for the varieties of British English analysed here. All the frequently occurring forms were used in parallel ways to *you know* in present-day Scottish English, at least as far as Macaulay (2002b) describes them. This includes a use as punctors, and it is possible that for the general extenders (and perhaps also for *you know*) in British English this represents an end point in the grammaticalisation process.

A final aim was to contribute to the still small number of quantitative studies of variation in the use of discourse features. By analysing the use of general extenders in comparable data sets from three different locations it was possible to distinguish between sociolinguistic variation that was a one-off aspect of a particular set of individuals (such as the higher use of general extenders by the working-class adolescents in Hull; see Section 3) and sociolinguistic variation of a more robust kind. This involved the working-class preference for *and that* and the middle-class preference for *and stuff* and *and things*. The analysis points to a possible north–south regional divide in British English, with *and things* used less often than in the north (or, at any rate, in Hull) than in the two southern towns considered here.

Other than the difference in some forms of the adjunctives, there was no social class or gender variation in the uses of the general extenders. However this does not preclude their being involved in a more complex type of sociolinguistic variation, if other features with similar pragmatic functions were included in the analysis. I have stressed that discourse variation differs from phonological or morphosyntactic variation in that speakers are not obliged to use a given discourse form. This does not mean, however, that quantitative analyses of discourse features are not worthwhile: on the contrary, they can show how

individuals vary in their language behaviour and can indicate the extent to which grammaticalisation is occurring in the development of new discourse particles. They may also lead to a fuller understanding of how speakers and hearers use discourse forms to orient to the different communicative tasks that together make for successful social interaction.

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## NOTES

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  2. *Transcription conventions*
    - . short pause (not timed)
    - ... longer pause (not timed)
    - ? question marks show the end of a stretch of talk interpreted as a question
    - <LAUGHTER> angled brackets give additional information
    - [ extended square brackets show the beginning of an overlap
    - = latching

All proper names have been changed
  3. Some researchers consider the changes affecting discourse forms such as the general extenders in terms of pragmaticalisation rather than grammaticalisation. Aijmer (1997: 2), for example, suggests that a distinction should be maintained between grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation, with the former concerned with 'the derivation of grammatical forms and constructions (mood, aspect, tense, etc.) from words and lexical structure, and the latter referring to a process whereby forms acquire functions that involve a speaker's attitude to the hearer'. Günthner (2000: 439) also considers the development from 'purely grammatical functions' to 'conversational functions' as a process of pragmaticalisation, but she points out that the development follows the same procedures as what is commonly considered to constitute grammaticalisation. Traugott (1995b) also points out that the processes of change involved here are essentially the same, and uses 'grammaticalisation' for what others have termed 'pragmaticalisation'. I have similarly opted to use 'grammaticalisation' here.
  4. Macaulay (1985: 113) suggests that in his Scottish data *and that*, when used with a set-marking function, may be a reduced form of *and things like that*.
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## APPENDIX

*General extender forms used by the adolescent speakers*

and that	or something like that
and all that	something like that
and everything	or whatever
and stuff	whatever
and things	or anything like that
and that lot	or things like that
and all that lot	or wherever
and stuff like that	or something like this
and things like that	or something
and everything like that	or anything
and other stuff	or owt
and all those sort	or anything like that
and all this	or owt like that
and a lot of places	somewhere like that
and that sort of thing	or sommat
and all that kind of stuff	sommat like that
and all the things like that	
sort of things like that	
things like that	
and all these things	
and all this type of stuff	
and all that stuff	
and people like that	
people like that	
and all this	

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