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General extenders in English and in Czech

Neurčité dovětky v angličtině a v češtině

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům. / I have no objections to the MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

Abstract

Pervasive in spontaneous informal conversation, general extenders (GEs) are vague multiword expressions (e.g. *or something (like that)*, *and stuff (like that)* vs. *nebo něco (takovýho)*, *a tak(ový věci)*) that have been shown to fulfil a number of communicative functions, ranging from propositional to expressive. But while the English extenders have received a lot of meticulous attention in nearly four decades of research, the corresponding Czech constructions remain largely overlooked (perhaps with the exception of Tárnyiková 2009 and Novotný & Malá 2018). The current study aims to (1) present a wide range of English and Czech GE forms (collected using the method of collocational frames (Aijmer 2015) and then categorised according to structural similarities, thus suggesting possible GE patterns); and (2) examine their communicative functions in contemporary English and Czech as represented in comparable corpora of informal spoken discourse (*Spoken BNC2014* and *ORAL2013*, respectively).

Relying extensively on functional frameworks introduced in previous research (e.g. Overstreet 1999, 2014), this study confirms what has been known about English GEs and investigates the degree of applicability to the respective Czech constructions. A close qualitative analysis of some of the collected GE forms (in total, 188 and 132 types of forms were extracted for English and Czech, respectively) revealed that both English and Czech GEs share a similar functional potential, regardless of whether the communicative function is objective, subjective or intersubjective. Regarding the differences, Czech GEs cannot express the agreement-soliciting function typical of *or what* located at the end of an evaluative question. Furthermore, while English speakers express evaluation with both modifiers and expressive nouns incorporated into the GEs, Czech seems to rely only on the latter. Finally, the English formulaic disclaimers used as a non-imposition politeness strategy do not seem to have a productive counterpart in Czech.

Key words: general extenders, vague language, collocational frames, (inter)subjective meaning, spontaneous informal dialogue.

Abstrakt

Neurčité dovětky (general extenders) jsou vágní víceslovné výrazy (např. *or something (like that), and stuff (like that)* vs. *nebo něco (takovýho), a tak(ový věci)*), jež se vyskytují zejména ve spontánní neformální konverzaci, v níž plní různé (propoziční i expresivní) komunikativní funkce. Zatímco se však anglickými dovětky za posledních čtyřicet let zabývalo již mnoho lingvistů, odpovídajícím českým tvarům nebyla zdaleka věnována taková pozornost (snad jediné studie věnované přímo českým dovětkům tvoří Tárnyiková 2009 a Novotný & Malá 2018). Předkládaná studie se snaží (1) identifikovat širokou škálu anglických i českých dovětek (za použití metody kolokačních rámců (Aijmer 2015)), jež jsou následně formálně vymezeny, a nabízí tak možnost výrazy skutečně chápat jako víceslovné jednotky (vzorce). Studie dále (2) zkoumá komunikativní funkce dovětek v současné angličtině a češtině, které jsou zde reprezentovány dvojicí srovnatelných korpusů neformální mluvené řeči (*Spoken BNC2014* a *ORAL2013*).

Při popisu funkcí se tato studie značně opírá o předchozí studie věnované anglickým dovětkům (např. Overstreetová 1999, 2014). Studie tak potvrzuje, co je již známo o anglických dovětcích, a zkoumá, do jaké míry jsou tyto funkce doložitelné i pro odpovídající české výrazy. Kvalitativní rozbor některých z identifikovaných tvarů (celkem bylo identifikováno 188 unikátních tvarů pro angličtinu a 132 pro češtinu) ukázal, že anglické a české dovětky vykazují podobný funkční potenciál nehledě na to, zda se jedná o objektivní, subjektivní či intersubjektivní význam. Pozorované funkční rozdíly zahrnují např. výzvu k souhlasu, jež se v češtině zřejmě nedá vyjádřit za pomoci neurčitého dovětku (srov. *or what* na konci evaluativních otázek). Angličtina dále využívá k evaluaci řečeného jak modifikátorů, tak expresivních substantiv, zatímco čeština pro tento účel, zdá se, využívá pouze výrazově zabarvená substantiva. V poslední řadě využití disjunktivních dovětek v angličtině ve výrazech typu ‚formulaic disclaimers‘ se nezdá být v češtině produktivní.

Klíčová slova: neurčité dovětky, vágní jazyk, kolokační rámce, (inter)subjektivní význam, spontánní neformální dialog.

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List of abbreviations

GE	general extender
SE	specific extender
NP	noun phrase
VP	verb phrase
ANONnameM.....	anonymous male name
ANONnameF	anonymous female name
ANONplace	anonymous place

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1. Introduction

The current study aims to investigate general extenders (GEs) in English and Czech from the formal as well as functional point of view. To that end, comparable corpora of informal spoken discourse were used – *Spoken BNC2014* for English and *ORAL2013* for Czech (3.1.). Since English GEs have been studied for almost four decades, the approach adopted here relies on previous findings (2.), especially on Overstreet’s (1999, 2001, 2002, 2014) interpretations of GEs’ functional load, which has continuously expanded through various grammaticalisation processes (2.5.1.).

In order to identify a great variety of GE forms in both languages (as Czech GEs have not yet been studied exhaustively, there are no comprehensive lists of the respective forms available), the present study employs the method of extraction by means of collocational frames (Aijmer 2015; sections 3.2. and 3.3.), made possible due to the shared formal properties of the majority of GEs, i.e. the pervasive GE-initial conjunction (*and, or, a, nebo*).

The research part firstly presents the collected forms (over 300 GE unique forms) with suggested GE collocational frames (4.1.) and then closely examines the communicative functions of GEs in the interactive speaker-hearer context (4.2.), proceeding from the referential/propositional meaning (4.2.1.) to the more pervasive meanings in present-day spontaneous informal dialogue, i.e. subjective (4.2.2. and 4.2.3.) and intersubjective (4.2.4. and 4.2.5.) meanings.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Pragmatic reasons behind indeterminacy in dialogue

As this study will be dealing with vague (or indeterminate) linguistic expressions in spontaneous language use, it is appropriate to begin with justifications as to why people would opt to be imprecise in dialogue. Bazzanella (2011: 22) lists 11 different groups of pragmatic reasons that may cause speakers to be indeterminate in a conversation, the most relevant of which for the purpose of this study I will briefly introduce here:

1. one cannot be precise, given the nature of the referent, especially the difficulties in measuring it (e.g. the number of people in a crowd), or in defining it (e.g. *Maybe he has something like some kind of tumorous growth or something* (Overstreet 1999: 43));
2. one cannot be precise due to the objective lack of information (e.g. rumours or reported speech);
3. one cannot be precise because one lacks a precise lexicon related to a specific domain at the time of an utterance (e.g. the inability to recall a specific word or an absolute lack of knowledge of it, as in the case of specialised technical terms, etc.);¹
4. one could be more precise, but does not think it is worth it as mutual knowledge can be relied on – that is, for simplification and reasons of economy, not to be redundant, but also for underlining social binding and leaving room for negotiation;
5. one could be more precise, but chooses to be indeterminate in order to either downgrade or upgrade one's utterance via different mitigation or boosting devices;
6. one could be precise, but is not in order not to offend the conversation partner(s), following the basic assumptions of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory;
7. one could be more precise but is not for reasons of humour. In these situations, the speakers intentionally avoid precision that would make the intended, humouristic effect impossible (cf. Channel 1994: 171-173; Quaglio 2009: 75; Novotný 2016: 50-52).

Since the advent of corpora of natural conversation, various corpus-based studies revealed that “indeterminacy in dialogue, especially in face-to-face situations, which provide interactants with a wide range of contextual components” (Bazzanella 2011: 21), is widespread and absolutely essential for everyday interaction (cf. also Channel 1994; Williamson 1994; Jucker et al. 2003). These shared contextual components allow the conversational participants to suppress details and specific references in favour of implicit shared knowledge, building solidarity in the process. By leaving the propositions relatively open, the speakers invite their hearers to engage in the meaning-making processes (or what can be called a “negotiated communication” (Bazzanella 2011: 35)).

¹ The first three groups of reasons can also be motivated by the fact that when one is indeterminate, their “assertions are less easily falsifiable” (Bazzanella 2011: 35).

There is a plethora of ways to be indeterminate in language. This study focuses on general extenders, a particular set of linguistic items that can be interpreted as enabling speakers to employ strategic indeterminacy in dialogue motivated by the pragmatic reasons listed above.

2.2. General extenders (GEs) as multiword pragmatic markers

Today, it is widely acknowledged that we heavily depend on multiword units in everyday language use and processing. From the perspective of distributional phraseology, general extenders (hereinafter GEs) are “recognizable chunks of language” (O’Keeffe 2006: 130) or “recurrent sequences of words” (De Cock 2004: 226). These “vague multiword expressions” (Fernandez & Yuldashev 2011: 2610) have the capacity to perform a wide variety of functions in conversation by means of “encoding shared knowledge” (ibid.). They are expressions such as *and stuff (like that), or something (like that)*, and have been studied extensively in English for decades (following Dines’ (1980) pioneering study),² which cannot be said about the corresponding linguistic constructions in Czech (*a tak(ový věci), nebo něco (takovýho)*). Given the lack of systematic studies aimed at the Czech GEs, this theoretical chapter is primarily based on studies of their English counterparts.

2.3. Distribution and formal variability

Found most frequently in informal spoken language (Overstreet 1999: 6-7; cf. also Cheshire 2007; Martínez 2011),³ GEs are typically used in face-to-face situations where the conversational participants know each other well (see Table 1). As mentioned in 2.1., this familiarity between the interlocutors, combined with the shared immediate situational context, allows for a more extensive use of vague language (including GEs) than would be the case in more formal contexts, or in non-face-to-face situations (e.g. phone calls) – the interlocutors can rely on the common ground that exists between them and avoid being overly specific, creating the meaning collaboratively.

² Consider, for example, the variety of names GEs have received over the years as linguists differed in their interpretations as to which function of these multifunctional linguistic constructions is the most prominent one: ‘set-marking tags’ (Dines 1980; Ward and Birner 1993; Stubbe and Holmes 1995; Winter and Norrby 2000), ‘utterance final tags’ (Aijmer 1985), ‘terminal tags’ (Maculay 1985), ‘generalized list completers’ (Jefferson 1990; Lerner 1994), ‘discourse particle extensions’ (Dubois 1992), ‘post-noun hedges’ (Meyerhoff 1992), ‘vague category identifiers’ (Channel 1994), ‘final coordination tags’ (Biber et al. 1999), and finally ‘generalizers’ (Simpson 2004). This overview was compiled from the overviews in Overstreet (1999: 11), Cheshire (2007: 157), and Martínez (2011: 2455) (this overview was also used in Novotný 2016: 10).

³ Examining various GE forms in both spoken and written components of the *ICE-GB* and *BNC* corpora, Martínez (2011) emphasises the striking difference in relative frequencies across both types of medium, all forms totalling at 10.15/9.22 (spoken components) vs. 1.525/0.923 (written components) occurrences per 10,000 words in the *ICE-GB/BNC* corpora (see Table 1).

Table 1. GEs overall distribution according to the medium of expression (speech vs. writing) (Martínez 2011: 2459)

	ICE-GB (1 million words)				BNC (100 million words)			
	Writing (400,000 words)	Frequency per 10,000 words	Speech (600,000 words)	Frequency per 10,000 words	Writing (90 million words)	Frequency per 10,000 words	Speech (10 million words)	Frequency per 10,000 words
<i>and that</i>	4	0.1	48	0.8	1176	0.13	969	0.96
<i>and everything</i>	2	0.05	25	0.4	260	0.028	843	0.84
<i>and stuff</i>	1	0.025	34	0.5	179	0.019	439	0.43
<i>and things</i>	2	0.05	59	0.98	201	0.022	969	0.96
<i>and so on</i>	15	0.375	69	1.15	2	0.0002	11	0.01
<i>and so on (and) so forth</i>	1	0.025	5	0.08	1	0.0001	5	0.005
<i>and all</i>	–	–	63	1.05	284	0.031	1012	1.01
<i>or something</i>	5	0.125	166	2.76	1162	0.129	2703	2.7
<i>or so</i>	21	0.525	24	0.4	3708	0.412	404	0.4
<i>or anything</i>	5	0.125	52	0.86	587	0.065	795	0.79
<i>or whatever</i>	5	0.125	64	1.06	753	0.083	1074	1.07
Total	61	1.525	609	10.15	8313	0.923	9224	9.22

English GEs typically occur in phrase- or clause-final position and have the basic form of a conjunction (*and*, *or*) plus a vague proform, either “a generic nominal (*stuff*, *things*) or a pronominal (*that*, *everything*, *something*, *anything*)” (Overstreet 2014: 107). Depending on the conjunction, Overstreet and Yule (1997) distinguish between **disjunctive** (those beginning with *or*) and **adjunctive** (those beginning with *and*) GEs. Furthermore, GEs may be “complemented or modified by some other forms, such as *like this/that*, *(of) that sort/kind*, *this/that nonsense*, *this/that business*, *this bit*, *the rest of it*, etc.” (Martínez 2011: 2455) and are typically optional and attached to “otherwise grammatically complete utterances” (Overstreet 2014: 106). Aijmer (2013) provides a number of GE patterns (or collocational frames) which can accommodate a much higher number of GE forms (see Table 2).⁴

Table 2. GE patterns and forms, including short and long variants, or examples without the initial conjunction (Aijmer 2013: 130)⁵

Connective	Pre-modifier	Generic noun	Comparative	Demonstrative
<i>and</i>	<i>kind of / sort of stupid</i>	<i>things/stuff (rubbish, shit)</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>that / this</i>
Without connective: <i>things like that / this, stuff like that / this</i> Short forms: <i>and things, and stuff</i> Long forms: <i>and things like that / this, and stuff like that / this</i>				
Connective	Demonstrative	Comparative	Generic	
<i>and</i>	<i>that / this</i>	<i>kind / sort of</i>	<i>thing / stuff</i>	
Without connective: <i>that / this kind of thing, that / this kind of stuff</i> Short form: <i>and that</i>				

⁴ In this study, the terms ‘pattern’ and ‘form’ are used to refer to different phenomena: ‘pattern’ is essentially a collocational frame, that is, a generalised structural description of a number of unique ‘forms’ (e.g. the pattern of ‘[connective] + [demonstrative] + [comparative] + [generic]’ matches various forms, such as *and that kind of thing*, *and this kind of thing*, *and this sort of stuff*, *and that sort of thing*, etc.)

⁵ Aijmer (2013) points out that the GE *and all* and its variants are productive in all varieties. The *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*, for example, contained the following forms: *and all this stuff*, *and all kinds of stuff*, *and all this shit*, *and all that other stuff*, *and all this bullshit*, *and all that shit*, *and all these different things*, *and all this other shit*, *and all this other stuff*, *and all this kind of thing*, *and all that stuff* (cf. also Dines (1980), who provided a basic pattern of [and] [(all)] [that / this] [kind / sort / type] [of] [stuff / thing]).

Connective	Quantifier	Comparative	Demonstrative
<i>or</i>	<i>something / anything</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>that / this</i>
Without connective: <i>something like that, anything like that</i> Short forms: <i>or something, or anything</i>			
Connective	Quantifier (+ generic noun)	Comparative	Demonstrative
<i>and</i>	<i>all things / everything</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>that / this</i>
Connective	Quantifier + demonstrative	Comparative	Generic
<i>and</i>	<i>all that / this</i>	<i>kind / sort of</i>	<i>thing / stuff</i>
<i>and</i>	<i>all those / these</i>	<i>kind(s) / sort of</i>	<i>things</i>
<i>and</i>	<i>all that</i>	<i>(other)</i>	<i>stuff</i>
<i>and</i>	<i>all these</i>	<i>(different)</i>	<i>things</i>

As shown in Table 2, GEs exhibit a high formal variability, attributed to the “flexibility of the collocation frames” (ibid.). Thus, speakers may choose between short (*and stuff, or something*) and long forms (*and stuff like that, or something like that*), they may add modifying elements to the noun phrases (*and those stupid things*) or omit the initial conjunction (*∅ things like that, ∅ anything like that*).

2.4. General vs. specific extenders – the attitudinal function

Before addressing GEs’ communicative functions systematically, it is worth noting that, arising from the GEs’ flexibility of collocational frames, there are examples which Overstreet (1999: 12) refers to as ‘specific extenders’ (e.g. *and all of that stupid bureaucratic stuff*) as opposed to ‘general extenders’ (e.g. *and all that stuff*). The logic behind the alternative term ‘specific extenders’ is simply that “there is more specific lexical material used within the phrase” (ibid.).⁶ It is obvious that the modifying elements (*stupid bureaucratic*) in the form *and all of that stupid bureaucratic stuff*, perform an attitudinal function, that is, expressing “a particular attitude of the speaker towards the message” (Martínez 2011: 2455; cf. also Aijmer 1985; Overstreet & Yule 1997; Overstreet 1999).

[1] *David Smith and Mike Steward and all these dudes* (Aijmer 2013: 146)

This attitudinal function can also be expressed by the speaker’s choice of the noun phrase (NP) within a GE, as in [1].⁷ Halliday and Hasan (1976: 276) point out the importance of

⁶ According to Overstreet (1999: 52), even occurrences where the noun phrase in the GE is modified with a *that*-clause can be referred to as specific extenders (e.g. *You know what um do you have a bucket or anything I can wash the cat in?*). For the purposes of this study, I will occasionally be using the term ‘specific extenders’ to refer to instances such as *and all of that stupid bureaucratic stuff*, but, as a rule, I ignored all the extenders where the noun phrase in a GE was postmodified with a clause.

⁷ The A-3-b meaning of *dude* in OED: “With approving connotation: a person (usually a man) regarded as being ‘cool’ or fashionable, or as embodying some other admirable or desirable quality.”

generic nouns due to their “introducing an interpersonal element into the meaning, which is absent in the case of the personal pronoun.” Considering example [1] again, we can see that if we were to use a fitting pronoun that was attested to form GEs in similar contexts (e.g. *David Smith and Mike Steward and everyone else*), the attitudinal function would no longer be present.

Essentially the attitude conveyed is one of *familiarity*, as opposed to distance, in which the speaker assumes the right to represent the thing he is referring to as it impinges on him personally; hence the specific attitude may be either contemptuous or sympathetic, the two being closely related as forms of *personal involvement*.⁸ (ibid.; italics mine)

This personal involvement expressed by means of premodifiers and expressive generic nouns has become an inseparable part of how present-day English and Czech speakers use GEs.

2.5. The role of grammaticalisation in the development of the GEs’ functional load

GEs (as is usually the case with pragmatic markers) are multifunctional and flexible constructions, whose interpretation is heavily dependent on context (Cheshire 2007: 158), i.e. one form can perform more than one function at once; one function can be fulfilled by different forms. Additionally, interpreting the communicative functions of GEs (and vague language in general) is necessarily subject to a certain degree of subjective interpretation, as we can never know the full extent of what goes on in the mind of the interlocutors. Cheshire, therefore, argues that to prioritise one function over another (an approach not infrequent in previous studies on GEs) means to overlook “the flexibility and multifunctionality [...], the most salient characteristic” of GEs (ibid.; cf. also Novotný 2016: 13).

In my BA thesis, *General extenders in the sitcom “Friends” dialogue* (Novotný 2016), I used Overstreet’s (1999) division into ideational and interpersonal functions of GEs, based on Halliday’s⁹ two (out of a total of three) basic metafunctions of language. In the present study, I will attempt to provide an overview of the GE functions based on more recent studies, integrating into it a simplified perspective of the grammaticalisation of GEs, i.e. how initially propositional linguistic constructions acquired more expressive functions and, as a result, became established (similarly to expressions such *I mean, you know, well, in fact* and

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58230?rskey=rgOfBS&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> Accessed on 17 July, 2018.

⁸ “There are quite a few general nouns which have this interpersonal element as an inherent part of their meaning, especially those referring to human beings, for example *idiot, fool, devil, dear*” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 276).

⁹ Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. “Language Structure and Language Function.” In *New Horizons in Linguistics*, edited by J. Lyons, 140-165. Penguin.

actually (Overstreet 2014: 108; cf. also Aijmer 2013)) as multiword pragmatic markers in English interactive spoken discourse.

2.5.1. Grammaticalisation¹⁰

Grammaticalisation is defined as “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 18; cited in Overstreet 2014: 109).¹¹ With regards to grammaticalisation of GEs, Overstreet (2014) proposes (based on previous research¹²) three processes that have been causing GEs to change their form and syntactic properties: (1) morphosyntactic reanalysis; (2) phonological attrition; and (3) decategorialisation. Significantly, these changes played a crucial role in expanding the functional load of GEs.

2.5.1.1. Morphosyntactic reanalysis

The process of morphosyntactic reanalysis primarily concerns the difference between the long and short GE forms (i.e. the presence of the GE-final comparative phrase *like that/this* or *lack thereof*, respectively). Cheshire claims that GEs “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*” (2007: 156; cf. Novotný 2016: 12), their short variants (*and stuff, or something* and *and everything*, respectively) becoming more and more dominant, especially in preadolescent language (Levey 2012; see Figure 1), where the long forms were almost absent from the data. For example, the GE *or something*, the most frequent form in most studies, is “no longer viewed as having the components [*or + some + thing*], as Erman (1995)¹³ has noted, and is so idiomatic that its articulation is also typically reduced” (Overstreet 2014: 110). Furthermore, Overstreet (ibid.) claims that the long form (*or something like that*) “continues to be a more explicitly cohesive expression [...], typically with a discernible antecedent for the anaphoric *that*” (cf. also Aijmer 2002: 224; Cheshire 2007: 178).¹⁴ As we will see, this explicit cohesive link limits the longer GE forms from acquiring some expressive functions.

¹⁰ The development of pragmatic functions over time is sometimes referred to as ‘pragmaticalisation’, to emphasise the fact that the processes of acquiring new pragmatic functions vs. new grammatical functions differ (cf. Degand & Evers-Vermeul 2015). In this study, however, I will use the general term ‘grammaticalisation’ (cf. Overstreet 2014).

¹¹ Hopper, P. & E. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. (2nd edition) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹² Aijmer 1985; Erman 1995; Overstreet 1999; Cheshire 2007; Tagliamonte & Denis 2010; Dennis 2011; Pichler & Levey 2011; Levey 2012.

¹³ Erman, Britt. 1995. “Grammaticalization in progress: The case of *or something*.” In *Papers from the XVth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, edited by Inger Moen, Hanne Simonsen, And Helga Lødrup. Oslo: University of Oslo, Department of Linguistics: 136-147.

¹⁴ Aijmer, Karin. 2002. *English Discourse Particles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

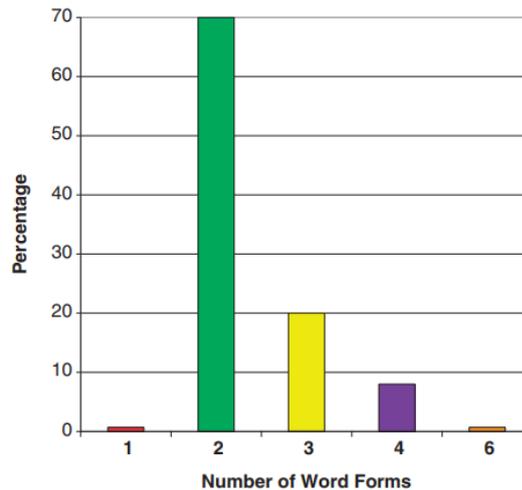


Figure 1. Length of GEs according to number of word forms (Levey 2012: 274)

2.5.1.2. Phonological attrition

GEs seem to exhibit “two aspects of phonological change, one at the suprasegmental level and the other involving the loss of phonetic segments, more generally known as phonological attrition” (Overstreet 2014: 111). As for the suprasegmental level, various studies (Aijmer 1985; Winter & Norrby 2000; Warren 2007)¹⁵ have shown that while the long GE forms are typically used as “separate constituents in a distinct tone unit, [...] short forms are more often found inside a tone unit with other constituents” (Overstreet 2014: 111). In addition, when speakers omit the GE-initial conjunction, they typically separate the GE and the previous utterance with a pause. Consider, for example, excerpt [2], in which the short form *and stuff* is pronounced in the same tone unit with *play some computer games*, while *things like that* is separated by a pause.

[2] *When I've finished school I go home ... Walk home .. Um ... Get changed .. usually do my homework first . play some computer games **and stuff** ... **things like that*** (Winter & Norrby 2000: 4; cited in Overstreet 2014: 111).

Furthermore, GEs, especially the short forms, seem to be undergoing a “reduction or loss of phonetic segments” (ibid.). Cheshire (2007: 168), for example, mentions that “the unstressed *and* is reduced to /n/ in every case [of an adjunctive GE in her data] and *or* in *or something* is almost always pronounced as a schwa.” The phonetic reduction of the conjunctions “potentially reduc[es GEs’] role as a marker signaling any kind of overt cohesive link, and contribut[es] to the impression that these short general extenders have undergone reanalysis as single forms” (Overstreet 2014: 111). For instance, consider the following phonetically reduced GE forms taken from different varieties of English: *o’someth’n* (Erman 1995: 144;

¹⁵ Studies listed in Overstreet 2014.

British English), *or some'ing* (Winter & Norrby 2000: 6; Australian English), *er somethin'* (Gunthrie 1994: 85; American English), *an' a' that* (from the 18th century poem by Robert Burns, “A man's a Man for a' that”), and *'nstuff* (Gunthrie 1994) (examples cited in Overstreet 2014: 112). The grammaticalisation processes, morphosyntactic reanalysis and phonological attrition have enabled GEs to be attached to antecedents regardless of the antecedents' syntactic and semantic properties, a process called decategorialisation.¹⁶

2.5.1.3. Decategorialisation

As briefly introduced also in Novotný (2016), GEs “may exhibit a close grammatical connection between what is described as a ‘host’ nominal and the proform included in the general extender” (Overstreet 2014: 113). This can be seen in [3], where “the generic noun *things* in the GE matches its anaphor *skipping ropes* with respect to the features [+COUNT] [+PLURAL] [+INANIMATE]” (Levey 2012: 264). In contrast, consider excerpts [4]-[6]: in [4], *and things* occurs with a non-nominal constituent; in [5], the two occurrences of *or something* append first to a verb phrase, then to a prepositional phrase; finally, in [6], *or something* does not match its host nominal in the feature [+ANIMATE]. Aijmer (2015) uses the terms of canonical or correct uses ([3]) and mismatches or incorrect uses ([4]-[6]).

- [3] *we've been playing with the skipping ropes and things* (Levey 2012: 263)
- [4] *he gets animals that are really mangy and things* (ibid.)
- [5] *I might go over and teach languages or something in France or something* (Cheshire 2007: 170)
- [6] *... some sheep or cattle or something* (Erman 1995: 143, cited in Overstreet 2014: 113)

Furthermore, Cheshire (2007) examined how the presence (or lack) of the GE-final comparative phrase (*like that/this*) influences the likelihood of the proform of a GE form matching its antecedent (cohesive ties mentioned above). Examining Figures 2 and 3, we can see that there is a correlation in that short forms allow more different contexts to be their hosts, with the exception of *and stuff* vs. *and stuff like that* in the Hull variety.

¹⁶ Or ‘decategorisation’ in Cheshire (2007).

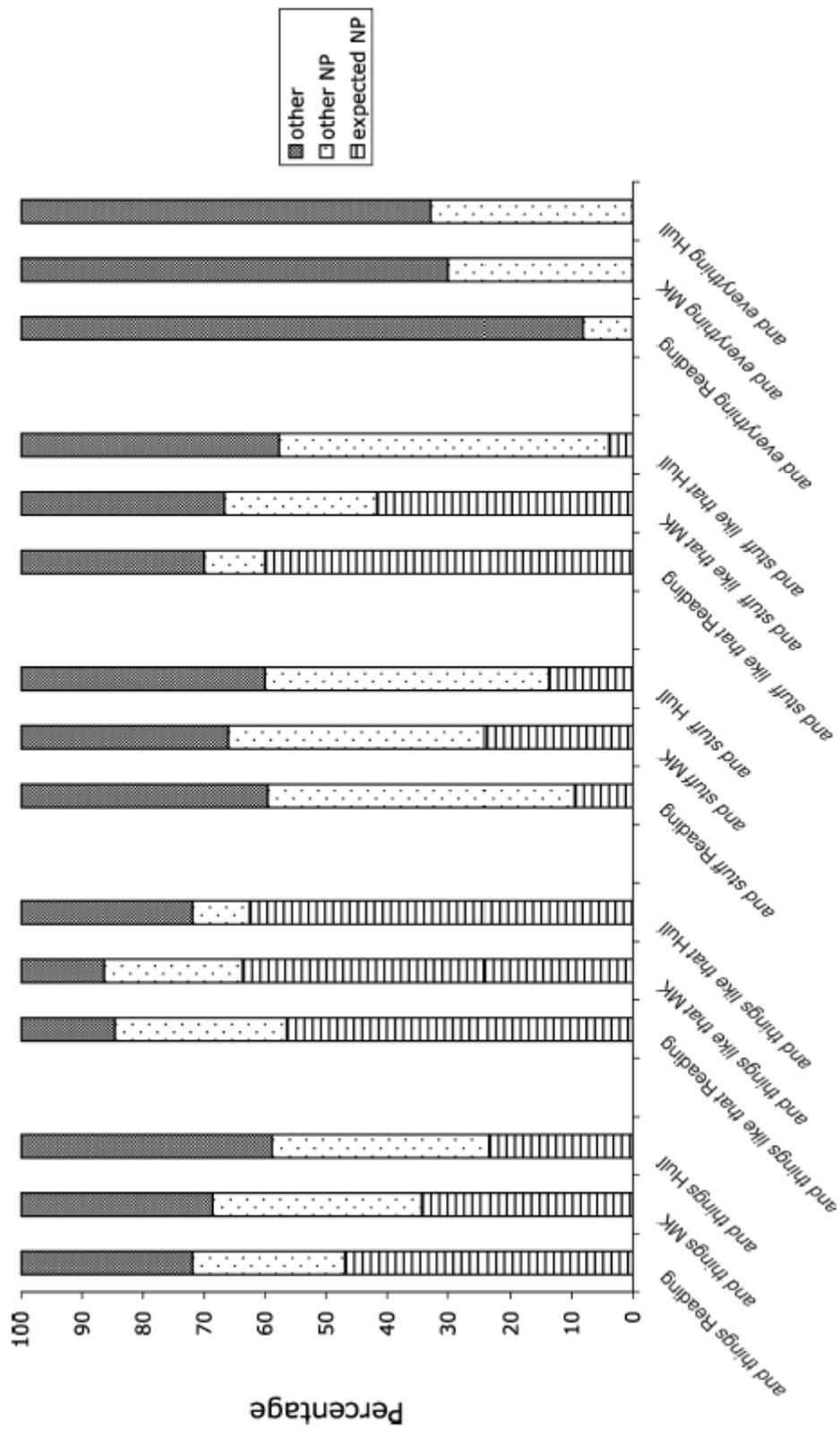


Figure 2. Decategorialisation. Adjunctive forms. (Cheshire 2007: 171)

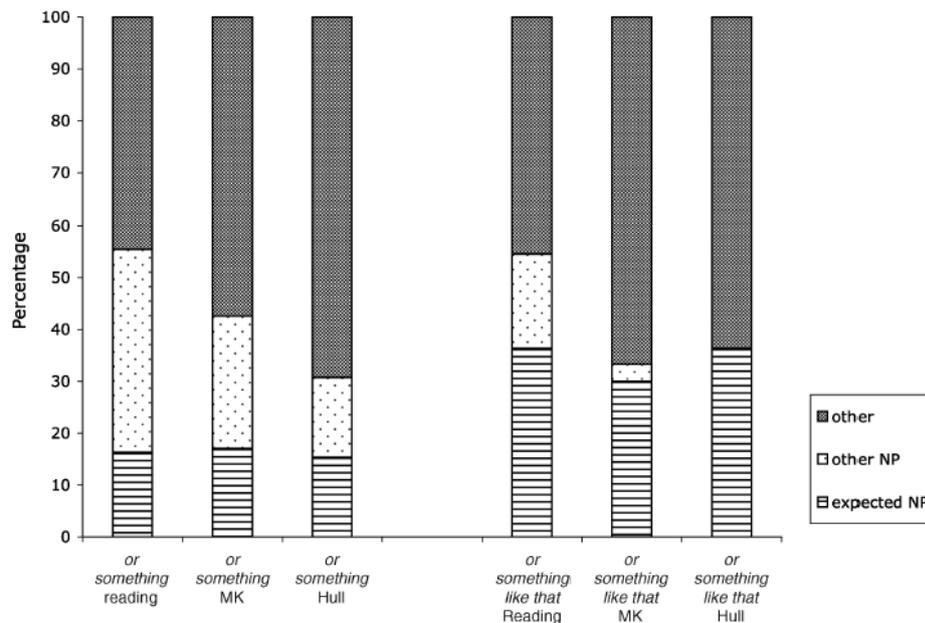


Figure 3. Decategorialisation: *or something (like that)* (Cheshire 2007: 172)

Although the present study does not concern itself with quantifying of grammaticalisation processes affecting the GEs due to the high amount of data and GE forms collected, the outline of the structural changes was included here as they shed light on how GEs are used and understood by present-day speakers. Additionally, it is extremely likely that the processes of morphosyntactic reanalysis, phonological attrition and decategorialisation were pivotal in GEs' reanalysis from linguistic constructions with a primarily propositional meaning towards pragmatic markers that function both in the subjective and intersubjective domain of spoken interaction.

2.6. GE functions – from propositional to expressive meaning

According to Hopper & Traugott (2003), the functional load of linguistic expressions typically follows a pathway of development that goes from “a propositional or ideational type of function to an expressive or interpersonal function” (Overstreet 2014: 114). The former is associated with truth-conditional relations and **referential** meaning, “connecting language externally to a world of reference” (ibid.). The latter – divided into two subcategories of **subjective** and **intersubjective** – concerns “the resources a language has for expressing personal attitudes to what is being talked about, to the text itself, and to others in the speech situation” (Traugott 1982: 248; cited in ibid.).¹⁷ This development or layering of functions is

¹⁷ Traugott, Elizabeth. 1982. “From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: Some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization.” In *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*, edited by Winfred Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel, 245-271. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

shown in Table 3. In the following sections, I will follow this table from top to bottom, offering examples and commentary in regard to the communicative functions of GEs.

Table 3. Three layers of GE functions and what they communicate to the recipient according to the type of meaning (cf. Overstreet 1999, 2014; Overstreet & Yule 2001, 2002).

Meaning		Adjunctive GEs (<i>and</i>)	Disjunctive GEs (<i>or</i>)
Objective (propositional/referential)	GE function(s)	Vague category identifiers (identifying lexicalised categories with clear-cut boundaries)	Vague category identifiers (identifying lexicalised categories with clear-cut boundaries)
	Conveyed message	“access a set of which the given exemplar(s) is/are a representative member(s)”	“access a set of which the given exemplar(s) is/are a representative member(s)”
Subjective (speaker oriented)	GE function(s)	1a) Hedges on expectations of the Gricean Quantity maxim (vague category identifiers) 2) The attitudinal function 3) Intensifiers	1a) + 1b) Hedges on expectations of the Gricean Quality maxim (approximation function) 2) The attitudinal function 3) Intensifiers
	Conveyed message	1a) “there is more but I don't want be more informative than necessary” 2) “I'm expressing what I think of the matter” 3) “I'm emphasising my sense of how noteworthy the preceding information is”	1a) + 1b) “I may be inaccurate”; “there may be an alternative explanation to what I said” 2) “I'm expressing what I think of the matter” 3) “I'm emphasising my sense of how noteworthy the preceding information is”
Intersubjective (hearer oriented)	GE function(s)	1) Positive politeness: marking attention to the addressee's self-image and need for connection 2) formulaic disclaimers	1) Negative politeness: marking attention to addressee's need for independence 2) formulaic disclaimers
	Conveyed message	1) “I'm being deliberately vague because of our shared experience and mutual solidarity + let's build the meaning together” 2) “I'm aware of the fact that what I'm about to say may be perceived as running contrary to what might be typically expected, thus clarifying my attitude”	1) “I realise that what I said may be imposing on you, therefore I'm trying to mitigate any threat to your face or self-image by giving you options to refuse or come up with an alternative” 2) “I'm aware of the fact that what I'm about to say may be perceived as a problematic (negative) action, therefore I'm disavowing this negative interpretation in advance”

2.6.1. Objective meaning – GEs as vague category identifiers

The only propositional (referential) meaning of GEs is their ability to mark “the preceding element as a member of a set” (Dines 1980: 22-3). For example, consider excerpt [7], which provides an illustrative example of a GE (*and things like that*) functioning as a vague category

identifier with an objective meaning. What makes this example so illustrative in regard to its proposed function is the explicit mention of the name of the category (*English food*). The speaker in [7] thus uses two different strategies to refer to the same category, the latter of which enables him to provide a representative member of that category while maintaining the intended meaning of multiple related items.

[7] *uh I quite like the English food actually I love roasts and things like that*
(Overstreet 2014: 115)

From the perspective of truth-conditional relations, the two clauses in [7] do not create a contradiction: i.e. [*I quite like the English food actually*] and [*I love roasts and things like that*] are two ways of expressing the same entailment, though slightly differing in the levels of specificity and intensity. If the GE *and things like that* was removed, however, the speaker would be referring only to his love of *roasts*, not the category of *English food* in general, therefore creating a contradiction between the two propositions.¹⁸ The meaning of *and things like that* in [7] may be interpreted as purely propositional, truth-conditional and hence **objective**. This objectivity, however, arises from the fact that the category of *English food* is well established or ‘lexicalised’, thus featuring clear-cut boundaries for inclusion or exclusion of various items in that category.

2.6.1.1. Lexicalised vs. non-lexicalised categories

Lexicalised categories are “named common categories” (Chanel 1994: 123), with labels such as *bird*, *fruit*, or *furniture*. Their non-lexicalised counterparts, or “spur of the moment” (ibid.) categories, are “often created spontaneously for use in specialised contexts” (Barsalou 1983: 211, cited in Overstreet 1999: 42),¹⁹ which makes them “less familiar and less central to cultural knowledge” (ibid.) (Novotný 2016: 15). Consider, for example, excerpts [8]-[10].

On the one hand, the speakers in [8] and [9] use GEs to vaguely identify lexicalised categories, *evergreens* and *housework*, respectively. The reasons for using vague category identifiers rather than relying on the name of the category itself are probably that the recipient in [8], being from Hawaii, may be unfamiliar with the category *evergreens*, which is why the speaker provides a representative member and then indicates with a GE that the recipient is to interpret that member as a part of a larger category; in [9], the speaker (in not using the

¹⁸ Cf. also Ward & Birner (1993: 209), who compare two hypothetical utterances in terms of their truth-conditional relations: (1a) *They served beer at the party*; (1b) *They served beer and everything at the party*. They conclude that the meaning of the GE *and everything* is truth-conditional because if beer and nothing else was served at the party, (1a) would be true and (1b) would be false.

¹⁹ Barsalou, Lawrence (1983) “Ad hoc categories,” *Memory and Cognition* 11: 211-227.

category label *housework*) may be emphasising, by means of iconicity, how much she has done compared to what has been suggested by Julie in utterance 1 (Overstreet 1999: 45).²⁰

On the other hand, we can hardly think of a well-established label for the category identified in [10], though that is not to say that we have no notion whatsoever as to which kind of behaviour the speaker is referring to (perhaps, the category could be interpreted as ‘misbehaviour associated with unruly boys’).²¹

- [8] *Most of ‘em are evergreens around there I guess – pine trees **an’ stuff*** (ibid.)
[9] (Jean is speaking with her daughter, Julie)
1. Julie: *You takin’ a nap?*
2. Jean: *No I’ve been vacuumin’ ‘n washin’ clothes ‘n dustin’ ‘n **all that stuff***
3. Julie: *Umhm* (ibid.)
[10] *Girls don’t really swear **and all that*** (Levey 2012: 268)

Regarding examples [7]-[9], we may interpret the respective GEs as objective and primarily propositional (referential) expressions (cf. Aijmer 1985; Channel 1994). It is with instances such as [10] that we realise that in order for GEs to be only propositional and objective, the conversational participants would need to “have access to specific pre-existing sets and categories in some straightforward way” (Overstreet 2014: 116), which is simply not the case with the vast majority of category-identifying GEs in interactive spoken discourse: it “seems unlikely that a hearer can infer the same category (or category members) that a speaker has in mind, based simply on the named exemplars that precede a [GE]” (Overstreet 1999: 50). In fact, it is likely that not even the speaker always has some additional specific referents in mind when using a category-identifying GE.

Recent research (Cheshire 2007; Martínez 2011; Levey 2012; Overstreet 2001, 2002, 2014), therefore, emphasises the expressive (**subjective** and **intersubjective**) meanings of GEs, which are also of main interest in this study

2.6.2. Subjective (speaker-oriented) meaning

According to the ‘cooperative principle’, you are supposed to “[m]ake your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice 1975: 45). Grice also defined four Maxims any conversational participant should adhere to in a cooperative effort such as

²⁰ For other possible reasons of why speakers may opt for a vague category inference by means of a GE instead of using a well-established category label, see Overstreet (1999: 44-45).

²¹ Tárnayková (2009: 124) differentiates between ‘identifying’ and ‘associative’ tags: e.g. the GE *and suchlike* in *Harvard, Yale, Princeton and suchlike* is an identifying tag that clearly refers to the superordinate notional category [universities], whereas the form *and stuff like that in flashing lights and music and stuff like that* functions as an associative tag that initiates “the ‘scenario’ of pragmatically associated items” (ibid.), thus ceasing to be a merely objective expression.

spontaneous dialogue. GEs are sometimes interpreted as hedges on expectations arising from Gricean Maxims, specifically the Maxims of Quantity and Quality (cf. Overstreet 1999, 2014). Since Gricean Maxims are instructions for the speakers on how to conduct themselves in a dialogue, they are inherently speaker oriented, i.e. **subjective**.

2.6.2.1. Quantity hedges – informativeness of an utterance

Quantity hedges “give notice that not as much or not as precise information is provided as might be expected” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 166; cited in Overstreet 2014: 120). In [11] and [12], the speakers use GEs to mark that what they say could be expressed more exhaustively but, abiding by the second Quantity sub-Maxim, they do not want to be “more informative than is required [...] for the current purpose of the exchange” (Grice 1975: 45). Overstreet (1999) claims that given the most basic meaning of adjunctive GEs of “there is more”, it is these ‘*and*-extenders’ (Aijmer 2015) that are frequently used as hedges on expectations arising from the Quantity Maxim.

- [11] *He said he was making a real effort, to be good and to be faithful **and everything** (Martínez 2011: 2453)*
- [12] *there were ... some very very good houses rather old-fashioned but quite good houses ... with very big rooms **and that** ... and these were sort of better class people ... people with maybe ... minor civil servants **and things like that** you know (Overstreet 2014: 120)*

2.6.2.2. Quality hedges – accuracy of an utterance

Quality hedges “suggest that the speaker is not taking full responsibility for the truth of the utterance” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 164; cited in Overstreet 2014: 120). This unwillingness on the part of the speaker expressed typically by disjunctive GEs (and most frequently by *or something*) is common for a number of contexts: amounts ([13]), lexical items ([14]), reported speech ([15]), analogies ([16]) and jokes ([17]) (Overstreet 1999: 111-124).

- [13] *for that job he gets—I think it's three weeks or a month **or something** of vacation every year (Craig and Tracy 1983: 306; cited in *ibid.*: 115)*
- [14] *I said no I know his name is something else. Teddy ‘r Tom ‘r **somethin** (Jefferson 1990: 66; cited in *ibid.*: 116)*
- [15] *On his other side was this heavenly little blond girl who was a friend of one of Louis and Noonie’s daughters—I can't remember her name—and O. J. said to me, “I’m going to hit on her,” **or something like that**, and it sounded innocent and cute. (Dunne 1997: 12; cited in *ibid.*: 119)*
- [16] *It was wonderful. It was like a drive through Jurassic Park **or something** (Honolulu Advertiser, 14 Dec. 1997; cited in *ibid.*: 119)*

- [17] *In one of her shows, she took fresh eggs from the hens she raised and made a meal to rival the Last Supper. Ten minutes later she painted a colored diamond on her porch (exhausting just to watch). While the paint was drying, I think she built a house **or something*** (Honolulu Advertiser, 5 Jan. 1997; cited in *ibid.*: 121)

It is worth noting that these contexts are in accordance with pragmatic reasons for vagueness listed at the very beginning of this chapter. As the interpretations of [13]-[15] are rather obvious due to their pervasiveness in everyday language use, I will only comment on the last two, more interesting excerpts. In [16], the writer uses *Jurassic Park* (which any American is familiar with) to better describe his experience with reference to something that the recipient can picture clearly. The GE then allows him to mark the previous utterance as a mere approximation (or analogy), not what he really experienced.²² Similarly, in [17],²³ the writer uses a GE to mark the previous utterance (*she built a house*) as “purposeful exaggeration which is intended to be humorous and not to be taken literally” (*ibid.*). All the occurrences of *or something* listed in this section could be loosely characterised as performing an ‘approximation’ function.

2.6.2.3. Intensifiers – attitudinal function

Furthermore, subjective meanings of GEs include scenarios in which speakers express an attitude towards the message. Depending on the context, the attitude may be positive ([18]) or negative ([19]). In [18], the speaker, in using the intensifying function of *and everything*, marks the previous utterance (*He went to Oxford*) as something remarkable, or extreme at a given scale of ‘where one can get education’. Similarly, in [19], the speaker expresses an evaluation by means of a GE *or anything*, only negative in this case, e.g. “hard to believe” (Aijmer 1985: 384), or an extreme behaviour on a certain scale of behaviours from the subjective perspective of the speaker.

- [18] *Her dad’s kind of very well brought up. He went to Oxford **and everything**.* (Martínez 2011: 2466)

- [19] *so she quite put him off and now he never rings up **or anything*** (Aijmer 1985: 384; cited in Overstreet 2014: 117)

Interestingly, this intensifying function seems to be only feasible with the short forms (as noted by Cheshire 2007), supporting the interpretation that the GEs which have been further grammaticalised are more open to acquiring new functions.

²² In ‘analogies’, the GE *or something* supports the function of the comparative *like*.

²³ The excerpt comes from a newspaper article about “the superhuman homemaker and handywoman Martha Stewart” (Overstreet 1999: 121).

2.6.3. Intersubjective (addressee-oriented) meaning – politeness strategies

As noted by Tárnyiková (2009: 116), “the contribution of [vague language] to more informal and less tense communicative situations open up space for the intersection of vagueness and politeness.” Based on the notion of ‘face’ by Goffman (1967), Brown & Levinson (1987: 311) claim that face is “emotionally invested, [...] can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction.” Furthermore, it is in everyone’s best interest to cooperate as the vulnerability of face is mutual, i.e. “everyone’s face depends on everyone else’s being maintained” (ibid.). As politeness strategies are inherently tied to conversational participants’ efforts to defend their faces, as well as those of their interactants, we can define expressions that are deliberately used for politeness as **intersubjective**.

Similarly to the subjective meaning, the formal characteristics of a GE (i.e. whether it is an adjunctive or disjunctive GE) can be linked to two different principles.

2.6.3.1. Positive politeness – one’s need for connection

Adjunctive GEs are often used as a positive politeness strategy to “signal an assumption of shared experience and solidarity with the addressee, thereby marking attention to the addressee’s self-image” (Overstreet 2014: 121). Sometimes, the common ground and shared experience and background that exist between the interlocutors can manifest themselves in communicative events where the conversational participants create the meaning collaboratively. Consider, for example, the excerpt [20], which presents two friends answering the question of whether they like the girl group Spice girls. By Sue’s providing an alternative for *and stuff (the girl power)*, induced by its basic meaning of “there is more”, followed by Ann’s acceptance of that alternative, both conversational participants are attending to their face wants in terms of positive politeness.

- [20] Ann: *but I admire like they’ve what they’ve done . how they’ve got so far and stuff*
Sue: *the girl power*=
Ann: =*the girl power thing* (Cheshire 2007: 182)²⁴

2.6.3.2. Negative politeness – one’s need for independence

Following Brown & Levinson’s (1987: 312) notion of negative face as “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others,” negative politeness is described by Jucker & Taavitsainen (2013: 115)²⁵ as “non-imposition politeness” (cited by Overstreet 2014: 122). Overstreet provides three possible scenarios in which people

²⁴ This example was also cited in Novotný (2016) and Novotný & Malá (2018).

²⁵ Jucker, Andreas, and Irma Taavitsainen. 2013. *English Historical Pragmatics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

commonly use disjunctive GEs (again, especially *or something*) to “mitigate any threat to the addressee’s face or self-image” (ibid.): a request ([21]), an invitation ([22]) and a proposal ([23]).

- [21] *Could we, when you give us our essays back, and give us titles could we sort of meet or something?* (Chanel 1994: 135)
- [22] *What are you doing tonight, you know, do you wanna go out or something?* (Martínez 2011: 2453)
- [23] Julie: *Come over an’ hang out*
Donna: *‘kay*
Julie: *We can always, y’know, just yack an’ have dinner*
Donna: *Okay*
Julie: *An’ we could even go*
Donna: *But*
Julie: *for a walk or something if ya wanna go* (Overstreet 1999: 105-6; all examples cited in Overstreet 2014: 122)

In [21], the speaker probably feels the need to make his request more tentative due to the combined, mutually assumed sociological variables of ‘social distance’ and ‘relative power’ (Brown & Levinson 1987: 319) between the speaker (a student) and the hearer (a teacher). To that end, the speaker uses the GE *or something* to minimise the implicit imposition of his request.²⁶ Significantly, there is “no real hint of an alternative event in the use of *meet or something*” (Overstreet 2014: 122), which supports the interpretation that the ‘non-imposition politeness’ function is prominent with this instance of a disjunctive GE (the basic meaning of which is “there is an alternative”).

As every invitation is inherently a face-threatening act due to the implicit imposition on the hearer to either accept or refuse, GEs are often used in what can be called ‘polite invitations’ (see [22]) (Novotný 2016). In Julie’s succeeding utterances in [23], we can see a particular strategy of negative politeness which Lakoff (1973: 298; cited in ibid.)²⁷ describes as “Give options”, including the option to refuse.

2.6.3.3. Formulaic disclaimers – ‘impression-management’²⁸ devices

Another typical function of GEs (especially the forms *and everything*, *and all* and *or anything*) that can be categorised as intersubjective is their ability to somewhat control how the speaker (or his utterance) is perceived (or interpreted) by the hearer. This desire of a proper presentation of self on the part of cooperative conversational partners arises from the

²⁶ The tentative use of the GE is supported by other tentative expressions, such as the modal *could we* (occurring twice) and the hedge *sort of*.

²⁷ Lakoff, Robin. 1973. “The logic of politeness: Or, minding your P’s and Q’s.” In *Papers from the 9th Regional Meeting of the Chicago linguistic society*, 292-305. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

²⁸ Goffman 1959: 208; cited in Overstreet 2001: 50.

set of social rules (cf. Goffman 1971;²⁹ Grice 1975; Brown & Levinson 1987) that implicitly guide our everyday interactions. If an action (here considering only verbal actions) prior to its execution, is perceived by a speaker as running contrary to these assumed rules,³⁰ the speaker may use ‘preventative’ strategies (Goffman 1959)³¹ to avoid an undesirable re-evaluation of their identity by other interlocutors.

As for GEs used as impression-management devices, termed by Overstreet & Yule (2001) as ‘formulaic disclaimers’ due to their pervasiveness in spoken English interaction, they typically occur in two patterns: [*not X or anything, but Y*] (see [24]) and [*X and everything, but Y*] (see ([25]). For the sake of clarity, Overstreet & Yule’s interpretation of how the first pattern might be understood from the speaker’s perspective follows (consider excerpt [24]):

“I hereby seek to clarify in advance my intention not to violate either a specific social rule (=not X [‘don’t’ boast]) or any other relevant social rules that we have in common (=or anything), acknowledging that (=but) this utterance (=Y [*have done certain things in life*]) or behavior described therein may constitute a problematic action.” (ibid.: 51)

[24] P: *I mean I I mean I I y’know it’s it’s a problem I mean they asked me oh something about do you give blood. I said well I’m not allowed to give blood. Why not? Well I had malaria and I can never give blood. How did you get malaria? Well I was in the jungles in Zambia. Y’know and and it’s not that I’m boasting or anything but I*

S: *you’re not*

P: = *have done certain things in my life and they asked about it.* (Overstreet & Yule 2001: 52)³²

Similarly, in [25], the speaker is “implicitly acknowledging the other person’s rights (*she is the caretaker*) and that certain expectations would normally be justified”³³ (Overstreet & Yule 2002: 791). Nevertheless (*but*), “the speaker presents her *serious* intention to behave in a way that is contrary to those expectations” (ibid.), i.e. ‘I will impose on her *if she gets a pet* despite her right to do so’.

²⁹ Goffman, Erving. 1971. *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Basic Books.

³⁰ Goffman “refers to this ability to project an interpretation of one’s actions that ‘maximize either its offensiveness to others or its defaming implications for the actor himself’ as a ‘virtual offense’” (1971: 108-9; cited in Overstreet & Yule 2001: 49)

³¹ Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.

³² Significantly, S’s utterance *you’re not* functions as a supportive feedback signal that the speaker will not be re-typified as ‘boastful’ in S’s eyes.

³³ “Those expectations, emphasized by *and all that* and assumed to be intersubjectively understood, might include being free from imposition by others with regard to a pet animal” (Overstreet & Yule 2002: 791).

- [25] *I mean she is the caretaker of the dog and all that, but I-I'm real serious about it- if she gets a pet in the next few years I'm gonna slap her* (Overstreet & Yule 2002: 791)

2.6.3.4. The soliciting function of *or what* – an intensified request

The form *or what* is a unique specimen among the category of GEs, which is probably why the vast majority of linguists, at least to my knowledge, do not include this form into their studies of GEs. The only study that I know of that does so is Overstreet's (1999) book, which is likely the most comprehensive study of GEs to date. I follow Overstreet's example and include *or what* into the present study due to its formal similarity to other GEs, as well as its interesting pragmatic features.

When used at the end of an interrogative sentence, the GE *or what* can function as a kind of a 'meta-proposition',³⁴ whereby the speaker highlights the preferable answer to his *yes/no*-question. Overstreet (1999: 93-95) identified an 'agreement-soliciting' function, where the GE *or what* allows the speaker/writer to express a desire that his conversational participant share his views, that is, in the case of [26], "yes, this is good stuff".

Furthermore, Overstreet pointed out that *or what* can help the speaker make his question more pressing, i.e. urging an answer from the hearer (consider [27]). For the purposes of this study, I will refer to this function as 'an intensified request for clarification' and it is best shown in communicative events where the speaker, before using the GE (*or what*), mentions all the possible alternatives (*strong or weak*), therefore removing any referential/propositional value from *or what*. In Novotný (2016), I introduced a third soliciting function, i.e. soliciting of action, as shown in [28].

- [26] *Is this good stuff **or what**?* (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 June 1996; cited in Overstreet 1999: 94)
- [27] Grandmother: *Did you want it strong or weak **or what**?*
Grandson: *Strong.* (ibid.: 95)
- [28] Joey: *Will you make the call **or what**?*
Chandler: *Oh, okay. I'll-I'll try.* E618 (Novotný 2016)

Since the expression *or what* is typically not included in GE studies, I did not incorporate it into the table of functions (see Table 3).

2.7. Layering of functions

Despite dealing here with the communicative functions of GEs one by one in different sections, it has to be emphasised again that GEs are multifunctional expressions and the

³⁴ This term was suggested to me by Prof. Torsten Leuschner from the Ghent University at the OLINCO conference (2018).

functions “layer” on top of each other; e.g. the objective meaning of adjunctive GEs to mark the preceding exemplar as a member of a well-established category (licensed by its basic meaning of “there is more”) gradually loosens up to allow for creation of the ‘spur-of-the-moment’ categories that defy a precise definition, yet still create, by means of association, a notion of what the “more” is. Following the introduction of the cooperative principle and politeness theory, the meaning of “there is more” in spoken interactions could be further reinterpreted in terms of Quantity Maxim and Positive Politeness, respectively. Furthermore, some adjunctive GEs developed an intensifying function, where the basic meaning of “there is more” is suppressed.

Therefore, we need to devote our attention to context as the most significant indicator of communicative functions of GEs.

2.8. A note on Czech general extenders

The Czech secondary literature mentions GEs mostly in connection with unfinished or elliptical sentences (Müllerová, 2011); Hoffmanová (2013: 221), for example, uses the term ‘vague ending’³⁵ of an utterance. Perhaps the only systematic research aimed at the Czech GEs was carried out by Tárníková (2009), who focused on GEs as a means of vague reference to notional categories (i.e. vague category identifiers).³⁶ Tárníková’s findings most relevant for the present study include the idiomaticity of the particle *tak* (following the conjunctions *a* or *nebo*) which allows for its universal applicability; and the different levels of semantic emptiness between the generic nouns *things* and *věci*, causing the unidiomaticity in literal Czech translations: *cuckoos, robins and things* (**kukačky, červenky a věci*). Tárníková (2009: 127) argues that in such cases the noun *věci* has to be “either extended by a premodifier [...] or substituted for by the notional category proper,” i.e. *kukačky, červenky a ostatní/podobní/další ptáci*. She also points out the rich grammatical diversity of GE forms due to the synthetic nature of Czech.

³⁵ Translated from: ‘neurčité zakončení’ výpovědi.

³⁶ In addition, an attempt at a functional description of Czech GEs was presented in Novotný & Malá (2018).

3. Material and method

3.1. Corpora of spontaneous spoken discourse

The present study draws on two corpora of informal spoken English and Czech, the *Spoken BNC2014* and *ORAL2013*, respectively. The *Spoken BNC2014* corpus contains 11.5 million words in the form of transcripts of recorded conversations, gathered from members of the UK public between 2012 and 2016. Since GEs occur most frequently in informal contexts where the conversational participants know each other well, it is essential that “the conversations were recorded in informal settings (typically at home) and took place among friends and family members.”³⁷ In total, the *Spoken BNC2014* comprises 1,251 conversations with a total of 672 speakers.

The 2.8-million-word corpus of spontaneous spoken Czech, *ORAL2013*, was built by the Institute of the Czech National Corpus as a third corpus in the *ORAL* series, following the predecessors *ORAL2006* and *ORAL2008*. Similarly to the *Spoken BNC2014*, all *ORAL* corpora gather only the conversations enacted in informal situations and by conversational participants that are familiar with and close to each other, thus providing a valuable insight into the features of spontaneous Czech interactions. The *ORAL2013* corpus consists of 835 conversations, recorded between 2008 and 2011, featuring a total of 1,297 speakers.

Both corpora under investigation stress 1) the importance of physical presence of all the conversational participants (excluding phone calls, Skype conversations, etc.), 2) the dialogic nature of the communicative events (at least two speakers are engaged in a conversation), and 3) private and unofficial setting of the communicative event, taking place in a safe environment between familiars. These criteria are of importance for the present study of pragmatic markers as the conversational participants share the immediate situational context (1) and are therefore able to refer to this shared knowledge implicitly (using GEs and other shared-knowledge-encoding linguistic constructions). Moreover, vague language (by leaving some things unsaid) is typical of spontaneous spoken interactions since people often create the meaning collaboratively (2);³⁸ and, naturally, they are more willing to underspecify and then cooperate in creating the meaning with familiars in a ‘safe’ environment (3) than with strangers in formal and/or public situations.

³⁷ British National Corpus 2014 <<http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014/>>. Accessed on 9 July, 2018.

³⁸ Conversational participants can also rely on the fact that should any misunderstandings occur, they can be addressed immediately (e.g. the hearer can interrupt the speaker with a clarifying question before the conversation proceeds), which cannot be relied on in written discourse, making explicitness essential.

All things considered, the *Spoken BNC2014* and *ORAL2013* offer a useful and representative material for the study of not only GEs, but all pragmatic markers in present-day spontaneous language use.

3.2. Collocational frames

GEs are recurrent multiword units that exhibit “extensive [formal] variability” (Pichler & Levey 2011: 442; cited in Aijmer 2015: 212),³⁹ due to which they form an open category of expressions, i.e. a category readily accepting new members. Although the formal variability of GEs is widely accepted, it seems that few studies actually examined it thoroughly; instead, the communicative functions, regional (cf. Cheshire 2007), age (cf. Levey 2012) and cross-linguistic (cf. Overstreet 2012; Aijmer 2015) differences in GE use or grammaticalisation (cf. Cheshire 2007; Overstreet 2014) of the frequent and thus well-known forms (such as *or something*, *and stuff/things*, *and everything/all*, *or anything/whatever*) over time have usually been of primary interest to the linguists. Notwithstanding the secondary attention given to formal variability of GEs, there have been several patterns (as well as relatively long lists of GE forms) introduced in previous studies some of which were provided in section 2.3. In contrast, there is no such list available for the Czech GEs. One of the primary goals of this study, therefore, was to remedy these shortages by collecting a high number of English and Czech GE forms regardless of their frequency of use.

Looking for yet unidentified members of an open category of expressions inherently poses a question of “what exactly we are looking for”, i.e. we need something that the expressions of interest have in common to narrow down the search. In the case of GEs, this common feature are the conjunctions that are (if present) located at the beginning of a GE. Even though there are GE forms that omit the initial conjunction, previous research (cf. Overstreet 1999; Cheshire 2007; Novotný 2016) suggests that these forms are sufficiently infrequent (less than 1% of all the occurrences of GEs in Cheshire’s data) to be ignored in the initial step of the extraction process.

Taking advantage of the pervasive GE-initial conjunctions (*and/or*), Aijmer (2015: 214) uses ‘collocational frameworks’ (Renouf & Sinclair 1991)⁴⁰ to identify various GE forms in her data of native speakers and Swedish learners of English, searching “for combinations with *and* and *or* and words [GEs] are known to frequently co-occur with.” Using this method, she gathered 26 different forms of what she calls ‘*and*-extenders’

³⁹ Pichler, Heike, and Stephen Levey. 2011. “In search of grammaticalization in synchronic dialect data: General extenders in north-east England.” *English Language and Linguistics* 15(3): 441-71.

⁴⁰ Renouf, Antoinette, and John M. Sinclair. 1991. “Collocational frameworks in English.” In *English Corpus Linguistics*, edited by Karin Aijmer and Bengt Altenberg, 128-43. London: Longman.

(adjunctive GEs) and 13 different forms of ‘*or*-extenders’ (disjunctive GEs). It is worth noting that her lists include forms without the initial conjunction (\emptyset *things like that*, \emptyset *everything like that*, \emptyset *that sort of thing*, \emptyset *something like that*), but she does not go on to explain how she extracted those forms as they could not be the product of her method of collocational frames with the conjunctions as the starting point.⁴¹

What also requires commentary are the *words* GEs are “known to frequently co-occur with” (ibid.). GE-initial conjunctions may be followed by various nouns (e.g. *stuff*, *things*, *people*, *places*), pronouns (e.g. *everything*, *all*, *that*, *something*, *anything*, *whatever*), an adverb phrase (*so forth*), a *wh*-clause (*what have you*) or onomatopoeic word (*blah*) (Martínez 2011: 2454). Additionally, we cannot rule out the existence of other elements that can feasibly follow the GE-initial conjunctions. Therefore, to use the method of collocational frames to effectively identify different GE forms without looking through all the words that frequently co-occur with the conjunctions *and* and *or*, one needs to be able to guess which words have the potential to form GEs.

3.3. Methodology of the extraction process

Drawing inspiration from Aijmer’s extraction method, this study also uses the conjunctions as its starting point. It was empirically established in the initial stage of this study that the log-likelihood ratio yields the most relevant collocates for the purpose of collecting various GE forms for both languages.⁴² The searches for collocates were always performed for the span of R1-4. Once the collocates were identified, 300 most significant of them were assessed in terms of their GE-forming potential for all the conjunctions (i.e. 300 most significant collocates of *and*, *or*, *a*, and *nebo*) and if deemed likely to participate in the formation of GEs, the concordance lines were examined closely to identify GE forms.

Using this extraction method, I was able to identify over 300 unique GE forms (188 for English, 132 for Czech), which is likely the most comprehensive list of GE forms to date. Nevertheless, the list is by no means exhaustive as it is probably impossible (and also not entirely necessary) to collect all the members of an open category in a given synchronic corpus. Additionally, the synthetic nature of Czech, combined with the phonetic transcription of the *ORAL2013* corpus, causes a lot of variability even among forms that would otherwise

⁴¹ Aijmer also does not comment on how she extracted the GE *et cetera*. It is likely that it was her awareness of this form that made her look for it specifically, abandoning the methodology of collocational frames.

⁴² From now on, whenever I refer to the significance of collocates, log-likelihood ratio was used.

be identified as the same.⁴³ Despite the non-exhaustiveness of the list of collected GE forms for this study, the extent of the list and attested formal variability are sufficient to provide an insight into how speakers use these pragmatic markers in a personally involved (Halliday & Hasan 1976) and creative way.

During the extraction process itself, one collocation search was typically enough to identify a sufficient number of forms where the collocate (located at R1-4 from the conjunction) + conjunction formed a GE. Occasionally, however, the collocation search was performed cumulatively to enable a categorisation of highly variable forms induced by productive collocates. This is most clearly illustrated in the case of *all* (cf. also Dines 1980; Aijmer 2013), which is the twelfth most significant collocate of *and* (see Table 4). Since *all* features in many forms as a (pre)determiner, performing another search for collocations (with the same defining characteristics as in the first search) allowed for an easier extraction of different forms, while, at the same time, providing a useful insight into what (and how significant) building blocks the speakers have at their disposal when they use the GE *and all* *.⁴⁴ It should also be noted that the GE forms in Table 4 were, for the sake of space, categorised to reflect similar patterns (e.g. *and all that/this sort of business/shit/stuff/thing*). Thus, even though there are only 24 patterns (25 including the short GE *and all* in the second column) indicated in Table 4, there are over 80 unique GE forms.

Table 4. An example of the cumulative extraction process according to a given collocate (*all*).

1st search	GE Forms	2nd search	GE Forms
all (12)	<i>and all</i>	sorts (2)	<i>and all sorts</i> <i>and all sorts of bits and pieces/stuff/things/white goods</i> <i>and all of those sorts of things</i>
		rest (4)	<i>and all the rest of it</i>
		kind (8)	<i>and all (of) that/this kind of stuff/thing/shit/bollocks</i>
		that (9)	<i>and all that</i> <i>and all (of) that bollocks/(bull)shit/business/nonsense/spy stuff/rubbish</i> <i>and all of that sort/kind of thing/stuff</i>
		stuff (11)	<i>and all (of) that/this stuff</i> <i>and all kinds of stuff</i> <i>and all that/this other stuff</i> <i>and all that plastic/stupid stuff</i> <i>and all the white goods stuff</i>
		sort (13)	<i>and all that/this sort of business/shit/stuff/thing</i>

⁴³ For instance, just the indefinite Czech pronoun *nějak* (and its colloquial variant *ňák*) occurs in at least 70 unique forms.

⁴⁴ The bracketed numbers after collocates in this study always show the significance of that collocate towards the conjunction (or, in the case of cumulative searches, towards a collocation comprising the conjunction). For example, in Table 4, *all* is the 12th most significant collocate of *and*, while *sorts* is the 2nd most significant collocate of the collocation *and all*.

1st search	GE Forms	2nd search	GE Forms
		kinds (16) things (19) bits (22)	<i>and all them sort of people/things</i> <i>and all these sort of jobs/clean-up things</i> <i>and all kinds of malarkey/shenanigans/shit/stuff/things</i> <i>and all sorts of things</i> <i>and all of these/those things</i> <i>and all the other things</i> <i>and all these different/stupid things</i> <i>and all things like that</i> <i>and all the other bits and pieces</i> <i>and all the bits and pieces</i>

In order to be able to easily count the various GE forms that have been collected, I limited the categorisation according to similar patterns, so, for example, *all that kind of thing*, *all this kind of thing*, *all of that kind of thing* and *all of this kind of thing* were recorded as individual entries despite their formal similarity (*all (of) that/this kind of thing*).⁴⁵ All the collected examples can be seen in Tables 5 and 6 in the following section, whereas the detailed record of the extraction process along with the significance of the collocates can be seen in Appendix.

Given the nature of the present study (identifying of a high variety of forms and exploring their communicative functions from a cross-linguistic perspective), what follows is primarily a qualitative analysis as most kind of quantifications would be extremely complicated or downright unfeasible, e.g. because of the multifunctionality of GEs, the overlap of various forms (*and stuff* vs. *and stuff like that/this*; *a tak* vs. *a tak dále/podobně*) or the fact that not all the sequences of words that were attested to function as GEs actually do so in all their occurrences (*and then spring comes **and everything** blossoms and blooms, ten višňovej nebo jakej **a tak** sme tam chvíľu poseděli*). However, there were tendencies in the data that were clearly observable even without a comprehensive quantitative analysis – these will be mentioned in due course.

⁴⁵ Aijmer (2015), for example, also lists *and all this* and *and all these* as two individual forms.

4. Research part

Although the initial step of this study involved gathering a large variety of GE forms, the primary aim was to explore the communicative functions of GEs in spontaneous spoken English and Czech, focusing on both similarities and differences between the two. Therefore, this chapter provides only a brief discussion (4.1.) of what can be formally observed from the hundreds of collected forms. The main subchapter (4.2.) concerns itself with functions of GEs, proceeding from the objective end of the scale towards the intersubjective one (see Table 3).

4.1. Interpretation of the data

4.1.1. Formal variability & GE patterns

Unsurprisingly, the Czech GEs do not have as fixed word order as the English forms, e.g. *nebo něco takovýho* vs. *nebo takovýho něco*, *nebo tak něco* vs. *nebo něco tak*, *nebo tak něk* vs. *nebo něk tak*, *nebo cosi takového* vs. *nebo takového cosi*, etc. This seems to be more the case for disjunctive GEs, but it can also occur with the adjunctives, e.g. *a todle všechno* vs. *a všechno todle*. In contrast, English GEs exhibit more formal restraints, which makes them more feasible to interpret in terms of collocational frames. Additionally, in both languages various items can be inserted into the collocational frames; e.g. in Czech, these inserts include, for example, prepositions (*nebo na něco takovýho*, *nebo v/do/od kolika*); **prostě** (*a takové prostě věci*, *a prostě takhle*, *nebo prostě něco*); **jako** (*nebo jako něco takového*) or a combination of more items (*a takový prostě jako ptákovinky*); in English, these are **just** (*and just general stuff*, *and just stuff like that*, or *just something like that*) and **like**⁴⁶ (*and like stuff like that*).

To account for the high formal variability, the suggested GE patterns below feature a lot of optional slots. Those forms that I found as not sharing formal properties with many other forms were left in white. These include, for example, forms with reduplicated conjunctions (*a todle a tamto*, *and bits and bobs*, *and all the other bits and pieces*, *and so on and so forth*, *and one thing or another*, *or this or that*, *or that or the other*), fixed forms (*a kdesi cosi*, *and so on*, *and so forth*, *and whatnot*) or formally unique GEs (*a bla bla bla*, *and blah blah blah*).

The extracted GE forms can be seen in Tables 5 and 6. What follows below is an attempt to delimit some of the GE patterns (compare the coloured patterns below with the respective columns in Tables 5 and 6) of varying degrees of productivity.

⁴⁶ Excluding occurrences of *like* in the GE-final comparative phrase *like that/this*.

Czech adjunctive GEs (cf. Table 5)

1. [a] + [demonstrative] + ([demonstrative]) + ([premodifier]) + [NP] + ([postmodifier])
2. [a] + [particle] + ([adverb])
3. [a] + ([demonstrative]) + ([demonstrative/particle]) + [všec.*] + ([adjective/adverb]) + ([NP/demonstrative])

Czech disjunctive GEs (cf. Table 5)

1. [nebo] + ([particle]) + [indefinite pronoun]
[nebo] + ([indefinite pronoun]) + [particle]
2. [nebo] + ([particle]) + [indefinite pronoun] + [demonstrative]
[nebo] + ([particle]) + [demonstrative] + [indefinite pronoun]
3. [nebo] + [interrogative pronoun] + [*]

English adjunctive GEs (cf. Table 6)

1. [and] + [all] + ([of]) + [determiner] + ([premodifier]) + [NP]
2. [and] + [all] + ([of]) + ([determiner]) + [kind(s)/sort(s) of] + ([premodifier]) + [NP]
3. [and] + ([just]) + ([premodifier]) + [NP] + ([else]) + ([like that/this])
4. [and] + [that] + ([sort/kind of]) + [NP]

English disjunctive GEs (cf. Table 6)

1. [or] + [indefinite/interrogative pronoun] + ([postmodifier]) + ([else]) + ([like that])
2. [or] + [some] + ([kind/sort of]) + [NP] + ([like that])
3. [or] + [whatever] + [NP] + [VP]

Table 5. Collected Czech GE forms.

Czech general extenders			
Adjunctive (a)		Disjunctive (nebo)	
1	a to všechno	a takové ty srandý	nebo něco
2	a to všechno možný	a takové ty věci na zimu	nebo něco takovýho
3	a všechno možnýho	a takový ty všechny věci	nebo takovýho něco
4	a to všechno	a takovýdle věci	nebo na něco takovýho
5	a všechno možné	a takovýdle ty věci	nebo prostě něco takovýho
6	a tak	a takovýdle ty hovadimy	nebo do něčeho takovýho
7	a tak dále	a žádný takovýdle věci	nebo jako něco takového
8	a tak podobně	a takové věci	nebo tak něco
9	a tak hák	a takové ty věci	nebo něco tak
10	a tak všechno	a taďy takové věci	nebo prostě něco
11	a takový	a takové prostě věci	nebo něco podobnýho
12	a takový věci	a tydle věci	nebo něco takovýdleho
13	a takový ty složitý věci	a všechny tydle věci	nebo něco v tom smyslu
14	a takový ty serepetičky	a takový tydle věci	nebo co
15	a takový prostě jako ptákovinky	a taďy tydle ty věci	nebo co to bylo
16	a takový ty kecy	a takovýhle věci	nebo co to tam je
17	a takový bílosti	a tyhle věci	nebo já nevím co to bylo
18	a všechno	a všechny možný věci	and other clausal forms
19	a všechno úplně	a takové všechny věci	nebo tak
20	a todle všechno	a různý věci	nebo tak nějak
21	a taďy toto všechno	a tydlety věci	nebo nějak tak
22	a takle	a taďy tydlety věci	nebo tak hák
23	a todle	a všechno	nebo hák tak
24	a všechno todle	a tohleto všechno	nebo jak
25	a vůbec všeho	a všechno vastatni	nebo jak se to memije
26	a podobně	a takhle	nebo jak se to řekne
27	a něco takovýdleho	a takhle různě	nebo kolik
28	a něco takovýho	a prostě takhle	nebo kolik sme měli
29	a takový ty věci	a bla bla bla	nebo takle
30	a takový různý věci	a kdesi cosi	nebo něco takle
31	a takové ty písničky	a toďleto	nebo hák takle
32	a takový ty města	a tamto všechno	nebo někde
33	a takový ty řiky	a todle a tamto	nebo tam někde

Table 6. Collected English GE forms.

English general extenders	
Adjective (and)	Disjunctive (or)
1 and stuff	or something or some kind of shared music
2 and stuff like that	or something else or some rubbish
3 and stuff like this	or something like that or some shit
4 and all the stuff	or something or other or some shit like that
5 and just general stuff	or whatever or some sort of drug
6 and some other stuff	or whatever else or some sort of fish
7 and all that stuff	or whatever the hell or some sort of biscuity cake thing
8 and all this stuff	or whatever it's they've called or some stupid arbitrary figure
9 and just horrible horrible stuff	or whatever it is/was or some such whatever
10 and that sort of stuff	or whatever the phrase is or anyone
11 and that kind of stuff	or whatever the word is or anyone else
12 and all sorts of stuff	or anything or any of that kind of stuff
13 and all this other stuff	or anything like that or any of that rubbish
14 and all that other stuff	or anything else or any of that sort of thing
15 and all this kind of stuff	or anything funny like that or anywhere like that
16 and different stuff	or somewhere or nothing like that
17 and furry stuff	or somewhere else or owl like that
18 and chocolate stuff	or somewhere like that or people like that
19 and just stuff like that	or summat or stuff like that
20 and that stuff	or whatever like that or things like that
21 and all stuff like that	or whoever or whatever like that
22 and like stuff like that	or thereabouts or just something like that
23 and other stuff like that	or somebody or something silly like that
24 and everything like that	or somebody else or something stupid like that
25 and everything else like that	or somebody like that or something shit like that
26 and everything else like that	or someone or all that sort of stuff
27 and all	or someone else or all that sort of thing
28 and all sorts	or someone like that or all that kind of stuff
29 and all sorts of bits and pieces	or whenever or all that kind of thing
30 and all sorts of different colours	or some bollocks or that kinda thing
31 and all sorts of diseases	or some bullshit or that or the other
32 and all sorts of other health issues	or some bullshit like that or any of those things
33 and all sorts of things	or some crap or any other mass entertainment thing
34 and all sorts of white goods	or some kind of science
35	

4.2. GE functions in English and in Czech

As we will see in this section, many of the communicative functions of GEs are represented in both languages. This is especially true with regard to the most common functions (the category-identifying and approximation functions), but similarities were attested also with some of the expressive functions (e.g. Gricean Maxims, politeness strategies and intensification or marking an attitude towards the message expressed). Cross-linguistic differences were most noticeable in the case of impression-management ‘formulaic disclaimers’ with disjunctive GEs, which do not seem to be formulaic in Czech. Furthermore, the inclusion of the arguable GE *or what* (*nebo co*) revealed not only functional differences, but also possible lack of sufficient situational and interpersonal context in spoken corpora in general.

This section focuses on communicative functions of GEs in English and Czech dialogue, starting at the objective end of the scale and proceeding towards the expressive one, i.e. subjective (4.2.2. and 4.2.3.) and intersubjective meanings (4.2.4. and 4.2.5.), respectively (see Table 3). However, as discussed in sections 2.6.1. and 4.2.1., the GEs with purely objective meanings are extremely rare, which is why this study takes a primary interest in the expressive meanings. Furthermore, with each meaning (subjective or intersubjective) I first consider disjunctive and then adjunctive GE forms addressing all the respective functions as shown in Table 3. Finally, I examine the unique GE *or what* (4.2.6.) and GEs used as a strategy in jokes (4.2.7.).

4.2.1. The role of context – GEs as category identifiers and more

It was mentioned in section 2.6.1.1. that the term category identification is inaccurate when the adjunctive GE does not identify a well-established (i.e. lexicalised) category but merely enables access to some related members of an ad-hoc category by means of association (Tárnyiková 2009; see [10]). However, I will continue to use the term ‘category identifier’ even for those examples that could be more fittingly described as ‘associative’ simply because the term has been used this way (cf. Channel 1994; Overstreet 1999).

If one looks through concordance lines of any frequent adjunctive GEs, it shortly becomes apparent that speakers rarely use GEs to identify lexicalised categories, which is consistent with previous research (cf. Overstreet 1999). Moreover, it is with category-identifying GEs that the context sensitivity of GEs seems to be most prominent.⁴⁷ In this

⁴⁷ This is hardly surprising given the fact that category-identifying GEs (mostly realised by adjunctive GEs) cue the hearer to access some related items, i.e. the meaning is referential and the ability to infer the category correctly is highly dependent on context and common ground. In contrast, the approximating

to access other members of the category ‘pub/bar games’ (e.g. *darts*). Additionally, we may presume that the **discourse community** with an access to the category identified in [32] would probably be larger than the one that could make sense of the vague references to the notional category in [31], which supports the idea of a contextual scale or continuum. Finally, in [33]⁴⁹ and [34], the contexts are **local** as the GEs obviously encode implicit shared knowledge available only to a group of people (possibly *friends* and *family*, respectively).

So far, the GEs in examples [29]-[34] were analysed only from the referential perspective, i.e. their ability to indicate an existence of a category by means of a construction ‘[exemplar] + [GE]’ and how contextual factors influence the recipient’s ability to correctly infer the vaguely identified category. Since GEs are multifunctional, however, we can easily interpret [29]-[34] in terms of expressive functions of GEs, i.e. as hedges on expectations arising from Gricean Quantity Maxim and as markers of positive politeness.

As for the former, the speaker would use a category-identifying GE in order not to be more informative than required (Grice 1975) – it seems that this interpretation is feasible with all six instances of GEs. Regarding the positive politeness strategy, we can assume that the more the referential meaning of the category-identifying GE moves in the direction from global to local contexts, the more it can be interpreted in terms of building solidarity with the participant, i.e. the lesser the group able to infer the category successfully, the stronger the notion of “in-group membership” and “camaraderie” (Tárnyiková 2009: 116).

This section served as an example of how multi-faceted (and consequently indecisive) the interpretation of pragmatic markers’ communicative functions can be. In the following sections, I will therefore often point out the response elicited by the use of a GE as it can be quite informative regarding the GEs’ communicative functions in the interactive speaker-hearer context. For example, consider the responses (the last utterances) in [31] and [33]: in both situations, the conversational participants provided an answer indicating that they understood what group of people the interactant vaguely referred to. This is especially noticeable in [31], where both the speakers in the last two utterances identify (most likely) the same notional category by explicitly stating different members of that category, thus building the meaning collaboratively.

4.2.2. Subjective meanings of disjunctive GEs

As discussed in section [2.6.2.2.](#), disjunctive GEs often function as Quality hedges suggesting that “the speaker is not taking full responsibility for the truth of the utterance” (Brown &

⁴⁹ In [33], we can see an example of a category-identifying disjunctive GE, so this function is not limited to adjunctive forms.

Levinson 1987: 164). The communicative function of approximation by means of a GE is most often fulfilled by probably the most frequent GE *or something*. As shown in Tables 5 and 6, however, there is a variety of disjunctive GEs in English as well as in Czech, most of which can perform the approximating function adequately. This section addresses different ways in which speakers may mark their lack of certainty in regard to the previous part of an utterance with a disjunctive GE. In the final subsection (4.2.2.3.), we will take a look at disjunctive GEs' potential to function as intensifiers.

4.2.2.1. Clausal (or specific) extenders

The forms with a structure '[*or / nebo*] + [interrogative pronoun] + [NP] + [VP]' are called here 'clausal extenders'.⁵⁰ These include *or whatever it's/they're called*, *or whatever it is/was*, *or whatever the word is* and *nebo co to bylo*, *nebo já nevím co to bylo*, *nebo jak se to menuje/řekne*, *nebo co to je*. It may be argued that these forms are formally too distant from a typical GE, and therefore should not be considered a GE at all, but as Martínez (2011: 2454) pointed out, the GE-initial conjunctions may be followed, among other forms, by a *wh*-clause (e.g. *and what have you*). Furthermore, the communicative function is the same as with other disjunctive GEs, i.e. "this may be inaccurate". Interestingly, some of these expressions (e.g. *or whatever the word is*, *nebo jak se to menuje*), due to their explicitness, seem to provide the speakers with a more direct strategy to address the third pragmatic reason for indeterminacy in language as introduced by Bazzanella (2011: 22) and summarised in section 2.1.⁵¹

- [35] *Great great entreprene- or whatever (.) uh opportunism or whatever the word is um*
 [36] *unless you're gonna become a pub connoisseur or whatever the word is*
 [37] *they'll all come up in the spring and hopefully they'll propagate or whatever the word is*
 [38] *uh perfuse or infuse or diffuse or whatever the word is*
 [39] *pustila sem si . kriminálku to . Vraždy v Minsdorfu nebo jak se to menuje*
 [40] *pudu asi do toho Golema na tu na na ten warm up na ten Apráles nebo jak se to menuje nebo Majáles nebo co to je*
 [41] *po Labi no takže tydlety tydlety eee remorkéry nebo jak se to menuje správně*

In excerpts [35]-[41], we can see how speakers employed the *wh*-clausal disjunctive extenders (rather than the short forms such as *or something* or *nebo co/tak*) in order to convey more explicitly their uncertainty in regard to a specific lexical item. Their uncertainty is probably the result of the words' (that have been modified with an approximating clausal extender)

⁵⁰ They could also be interpreted as 'specific extenders' rather than 'general extenders' given their explicit nature.

⁵¹ One cannot be precise because one lacks a precise lexicon related to a specific domain at the time of an utterance (e.g. the inability to recall a specific word or an absolute lack of knowledge of it, as in the case of specialised technical terms, etc.).

being foreign (*opportunism, connoisseur, propagate*), foreign technical (*perfuse, infuse, diffuse*) or specific names of a TV show (*Vraždy v Minsdorfu*)⁵², music festivals (*Apráles, Majáles*) and a specific kind of boat (*remorkéry*).

Similarly, in [42] and [43], the clausal extenders (*or whatever it is* and *nebo jak se to řekne*) enabled the speakers to target the first of Bazzanella's (2011: 22) reasons for indeterminacy, i.e. the problematic nature of the referent preventing an easy definition.

[42] A: *and they I mean they're they're set up as (.) they're kind of foundation for the business*

B: *yeah*

A: *or a franchise or whatever it is*

[43] *a neska sem si tak řikala .. jako že už toho světla se sem moc nedostane že jo přže ted'ka jako je tak .. tmavějc . nebo jak se to řekne ..*

When compared to the more frequent GEs (e.g. *or something, nebo tak*), where it may sometimes be impossible to pinpoint the exact part of an utterance that is approximated (a result of the process of decategorialisation), the clausal (or specific) extenders allow for a more explicit kind of approximation with a stronger cohesive link to the previous utterance, i.e. the antecedent (or what the GE approximates) is more easily identifiable for the recipient.

4.2.2.2. The attitudinal function

As discussed in section 2.4., GEs allow speakers to express a particular attitude towards the message (Martínez 2011: 2455). This can be manifested in a number of ways.

4.2.2.2.1. Evaluation by a postmodifier

Due to the GEs' flexibility of collocational frames, modifiers can be inserted. In the case of disjunctive GEs, they seem to be inserted after the proform (unlike with adjunctive GEs, where it seems to be the other way around; see section 4.2.3.2.1.) and followed by a comparative phrase *like that*, creating a pattern '[or] + [proform] + ([modifier]) + [like that]' (see [44]-[46]). The optional slot for a modifier allows for an explicit evaluation that is naturally less context dependent. No disjunctive GEs in Czech that would express an attitude by means of a modifier were attested, whereas the analytic nature of English can take advantage of not only adjectives (*silly* and *stupid* in [44] and [45], respectively), but also nouns (*shit* in [46]). Additionally, it seems that evaluation of this kind tends to be negative rather than positive.

[44] A: *cos he was going on about --ANONnameF and that that and and the other*

B: >> *yeah*

⁵² In fact, the correct name of the show is 'Vraždy v Midsomeru', so the approximation was in order.

- A: *and I said oh well you know something **like** you know you'll get over it **or something silly like that***
- [45] *there was this one called I'm sure it's called American Dreams **or something stupid like that** and basically me and my friend went to watch it and it's rubbish*
- [46] *she did another masters in **like** ... Shakespeare **or something shit like that***

4.2.2.2. Evaluation by expressive nouns

An evaluation can also be conveyed by an expressive generic noun, usually used instead of the component 'thing' in 'or + some + thing', making way to forms such as *or some rubbish*, *or some shit (like that)* (see [47] and [48]). As for Czech, two forms with the pattern '[nebo] + [demonstrative] + [expressive generic noun]' were attested (see [49] and [50]). GEs in [47]-[50] may all be interpreted as evaluative. I would argue, however, that in English, evaluation by expressive nouns is more context sensitive than in the case of modifiers (see the previous section), which, given their optional status, are inserted deliberately, not because of the structural needs of the collocational frame.⁵³ In contrast, as Czech does not seem to enable evaluation by modified disjunctive GEs, the expressive nouns provide a reliable source to express an attitudinal function.⁵⁴

- [47] *it was it was so so so bad erm so I was just monitoring the class while they were I think they were writing **like a GCSE paper or some rubbish***
- [48] *yeah so he's **like lacto intolerant or some shit***
- [49] *se moc jakoby nehádej [sic.] ... **takle no jako dyž třeba něco že chce chtěj vobě .. malovat stejnou pastelkou nebo takovýdle koniny***
- [50] *hlavně mě dycky dostává . **borec nakonec nebo tydlety kraviny***

Interestingly, the basic functions (i.e. not the evaluative one) of the English disjunctive GEs in [47] and [48] seem to differ from the Czech forms in [49] and [50], i.e. whereas the English forms *or some rubbish* and *or some shit* express that the previous part (*a GCSE paper* and *lacto intolerant*, respectively) are to be considered as mere approximations, the Czech forms *nebo takovýdle koniny* and *nebo tydlety kraviny* mark the previously mentioned activity and a specific section of the Nova Sports News (*chtěj vobě .. malovat stejnou pastelkou* and *borec nakonec*, respectively) as an exemplar of some larger set, thus performing the category-identifying function.⁵⁵

⁵³ Consider example [82], where a positive premodifier determines the evaluation of the whole utterance despite the presence of a negative expressive noun.

⁵⁴ It is not that Czech would not allow for forms such as *nebo podobný hloupý věci* structurally, more so that the variant with an expressive noun *nebo podobný hlouposti* seem to be more idiomatic and natural.

⁵⁵ The category-identifying function in [49] is reinforced by *třeba*.

4.2.2.2.3. Expressive nouns used non-evaluatively

Tárnyiková (2009: 127) pointed out the semantic emptiness of the generic noun *things* as compared to *věci*. Interestingly, it seems that this also applies to some English expressive nouns, such as *shit*. Consider, for example, excerpt [51], where the approximating GE *or some shit like that* seems to be non-evaluative since it refers to the number of an episode.⁵⁶

- [51] A: *what episode are you on?*
B: *me?*
A: *mm*
B: ***about episode six or some shit like that***

Furthermore, we cannot ignore specific linguistic behaviours tied with an individual speaker.⁵⁷ For instance, the form *or some shit* (excluding the long variant *or some shit like that*) was attested 21 times – one third (7) of these occurrences was produced by the same speaker (S0192; 28-year-old male). To list just a few, consider excerpts [52]-[54].⁵⁸ Although we could possibly interpret the GE *or some shit*, if found in isolation, as negatively evaluative in [52] (because of the negative association with *go swimming and like not come back*, i.e. drowning) and positively evaluative in [53] (due to the fact that *marble* is valuable and expensive), we can see that an evaluation by expressive nouns in English is highly context sensitive. As shown in [54], this particular speaker seems to use the GE *or some shit* regardless of context, thus the form, in his “hands” so to speak, loses its expressivity and attitudinal function, as it is an accepted view that expressiveness decreases with the increasing frequency of use.

- [52] S0192: *didn't he **like** go swimming and like not come back or some shit? he drowned or something in a river*
[53] S0192: *is that **like** marble or some shit?*
[54] S0192: *yeah mate I can't believe it's nearly October it feels **like** don't know August or some shit⁵⁹*

⁵⁶ However, the example could be interpreted as evaluative if the speaker wished to convey that he was not content with his progress, which the surrounding context might indicate (*have you caught up on American Horror Story yet? ... no*).

⁵⁷ Overstreet (1999: 103-4), for example, mentions that one of the speakers in her data used expressions *y'know* and *'nstuff* (in either order) almost as a punctuation feature: *But y'know 'nstuff as he got a little bit older 'nstuff y'know doctor told me and Justin was fine and has no problem but as he's gotten older you can see he's flattening out y'know 'nstuff*. Though I am not focusing on GEs used as “oral equivalents of punctuation marks” (Overstreet 2014: 112) in this study, the individual-specific behaviours may blur the results, regardless of whether it is the frequency or the preferred forms that make the speaker stand out.

⁵⁸ Example [48] was also produced by this speaker.

⁵⁹ Notice how the approximation function of disjunctive GEs is often reinforced by *like* ([44], [46], [47], [48], [52]-[54]), *about* ([51]) and *don't know* ([54]).

As for Czech, the expressive nouns do not appear to be as empty as some of their English counterparts (see [49] and [50]). It follows that when an expressive noun occurs in a Czech GE, it seems to always carry an attitudinal function (usually negative).

4.2.2.3. The intensifying function

In the previous section (4.2.2.2), we explored the attitudinal function of disjunctive GEs induced by specific lexical items (either an adjective or expressive noun) inserted into the GE form as a postmodifier or substituting the GE-final nominal/proform. This section will take a look at disjunctive GEs that, in some contexts, can express an evaluation implicitly, namely *or anything* and *nebo co*. Overstreet (1999: 147) claims that *or anything* is “[t]ypically used as an intensifier, to emphasize or highlight a previous part” of an utterance, and often “used to express an evaluation of something as surprising, or (a minimum) extreme.”

Speaker A in [55] describes how her cat made her company when she was ill as a child. She uses the GE *or anything else* to mark the fact that the cat would not leave her side *even for food* as an extreme or surprising behaviour for a cat, which is accepted as such by speaker B’s utterance *aw that’s nice*. Similarly, in [56], the speaker comments on how she and her family visit her 100-year-old grandmother who *doesn’t ... even wake up or anything*, marking the act of her waking up as a minimum extreme of what could be expected when a visit is paid.

[55] A: *yeah my cat when I was ill one day when I was about I must have been about six or something because we’d moved from --ANONplace where I was living when I was about seven or eight but erm she she slept in the corner of my my room she wouldn’t come out until I was better even for food or anything else she just wouldn’t come out she wouldn’t leave me alone when I was ill it’s really sweet isn’t it?*

B: >> *aw that’s nice*

[56] *erm and of course you go and nan doesn’t speak to you or even wake up or anything so it’s she doesn’t really know you’ve been...*

As for the Czech GE *nebo co* and its potential as an intensifier, I will only include here the examples of *nebo co* in a declarative sentence, as I will address the interrogative occurrences in section 4.2.6. along with the corresponding English GE *or what*. In [57], it is difficult to determine whether *nebo co* approximates the reported speech *no vona se na to asi vysrala*, or whether it is part of the reported speech and was actually uttered by *Jíťa*, rather than the speaker himself.⁶⁰ After listening to the audio of this excerpt, I have inclined towards the latter interpretation as the GE occurs within the same tone unit as the reported speech.

⁶⁰ This indecisiveness as to what is approximated constitutes an example of a decategorialisation of the short GE form *nebo co*, i.e. the cohesive link is weakened.

We are, therefore, presented with two uses of *nebo co* (*no vona se na to asi vysrala nebo co* in [57] and *vona je . se mi něk vyhybá nebo co* in [58]) that can be interpreted to function primarily as intensifiers because the alternative (i.e. the approximation function) would not make much sense. Consider, for example, the alternative sentences with a typical Czech approximating GE: **no vona se na to asi vysrala nebo něco takovýho* and **vona je . se mi něk vyhybá nebo něco takovýho*. The potential of *nebo co* to carry a negative evaluation or frustration will be examined further in section [4.2.6](#).

- [57] ... *já se ptám a kde máš to kde máš Ivet dyť tady měla bejt v* vod to vod štyrech . a Jířa říká no vona se na to asi vysrala nebo co . hmm takže jako prostě . Iveta přišla až vo půl šestý . pohoda vid'*
- [58] A: *mě by to třeba nebavilo s* a navíc nemám ty lokty . ale třeba nevím jesi ses bavila s Emou*
 B: *ne vona je . se mi něk vyhybá nebo co ..* (cf. Novotný & Malá 2018: 55)

4.2.3. Subjective meanings of adjunctive GEs

Similarly to the previous section ([4.2.2](#)) dedicated to subjective meanings of disjunctive GEs, this section will firstly deal with the distinction between ‘general’ and ‘specific’ extenders ([4.2.3.1](#)), then with evaluations by means of a specific lexical item ([4.2.3.2](#)) and will conclude with adjunctive GEs used as implicit intensifiers ([4.2.3.3](#)).

4.2.3.1. General vs. specific extenders

Adjunctive GEs seem to exhibit a higher flexibility of collocational frames than their disjunctive counterparts, thus demanding a more in-depth discussion of what Overstreet (1999) termed ‘general’ and ‘specific’ extenders. With the intention of introducing some clear-cut boundaries between the two groups in this study, I have decided to disregard the length of a GE form and only focus on whether that form features either a modifier or the name of the “notional category proper” (Tárnyiková 2009: 127), in which case I will categorise the form as a specific extender (SE).⁶¹ For example, *and all of those sorts of things* would be a GE as the form does not meet any of the requirements mentioned above, but forms such as *and all sorts of other health issues* or *and furry stuff* would be described as SEs in this study.

Since GEs have received a lot of attention in previous studies, I will only include one example here ([59]), in which the speaker vaguely indicates a category of ‘office supplies’ with a GE *and stuff like that*.

⁶¹ Note that in this section I will only include non-evaluative SEs, as the evaluative ones will be covered in the following section ([4.2.3.2](#)).

[59] *I mean they used to supply the pens and paper and stuff like that*

As for the SEs, the following examples show how more specification (i.e. a more accurate delimitation of the identified category) can be achieved either by inserting into the GE form a modifier ([60]-[62]) or by substituting the vague noun (e.g. *thing*, *stuff*, *lot*) with the name of the category ([63]-[65]). The examples do not require further commentary, but it is worth noting that the analytic nature of English allows speakers to use the name of the notional category proper as a modifier in front of the vague noun, in which case, however, the GE-final vague noun becomes redundant (compare [62] and [63]). The form *and all the white goods stuff* supports the interpretation of GEs as mentally established collocational frames (in this case probably ‘[and] + [all] + [determiner] + ([premodifier]) + [vague noun]’) that speakers have easy access to and can therefore insert modifying items into them, without dwelling on whether the vague noun is still necessary.

[60] A: *do they do an- activities for the kids there or not? or is it?*

B: *... no they put loads of stuff out on the floor lots of (.) erm (.) mats and furry stuff and lots of toys out and you just go and grab them and (.) play with them see what they like*

[61] *... the suspense that comes from ... thrillers I mean I love you know or I'm the kind of person who can is easily sit and watch erm you know Blunt and what's **and all of that spy stuff***

[62] *yeah they sell er they sell fridges and washing machines **and all the white goods stuff** there*

[63] *and on the cards are like pictures of things like washing machine and cookers **and (.) all sorts of white goods***

[64] *there was a type of of carrot that was orange but there as you said there were also purple ones **and all sorts of different colours***

[65] *he's had Alzheimer's **and all sorts of other health issues** and has been going downhill steadily for a couple of years*

A productive pattern of Czech SEs seem to be ‘[a] + [takový] + [ty] + [name of the category]’.⁶²

[66] *zásuvka vypínač jistič . jo . **a takový ty složitý věci** třeba jo⁶³*

[67] *jo to znáš takové to Jeanny a Rock me Amadeus **a takové ty písničky***

[68] *no tak co sem viděl jako z těch filmů tak .. ten Amsterdam **a takový ty města** to só pěkný jako*

⁶² Other forms where more specific nouns were used instead of *věci* include: *eee různý skriptá a další záležitosti* and *prče tam byly ty papíry s a všechny ty obrázky*. But while in the former, *záležitosti* is comparably vague to *věci*, i.e. it does not help delimit the boundaries of the identified category, in the latter, the two coordinating members *ty papíry* and *všechny ty obrázky* seem to be on the same level, i.e. the latter does not extend the former (in the way SEs in [63]-[68] do), nor does it mark as a member of a larger set.

⁶³ This example could perhaps be interpreted as an evaluation by premodification, but rather than expressing a personal attitude towards the listed items (*zásuvka*, *vypínač*, *jistič*), the GE's (*a takový ty složitý věci*) primary function seems to be that of delimiting (specifying) the identified category.

4.2.3.2. The attitudinal function

Similarly to disjunctive GEs, adjunctives can express explicit evaluation by means of modifiers or expressive nouns.

4.2.3.2.1. Evaluation by a premodifier

As already mentioned in section 4.2.2.2.1., Czech GEs seem to convey evaluation primarily via expressive nouns so no evaluation of the type ‘[a] + [...] + [premodifier] + [neutral vague noun]’ was attested in the Czech sample. In English, evaluative premodification within GE forms seems to be productive (see [69]-[71]).

- [69] A: *at u- one of the obstacle races that we did they had this like giant communal hot tub thing and like there must've been about fifty odd people in there*
B: *must've really dirty and stuff*
A: *and it was just like it was so well you finished and you're just covered from head to toe in like just mud and just horrible horrible stuff*
- [70] *it's a bit of a pain in the arse cos it's not automatic so you have to contact them all the time and every month I have to sign in and pay and all this stupid stuff*
- [71] *that's why kids get put on Ritalin and all these stupid things*

4.2.3.2.2. Evaluation by expressive nouns

As examined in section 4.2.2.2.2., expressive nouns used within GEs are a reliable strategy to express an evaluation in both English and Czech. In English, the possible patterns are, for example, ‘[and] + [all] + [kinds/sorts of] + [expressive noun]’ (see [72]) or ‘[and] + [all] + [demonstrative] + ([kind/sort of] + [expressive noun])’ (see [73] and [74]). Interestingly, the noun *shit* as used in [75] is so semantically empty that it can be used in the shortest GE form possible (‘[and] + [nominal]’), while other expressive nouns seem to require some structural support (e.g. comparative phrases, determiners).

- [72] *man my abs today are really killing me (.) --ANONnameM had me doing scissors kicks and all kinds of shenanigans yesterday*
- [73] *telling her that she can't have other friends and all this kind of shit*
- [74] *and they're like they're trying to say it's genetics and like it's just glands and all that bollocks*
- [75] *have you just been talking politics and shit?*

The especially productive pattern in Czech evaluative extenders seems to be ‘[a] + [demonstrative(s)] + [expressive noun]’ (see [76]-[79]), though the flexible collocational frames allow for certain items to be inserted (consider the words *prostě* and *jako* in [80]).

- [76] *Kocáb a tydlety pitomci*
- [77] *no a jako že je to rasovýho původu a takový ty kecy prostě něco cikánům řekneš a hned je to rasovýho původu*

- [78] A: *jak máš třeba v Anglii ty postavený šutry a=*
 B: =*Stonehenge*
 A: =*takový blbosti no*
- [79] *samozřejmě že pak někdo bude s náma ze všema vyjednávat že nám nic nedají a že nám to budou započítávat na budoucí povinnosti a takový ty frky*
- [80] *měli tam u toho vlasně . nechaný jako mmm müsli . měli tam eee takovej jako jako speciální ňáký křupinky a a . rozinky a . broskvovej kompot jo a takový prostě jako ptákovinky*

All examples in this section ([72]-[80]) enabled the speakers to indicate a category of which the previously mentioned item (or items) is a representative member, while conveying an explicit opinion towards that category by means of expressive nouns.

4.2.3.2.3. Evaluation by both a premodifier and an expressive noun

As argued above, given the optional status of premodifiers and semantic emptiness of some expressive nouns (e.g. *shit*), the premodifiers seem to be dominant in interpreting the polarity of the evaluation. This is of no consequence for the GE in [81] where both the premodifier and the noun have negative connotations, but regarding the form in [82], we have two opposing polarities associated with a premodifier (*good*) and an expressive noun (*shit*).⁶⁴ It seems that the premodifier is what determines the evaluation in this example, i.e. the speaker is fond of (the identified category of) ‘Italian food’.

- [81] *no but like I love that saying like I know it's cheesy and cliché and philosophical and all that fucking shit but it's true ain't it?*
- [82] A: *the only reason Americans have better food is because they're a nation of immigrants*
 B: *yeah*
 A: *so the English went there and took it over and then the Italians came and went actually you know you can eat pasta and pizza and all this good shit...*

4.2.3.2.4. Evaluation by onomatopoeia

The GE using the onomatopoeic word *blah* (or *bla* in Czech) is probably the only GE that (ignoring the conjunction, which is not obligatory (Overstreet 1999: 11)) can be understood internationally. It is typically used to negatively evaluate the indicated category and often occurs in, but is not restricted to, evaluations of reported speech (see [83] and [85]). Interestingly, in [84] and [86], the category-identifying-and-evaluating onomatopoeic GE form is followed by another category-identifying GE (*and all these things* and \emptyset *takové ty*

⁶⁴ The fact that the combination of *good shit* is feasible further supports the semantic emptiness and vagueness of this noun.

blbosti, respectively). Note that the Czech form \emptyset *takové ty blbosti* reinforces the evaluation of a *bla bla bla* with an expressive noun.⁶⁵

- [83] ... he was saying all the stuff that you know *I want you to be my girlfriend* (.) *I want you to commit to me* **and blah blah blah**
- [84] *I needed that year* (.) *I needed it* *I needed to be alone* *I needed to sort my head out* **and** (.) **blah blah blah** *and all these things*
- [85] *jako že to je tam nebezpečné že může sa vám poškodit aj rohovka* *viš* . **a a bla bla bla** *tož sem z toho nemohl uhnút no*
- [86] *mně de o to abych měl praxi abych mohl* . *se nějakým způsobem prezentovat že tohle sem dělal* . *tohle mám tohle mám vyzkoušený tohle umím můžu vám můžu vám to nabídnout tudle práci* **a bla bla bla** . *takové ty blbosti*

4.2.3.3. The intensifying function

Overstreet (1999: 146) claims that *and everything* is often used as an intensifier, “to express an evaluation of something as remarkable, surprising, or (a maximum) extreme.” Interestingly, the Czech equivalent *a všechno (možný)* can also perform this intensifying function. Furthermore, “[w]hen used as intensifiers, GEs are used in their basic form and typically do not contain the comparative elements *like this* or *like that*” (ibid.: 96), which is consistent with the grammaticalisation of GEs as presented in section 2.5.1.

4.2.3.3.1. Positive intensification

As shown in [87]-[89], the forms *and everything* and *a všechno možný* do have the potential to mark the previous part of an utterance as remarkable or surprising. Furthermore, the nature of the responses (*wow, really? oh wow, hej tak to je tak to je hezký*) help us make sense of the function of the expressions that elicited those responses.⁶⁶

- [87] A: *but she has a fucking fit body* (.) *like she has a si- six-pack* **and everything**
B: **wow**
- [88] A: --[*she*]’s *like the top of her class for reading* **and everything**
B: >> **really? oh wow**
- [89] A: ... *jako je to dobry* . *no pak sem dost** *voni tam dávali i deštníky* **a všechno možný jako**
B: **hej tak to je tak to je hezký** (Novotný & Malá 2018: 47)

⁶⁵ The onomatopoeic GE naturally allows to add as many *blahs* as the speaker wants, thus making some room for intensifying the evaluation by means of iconicity. The longest instance of this form in both languages featured five repetitions of the word *bla(h)*: e.g. *you have to pay for upkeep of a building erm of a home or whatever and if suddenly costs go really high for like you know gas electricity and blah blah blah blah or rates or whatever like you know paying for er...*

⁶⁶ This is on the verge of subjective and intersubjective domains as the speakers not only express their subjective attitudes towards their messages, they also wish their views to be accepted by others (a feature of positive politeness). All the responses grant that wish.

4.2.3.3.2. Negative intensification

The same GE forms can also occur in negative contexts, thus intensifying the speaker's negative evaluation (consider excerpts [90]-[92]).

- [90] A: >> *well my hairdresser's is a kind of slightly chavvy hairdresser's where they do nails as well so it's all these*
B: *oh yeah*
A: >> *great big bright coloured nails*
B: *yeah*
A: >> *really awful ones and everything*
B: >> *mm*
- [91] *jo Lído já ho vobsloužim dyž chodí do práce . ale dyž se furt válí doma jak svinskej hnát . já pak po nocích meju nádobí a všechno já ho tak nenávidím já ti nemůžu nic dělat ... (Novotný & Malá 2018: 52)*
- [92] *protože to bylo takový blbý no . bysme se museli ptát a všechno (ibid.)*

4.2.4. Intersubjective meanings of disjunctive GEs

In section 4.2.3., we have covered communicative functions of GEs from the subjective perspective of the speaker, i.e. GEs that could be interpreted as used primarily in a speaker-oriented manner, including hedges on expectations of informativeness of an utterance or various manifestations of evaluation on the part of the speaker. This section enters the intersubjective domain, i.e. existing in the interactive, speaker-hearer context and concerned primarily with the “dialogic component” and “addressee-oriented phenomena” (Overstreet 2014: 118).

In terms of disjunctive GEs, it is negative politeness strategies and formulaic disclaimers used for impression management.

4.2.4.1. Negative politeness

Negative politeness “is intersubjective in its concern with the addressee's face needs” (ibid.: 121), which can be encapsulated as ‘one's need for independence’. Excerpt [93] displays a conversation between two middle-aged females: one of them (H) is scheduled to spend some time at a hospital to undergo hysterectomy, while her friend (F) offers H support.

- [93] F: *but if you need anything*
H: *yeah*
F: *just let me know*
H: *yeah oh thanks*
...
F: *you know I can always drop something by if you need it or whatever*
H: >> ***yeah thanks***
...
H: *er no seriously er even if you want anything or I can just p- or pop in and have a coffee or something or*

F: >> *yeah definitely*

The GEs *or whatever* and *or something* (uttered by F and H, respectively) convey the speakers' effort to avoid an imposition on their hearers by providing just one option – instead, they express willingness to negotiate the meaning and/or compromise, induced by the basic meaning of disjunctive GEs “there is an alternative”. The responses following immediately after the GEs (*yeah thanks* and *yeah definitely*) are essential from the perspective of intersubjective meaning-making and mutual maintenance of the conversational participants' face needs.

As discussed in section 2.6.3.2., disjunctive GEs as a negative politeness strategy are commonly used in requests, invitations and proposals because they allow speakers to imply that they are open to alternatives, thus expressing tentativeness. This can be seen in examples [94] and [95], where upon being asked *coffee or something?* and *kafe nebo něco*, respectively, the recipients take advantage of the alternative induced by the disjunctive GEs and ask for something that was not explicitly offered (*coco* and *čaj*, respectively).

[94] A: *yep (.) okay (.) well shall we go and make coffee or something?*

B: *coco*

A: *or coco?*

B: *yes I would love a cup of coco tonight*

[95] A: *chceš uvařit kafe nebo něco*

B: *si dám čaj*

The fact that both A speakers in [94] and [95] produce the same proposition ‘do you want coffee or something?’ may be due to the inherent nature of spoken corpora, which are typically recorded in flats or in closed environments where a number of people interact (and usually drink something). In fact, *coffee* is the 11th most significant L1 collocate of the sequence ‘or something?’⁶⁷ in the *Spoken BNC2014*. In the *ORAL2013*, no such significant co-occurrence between *nebo něco?* and refreshments was attested.⁶⁸ If you compare [94]-[95] with [21]-[23], the latter group is possibly not as likely to occur in spoken corpora such as the two samples used in this study as is the former group of examples.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Yogurt*, for example, is 27th most significant L1 collocate: e.g. *you can have erm a cake or you can have a would you like like a yogurt or something?*

⁶⁸ However, that is not to say that other occurrences functioning in the same way are not present in the Czech sample: e.g. A: *Arunko ty *s to udělala...ňáký silný*

B: *...chceš cukr nebo něco?*

⁶⁹ Since the study in Novotný (2016) explored the scripted language of the situational comedy *Friends*, which displays the main characters in a higher variety of situations and communicative events than is the case for conversational participants in spoken corpora, the tentative invitations, proposals and requests were more present and varied in the TV show; e.g. *So, you wanna get a hamburger or something?* (invitation); *Do you wanna-wanna come in for a beer or something?* (invitation); *Maybe we can like go to a movie or something.* (proposal); *Can you get me a bag or something?* (request) (cf. Novotný 2016: 34-36).

4.2.4.2. Formulaic disclaimers – impression management

Formulaic disclaimers with disjunctive GEs occur in the construction [*not X or anything, but Y*] (consider example [24] in section 2.6.3.3.) (cf. Overstreet 1999; Overstreet & Yule 2001). With this construction, speakers typically try to avoid an unfavourable interpretation of their utterance by the addressee, a process called ‘impression management’ (Goffman 1959: 208). Consider, for example, excerpt [96], in which A assumes that she is about to perform what might be viewed as a problematic action or ‘virtual offense’ (Goffman 1971: 108-9), i.e. B might interpret the proposition *I’d never met anyone who was so like expressive (=Y)* as offensive. Speaker A therefore explicitly disavows such interpretation in advance (=not X; [*don’t take this nastily*]), while also disavowing any alternative unfavourable interpretations that can be intersubjectively assumed (=or anything), before proceeding (=but) to the potentially problematic utterance (=Y, see above).

- [96] A: *and I find that quite a compliment that you say that because (.) like don’t take this nastily or anything but I’d never*
B: >> **no**
A: *I’d never met anyone who was so like expressive*

This construction has become so formulaic in interactive English spoken discourse that it can be immediately recognised by the addressee and acted upon, e.g. by providing a “supportive feedback” (Overstreet & Yule 2001: 52) as in the B utterance in [96] (*no*). This kind of cooperation between the conversational participants can be taken even further if the recipient of a formulaic disclaimer construction finishes the speaker’s problematic utterance (=Y). For example, in [97], A talks about a man she is attracted to and lists his qualities: *he’s got muscles and tattoos and a tan and ... oh he’s beautiful*. Then she realises the qualities she had just listed might lead to her being perceived as *superficial* by B, which runs contrary to the intersubjectively assumed social rules. To avoid this re-typification of her identity, she begins to disavow the unfavourable impression (=not X; [*not that I’m superficial*]) along with other possible negative interpretations (=or anything), by which point B realises what A is trying to communicate and first disavows the negative interpretation (=no) and then finishes the ‘but Y’ part of A’s formulaic disclaimer, i.e. *but a man has to look you know presentable*.

- [97] A: >> *in my head it’s all mapped out we’d have the perfect relationship if he never spoke*
B: *oh --ANONnameF oh I’ve missed you*

A: >> he is a be- he's got muscles and tattoos and a tan and
 B: *oh no no no no no*
 A: oh he's beautiful
 B: *uh*
 A: not that I'm superficial or anything
 B: no but a man has to look you know presentable

The formulaic nature of these impression-management devices in English is validated not only by the fact that “interacting partners are oriented to the form and function of formulaic disclaimers and [as such] can react instantly to their structure” (ibid.) as shown in [96] and [97], it can also be corroborated by distributional phraseology: *but* is the 5th most significant collocate at the span of R1-3 of *or anything*, while *just* (which can be used instead of *but* in formulaic disclaimers) is the 7th most significant collocate.⁷⁰

In Czech, there seems to be no such well-established formulaic disclaimer that would have as its part a disjunctive GE to disavow other possible negative interpretations; but Czech does feature what Baker (1975: 37-42)⁷¹ called “‘response-controlling *but*-prefaces’ [...] (of the type: *not X, but Y*) to ‘signal possible forthcoming violations of the rules of pragmatic competence’” (Overstreet & Yule 2001: 50) (see excerpts [98] and [99]).

[98] A: *kdyžtak tady bude zítra Ondra ale . na to asi nebude moc prostor no .*
 B: *hmm hmm*

A: *nechci otravovat ale ono to asi je za chvíli jo . von to asi umí .. ale*
 [99] *dyť já to nechci hodnotit ale dyž maj takovej pěknej byt a všechno vybavený vid' . tak dyť z toho Lanškrouna to asi zas není tolik kilometrů aby se to nedalo jezdit . domů .. já nevím že jo to není jako z Prahy na Šumavu*

4.2.5. Intersubjective meanings of adjunctive GEs

The intersubjective meanings of adjunctive GEs include positive politeness strategies and formulaic disclaimers.

4.2.5.1. Positive politeness

“The most salient aspect of a person’s personality in interaction is what that personality requires of other interactants – in particular, it includes the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 312). One of the pervasive linguistic manifestations of positive politeness are backchannels, indicating to the speaker that the recipient follows his utterance and with most of the types (*yeah, right, uhu* and *to je jasný, jasně, dobře, jo*) also accepts the speaker’s views, and by extension the speaker himself.

⁷⁰ E.g.: *I'm not advocating you know violence or or anything I just think put them in a place...*

⁷¹ Baker, Charlotte. 1975. “This is just a first approximation, but ...” In *Papers from the Eleventh Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, edited by Robin E. Grossman, L. James San, and Timothy J. Vance, 37-47. Chicago: The Society.

The collaborative meaning-making can also be understood in terms of positive politeness. Consider, for example, excerpt [100], in which B, in utterance 2, finishes A's utterance 1, who then confirms that B was correct in utterance 3; in utterance 5, A identifies a category with the GE *and stuff like that*, which (similarly to the discourse marker *you know* that follows) “functions as a marker of solidarity and as an indicator that the speaker treats their interlocutors as their equals” (Martínez 2011: 2456); finally, in utterance 6, B accepts the invited solidarity and acknowledges that he knows what A is intersubjectively referring to with the backchannel *yeah*. Although the interactants in [101] do not finish each other's utterances, the cooperativeness is clearly observable in that dialogue as well (consider the backchannels in utterances 2, 4, 6, 8).⁷²

- [100] 1. A: *cos you've got a bar full of*
 2. B: *full of drinks*
 3. A: *stocked full of drinks*
 4. C: >> *yeah*
 5. A: ***and stuff like that you know***
 6. B: *yeah*
- [101] 1. A: *probírali látku že jo tak ono se jim to jako neztratí jo*
 2. B: *to je jasný ale jasně*
 3. A: *jenomže jako by ten základ vlastně toho kam to třeba zařadit*
 4. B: *dobře*
 5. A: ***nebo tydlety věci terminologie a takovýdle věci***
 6. B: *jo*
 7. A: *to se vlastně naučili jako v tom prváku druháku jo*.
 8. B: *jo*

Adjunctive GEs' basic meaning is “there is more (but you know what I mean)”, whereby the speaker indicates an assumption of shared experience and common ground, a feature of positive politeness.⁷³

⁷² One of the biggest differences in the nature of conversation in the two spoken corpora used in this study and the nature of conversation in the scripted language of the sitcom *Friends* (Novotný 2016), is this **interactiveness** evidenced by a high number of backchannels, overlaps, and (from the syntactic point of view) incomplete utterances as the speakers constantly negotiate the meaning (even at the cost of interrupting one another). In *Friends*, the actors know when their turn comes, which means that there is no overlap (unless there is a reason for it, e.g. arguments) and the utterances are syntactically complete. Moreover, there is no room for negotiating the meaning (the meaning has to be crystal clear for the sake of the audience), which is why backchannels are not as frequent (e.g. *yeah* features 5,783 ipm in the *Friends* corpus vs. 22,764 ipm in the *Spoken BNC2014* corpus). It also seems that *yeah*, as used in *Friends*, primarily occurs as a direct answer to a question and/or proposition, therefore not functioning as a kind of supportive feedback, which is the case for backchannels.

⁷³ Additionally, the backchannel *yeah* is the 3rd most significant R1-5 collocate of *and stuff*, following *like* and *that* (because of the long form *and stuff like that*, i.e. *yeah* is the most significant R1-5 collocate of *and stuff like that*). *Jo* is the 18th most significant collocate of *a tak*, but in Czech, the measuring is significantly less precise as *a tak* (the other GE forms being too infrequent due to the high formal variation to be even considered here) can also occur in contexts where it does not function as a GE (e.g. in coordinated result clauses).

4.2.5.2. Formulaic disclaimers – marking something as contrary to expectations

The construction [*X and everything, but Y*] performs “a clarification function and is used by speakers/writers to anticipate and emphasize the existence of expectations intersubjectively understood in connection with certain behavior or events (X), before they offer a justification (Y) for thinking [or acting] contrary to those expectations” (Overstreet & Yule 2002: 785). For instance, consider excerpts [102]-[107]. The interpretations are presented in a tabular form to highlight the similar processes associated with formulaic disclaimers (see Table 7).

- [102] *and he actually (.) he's a really nice guy (.) he wasn't sort of like he was quite good looking and everything but he was (.) bit humble didn't really do his his like his hair right or anything but now it's it's absolutely fine he's got (.) great wife and everything he just was really shy (.) he was a bit of a nerd I suppose*
- [103] A: *but it was very low-cut at the front*
B: *mm*
A: *and I don't er c- correct me if I'm wrong (.) I don't ever really wear anything that was so low-cut (.) it was like that (.) right?*
B: *no (.) I don't approve of it*
A: *so I kind of like I ha- I was really not self-conscious but a bit like oh God I wish it was coming up to here (.) so I had my hair down (.) so I'd sort of pulled it all here like this (.) so after that I was like it looked nice and everything like that (.) but um I was like I'm gonna never be a hundred percent comfortable in it*
- [104] A: *>> oh right she works at like stables and things?*
B: *>> yeah (.) she's just in a stable*
A: *>> that's what I meant I didn't mean a farmer*
B: *>> no no no well you know*
A: *cos farmers are well they don't make loads but they make a alright amount of money*
B: *mm (.) well she has a degree and everything but she just didn't wanna do it didn't wanna work*
- [105] A: *Straka je ... blázen eee von furt tvrdí jakej je srdcař a všechno ale bohužel jako . no .. to není natolik inteligentní*
B: (smích)
A: *člověk aby to vůbec dal dohromady nějak . no*
- [106] A: *to už většinou dělá fakt když už sou starší nebo pak zakládají rodinu . myslím že to by bylo hrozně unáhlené . stavět barák navíc to by bylo strašně na dlouho*
B: *já sem já sem právě si to předsta* sem si představila sice ten bazén a všechno .*
A: (smích)
B: *ale pak sem říkala hele to fakt ale je prostě brzo*
- [107] A: *přitom měli svatbu v kostele*
B: *to je pak problem no .*
A: *a všechno možný ale prostě . totálně to nefungovalo*

Table 7. Breakdown of formulaic disclaimers used as expressions for the purpose of clarification/justification as to why something is contrary to expectations.

Ex.	Proposition (=X)	Emphasis (GE)	Possible expectations	BUT	Resultant action/opinion/proposition
[102]	<i>he was quite good looking</i>	<i>and everything</i>	women should find him attractive	<i>but</i>	being <i>humble</i> , he did not have success with them
[102]	<i>didn't really do his his like his hair right</i>	<i>or anything</i>	not being well groomed, he could have troubles attracting women	<i>but</i>	now he has a <i>great wife and everything</i>
[102]	<i>he's got (.) great wife</i>	<i>and everything</i>	one could assume that he had always been successful with women, which, in the end, enabled him to choose a <i>great wife</i>	<i>just</i>	in fact, he used to be <i>really shy and a bit of a nerd</i>
[103]	<i>it looked nice</i>	<i>and everything</i>	she might as well keep it	<i>but</i>	she sold it as she did not feel <i>comfortable in it</i>
[104]	<i>she has a degree</i>	<i>and everything</i>	she had the ability and/or qualification to do the job	<i>but</i>	she decided not to
[105]	<i>tvrdí jakej je srdcař</i>	<i>a všechno</i>	he should be suitable for the position	<i>ale</i>	he does not possess the mental capacity for it
[106]	<i>sem si představila sice ten bazén</i>	<i>a všechno</i>	some of the benefits of owning a house might lead people to buying/building one	<i>ale</i>	it should not be rushed
[107]	<i>přítom měli svatbu v kostele</i>	<i>a všechno možný</i>	one could expect that they would be happy	<i>ale</i>	they were not

As shown in Table 7, certain Czech adjunctive GEs (*a všechno (možný)*) can emphasise the expectations associated with the 'X' proposition in a very similar way to the English formulaic-disclaimer construction [*X and everything, but Y*] (cf. [*X a všechno (možný), ale Y*]). It is also worth noting that in [102], there were three formulaic disclaimers used for clarification, one of which featured a disjunctive GE, i.e. the construction [*not X or anything, but Y*], which does not seem to have a productive alternative in Czech.

Similarly to *or anything*, *and everything* also exhibits high collocability with *but* (5th most significant R1-3 collocate) and *just* (7th). The Czech conjunction *ale* is the 19th most significant collocate of the sequence *a (to) všechno*.

4.2.6. The case of *or what* and *nebo co*

As discussed in 2.6.3.4., the GE *or what* is somewhat different from the rest of the forms. From a formal point of view, *or what* is the only attested GE that can accommodate an interrogative pronoun (excluding the *-ever* series of interrogative pronouns, such as *whatever*, *whoever*, etc.) on its own. Additionally, it cannot be modified (cf. *or whatever else*) to maintain its intensifying, meta-propositional function.

4.2.6.1. Agreement-soliciting function

As Overstreet (1999: 93-6) pointed out, when *or what* is connected to evaluative assessments, it solicits from the recipient an agreement with the speaker's views. In this scenario, it is appended to a *yes/no* question that can be represented by the formula " $X = Y, or\ what?$ " and interpreted as "I think X, don't you agree?" (ibid.: 93).

With this interpretation in mind, consider excerpts [108] and [109]. In [108], the speaker expresses an evaluative assessment 'they are mad', which is intensified by the GE *or what*. In this case, the speaker does not even wait for her question to be answered (thus *or what* does not fulfil its function as an agreement-soliciting device, at least not explicitly) – her meta-proposition (*are they mad or what?*) becomes a statement (*they must be mad*). In contrast, A in [109] utters an assessment, though not an evaluative one, which, using Overstreet's interpretation, could be rephrased as 'I think I should *drink Elijah's wine*, don't you agree?'. Speaker A manages to solicit an agreement with his assessment as evidenced in the D utterance *have it Elijah's not coming*.

[108] *I mean are they mad or what? they must be mad*

[109] A: *am I going to drink Elijah's wine or what?*

B: >> --UNCLEARWORD

C: >> *what darling?*

D: *have it Elijah's not coming*

These two examples are the only attested instances where *or what* seems to function as an intensified request for an agreement from the addressee. In Czech, the corresponding GEs *nebo co* and *nebo jak* were not attested as agreement-soliciting devices at all. This functional gap of Czech forms may be due to the existence of other expressions that fulfil this communicative function, e.g. presumptive questions (presumptivní otázky; Grepl & Karlík 1998: 462; cf. also Novotný & Malá 2018: 56).⁷⁴

Moreover, based on the corpora used, *or what* seems to be rarely used in spoken discourse to solicit agreement. Interestingly, however, this function seems to be more pervasive in fiction or other realisations of scripted language, e.g. TV shows like *Friends* (Novotný 2016).⁷⁵

4.2.6.2. Action-soliciting function

Similarly infrequent is the use of *or what* as an action-soliciting expression (see example [28]), occurring 3 times in the English sample ([110]-[112]) and only once in the Czech

⁷⁴ E.g. *to je škoda že holky nebyly ani v tom tunelu co? takovej zážitek; ... to je jak v létě že?*

⁷⁵ E.g. *Is this guy great or what?; Does your boyfriend have the best taste or what?; Is this tacky or what? We have to have this.* (Novotný 2016: 41)

corpus ([113]). Regarding this communicative function of *or what*, we may assume that the infrequency is partly due to the nature of spoken corpora in general, i.e. mostly capturing dialogues rather than communicative events where some action occurs. This interpretation is supported by the examples below as the speaker in [110] solicits the type of action feasible in closed environments ('provide refreshments'), while speakers in [112] and [113] solicit actions that are outside of immediate context (i.e. 'enter the competition', which is actionable in the future, and reported speech requiring the addressee to 'get up', respectively).

- [110] *is somebody gonna top the wine up or what?*
 [111] *are we rock and rolling or what? whose go is it?*
 [112] *so --ANONnameF are you gonna enter the YBFs or what?*
 [113] *já poám tak budeš vstávat nebo jak?* (Novotný & Malá 2018: 47)

For the sake of contrast, consider excerpts [114]-[117], which were taken either from fiction or television language. With the exception of [117], featuring a phone conversation (inadmissible in spoken corpora used in this study) that results in the conversational participants' agreeing to meet (i.e. to take action), excerpts [114]-[116] show speakers soliciting an immediate action from the interacting partner.

- [114] *So you going now or what?* (InterCorp)
 [115] *Are you going to invite me in or what?*⁷⁶ (ibid.)
 [116] *"So, Harry – you going to use the Felix Felicis or what?" Ron demanded.* (ibid.)
 [117] A: *So, are we gonna get together or what?*
 B: *Um, absolutely. Uh, how 'bout tomorrow afternoon?* (Novotný 2016: 42)

4.2.6.3. An intensified request for clarification

By far the most frequent function of *or what* in interactive spoken discourse is that of an intensified request for clarification (see [27]). This intensification function is best visible in contexts where *or what* does not have any referential value, i.e. all possible alternatives have been mentioned prior to the GE (consider [118]-[120]). Note that all B speakers answer the intensified question with one of the provided alternatives.

- [118] A: >> *shall I turn them over or leave them or what?*
 B: *yeah flip them over and then salt the back*
 [119] A: *is that speaking? or singing? or what?*
 B: >> *speaking*

⁷⁶ Sometimes, the GEs *or what* and *nebo co* can also express a negative evaluation (usually frustration as in [115]). However, these occurrences seem to be rare in spoken corpora of friendly interactions. One of the negatively evaluative forms attested in the Czech data was a reported speech (*a chlapek jako že .. a to . to si myslite jako že vam lžu nebo co?*), while another was uttered as a kind of hyperbole (*proč mi to dáváš dyž je to špinavý? .. chceš abych se ušpinil v práci? . nebo co?*), being surrounded by marks indicating laughter (cf. Novotný & Malá 2018: 49)

- [120] A: ... *vono to je něk v kopci nebo v rovině? nebo jak?*
 B: *v kopci to je*

Naturally, the majority of occurrences are not as illustrative. For example, consider excerpt [121], in which *or what* is syntactically integrated into the previous part of an utterance, and could therefore be interpreted as a regular (i.e. not intensified) question with a hint (by means of a disjunctive GE) that the speaker may be inaccurate. The corpora of spoken language that are transcribed phonologically may provide an essential tool for determining whether a GE is used as an intensifier or not as Overstreet (1999: 96) claims that the intensifying GEs “are often accompanied by markers of phonological prominence, such as loudness, vowel lengthening, and rising pitch (cf. Ward & Birner 1993).”

- [121] A: *what are we testing this for? is this for idiom is this for what?*
 B: *I've got to send it to them in order to*
 A: *but what are they testing for?*
 B: *for audibility usea- useability*
 A: *>> no no what what what do they want to pick up? the use of idiom or use of language linguistics or what?*
 B: *erm (.) that is comparative ... they're comparing the past recordings of people p- speaking in the past*

4.2.7. GEs as a strategy in jokes

In Novotný (2016: 50-2), I argued that GEs used for reasons of humour are more typical of the scripted television dialogue than natural conversation.⁷⁷ While this may hold true, it is worth noting that this humorous function was attested (though, admittedly, by accident as looking for such occurrences is complicated at best) in the *ORAL2013* corpus (see [122]), where A and B discuss B's fear of flying and possible remedies. From the humorous context of the conversation, it is apparent that the utterance *tak snažím se smiřovat se smrtí a takové věci* is not to be understood literally. The GE *a takové věci* allows the speaker to distance himself from the exaggerated and serious proposition.

- [122] A: *(smích) to je srandovní fakt . (smích) mmm*
 B: *no nevím no co s tím mám udělat . tak tři panáky si dat předtím ..*
 A: *(smích) bouchnout se do hlavy (se smíchem) a omdlít*
 ...
 A: *no a jak to chceš řešit?*
 B: *no já právě nevím furt jak to mám řešit .. tak snažím se smiřovat se smrtí a takové věci .. (smích)*

⁷⁷ Cf. also example [17], in which *or something* is used as a joke in *Honolulu Advertiser*, or Overstreet (1999: 120-4).

5. Conclusions

The aim of the present study was to investigate formal and functional variety of English and Czech general extenders (GEs; e.g. *or something (like that), and stuff (like that)* vs. *nebo něco (takovýho), a tak(ový věci)*) in informal spontaneous dialogue. As Czech GEs have not yet been studied exhaustively (both from the formal and functional perspective), I have primarily relied on previous studies aimed at the English constructions. The main part of the current study (4.2.) thus presents an attempt to apply the functional framework proposed for English GEs (2.6.) to the respective Czech constructions, focusing on cross-linguistic similarities as well as differences.

The first main subchapter of the research part concerns itself with the formal variability of English and Czech GE forms (4.1.). The Czech forms featured looser word order when compared to the English GEs, which is not surprising given the synthetic nature of Czech (e.g. *nebo něco takovýho* vs. *nebo takovýho něco*, *nebo tak něco* vs. *nebo něco tak*). As such the Czech GE forms are not as feasible to interpret in terms of collocational frames (GE patterns) as their English counterparts. Still, given the high flexibility of GE collocational frames in both languages, combined with possible inserts (e.g. modifiers, words such as *like, just, jako, prostě*, or prepositions in Czech), if we are to account for more than just a few forms with a single GE pattern, the respective pattern needs to feature a variety of optional slots. Thus, for example, the English GE pattern ‘[*and*] + [*all*] + ([*of*]) + ([*determiner*]) + [*kind(s)/sort(s) of*] + ([*premodifier*]) + [NP]’ with three optional slots accommodates over 40 GE forms, while ‘[*a*] + [*demonstrative*] + ([*demonstrative*]) + ([*premodifier*]) + [NP] + ([*postmodifier*])’ with the same amount of optional slots accounts for at least 25 individual Czech GE forms. In total, 13 GE patterns were proposed that account for 237 GE forms (4.1.1.).

It is essential to note at this point that the extraction method used in this study was designed to collect as many forms as possible, giving the same prominence to the frequent forms (*and stuff, or something, a tak, nebo něco*) and to hapaxes (*and all kinds of shenanigans, or some sort of fish, a takový prostě jako ptákovinky, nebo takového cosi*). Therefore, even though we could probably cover the majority of GE use in spoken English (in Czech the situation is more difficult due to the higher formal variability) with just a handful of forms, collecting the frequent and (more importantly) the infrequent GE forms, provides a valuable insight into how GEs are used in a creative, personally involved way by individual speakers (Halliday & Hasan 1976). It also allows for more detailed GE patterns to be proposed.

The second subchapter of the research part (4.2.) focuses on the GE functions in communication. To best showcase the multifunctionality of GEs, I relied primarily on Overstreet's (2014) study, in which she suggests that GEs, through various processes of grammaticalisation (2.5.), developed from primarily propositional expressions to expressions functioning in the subjective and intersubjective domains. This section thus investigates firstly the subjective meanings of GEs and then moves onto the intersubjective meanings.

One of the subjective meanings of disjunctive forms discussed in this study was the clausal extenders (4.2.2.1.) that allowed the speakers to specify the pragmatic reasons (2.1.) for using the approximating extender. These forms (e.g. *or whatever it's/they're called, or whatever it is/was, or whatever the word is* and *nebo co to bylo, nebo jak se to menuje/řekne, nebo co to je*) mostly followed the pattern '[or / nebo] + [interrogative pronoun] + [NP] + [VP]'. Their specific nature (when compared to the more general *or whatever/nebo co*) strengthens the cohesive ties, making it easier for the recipient to identify what part of the previous utterance is approximated (in this case, mostly complicated words or specific names that require accuracy).

Adjunctive forms can also be specified, forming the category of specific extenders (SEs; 4.2.3.1.). For an extender to be labelled here as specific, the respective form has to feature either a non-evaluative modifier or the name of the notional category proper (e.g. *fridges and washing machines and all the white goods stuff, Alzheimer's and all sorts of other health issues, ten Amsterdam a takový ty města*). In both cases, the additional linguistic material (when compared to the GEs *and stuff* and *a tak*) helps delimit the identified notional category.

What is also categorised in this study as subjective meaning of GEs is their evaluative potential (4.2.2.2. and 4.2.3.2.), realised by either an expressive noun or modifier. The results indicate that while English uses both strategies, Czech relies primarily on expressive nouns. Moreover, it seems that some English expressive nouns exhibit more semantic bleaching than is the case with Czech expressive nouns (4.2.2.2.3.). This is most clearly observable in scenarios, in which the evaluation would not make much sense (e.g. time approximations: *I can't believe it's nearly October it feels like don't know August or some shit*) or where the negative connotation of the expressive noun is disregarded by the presence of a positive modifier (e.g. *you can eat pasta and pizza and all this good shit*). It follows that if an expressive noun appears in a Czech GE, the connotation tends to mirror that of the expressive noun (e.g. *Kocáb a tydlety pitomci*). This seems to be in accordance with Tárnyiková (2009).

The last subjective meaning of GEs considered here is their intensifying function (4.2.2.3. and 4.2.3.3.), which, interestingly, is represented in both languages, even using corresponding forms in the case of adjunctive GEs (*and everything* vs. *a všechno*). As for the disjunctive GEs, the typical English intensifier used in statements is *or anything*, while in Czech, surprisingly, it is the form that uses the interrogative pronoun *co* (*nebo co*). Some of the attested intensifying GEs include: *she has a si- six-pack and everything*, *voní tam dávali i deštníky a všechno možný jako*, *nan doesn't speak to you or even wake up or anything*, *vona je . se mi náč vyhybá nebo co*. It also seems that while *and everything*, *a všechno* and *or anything* can express both positive and negative intensification, *nebo co* only functions as a negative intensifier.

The intersubjective meanings of GEs are primarily recipient-oriented, i.e. motivated by the speaker's concern with the addressee's face (politeness strategies) or the presentation of self in the eyes of the addressee (formulaic disclaimers). Disjunctive GEs can be used as hedges addressed to negative politeness (4.2.4.1.) – by offering alternatives or showing willingness to compromise, the speaker makes his speech act more tentative (e.g. *shall we go and make coffee or something?* or *chceš uvařit kafe nebo něco*; significantly, this kind of offer with a “there is an alternative” GE makes it easier for the recipient to ask for something else (*coco* and *čaj*, respectively) without risking losing his face. Adjunctive GEs with its basic meaning “there is more but you know what I mean” encode shared knowledge, thus building solidarity with the hearer and functioning as hedges addressed to positive politeness (4.2.5.1.). This function is most illustrative in highly interactive dialogues where the conversational participants build the meaning collaboratively (e.g. by using supportive feedbacks such as backchannels). No difference between English and Czech GEs in terms of their potential to function as politeness markers was attested.

In contrast, Czech disjunctive GEs do not seem to be used productively to form ‘formulaic disclaimers’ (4.2.4.2.). While in English, disavowing the alternative interpretations before proceeding with the ‘response-controlling *but*-preface’ (Baker 1975) seems to be formulaic (e.g. *don't take this nastily or anything but I'd never ... met anyone who was so like expressive*), in Czech it does not seem to be the case (e.g. *nechci otravovat ale ono to asi je za chvíli jo*). The adjunctive GEs used as formulaic disclaimers (4.2.5.2.), however, were represented in both languages, forming the construction ‘[X] + [*and everything/a všechno (možný)*] + [*but, just/ale*] + [Y]’ (see Table 7).

Given the uniqueness of the GE *or what*, the forms *or what* and (its counterpart) *nebo co* were investigated separately (4.2.6.). They were examined for three communicative

functions proposed in Overstreet (1999) and Novotný (2016): 1) agreement-soliciting function; 2) action-soliciting function; and 3) intensified request for clarification. The first function only occurred twice in English and not at all in Czech (Czech GEs do not seem to be able to express this communicative function; instead, Czech seems to rely on other means, such as presumptive questions). The second function was attested three times in English and only once in Czech. This infrequency may be caused by the lack of sufficient situational and interpersonal context in spoken corpora in general, as this function was attested more frequently in fiction or scripted language. The third function is by far the most frequent one, although its intensifying aspect partly relies on whether the GE is syntactically integrated or not.

GEs can also be used as a strategy in jokes (4.2.7.) but these occurrences are so context sensitive that they are extremely hard (if not impossible) to find systematically.

This study served as a preliminary insight into the largely overlooked category of Czech GEs, focusing primarily on their functional potential in reference to the more extensively investigated English GEs. The potentials of English and Czech GEs were confirmed to be very similar. Further research into Czech GEs would be very much in order as the present study does not even come close to answering all the questions that have already been answered with regard to the English GEs.

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8. Resumé

V úvodní kapitole je vymezeno téma práce, jímž je prozkoumání neurčitých výrazů, které jsou v anglické sekundární literatuře známé mimo jiné jako ‚general extenders‘, neboli ‚neurčité dovětky‘ (Novotný & Malá 2018). Jedná se např. o výrazy *or something (like that)*, *and stuff (like that)*, respektive *nebo něco (takovýho)*, *a tak(ový věci)*. Práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat formální i funkční vlastnosti neurčitých dovětek, a to jak v angličtině, tak v češtině. Avšak vzhledem k tomu, že české dovětky dosud z velké části unikaly cílené pozornosti lingvistů, opírá se teoretický rámec této práce především o studie věnované dovětkům anglickým.

V druhé kapitole se nejprve seznámíme s důvody, jež mohou vést mluvčí k tomu, aby byli v interakci neurčití (2.1.). Následují podkapitoly se zaměřují na distribuci a formální různorodost dovětek (2.3.)⁷⁸ a jejich schopnost vyjadřovat postoj mluvčího vůči dané promluvě (2.4.). Ačkoli předkládaná studie zkoumá dovětky na synchronních datech, část 2.5. se stručně věnuje gramatikalizaci dovětek, především tomu, jak se z primárně propozičních výrazů staly výrazy, jež mluvčím slouží k vyjádření subjektivních i intersubjektivních významů. Tyto významové sféry jsou klíčové, jelikož se o ně zbytek práce opírá při dělení funkcí dovětek. V další podkapitole (2.6.) jsou funkce neurčitých dovětek zařazeny podle výše zmíněných významových sfér (tj. objektivní, subjektivní a intersubjektivní význam) a jednotlivé funkce jsou popsány na základě sekundární literatury. Je důležité podotknout, že ač se práce (pro přehlednost) snaží pracovat s jednotlivými funkcemi v rámci jasně vymezené sféry, neurčité dovětky jsou multifunkční a jednotlivé funkce se u výrazů vrství (2.7.). V závěru druhé kapitoly (2.8.) je zmíněno, co bylo dosud zjištěno o českých neurčitých dovětcích.

Jelikož se neurčité dovětky jakožto pragmatické částice s příznačnými exponenty neurčitosti (Hoffmanová 2013) vyskytují především v nepřipraveném neformálním dialogu, pracuje tato studie se srovnatelnými konverzačními korpusy mluvené angličtiny a češtiny (*Spoken BNC2014* a *ORAL2013*), jež jsou složeny z dialogů mluvčích, kteří se dobře znají (3.1.). Jako metodu extrakce neurčitých dovětek z obou korpusů si autor práce zvolil metodu kolokačních rámců (Aijmer 2015). Tento přístup využil formální podobnosti většiny neurčitých dovětek, tj. počáteční spojky (*and/or*, *a/nebo*). Zvolenou metodou (3.2. a 3.3.) se podařilo identifikovat přes 300 unikátních tvarů (188 pro angličtinu, 132 pro češtinu).

Čtvrtá, hlavní kapitola se věnuje interpretaci dat, a to jak z hlediska formálního (4.1.), tak funkčního (4.2.). V první podkapitole jsou zobrazeny tabulky identifikovaných tvarů spolu

⁷⁸ Je zde zmíněno například dělení dovětek na slučovací (ty se spojkou *and/a*) a vylučovací (*or/nebo*).

s celkem 13 navrženými kolokačními rámci, které pojmu 237 jednotlivých tvarů. V této podkapitole jsou také zmíněny formální rozdíly mezi anglickými a českými dovětky, např. pevný či volný slovosled v rámci výrazů. Předkládaná studie se však v první řadě soustředí na srovnání funkčního potenciálu dovětek v obou jazycích – tomu se věnuje nejdelší kapitola této práce (4.2.).

Podkapitola začíná (4.2.1.) poznámkou o nemožnosti jednotlivé funkce zcela oddělit kvůli výše zmíněnému vrstvení funkcí a roli kontextu (interpretace pragmatických částic je z velké části závislá na kontextu). I přesto (opět především z důvodu přehlednosti) se zbytek práce snaží popsat funkce pokud možno odděleně a to v souladu s gramatikalizačními procesy, tj. postupem od propozičních k expresivním (subjektivním i intersubjektivním) funkcím. Jelikož se dovětky s čistě objektivním významem vyskytují velmi zřídka, práce se soustředí především na subjektivní (4.2.2. a 4.2.3.) a intersubjektivní (4.2.4. a 4.2.5.) významy dovětek, přičemž je pozornost nejprve věnována vylučovacím (4.2.2. a 4.2.4.) a posléze slučovacím (4.2.3. a 4.2.5.) dovětkům.

První podkapitola subjektivních významů vylučovacích dovětek (4.2.2.1.) je věnována poměrně malé podkategorii, jež je zde nazvána ‚větne dovětky‘ (clausal extenders). Jedná se o výrazy, jež umožňují mluvčímu lépe osvětlit jak důvod pro neurčitost v jeho promluvě, tak nasměrovat své posluchače k té části promluvy, která je dovětkem označena jako potenciálně nepřesná (např. *or whatever it 's/they're called, or whatever it is/was, or whatever the word is and nebo co to bylo, nebo jak se to menuje/řekne, nebo co to je*). Následující podkapitola (4.2.2.2.) se zaměřuje na různé možnosti, jak lze vyjádřit postoj mluvčího (tj. postmodifikací a expresivními podstatnými jmény). Zatímco angličtina používá oba způsoby, v češtině byly doloženy hodnotící dovětky pouze s expresivními substantivy. Hodnotící funkci můžou plnit i dovětky, jež neobsahují ani evaluativní postmodifikaci, ani expresivní substantiva, tj. pouze na základě kontextu. Tyto dovětky jsou na základě Overstreetové (1999) označovány jako intenzifikační (4.2.2.3.). V angličtině se jedná především o tvar *or anything* a v češtině o tvar *nebo co*.

Popis subjektivních významů slučovacích dovětek (4.2.3.) začíná podobně jako u dovětek vylučovacích rozlišením mezi neurčitými dovětky a dovětky určitými (specific extenders) (4.2.3.1.). Rozdíl tvoří přítomnost fakultativního nehodnotícího premodifikátoru nebo explicitně zmíněný název identifikované kategorie (např. *and all sorts of other health issues* vs. *and all sorts of things*). Určité dovětky byly doloženy v obou jazycích. U slučovacích dovětek hodnotících byly pozorovány opět dva produktivní způsoby vyjádření postoje – pomocí premodifikátoru a expresivního substantiva. Podobně jako u vylučovacích

dovětků byly v angličtině doloženy oba způsoby, zatímco v češtině pouze expresivní substantiva. Slučovací dovětky obsahují rovněž jeden tvar, který může vyjadřovat postoj prostřednictvím onomatopoeie (*and blah blah blah, a bla bla bla*). Tento tvar se s podobnou funkcí pravděpodobně vyskytuje i v dalších jazycích.

Intersubjektivní významy vylučovacích dovětků (4.2.4.) se zaměřují na negativní zdvořilost (4.2.4.1.) a popírací konstrukce nazvané Overstreetovou (1999) ‚formulaic disclaimers‘ (4.2.4.2.). Zatímco negativní zdvořilost byla doložena v obou jazycích, popírací konstrukce typu ‚*not X or anything, but Y*‘ pravděpodobně nemá v češtině žádný produktivní protějšek (čeština, zdá se, používá pouze formuli ‚*X, ale Y*‘, tj. vynechává vylučovací dovětek).

Slučovací dovětky v intersubjektivní sféře (4.2.5.) plní funkci pozitivní zdvořilosti (4.2.5.1.) a popírací konstrukce, jíž zdůrazňují, že si něco počíná v rozporu s očekáváním (4.2.5.2.). Jelikož pozitivní zdvořilost je v této práci chápána především jako spolupráce mluvčích na vytváření významu (např. posluchač naznačí prostřednictvím ‚backchanellu‘, že byl schopen rozpoznat neurčitě identifikovanou kategorii), není překvapivé, že vysoce interaktivní povaha obou korpusů umožňuje vyhledat mnoho dovětků s touto funkcí. Oproti tomu je velice zajímavé, že formule ‚*X and everything, but Y*‘ má svou variantu i v češtině ‚*X a všechno (možný), ale Y*‘ (4.2.5.2.; see Table 7).

Předposlední podkapitola výzkumné části (4.2.6.) je věnována problematickému dovětku *or what* (a jeho protějšku *nebo co*), konkrétně jeho metapropozičním funkcím: výzva k souhlasu (4.2.6.1.), výzva k činnosti (4.2.6.2.) a zdůrazněná výzva k objasnění (4.2.6.3.). První dvě z těchto výzev se v použitých korpusech vyskytují jen ojediněle (výzva k souhlasu např. v češtině nebyla doložena vůbec). Zdaleka nejfrekventovanější funkcí těchto dovětků je tak výzva k objasnění, avšak zdůrazňující aspekt výzvy je do jisté míry závislý na tom, zda je dovětek začleněn do větné struktury nebo ne.

V poslední podkapitole (4.2.7.) je doložen výskyt neurčitého dovětku *a tak* použitého za účelem humoru. Důvodem, proč práce nenabízí více dokladů s touto funkcí, je především jejich vysoká závislost na kontextu, která brání systematickému vyhledávání (ostatně humorná povaha citovaného příkladu byl rozpoznána náhodou, a to po přečtení několika předchozích replik, jež by se v konkordančních řádcích zcela určitě neobjevily).

V páté, poslední kapitole jsou shrnuty poznatky této práce. Jak již bylo zmíněno výše u jednotlivých podkapitol, české dovětky se v mnoha ohledech podobají dovětkům anglickým. Ačkoliv byly upozorovány jisté formální rozdíly (způsobené především odlišnou typologií zkoumaných jazyků), je pozoruhodné, kolik toho tyto výrazy sdílejí. Co se funkcí

týče, nebyly v češtině doloženy pouze dvě (popírací konstrukce s vylučovacím dovětkem a výzva k souhlasu). Tyto komunikativní funkce se v češtině vyjadřují za pomoci jiných prostředků. Čeština se dále v hodnocení prostřednictvím dovětků spoléhá spíše na expresivní substantiva (případně kontext), zatímco v angličtině byly doloženy navíc i evaluativní modifikátory.

Předkládaná studie nabízí unikátní vhled do poměrně neprozkoumané oblasti českých neurčitých dovětků. Jedná se ovšem o vhled do velké míry zobecněný, navíc postavený na funkčním rámci dovětků anglických. Kategorie těchto neurčitých výrazů by si v budoucnu dozajista zasloužila větší pozornost, než se jí dosud dostalo. Jako důvod dále zkoumat tyto dovětky i v češtině by dle mého názoru postačil už jen jejich častý výskyt a ohromující funkční potenciál.

9. Appendix

9.1. The extraction process based on GE-initial conjunctions⁷⁹

9.1.1. Collocates of *and*

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
stuff (2)	<i>and stuff</i> <i>and stuff like that</i> <i>and stuff like this</i> <i>and all the stuff</i> <i>and just general stuff</i> <i>and some other stuff</i> <i>and all that stuff</i> <i>and all this stuff</i> <i>and just horrible horrible stuff</i> <i>and that sort of stuff</i> <i>and that kind of stuff</i> <i>and all sorts of stuff</i> <i>and all this other stuff</i> <i>and all that other stuff</i> <i>and all this kind of stuff</i> <i>and different stuff</i> <i>and furry stuff</i> <i>and chocolate stuff</i> <i>and just stuff like that</i> <i>and that stuff</i> <i>and all stuff like that</i> <i>and like stuff like that</i> <i>and other stuff like that</i>		
everything (11)	<i>and everything</i> <i>and everything like that</i> <i>and everything else</i> <i>and everything else like that</i>		
all (12)	<i>and all</i>	sorts (2)	<i>and all sorts</i> <i>and all sorts of bits and pieces</i> <i>and all sorts of different colours</i> <i>and all sorts of diseases</i> <i>and all sorts of other health issues</i> <i>and all sorts of stuff</i> <i>and all sorts of things</i> <i>and all sorts of white goods</i> <i>and all of those sorts of things</i>

⁷⁹ As already mentioned (see Footnote 44), the bracketed numbers after the individual collocates show their significance towards the respective conjunction (defining characteristics: log-likelihood, R1-4).

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
		sort (13)	<i>and all that sort of business</i> <i>and all that sort of shit</i> <i>and all that sort of stuff</i> <i>and all that sort of thing</i> <i>and all them sort of people</i> <i>and all them sort of things</i> <i>and all these sort of jobs</i> <i>and all these sort of clean-up things</i> <i>and all this sort of shit</i> <i>and all this sort of stuff</i> <i>and all this sort of thing</i> <i>and all those sorts of things</i> <i>and all of that</i> <i>and all of+ similar forms as above</i>
		kinds (16)	<i>and all kinds of malarkey</i> <i>and all kinds of shenanigans</i> <i>and all kinds of shit</i> <i>and all kinds of stuff</i> <i>and all kinds of things</i>
		things (19)	<i>and all sorts of things</i> <i>and all of these things</i> <i>and all of those things</i> <i>and all the other things</i> <i>and all these different things</i> <i>and all these stupid things</i> <i>and all these things</i> <i>and all those things</i> <i>and all things like that</i>
		bits (22)	<i>and all the other bits and pieces</i> <i>and all sorts of bits and pieces</i> <i>and all the bits and pieces</i>
things (20)	<i>and things</i> <i>and things like that</i> <i>and things like this</i> <i>and all sorts of things</i> <i>and all these other things</i> <i>and all the things</i> <i>and all these things</i> <i>and all those things</i> <i>and various other things</i>		
bobs (37)	<i>and bits and bobs</i>		
blah (48)	<i>and blah blah blah...</i>		
everyone (55)	<i>and everyone else</i>		

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
kind (56)		that (4) all (3)	<i>and that kind of thing</i> <i>and that kind of stuff</i> <i>and that kind of shit</i> see above
forth (57)	<i>and so forth</i> <i>and so on and so forth</i>		
another (64)		thing (5)	<i>and one thing or another</i>
whatnot (76)	<i>and whatnot</i>		
sorts (80)	as <i>all</i> co-occurs with the collocate pair <i>and-sorts</i> in 106 out of 116 instances, this collocate can be ignored		
everybody (102)		else (2)	<i>and everybody else</i>
whatever (166)	<i>and whatever</i>		
shit (245)	<i>and shit</i> <i>and shit like that</i>		

9.1.2. Collocates of *or*

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate
something (1)	<i>or something</i> <i>or something else</i> <i>or something like that</i> <i>or something or other</i>
whatever (2)	<i>or whatever</i> <i>or whatever else</i> <i>or whatever the hell</i> <i>or whatever it's/they're called</i> <i>or whatever it is/was</i> <i>or whatever the phrase is</i> <i>or whatever the word is</i>
anything (4)	<i>or anything</i> <i>or anything like that</i> <i>or anything else</i> <i>or anything funny like that</i>
somewhere (13)	<i>or somewhere</i> <i>or somewhere else</i> <i>or somewhere like that</i>
summat (20)	<i>or summat</i> <i>or summat like that</i>
wherever (21)	<i>or wherever</i>
whoever (25)	<i>or whoever</i>
thereabouts (35)	<i>or thereabouts</i>

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate
somebody (38)	<i>or somebody</i> <i>or somebody else</i> <i>or somebody like that</i>
someone (40)	<i>or someone</i> <i>or someone else</i> <i>or someone like that</i>
whenever (60)	<i>or whenever</i>
some (87)	<i>or some bollocks</i> <i>or some bullshit</i> <i>or some bullshit like that</i> <i>or some crap</i> <i>or some kind of science</i> <i>or some kind of shared music</i> <i>or some rubbish</i> <i>or some shit</i> <i>or some shit like that</i> <i>or some sort of drug</i> <i>or some sort of fish</i> <i>or some sort of biscuity cake thing</i> <i>or some stupid arbitrary figure</i> <i>or some such whatever</i>
anyone (125)	<i>or anyone</i> <i>or anyone else</i>
that (128)	<i>or anything like that</i> <i>or something like that</i> <i>or any of that kind of stuff</i> <i>or any of that rubbish</i> <i>or any of that sort of thing</i> <i>or anywhere like that</i> <i>or nothing like that</i> <i>or owt like that</i> <i>or people like that</i> <i>or someone like that</i> <i>or somebody like that</i> <i>or somewhere like that</i> <i>or stuff like that</i> <i>or things like that</i> <i>or this or that</i> <i>or whatever like that</i> <i>or just something like that</i> <i>or some shit like that</i> <i>or something silly like that</i> <i>or something stupid like that</i> <i>or some bullshit like that</i> <i>or anything funny like that</i>

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate
	<i>or something shit like that</i> <i>or all that sort of stuff</i> <i>or all that sort of thing</i> <i>or all that kind of stuff</i> <i>or all that kind of thing</i> <i>or that kinda thing</i> <i>or that or the other</i>
any (156)	<i>or any of those things</i> <i>or any other mass entertainment thing</i>
what (1300)	<i>or what</i>

9.1.3. Collocates of *a*

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
to (1)		všechno (26)	<i>a to všechno</i> <i>a to všechno možný</i>
		všecko (58)	<i>a všecko možnýho</i> <i>a to všecko</i> <i>a všecko možné</i>
tak (10)	<i>a tak</i>	dále (4) podobně (30) ňák (38) všechno (62)	<i>a tak dále</i> <i>a tak podobně</i> <i>a tak ňák</i> <i>a tak všechno</i>
takový (60)	<i>a takový</i>	věci (2) prostě (9) blbosti (11)	<i>a takový věci</i> <i>a takový ty složitý věci</i> <i>a takový ty serepetičky (prostě)</i> <i>a takový prostě jako ptákovinky</i> <i>a takový ty kecy (prostě)</i> <i>a takový věci (prostě)</i> <i>a takový blbosti</i>
všechno (70)	<i>a všechno</i>	uplně (17) todle (19) toto (20)	<i>a všechno uplně</i> <i>a todle všechno</i> <i>a tady toto všechno</i>
takle (79)	<i>a takle</i>		
todle (109)	<i>a todle</i>	všechno (12)	<i>a všechno todle</i> <i>a todle všechno</i>
vůbec (122)	<i>a vůbec všeho</i>	tak (53)	-
podobně (129)	<i>a podobně</i>	tak (4)	<i>a tak podobně</i>
něco (141)	<i>a něco takovýdleho</i>	takovýho (5)	<i>a něco takovýho</i>
věci (150)		takový (2)	<i>a takový věci</i> <i>a takový ty věci</i> <i>a takový různý věci</i> <i>a takový ty všechny věci</i> <i>a takový ty složitý věci</i>

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
		takovýdle (3)	<i>a takovýdle věci</i> <i>a takovýdle ty věci</i> <i>a žádný takovýdle věci</i>
		takové (4)	<i>a takové věci</i> <i>a takové ty věci</i> <i>a tady takové věci</i> <i>a takové prostě věci</i>
		tydle (5)	<i>a tydle věci</i> <i>a všechny tydle věci</i> <i>a takový tydle věci</i> <i>a tady tydle ty věci</i>
		takovýchle (7)	<i>a takovýchle věci</i>
		tyhle (8)	<i>a tyhle věci</i>
		všechny (9)	<i>a všechny tydle věci</i> <i>a všechny možný věci</i> <i>a takové všechny věci</i>
		různý (11)	<i>a různý věci</i> <i>a takový různý věci</i>
		tydlety (13)	<i>a tydlety věci</i> <i>a tady tydlety věci</i>
takové (172)		věci (2)	see věci-takové above
všecko (179)	<i>a všecko</i> <i>a to všecko</i> <i>a tohleto všecko</i> <i>a všecko možnýho</i> <i>a všecko vostatní</i>		
takhle (222)	<i>a takhle</i> <i>a takhle různě</i> <i>a prostě takhle</i> <i>a takhle no</i>		
cosi (248)		kdesi (2)	<i>a kdesi cosi</i>
todleto (254)	<i>a todleto</i>		
tamto (268)	<i>a tamto všechno</i> <i>a todle a tamto</i>		

9.1.4. Collocates of *nebo*

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
něco (2)	<i>nebo něco</i>	takovýho (2)	<i>nebo něco takovýho</i> <i>nebo takovýho něco</i> <i>nebo na něco takovýho</i> <i>nebo prostě něco takovýho</i>
		takového (3)	<i>nebo něco takového</i> <i>nebo jako něco takového</i>

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
		tak (7) prostě (11) podobného (17) takovýdleho (19) smyslu (20)	<i>nebo tak něco</i> <i>nebo něco tak</i> <i>nebo prostě něco</i> <i>nebo něco podobného</i> <i>nebo něco takovýdleho</i> <i>nebo něco v tom smyslu</i>
co (3)	<i>nebo co</i> <i>nebo co to bylo</i> <i>nebo co to tam je</i> <i>nebo já nevím co to bylo</i> and other clausal forms		
tak (6)	<i>nebo tak</i>	něco (3) nějak (4) ňák (5)	see <i>něco-tak</i> above <i>nebo tak nějak</i> <i>nebo nějak tak</i> <i>nebo tak ňák</i> <i>nebo ňák tak</i>
jak (12)	<i>nebo jak</i> <i>nebo jak se to řekne</i>	menuje (4)	<i>nebo jak se to menuje</i>
kolik (26)	<i>nebo kolik</i> <i>nebo kolik sme měli</i> and other clausal forms		
takle (42)	<i>nebo takle</i> <i>nebo něco takle</i> <i>nebo ňák takle</i>		
někde (44) nějak (53) kdo (57) někdo (60) něčeho (61)	<i>nebo někde</i> <i>nebo kdo</i> <i>nebo někdo</i> <i>nebo něčeho</i>	tam (3) tak (2) takovýho (2)	<i>nebo tam někde</i> see <i>tak-nějak</i> above <i>nebo něčeho takovýho</i> <i>nebo prostě něčeho takovýho</i> <i>nebo do něčeho takovýho</i>
někam (64)	<i>nebo někam</i> <i>nebo tam někam</i> <i>nebo prostě někam takhle</i>		
ňákej (76)	<i>nebo takovejdle ňákej podobnej</i>		
ňákou (91)	<i>nebo ňákou</i>		
kam (106)	<i>nebo kam</i>		
takhle (134)	<i>nebo takhle</i> <i>nebo takhle ňák</i>		
cosi (146)	<i>nebo cosi</i> <i>nebo cosi takového</i> <i>nebo cosi takovýho</i> <i>nebo takového cosi</i> <i>nebo cosi</i>		

1st collocate	GE forms from the 1st collocate	2nd collocate	GE forms from the 2nd collocate
něčím (149)	<i>nebo něčím</i> <i>nebo s něčím podobným</i> <i>nebo něčím takovým</i>		
takovýdle (155)	<i>nebo takovýdle koniny</i> <i>nebo takovýdle věci</i> <i>nebo nějaký takovýdle věci</i> <i>nebo takovýdle ty věci</i> <i>nebo prostě takovýdle velký věci</i>		
taklenc (177)	<i>nebo taklenc</i>		
kolika (196)	<i>nebo do kolika</i> <i>nebo v kolika</i> <i>nebo od kolika</i>		
todle (213)	<i>nebo todle</i>		
jaký (269)	<i>nebo jaký</i> <i>nebo kdoví jaký</i>		