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Filozofická fakulta

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Tomáš Novotný

General extenders in the sitcom “Friends” dialogue

Diskurzni ukazatele typu „general extenders“ v dialozích televizního seriálu "Přátelé"

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Vedoucí práce: doc. PhDr. Markéta Malá, Ph.D.

Děkuji doc. PhDr. Markétě Malé, Ph.D. za odborné vedení, cenné rady, podnětné připomínky a trpělivost, bez čehož by tato práce nevznikla.

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Abstrakt

Bakalářská práce zkoumá oblast vágního jazyka, konkrétně soubor jazykových prostředků označovaných jako ‚general extenders‘, tedy ‚vágní dovětky‘ (např. *or something (like that), and stuff (like that)*). Zatímco dřívější výzkum přisuzoval těmto výrazům především referenční funkce (implikace kategorií a výčtů) a předpokládal jejich výskyt na konci klauze nebo promluvy (‘utterance final tags’ (Aijmer 1985)), současné práce na toto téma zdůrazňují, že vágní dovětky slouží zejména k vyjádření interpersonálních funkcí v komunikaci (např. vyjádření postoje ve vztahu k předchozí promluvě, zdvořilostní strategie nebo signalizace různé míry jistoty). Kvůli probíhajícímu procesu gramatikalizace (fonologická redukce a dekategoriace) získávají vágní dovětky navíc nové diskurzní funkce a jejich pozice ve větě se stává volnější.

Práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat chování vágních dovětek jak z hlediska syntaxe (větné typy a pozice ve větě), tak z hlediska jejich funkcí v komunikaci. Výzkumná část práce je proto rozdělena do dvou částí: kvantitativní a kvalitativní. Zatímco syntaktické chování může být objektivně kvantifikováno, analýza komunikativních funkcí každé pragmatické částice nutně podléhá určitému stupni subjektivity. Fakt, že účastníci komunikace sdílejí určité znalosti, může hrát klíčovou roli v analýze diskurzních funkcí vágních výrazů. Proto byl pro účely této práce vytvořen korpus z populární americké situační komedie *Přátelé* – v televizních pořadech totiž musí být sdílený kontext srozumitelný širokému publiku. Výsledný korpus o přibližně 970,000 slovech byl pro další použití zpracován bezplatným softwarem AntConc, určeným ke konkordanční a textové analýze. Z celkového počtu 188 výskytů bylo 46 detailně rozebráno ve kvalitativní části práce. Vybraný vzorek představuje z pohledu autora práce jednak nejčastěji používané, jednak nejméně očekávatelné funkce těchto výrazů (např. snaha změnit téma odvedením pozornosti od předchozí promluvy, snaha neranit city posluchače a využívání sdíleného kontextu mezi mluvčím a publikem, nikoliv mluvčím a posluchačem, za účelem humoru).

Klíčová slova: vágní dovětky, sdílený kontext, referenční funkce, interpersonální funkce, zdvořilostní strategie.

Abstract

The thesis explores an area of vague language, specifically a set of linguistic elements called ‘general extenders’ (e.g., *or something (like that), and stuff (like that)*). While early research claimed that these forms have primarily referential functions (category implication and list construction) and that they typically occur at clause- and utterance-final positions (‘utterance final tags’ (Aijmer 1985)), more recent studies stress that, above all, general extenders perform interpersonal functions in communication (e.g., marking an attitude towards a preceding utterance, politeness strategies, expressing different levels of certainty). Furthermore, due to the ongoing process of grammaticalisation (phonological reduction and decategorisation), general extenders acquire new discourse functions and occur more freely within a sentence.

The thesis aims to investigate the behaviour of general extenders in terms of both syntax (sentence types and clause positions) and their communicative functions. To that end, the Research part is divided into two subchapters: quantitative and qualitative. Whereas syntactic behaviour can be objectively quantified, an analysis of communicative functions of every pragmatic marker is necessarily subject to a certain degree of subjective interpretation. The shared knowledge that exists between the interlocutors can play a crucial role in assessing the discourse functions of vague expressions. Therefore, for the purpose of the thesis, a corpus of the popular American situation comedy *Friends* was created, as the shared contexts in television shows need to be transparent to wide audiences. The resultant corpus of approximately 970,000 words was analysed with AntConc, a freeware software for concordancing and text analysis. Out of a total of 188 occurrences, 46 instances – considered from author’s point of view to display either the most frequent or the most unanticipated functions of these forms (e.g., topic-changing function, sparing hearer’s feelings or creating humorous situations by sharing the context only with the audience, not the hearer) – were chosen and analysed in detail in the Qualitative analysis part.

Keywords: general extenders, shared context, referential function, interpersonal function, politeness strategies.

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List of abbreviations

GE.....general extender
NP.....noun phrase

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1. Introduction

The thesis aims to investigate the syntactic behaviour of the vague expressions called ‘general extenders’ as well as to explore what functions they can perform in communication. The theoretical background (2) begins with a short introduction into the area of vague language and explains why speakers are motivated to employ vague words in communication. Subsequently, the forms are discussed in terms of distribution, grammaticalisation and functions they have already been proved to fulfil in communication. The following section, Material and Method (3), discusses the nature of the material used and reasons for choosing it.

Since general extenders, as all pragmatic particles, are multifunctional, Cheshire (2007) advises against quantifying pragmatic functions in relation to individual forms. Therefore, the only statistical data is provided in the quantitative analysis (4.4), which considers clause positions and sentence types of 5 most frequent forms found in my corpus (*or something, and stuff, or anything, and everything, or what*).

Qualitative analysis (4.5), on the other hand, focuses on interpretation of communicative goals that may motivate the speakers to use these vague expressions. Unlike in the quantitative analysis, all general extender variants are considered in this part as the analysis of even the most infrequent forms (4.5.3) can prove to be informative regarding the communicative functions associated with general extenders.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Vague language

Before shifting the main focus to general extenders, it is appropriate to consider the nature of vague expressions and reasons why they are an inseparable part of natural languages. Williamson claims that “[v]ague words often suffice for the purpose in hand, and too much precision can lead to timewasting and inflexibility” (1994: 4869; cited in Jucker et al. 2003: 1738).¹ However, speakers use vague expressions for strategic reasons other than simple efficiency – while “precise expressions imply to the listener that more individuation and focus is needed, [...] less precise expressions imply that a referent can remain in the background and that processing resources should be directed to other elements of the situation” (Jucker et al. 2003: 1743). Fundamentally, vague expressions, including general extenders, allow speakers to achieve various communicative goals, which will be discussed in section 2.5.

2.2. Introduction to General Extenders

General extenders (hereinafter GEs) represent a set of linguistic elements (e.g., *and stuff (like that), or something (like that)*) that belong to the area of vague language. These linguistic constructions have been assigned various labels over the years as linguists varied in approach to studying them, usually as a result of prioritising one function over the others.² In this thesis, I will be using the term ‘general extenders’ coined by Overstreet (1999), which, with its “neutral yet descriptively satisfying nature” (Martínez 2011: 2455), covers a broad range of functions performed by these multifunctional linguistic expressions.

The logic behind Overstreet’s term ‘general extenders’ is that ‘general’ suggests the non-specificity or vagueness, and ‘extenders’ draws attention to the fact that these constructions extend otherwise grammatically complete utterances (Overstreet 1999: 3). GEs “typically occur in clause-final position and have the basic form of conjunction plus noun phrase” (ibid.: 3).

¹ Williamson, Timothy (1994) Vagueness. In: Asher, R., Simpson, J. (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, 4869-4871.

² GEs are therefore also known as ‘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 of different terms was put together from the overviews in Overstreet (1999: 11), Cheshire (2007: 157), and Martínez (2011: 2455).

Martínez (2011: 2454) mentions also the possibility of conjunctions being followed by a *wh*-clause (*what have you*), an adverb phrase (*so forth*) and an onomatopoeic sound word (*blah...*). Based on which conjunction precedes the noun phrase, GEs can be divided into two sets: adjunctive GEs, i.e., those with the conjunction *and* (*and stuff*, *and everything*), and disjunctive GEs, which begin with the conjunction *or* (*or something*, *or anything*) (Overstreet 1999: 3-4).

While the majority of GEs take the conventional form of conjunction plus noun phrase, the presence of the conjunction itself is not a necessary condition for an expression to function as a GE. For example, consider excerpts [1] and [2]. However, Overstreet finds these forms so infrequent in her data that she chooses not to examine the conditions for omitting conjunctions. Similarly, Cheshire (2007: 156) detected only 9 GEs without a conjunction in her data out of a total of 1191 forms. As my data show similar infrequency, the thesis focuses mainly on more frequent GEs with conjunctions.

[1] I show myself about eighty feet out, **something like that**. (ibid.: 11)

[2] it's just about, you know, questions like, you know, are you still coming twelfth, do you need me to meet you somewhere, **blah blah blah**. (ibid.)

2.3. Distribution

The distribution of GEs is wide including all possible contexts – spoken and written as well as informal and formal; the occurrence frequency, however, varies considerably. All linguists that have studied GEs agree that these forms appear to be most frequent in informal, spoken conversation among familiars (ibid.: 6-7). Table 1 shows the difference in frequencies between spoken formal and spoken informal contexts.³

Table 1. The frequency of GEs in formal and informal spoken contexts (Overstreet, 1999: 7), with forms that occurred in my corpus in bold.

Forms	Informal Spoken	Formal Spoken
and stuff	29	0
and everything	12	0
and blah blah blah	4	0
and all that stuff	4	0
and all	3	0
and things like that	3	1
and all this stuff	2	0

³ The informal context includes “ten hours of recorded telephone conversations and face-to-face interactions among familiars,” while the latter consists of “recorded spoken interaction among nonfamiliar in formal settings (e.g., news radio interviews, political debates, academic discussions, and courtroom deliberations)” (Overstreet 1999: 6-7).

and that kind of thing	2	0
and whatever	2	0
and so on	0	8
et cetera	0	7
and all that	1	4
and so forth	0	3
or something	42	3
or something like that	4	0
or what	4	0
or whatever	16	0
or anything	19	0
or somewhere	2	0
Total adjunctive	67	27
Total disjunctive	89	3
Total	156	30

It is clear from Table 1 that GEs that will be the focus of this thesis occur more frequently, except for *and all that*, in informal spoken contexts. Furthermore, Martínez (2011: 2459) compared the frequencies of several GE forms in ICE-GB’s written subcorpus (400,000 words) with the spoken sample (600,000 words) of the same corpus, confirming the theory that GEs are used much more frequently in spoken contexts than in writing: *and that*, *and everything*, *and things*, *and stuff* and *and all* occurred in speech on 48, 25, 59, 34 and 63 occasions, respectively, versus only 4, 2, 2, 1 and 0 in writing.

2.4. Grammaticalisation & co-occurrence with discourse markers

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). She found that in British adolescent speech, *and everything* and *and that* were most advanced in terms of phonological reduction. In addition, decategorisation is another measure of grammaticalisation (Levey 2012: 263) – the process can be observed in excerpts [3] and [4]. While in [3], “the generic noun *things* in the GE matches its anaphor *skipping ropes* with respect to the features [+COUNT] [+PLURAL] [+INANIMATE], [...] in [4], *and things* is appended to a non-nominal constituent, illustrating its possible extension to new contexts” (ibid.: 264).

[3] we’ve been playing with the skipping ropes **and things** [16F10/11; cited in Levey 2012: 263]

[4] he gets animals that are really mangy **and things** [13M10/11; ibid.]

Furthermore, Martínez (2011: 2463) compared the co-occurrence of *and stuff* with discourse markers (e.g., *you know, I mean, sort of, I think*, etc.) in the speech of adults and teenagers, finding the presence of a discourse marker in 47.3% of the cases of adults' speech, compared to only 30.1 percent in the speech of teenagers. Martínez argues that this “could indicate that this general extender is gradually going through semantic changes, developing new pragmatic functions associated with it and, as a result, it does not need the support of any other discourse particles” (ibid.). It could also be said that analysing the language of teenagers, rather than adults, is more fruitful in terms of studying the pragmatic features of language.

2.5. GE functions

As suggested by the wide variety of terms, GEs have been proven to fulfil many functions and while early research focused mainly on the referential meanings of GEs, recent studies have tended to stress the functions that the forms can perform in the interpersonal domain (Cheshire 2007: 158). Cheshire further argues that prioritising one function over another leads to overlooking “the flexibility and multifunctionality [...], the most salient characteristic” (ibid.) of GEs.

Overstreet divides the functions into two main areas based on Halliday's (1970; cited in Overstreet 1999: 17)⁴ “distinction between the ideational and interpersonal functions of language.” The former includes GEs functioning as list completers and category identifiers, while the latter focuses on GEs' functions in communication, such as turn taking, interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors, face-saving strategies and marking speaker's attitude toward the message expressed.

2.5.1. Ideational/referential functions

2.5.1.1. Generalised list completers & three-partedness

One of the early studies examining GEs (Jefferson 1990) claimed that their basic function is that of list construction, labelling them generalised list completers. Jefferson goes even further to suggest that such lists should consist of three items precisely, based on her theory of

⁴ Halliday, Michael A. K. (1970) “Language Structure and Language Function,” *New Horizons in Linguistics*, edited by John Lyons, 140-165. U.K.: Penguin.

‘programmatically relevant of three-partedness’. In this theory, [3 item] lists are considered as ‘relatively complete’, while [2 item + generalised completer] lists are ‘relevantly incomplete’ (ibid.: 68). Quite essentially however, this incompleteness does not hinder communication; on the contrary, using GE as a generalised list completer allows for certain economy of speech on the basis that despite not exhausting the possible array of nameables, the named items are all that is necessary for the conversation to move forward (ibid.). In excerpt [5], we can see a list containing just three items:

[5] I mean do they get your name and address **and everything**? (Martínez 2011: 2464)

Although there seems to be a tendency for three-part lists (32 out of 40 list examples – or 80% – in Overstreet’s data feature GEs as a third item), there is not enough evidence to prove Jefferson’s assumption that conversational participants “employ [GEs] to solve a problem of ‘three-partedness’” (Overstreet 1999: 25).

Moreover, analysing GEs as list completers presents us with some other complications. Firstly, it is the absolute dominance of GEs in the form [1 item + GE], which is the case for 116 GEs out of 156 occurrences in Overstreet’s data. As already mentioned, a proper list requires at least three items, making the majority of occurrences ‘non-lists’. Secondly, the nature of lists is often very hard to infer because the instances constituting a list might not be distinct entities. To conclude, treating GEs mainly as list completers blinds us from seeing more crucial functions of these multifunctional expressions.

2.5.1.2. Category implication

Speakers usually do not explain their use of a GE; if they do, however, it can prove particularly informative as to what the GE refers to. Overstreet (1999: 38) provides an example of this infrequent construction (i.e., a GE subsequently expounded by the speaker) that supports the idea of GEs functioning as category implicative expressions. In [6], Crystal implies a category with a GE only to subsequently fill that category with explicit members – the category implied by *an’ everything* might be called “physical features that ‘light’ Spanish people are presumed to have” (ibid.: 40) and includes members such as *light hair*, *blue eyes* and *white skin*.

[6] (Crystal is telling her friend Julie about a young man from Argentina she has just met.)
Crystal: Juan is one of those light ones. He has red hair **an’ everything**. Light hair, blue eyes, white skin, Mex–um, uh Spanish, y’know. (ibid.: 39)

Similarly to the problem of a list-style analysis (lists are composed of distinct and indistinct entities), categories can be lexicalised (e.g., *bird*, *fruit* and *furniture*) or nonlexicalised (the implied category in [6]) (ibid.: 42). The latter are called “ad hoc” categories and they are “often created spontaneously for use in specialised contexts” (Barsalou 1983: 211, cited in Overstreet 1999: 42),⁵ which makes them “less familiar and less central to cultural knowledge” (ibid.). In fact, it seems that in the context of casual conversation, participants employ GEs to imply nonlexicalised categories much more frequently than lexicalised ones, which is supported by Overstreet’s data, with 6 instances of clearly defined lexicalised categories against 150 instances of their nonlexicalised counterparts (ibid.: 43).

When it comes to the ability to interpret the implications made by a GE used as a vague category marker, the level of the shared context between the interlocutors plays a crucial role. Evison et al. (2007: 145) show different levels of context in Table 2, where the examples are ranked from transparent to opaque. Similarly, Bazzanella (2011: 32) divides the transparent and opaque references in terms of context – ‘global’ and ‘local’ contexts, respectively.

Table 2. Examples of vague category markers in CANCSOC (Evison et al. 2007: 145).

<i>CANCSOC example</i>	<i>Comments</i>
‘She appreciates quietness and peace and she loves flowers and that sort of thing. ’	Easily interpretable by most people anywhere in the world.
‘We’ll meet up and go to Leeds for the day because there’s a new Marks and er a new Debenhams and stuff like that. ’	Less easily interpretable; one needs to know that <i>Marks</i> and <i>Debenhams</i> are large departments store chains; most British/Irish people know this.
‘So like God speaks to us through the prophets as well now doesn’t he. Likes of Tony Ling and that. ’	Interpretable only by those people with knowledge of <i>Tony Ling</i> as a religious figure within a minority Christian sect.

⁵ Barsalou, Lawrence (1983) “Ad hoc categories,” *Memory and Cognition* 11: 211-227.

[speech at a family birthday party] ‘Four generations here today and that’s important. And Mrs Wheeler and my dad are of the first generation. And then there’s old ones like Bobby and Paul and so on. ’	Only interpretable by the family members and others at the social gathering who know the family.
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2.5.2. Interpersonal/pragmatic functions

Jucker et al. argue that vague expressions serve as a major means “for conveying different levels of certainty regarding the propositional content of an utterance [...], newsworthiness or expectedness of a statement, or [...] evaluative meaning” (2003: 1776). In addition, they can perform various social functions, such as politeness strategies or establishing a social bond between the interlocutors (ibid.).

2.5.2.1. Marking an utterance as possibly inaccurate

GEs can mark the content of an assertion as possibly inaccurate in terms of both quality and quantity. In order to explain why speakers are motivated to use GEs in this way, Overstreet (1999: 112 & 126) uses Gricean Maxims of Quality and Quantity (see Table 3), which are characterised by Levinson as “guidelines for the efficient and effective use of language in conversation to further co-operative ends” (1983: 101; cited in Overstreet 1999: 111).⁶

Table 3. Gricean Maxims of Quality and Quantity (Grice 1975: 45-46; cited in Overstreet 1999: 112 & 126).⁷

<i>The Maxim of Quality</i>	<i>The Maxim of Quantity</i>
1. Do not say what you believe to be false. 2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.	1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Overstreet argues that disjunctive GEs are “often used as hedges on the Maxim of Quality, [while adjunctive GEs] can be viewed as hedges on expectations arising from the Maxim of Quantity” (1999: 112 & 126). For example, consider excerpts [7] and [8]. In [7], the speaker is reporting a rumour and as she cannot be sure of the truthfulness of the information, she is in danger of violating the Maxim of Quality (the second point to be specific). To express her lack of

⁶ Levinson, Stephen (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ Grice, H. Paul (1975) “Logic and Conversation,” *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, edited by P. Cole and J. Morgan, 41-58. New York: Academic Press.

commitment to the proposal, the speaker uses the GE *or something*, marking the preceding utterance as possibly inaccurate. In [8], on the other hand, the speaker is aware of being in danger of not saying enough, thus violating the Maxim of Quantity. In order to avoid that, she indicates that more could be said on the matter but she chooses not to do so, relying on shared knowledge with the hearer.

[7] I dunno, I heard John Murphy was dressed–was like a transvestite **or something**. (ibid.: 113)

[8] If she’s gonna go through labor and delivery and she’s gonna have a baby **and all this stuff** you know I’d like to be able to be there (ibid.: 127)

2.5.2.2. Intensifiers – marking a previous utterance as extreme or demanding confirmation from the hearer

And everything and *or anything* are typically used as intensifiers, “to emphasize or highlight a previous part of an assertion or question [as well as] to express an evaluation of something as remarkable, surprising, or (a maximum [for *and everything*] / a minimum [for *or anything*]) extreme” (Overstreet 1999: 146-147). Aijmer (2013: 143) argues that in [9], the speaker uses *and everything* as an intensifier to make the story more dramatic. In [10], on the other hand, Crystal uses the same GE not only to intensify the part *he ripped me off*, but also to mark the situation as “unexpected and shocking” (Overstreet 1999: 81).

[9] ...and I call her and ask her how her day was **and everything** (Santa Barbara Corpus; cited in Aijmer 2013: 143)

[10]Crystal: He’s making me so mad I just found out he ripped me off **an’ everything** (Overstreet 1999: 81)

Or anything is functionally related to *and everything* but occurs primarily in negative sentences (Aijmer 2013: 144); for example, consider [11], in which Crystal marks the previous utterance as astonishing, which is strengthened by the adverb *even* (“contrary to expectation”) (Overstreet 1999: 81).

[11]Crystal: He doesn’t even know where my new address – where to send money to me y’know **or anything** (ibid.)

Or what can also function as an intensifier, emphasising or highlighting the previous part of an utterance (usually a yes/no question) and urging the hearer to agree with the speaker’s views. This GE appears to perform this function following a fixed construction $X = Y, \textit{or what?}$, or, in other words, “I think X, don’t you agree?” (ibid.: 93). Overstreet further claims that the

assessment preceding the GE usually pertains to third person entities, such as in excerpt [12]. In using *or what*, the speaker in [12] urges the hearer to agree with them.

[12]Is that the best picture **or what?** (ibid.)

2.5.2.3. Politeness strategies

The strategy of positive politeness, i.e., establishing common ground and solidarity by avoiding explicitness (Aijmer 2013: 141), was observed by Cheshire (2007: 182) on several occasions when the interviewees were paired. For example, consider excerpt [13], in which two friends are asked during an interview whether they like the girl group Spice Girls. Ann's use of *and stuff* contributes to "the construction of solidarity between friends, by appealing to their shared experience," (ibid.) which is supported by the fact that Sue, immediately after Ann's GE, shows her understanding of what Ann had in mind by supplying a member (*the girl power*) of the implicated category.

[13]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 (ibid.)

While Cheshire (2007: 182) found both adjunctive and disjunctive GEs to be used to express tentativeness and to mitigate a possible face-threatening act (a strategy of negative politeness), Overstreet (1999: 104) assigns negative politeness strategies mainly to disjunctive GEs. One of the most frequent examples of negative politeness can be seen in polite invitations (see [14]) and requests, in which the alternatives, implied by the use of a disjunctive GE, allow the speaker to mitigate the imposition on the hearer by expressing only a weak commitment to the proposal they have made (ibid.: 105). In [14], the 'polite' could performs similar mitigating function as *or something*.

[14]We could have dinner that evening **or something**. (ICE-GB S1A-005 #087; cited in Aijmer (2013: 144))

2.5.2.4. Formulaic disclaimers

As already mentioned in 2.5.2.2, *and everything* and *or anything* are functionally related. In addition to the intensifying function, these GEs can form disclaiming constructions, which seem to have become almost formulaic in contemporary American English, receiving the name 'formulaic disclaimers' (Overstreet 1999: 87). Both forms are used by the speakers to disclaim

expected interpretations and occur in similar constructions (*X and everything, but Y and not X or anything, but Y*), with the only difference being that *or anything* is attested primarily in negative environments. For example, consider excerpts [15] and [16]. In [15], the speaker lists several negative characteristics of their old teacher, which could be interpreted as the speaker's desire to see the teacher leave, while in [16], the second clause might put the speaker in a negative light if uttered in isolation; in both cases, however, the speakers disclaim the unwanted interpretation by using formulaic disclaiming constructions.

[15] I mean we know he's a crabby old sod and he's a miserable bugger **and everything**, but better the devil you know (laughing) than the one you don't (Cheepen and Monaghan 1990: 155; cited in Overstreet 1999: 92)⁸

[16] I don't want to make a fuss **or anything**, but I ordered a salad. (Overstreet 1999: 87)

⁸ Cheepen, Christine, and James Monaghan (1990). *Spoken English: A Practical Guide*. London: Pinter.

3. Material and Method

3.1. Material

In the analytical part of my thesis, I will be working with the US situation comedy *Friends*, which, during its ten-year run, became the most popular TV show in the United States and well-known all around the world. The show revolves around six main characters: Rachel (Jennifer Aniston), Phoebe (Lisa Kudrow), Monica (Courteney Cox), Chandler (Matthew Perry), Joey (Matt Le Blanc), and Ross (David Schwimmer). All the characters struggle with their lives in one way or another, which is typical for everyone in their twenties. One of the reasons why the show became so famous is that most of the time, nothing extraordinary happens – the majority of the series portray the characters as sitting around and talking to each other. This makes *Friends* a valuable tool for studying the nature of conversation.

Paulo Quaglio (2009) analysed the language of *Friends* and compared it to that of natural conversation, discovering many similarities in the process. In his book, he also mentions that given the immense popularity of the show, *Friends* influenced natural American English conversation and as such, it was, and possibly still is, used in ESL classrooms to study features of pragmatic language.

3.2. Television dialogue

In the analysis of natural conversation, one needs to know the shared context that exists between the interlocutors in order to fully assess the dialogue and what functions the individual elements perform. In my thesis, I will be analysing pragmatic markers called general extenders, which, due to their vague nature, would be much more challenging if I used a corpus of natural conversation where the interlocutors and their background would be completely unknown to me. In a situation comedy like *Friends*, everything needs to be transparent so that the background and shared knowledge is known to the whole audience. Therefore, *Friends* is a great alternative to other corpora available online. Having known the show and the characters for a long time and being able to watch the actual scenes if I was unsure how to interpret a particular use of a GE turned out to be priceless.

3.3. Corpus composition

My corpus comprises transcripts of all the episodes of the popular situation comedy *Friends*, which were transcribed by various fans of the show, and has approximately 970,000 words.⁹ I followed the example of Quaglio (2009) and collected the individual transcripts from the fan club website *Crazy for Friends*,¹⁰ copying the text and saving it as a text file identifying both the season and the episode (e.g., file E105 represents the fifth episode of the first season – this allowed me to watch any scene where I needed further context – such as intonation, pauses in speech and facial expressions – to fully assess a particular GE). Afterwards, I used AntConc to analyse the created corpus. Significantly, the transcripts are not the original scripts so there may be discrepancies between the two as actors tend to change bits and pieces in order to make their utterances more natural or in-the-moment. My data thus reflect more accurately what was actually said in the show.

3.4. Methodology

Due to GEs' varying formal features – the noun phrase following the conjunction can be practically any vague word – I had to look for the forms individually, i.e., *or/and* followed by any form that could be expected (based on previous research) to perform the function of a GE.¹¹ However, not all the found examples are GEs and one needs to revisit every occurrence and determine whether that particular example (*and/or* + “expected form”) performs the function of a GE in a given utterance. For example, consider excerpts [1]-[3], in which forms resembling GEs perform a different function:

- [1] Janice: (leaning in from the bedroom) Chandler! Come on, I'm gonna show [you]¹² how to roll up your underwear **and stuff** it in your shoes. It's a real space saver. E415
- [2] Rachel: No, but I was doing my thing **and everything** was going according to the plan! E510

⁹ AntConc shows that there are 972,026 word tokens. This number, however, includes also the bracketed scene descriptions and character names signalling change in turn, all of which were not included in the analysis for obvious reasons. The total number is therefore lower.

¹⁰ *Crazy for Friends* <<http://www.livesinabox.com/friends/>>. Accessed on July 10, 2016.

¹¹ Here follows the list taken from Overstreet (1999) of GEs that I searched for without success: *and the like, and things, and such, and what have you, and so on, and so forth, and whatnot, and the rest, and this and that, and whatever, and you name it, et cetera, or what have you, or anyone, or anybody, or somebody, or someplace, or somewhere*.

¹² If I suspected that a sentence from my corpus is incorrect (missing indirect object in the case of this sentence), I looked up the scene and watched it to make sure that the examples do reflect what was said in the show. I mark these corrections with square brackets.

[3] Rachel: Ya know, I just, [it's] so weird. I mean I was in there just listening to them bitch about each other **and all** I kept thinking about was the fourth of July. E222

In [1] *and* connects two subordinate nonfinite clauses in the second of which *stuff* is the main verb; in [2] *and* introduces a coordinated clause in which *everything* functions as a subject; finally, in [3] *and* introduces a subject that is postmodified by a subordinate clause (*all I kept thinking about was the fourth of July*).

Additionally, as some GEs can occur without conjunctions, I also looked for NPs complemented with a comparative prepositional phrase *like that/like this* (e.g., *stuff like that/this, something like that/this*, etc.) since GEs have to be accompanied by a conjunction or a comparative phrase, or both. The only form that can perform the function of a GE with neither the conjunction nor the comparative phrase is probably the GE *blah, blah, blah*, which I looked for specifically, finding 3 occurrences in total.

3.5. Structure

The Research part will be divided into two parts: a quantitative analysis and a qualitative analysis. In the former, I will rely only on forms with at least 10 occurrences (*or something, and stuff, or anything, and everything, or what*) – any less than that would hardly be of any informative value. The quantitative part focuses on sentence types and clause positions, i.e., objectively perceivable facts and thus easily quantifiable.

In the qualitative part, on the other hand, the functions that GEs – including the less frequent forms – can perform in communication will be explored. As already mentioned, analysing communicative functions of GEs is necessarily subjective, which is the reason why I have not included any statistical data in the qualitative part – only my observations and suggested interpretations. In both parts, I will firstly analyse disjunctive forms and then move on to their adjunctive counterparts.

4. Research part

4.1. General overview

Table 4 shows all the GEs that I have found in my data. *Or something* is by far the most frequent form that appears in the show, followed by *and stuff*, *or anything*, *and everything*, *or what*, etc. It is also noteworthy that disjunctive GEs occurred two times more frequently than adjunctive forms, as Table 5 shows. Furthermore, a GE in its full form, i.e., modified by a comparative phrase such as *like that/like this*, occurred only once out of a total of 188 occurrences, which is consistent with previous research (Overstreet 1999; Cheshire 2007; Martínez 2011), and confirms that GEs are being grammaticalised over time, in this case by means of reduction.

Table 4. All GE forms found in the corpus, with number of occurrences and relative frequency (given in percentages).¹³

	GE	Occurrences	Frequency per 10,000 words	%
1	<i>or something</i>	73	0.75	38.8
2	<i>or anything</i>	29	0.30	15.4
3	<i>or what</i>	16	0.16	8.5
4	<i>or whatever</i>	5	0.05	2.7
5	<i>or so</i>	1	0.01	0.5
6	<i>and stuff</i>	32	0.33	17.0
7	<i>and everything</i>	19	0.20	10.1
8	<i>and all</i>	7	0.07	3.7
9	<i>blah, blah, blah</i>	3	0.03	1.6
10	<i>and all that</i>	1	0.01	0.5
11	<i>and the whole massage thing</i>	1	0.01	0.5
12	<i>and all your weird relationship commitment crap</i>	1	0.01	0.5
	Total	188	1.93	100.0

Table 5. Sum total of GEs according to their morphological structure.

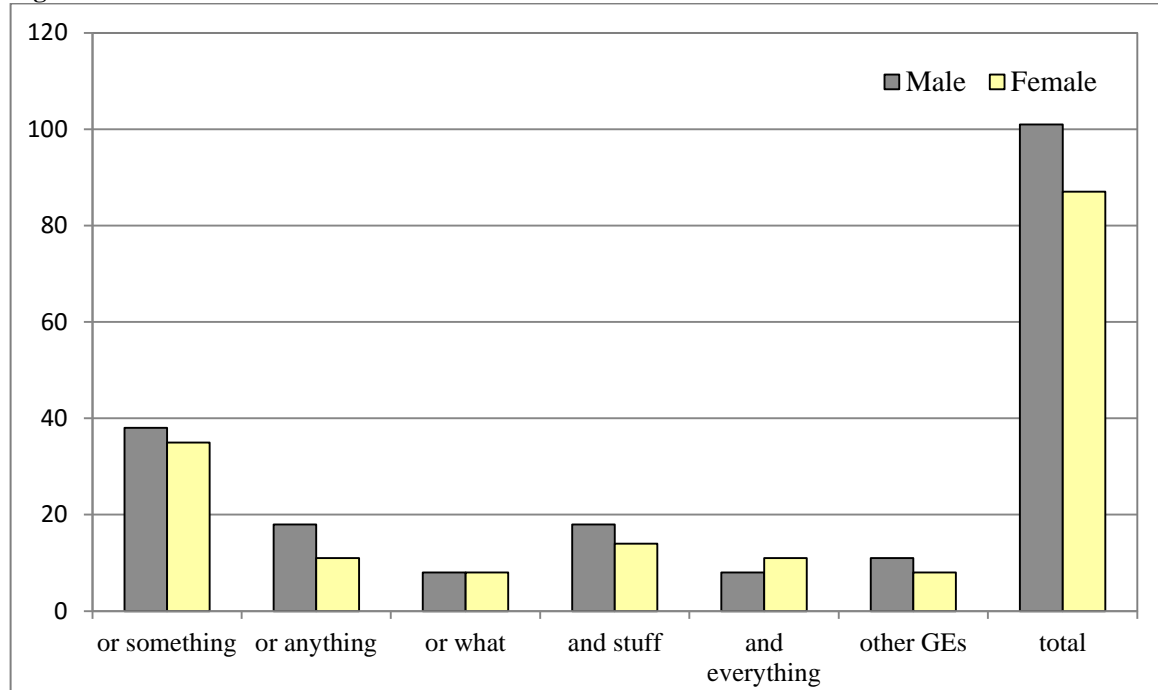
GE form	Occurrences	%
short form disjunctive (eg. <i>or something</i>)	124	65.96
short form adjunctive (eg. <i>and stuff</i>)	60	31.91
full form disjunctive (eg. <i>or anything like that</i>)	1	0.53
full form adjunctive (eg. <i>and stuff like that</i>)	0	0.00
without conjunction (eg. <i>blah, blah, blah</i>)	3	1.60
Total	188	100.00

¹³ I have rounded the percentages in order not to have many decimal places. Thus if the percentages are added up, the result is only 99.8%.

4.2. Gender variation

Although gender variation did not play any significant role in previous research (Cheshire 2007), I examined my data from the gender perspective nonetheless. Figure 1 shows my findings and confirms what Cheshire had shown, i.e., there is no significant gender based variation in the use of GEs.

Figure 1. Gender variation of GE forms.



4.3. Frequency over time

Aside from gender variation, I was also interested in whether the frequency of GEs changed as the show progressed. Interestingly, the last three seasons have significantly fewer occurrences than the first three seasons, as Table 6 shows:

Table 6. Frequency of GEs according to season.

Season (first aired)	Number of occurrences	Frequency per 10,000 words	Average age of 6 central actors (not characters)
1 (1994)	17	1.91	27.7
2 (1995)	26	3.9	28.7
3 (1996)	26	2.66	29.7
4 (1997)	16	1.65	30.7
5 (1998)	26	2.62	31.7

6 (1999)	21	1.96	32.7
7 (2000)	28	2.72	33.7
8 (2001)	11	1.11	34.7
9 (2002)	11	1.00	35.7
10 (2003)	6	0.69	36.7

The reason for such a decrease toward the end of the show is unclear. However, if it is not a mere coincidence, it has to be somehow age related; and as David Crane and Marta Kaufman, the creators of the show, always hired young people to write the scripts and changed the staff periodically, saying, “When you’re 40, you can’t do it anymore. The networks and studios are looking for young people coming in out of college,”¹⁴ it was not the writers getting older that caused the decrease.

Moreover, as was already said, the original scripts are not necessarily identical to my data, and it may well be that some discourse markers, GEs included, made their way into the show without ever being on the script. With that said, only the age of the actors remains as a factor capable of systematically influencing the frequency. It may be that either the scriptwriters, who build their scripts around the ageing actors, or the ageing actors themselves felt that using GEs does not go hand in hand with the characters getting older. After all, not without a reason are GEs often analysed in speech of young people as they tend to use them, and at times overuse them to the point of sounding vague or even stupid, more often than adults in their 30s. Conducting a study on whether occurrences of other discourse markers also decreased in the last few seasons might shed some light on the question at hand; unfortunately, the limited scope of the thesis leaves no place for an analysis of other discourse markers and the explanation presented above is only a hypothesis.

¹⁴ Shayne, Bob (June 10, 2001) “A writer of a certain age finds awards and credits mean little to youth-obsessed executives,” *Los Angeles Times*. <<http://articles.latimes.com/2001/jun/10/entertainment/ca-8511/3>> Accessed on July 19, 2016.

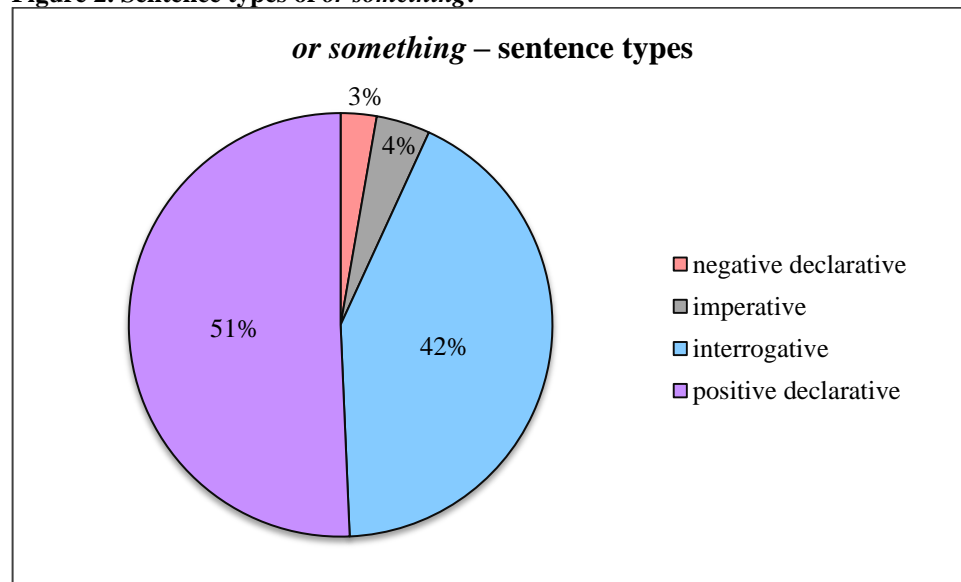
4.4. Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis focuses on two formal features that, unlike communicative functions of GEs, can be assessed objectively: in what type of sentences GEs occur and which clause position they take. GEs can occur in positive declarative, negative declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences (Martínez 2011: 2454), while appearing in clause-final, utterance-final, and mid-sentence positions.

4.4.1. *or something*

As previously said, with 73 occurrences, *or something* is by far the most frequent GE in *Friends*.

Figure 2. Sentence types of *or something*.



GEs tend to occur most often in positive declarative sentences (see [4]) (ibid.). Figure 2 shows that to be true for *or something*, with interrogative sentences ([5]) not far behind, however. Imperative ([6]) and negative declarative ([7]) sentences are very rare with only 4% and 3% instances of *or something* respectively.

[4] Chandler: It's alright. Is she good-looking?

Joey: Yeah, she's totally good looking. I mean, if I met her in a bar, **or something**, I'd be buying her breakfast. [pause] You know, after having slept with her. E210

[5] Joey: Listen, uh, you wanna go get a drink **or something**?

Girl: Yeah. E109

[6] Rachel: Joey, just-just he-he's new in town and I know he doesn't have any guy friends. Just take him to like a ball game **or something**. I'll really appreciate it.

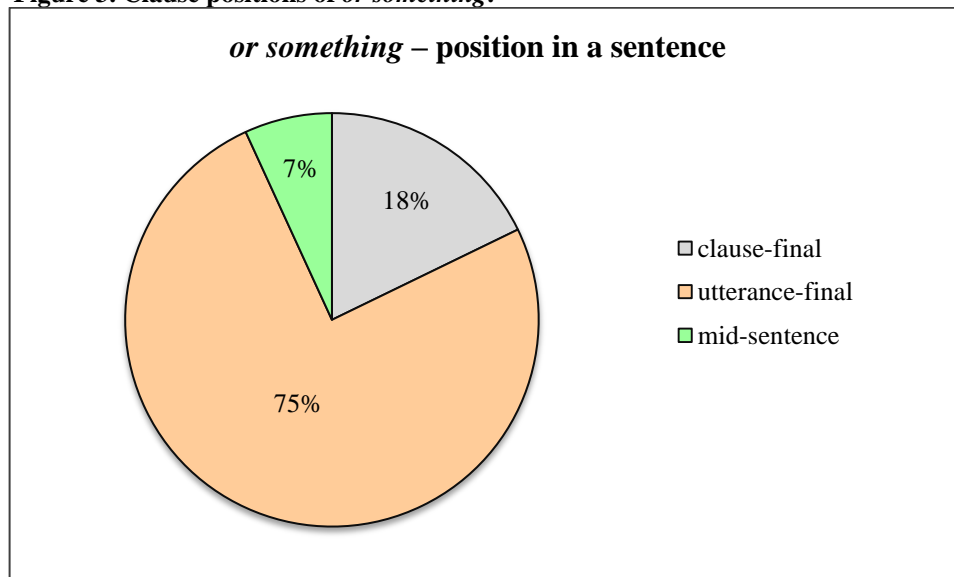
Joey: Yeah, okay. E705

[7] Joey: Well, given that he's desperately in love with you, he probably wouldn't mind getting a cup of coffee **or something**. E124

Even though this is a quantitative analysis, it is appropriate to point out at this point that communicative functions of GEs – which will be explored in the qualitative part – can influence both the sentence type and clause position of GEs, e.g., GEs functioning as polite invitations occur typically in interrogative sentences in utterance-final position (see [5]).

Figure 3 shows the percentages of different clause positions of *or something*. With 75%, the utterance-final position ([5] and [7]) is the most frequent one, suggesting that the speakers often use this particular GE, next to other communicative functions, to show that they are yielding the floor to other interlocutors. Although less frequently, *or something* can also occur at clause-final ([6]) and mid-sentence ([4]) positions.

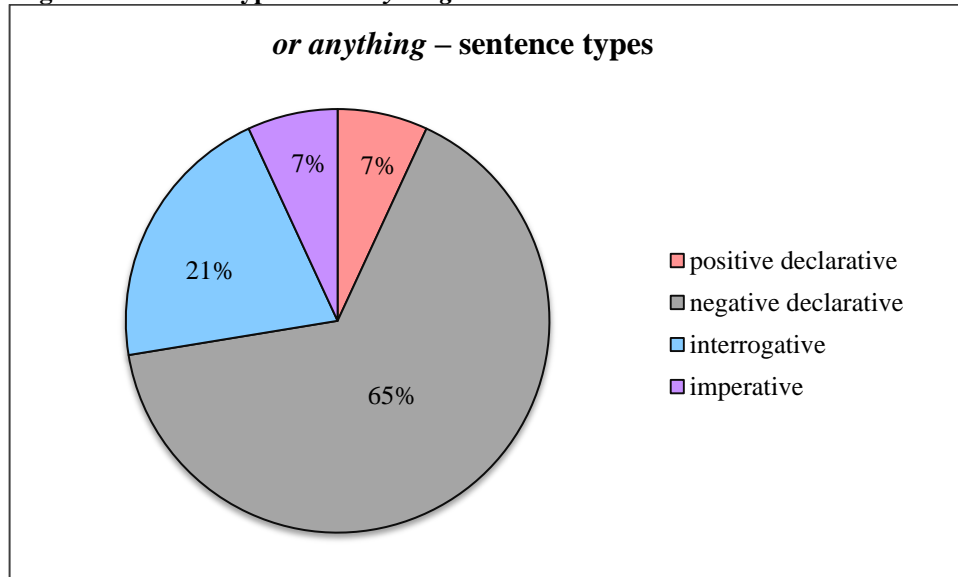
Figure 3. Clause positions of *or something*.



4.4.2. *or anything*

Or anything is the second most frequent disjunctive GE in *Friends* and third overall. As discussed in 2.5.2.2 and 2.5.2.4, *or anything* occurs mostly in negative environments, and indeed, all 29 examples do so. Therefore, most of the occurrences appeared in negative declarative sentences, as Figure 4 shows.

Figure 4. Sentence types of *or anything*.



It is necessary to stress that even though *or anything* did occur in positive declarative clauses on 2 occasions (7%), the respective environments were negative as both clauses containing the GE were subordinate and their matrix clauses had a negative value (consider [8]). Apart from these two exceptions, *or anything* was found in a negative declarative sentence ([9]) in 65% of the total number of occurrences, in an interrogative sentence¹⁵ in 21% of the total number of occurrences and finally, in an imperative sentence¹⁶ in 7% of the total number of occurrences.

[8] Rachel: Okay, Pheeb, can I ask? So, he's going out with her. I mean, is it really so terrible?

Phoebe: Um, yeah. Look, I mean, I'm not saying she's like evil **or anything**...she just, you know, she's always breaking my stuff... E116

[9] Monica: Well, we don't really have to decide anything right now, do we?

Dr. Burke: No, no, there's no rush **or anything**. E215

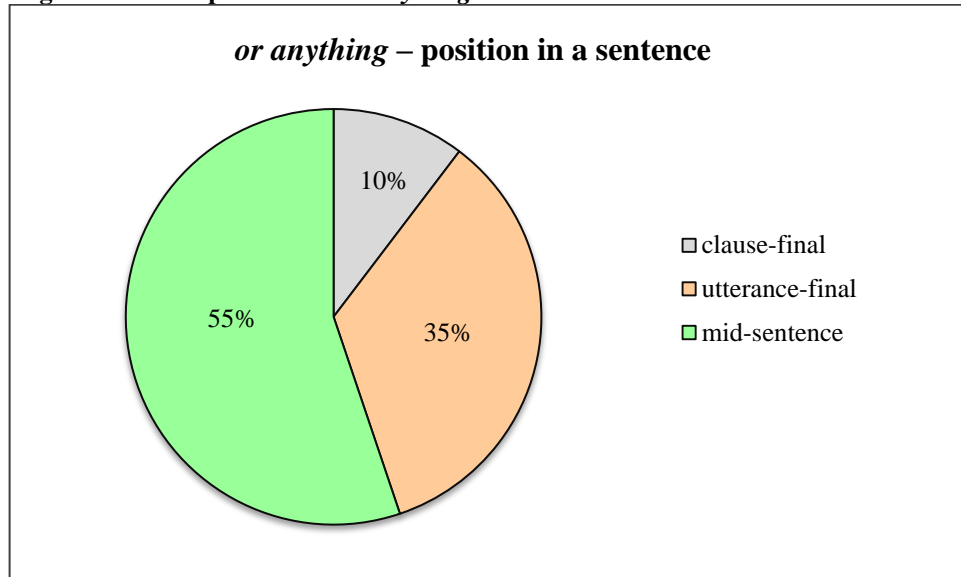
Figure 5 shows the percentages of different clause positions of *or anything* – the behaviour of this form is very dissimilar from that of *or something*, or most of the other forms for that matter, occurring in mid-sentence positions in more than a half of all the occurrences. The reason for this unusual behaviour of typically clause-final linguistic expressions is that *or anything* can form disclaiming constructions (2.5.2.4), in which GEs are typically mid-sentence (consider [8]). *Or anything* in an utterance-final position can be seen in [9].¹⁷

¹⁵ For example, (99) in Appendix. This example shows that *or anything* can also occur in a negative interrogative sentence, which is true for other GEs as well.

¹⁶ For example, (98) in Appendix.

¹⁷ *Or anything* in a clause-final position can be seen in (104) in Appendix.

Figure 5. Clause positions of *or anything*.



4.4.3. *or what*

With 16 occurrences, *or what* is the third most common disjunctive GE in my data and since this form performs only two communicative functions in my corpus (i.e., soliciting an agreement/action from the hearer or suggesting that the speaker has no idea why something is the way it is), the charts of this form are clearest of all.

Figure 6. Sentence types of *or what*.

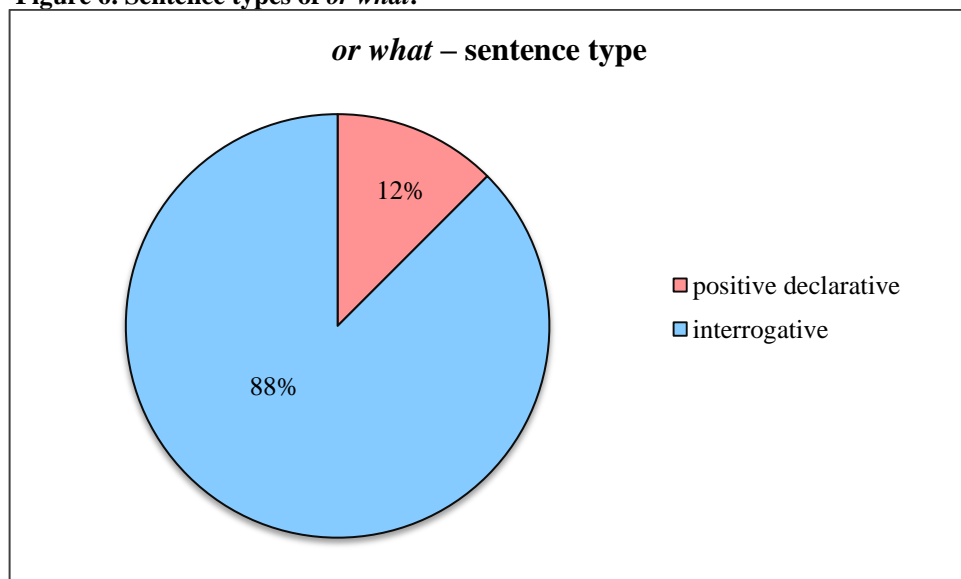
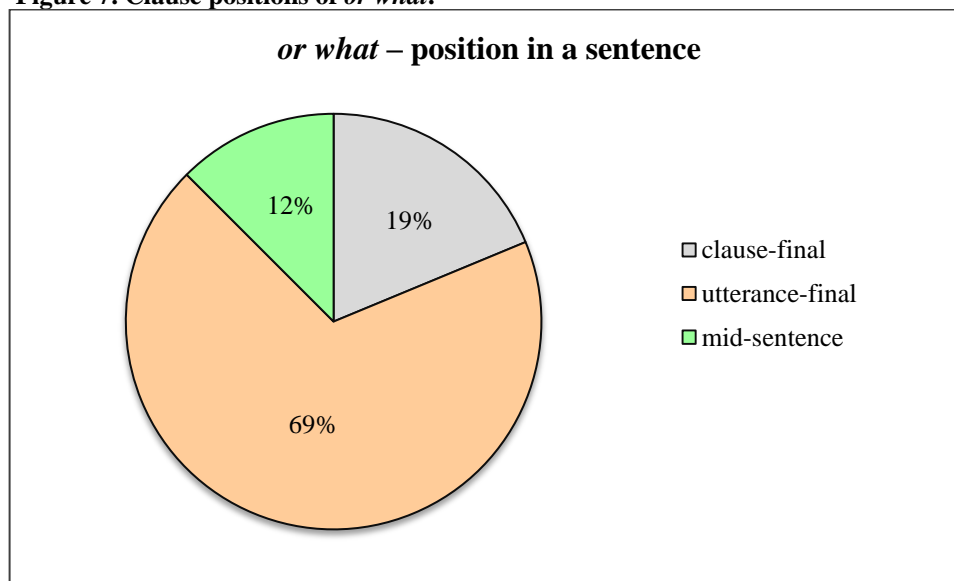


Figure 6 shows that 88% of the total number of occurrences were found in an interrogative sentence ([10]) and just 2 examples (12%) appeared in positive declarative sentences ([11]);¹⁸ moreover, all GEs from the examples in interrogative sentences function as agreement or action soliciting elements, therefore appearing in clause-final or utterance-final positions, while the remaining two examples perform the function of suggesting that the speaker cannot explain something at a given moment, which seems to prefer a mid-sentence position. Consider Figures 6 and 7 and how obviously they correlate.

[10]Joey: Is she great **or what?** E405

[11]Joey: I don't know whether it's just 'cause we're breakin' up **or... what**, but you have never looked so beautiful. E117

Figure 7. Clause positions of *or what*.



4.4.4. *and stuff*

Moving now to adjunctive GEs, *and stuff*, with 32 occurrences, is the most frequent of these forms in my data. Consider Figure 8: similar to *or something*, *and stuff* occurs most often (75%) in positive declarative sentences ([12]), followed by interrogative sentences with 16% ([13]). There were only two occurrences of *and stuff* in a negative declarative sentence ([14]) and one occurrence of this form in an imperative sentence ([15, second occurrence]). Interestingly, the second *and stuff* in [15] is the only adjunctive GE appearing in an imperative sentence in my data; apparently, it is an unusual combination, perhaps possible in this case only due to the fact

¹⁸ Although the GE in [11] is in a positive declarative sentence, it expresses lack of knowledge with *I don't know whether*, which is typical of questions.

that *and stuff* in the imperative sentence is only an echo of the previous *and stuff* in the interrogative sentence, and as such it loses some of the features of a GE.

[12]Ross: Ahh, oh that's OK, I mean, he's probably got, you know, parties to go to **and stuff**.
But, ya know, he's moved on. Hey, that, that's the way it goes right. E212

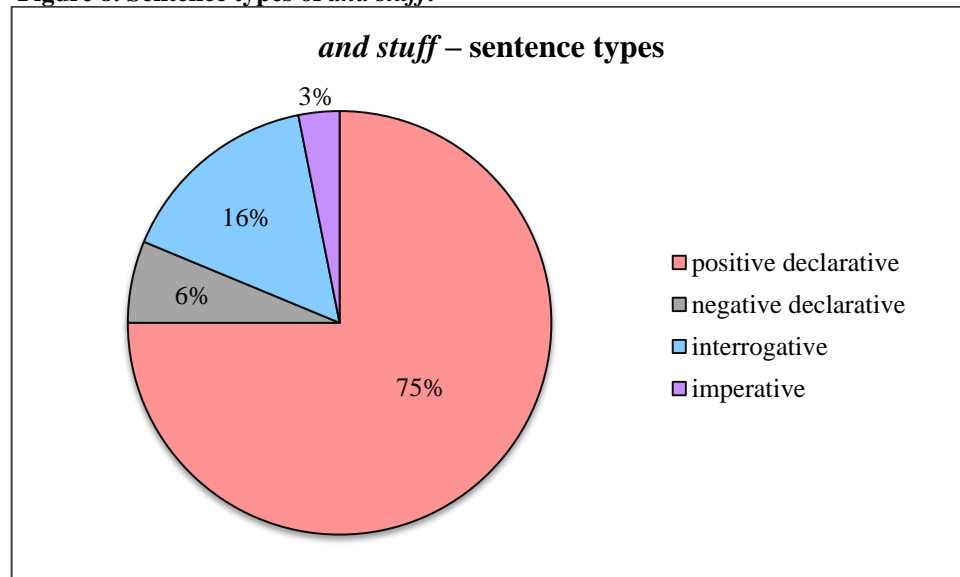
[13]Joey: Yeah, I'll have the Thai chicken pizza. But, hey, look, if I get it without the nuts and leeks **and stuff**, is it cheaper? E205

[14]Lewis: I know I didn't do well on my midterms **and stuff** but, I was kinda hoping you could change my grade. E718

[15]Monica: Oh, you're so sweet. (They hug and kiss.) Oh, but wait, what about our, what about the future **and stuff**?

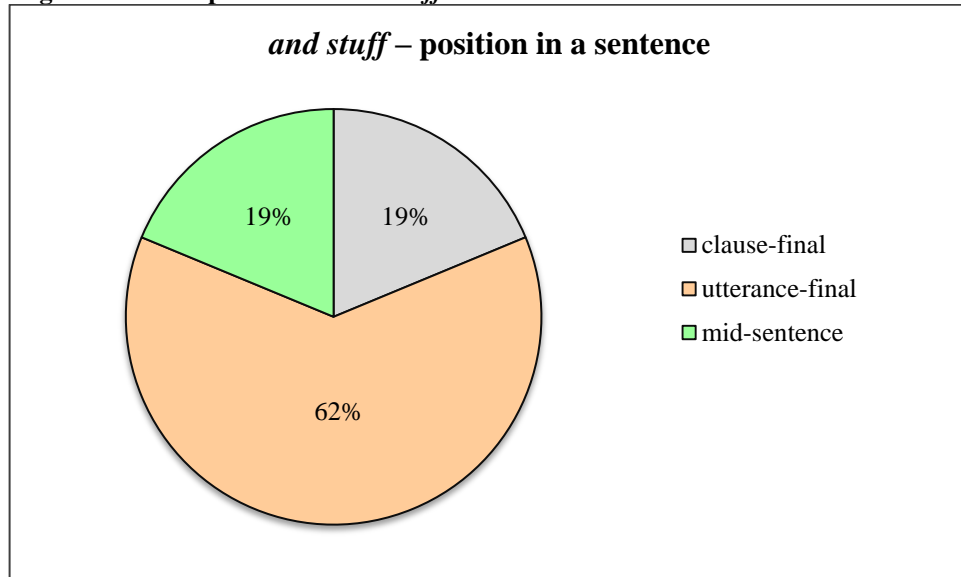
Chandler: Eh, forget about the future **and stuff**! So we only have two kids, y'know? We'll pick our favorite and that one will get to go to college. E702

Figure 8. Sentence types of *and stuff*.



Clause-position behaviour of *and stuff* also looks similar to that of *or something*, as Figure 9 shows. *And stuff* in a clause-final position can be seen in [12] and [15, second occurrence], in an utterance-final position in [15, first occurrence], and finally, in a mid-sentence position in [13] and [14].

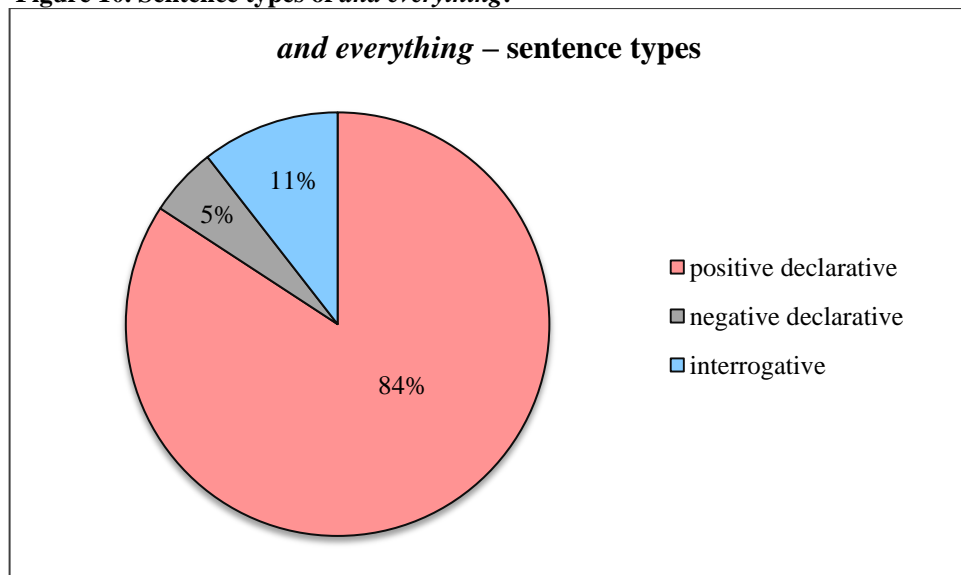
Figure 9. Clause positions of *and stuff*.



4.4.5. *and everything*

The last GE to be discussed in the quantitative part is *and everything*, with 19 occurrences. The sentence-type behaviour is again very similar to those of *or something* and *and stuff* (see Figure 10). As already mentioned, adjunctive GEs seem to not occur in imperative sentences at all and only rarely in negative declarative sentences ([16]). In case of *and everything*, even interrogative sentences ([17]) did not have many occurrences (just 2 out of a total of 19). Positive declarative sentences ([18]), on the other hand, appear to be the most suitable environment for *and everything* with 84% (or 16 occurrences out of a total of 19).

Figure 10. Sentence types of *and everything*.



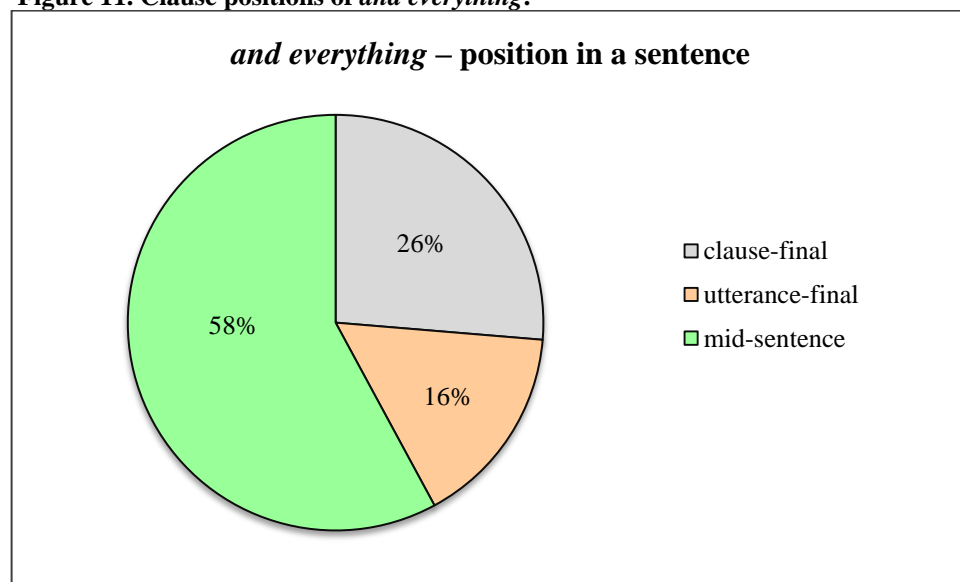
[16]Phoebe Sr: I realise I don't have any right to start get all parenty on you **and everything** now, but umm, (Sees that Phoebe isn't paying attention and is busy mimicking the puppy.) uhh... Phoebe, would you please look at me and not the puppy, it's very important. E411

[17]Joey: So, you're not mad at me for getting fired **and everything**? E219

[18]Rachel: Ohh, it's gonna be so great! I'm gonna get to help decide what we sell, I'm gonna have an office with walls **and everything**. (turns to Monica) I'm gonna have walls! E409

Similarly to *or anything*, *and everything* can form formulaic disclaimers (2.5.2.4) (see [16]),¹⁹ increasing the number of mid-sentence occurrences as a result (see Figure 11). In addition, *and everything* also occurs in clause-final ([18]) and utterance-final ([17]) positions.

Figure 11. Clause positions of *and everything*.



¹⁹ The disclaiming part in [16] is only suggested by the coordinating conjunction *but* that follows the GE. As the speaker loses the attention of the hearer, she does not complete the intended utterance.

4.5. Qualitative analysis

In this chapter, all GE forms that occurred in my data will be addressed with reference to their communicative functions. Even though GEs are, like all pragmatic particles, multifunctional, in some cases, a specific function seems to be more salient than others; I will try to group these cases together to show typical uses of GEs in *Friends* as well as day-to-day language, which *Friends* so closely resembles. As a comedy show, *Friends* often uses playful language, exaggerations, jokes, etc., which are not typical of natural conversation. After analysing the data, GEs proved to be a very effective tool in this regard, which will be briefly discussed in 4.5.4.

4.5.1. Disjunctive GEs

Disjunctive GEs (e.g., *or something*, *or anything*) can be most accurately described as saying that “there is an alternative” to whatever the speaker says in the utterance where the GE occurs. The alternative, suggested by a disjunctive GE, can be seen from the referential perspective as part of a list (list-completing function), as indicating a category (category-identifying function); and from the interpersonal perspective as implying that there is an alternative that the addressee can arrive at on the basis of the shared context, as indicating negative politeness in terms of avoiding imposition on the hearer, as marking an attitude toward the message expressed, and as a hedge on expectations of accuracy associated with the Maxim of Quality.

4.5.1.1. *or something*

Or something is more than two times more frequent than the second most frequent disjunctive GE in *Friends* (*or anything*). The reason for the dominance is that this form seems to be more neutral when compared with the other disjunctive forms, and as such, it can be used more often.

Tentativeness in invitations and requests

Or something in invitations indicates alternative options which function as a face-threat mitigating force (a strategy of negative politeness). For example, consider excerpts [19]-[24].

[19]Phoebe: You guys wanna try and catch a late movie **or something**?

Rachel: Maybe, but shouldn't we wait for Chandler? E115

[20]Julie: Thanks. Hey, listen, would you like to go to a movie sometime **or something**?

Rachel: Yeah, that'd be great. I'd love it.

Julie: I'd love it too. Shoot, I gotta go. So, I'll talk to you later.

- Rachel: All right, Julie.
 Julie: Bye. (Gets up.)
 Rachel: Bye. (After Julie exits.) What a manipulative bitch. E202
 [21]Richard: So, you wanna get a hamburger **or something**?
 Monica: Oh, um, I don't know if that's a good idea. E313
 [22]Lauren: (laughing) Oh, you're so funny. Listen, umm, what are you doing after rehearsals? Do you want to get a drink **or something**?
 Joey: Well Ahh, (he sees Kate and the director kissing) yeah! Yeah, sure, a drink sounds great. E320
 [23]Joey: Oh now–Hey Ross-Ross! Do you wanna-wanna come in for a beer **or something**?
 Ross: Uh...yeah sure. (Enters.) E816
 [24]Phoebe: Maybe we can like go to a movie **or something**.
 Ross: Okay. E317

All the above GEs are utterance-final – thus yielding the floor to the other interlocutor (the invited one) – and, except for the one in [24], occur in interrogative sentences. [24] is one of the only two examples²⁰ where *or something* is used to express tentativeness in an invitation and is realised by a positive declarative sentence at the same time. Interestingly, on both occasions, the speakers begin their invitations with *maybe*, which functions together with *or something* to emphasise the tentativeness of the invitation that is weakened to a certain extent by the use of a positive declarative sentence instead of an interrogative one.

Apart from [20] and [24], all the sentences introduce the proposal with *(do) you want/wanna (to)*, but in all the examples, the speaker suggests just one activity before using *or something* to imply that they are more interested in spending the time with the hearer(s) rather than the nature of the activity itself, i.e., the speaker is aware of the fact that his invitation/offer might be rejected, therefore putting both his and hearer's face at risk. By using a GE *or something*, the speaker expresses only a weak commitment to the proposal they have made and makes it easier for the hearer to accept, as well as reject, the invitation.

What follows the GE, i.e., the hearer's response to the invitation, is also interesting. The only invitation that is accepted right away, without a moment's hesitation, is in [20] and [24]. In [20], however, if one keeps reading, they will see that Rachel was only doing what was socially expected (rejection would be a face-threatening act performed against Julie) from her, revealing her real feelings towards Julie as soon as she leaves. Other invitations are either accepted hesitantly (see [22] and [23]) by means of discourse markers *well*, *ahh* and *uh* or rejected as in [21], in which the rejection is softened by *oh*, *um* and *I don't know*. It is noteworthy that some of the invitations are rejected – it may be that the writers, or the actors themselves, expressed only

²⁰ The second instance can be seen in (68) in Appendix.

weak commitment to the proposal with the use of *or something* to save the characters' faces when facing a rejection, which, unlike in the real world, they knew was coming.

Similarly to invitations, *or something* in requests expresses tentativeness, making the request more polite, not unlike using modal verbs would. In [25], Erin wants to break up with Joey and she wants Rachel and Phoebe to prepare him for it. Realising that her request might impose on them, she uses *or something* to indicate that anything they say to the effect of Joey coming to terms with the breakup is sufficient. Phoebe's response (already offering an alternative to *not interested in a serious relationship*) *Yeah, you mean like that you're kind of a loner* and Erin's grateful agreement prove that the alternatives implied by *or something* were understood by both parties.

[25]Phoebe: Does Joey have any idea?

Erin: I really don't think he does. And y'know what? Maybe you guys could help clue him in. Y'know, tell him I'm-I'm not interested in a serious relationship **or something**.

Phoebe: Yeah, you mean like that you're kind of a loner.

Erin: Yeah! That would be great! E707

In [26], another request with *or something*, the GE seems to be a mere politeness tool without the actual implication of alternatives. Taking a closer look at the situation, Janice is upset and she has troubles breathing, which is sometimes remedied by breathing into a paper bag. Thus, when saying *Can you get me a bag or something?*, Janice has a very specific request in mind and nothing but a paper bag, which she immediately receives from Chandler, would probably meet her needs. In this case, then, *or something* seems to perform the function of expressing tentativeness but implying no alternatives (e.g., *Could you get me a bag?*).

[26]Janice: Oh, I'm sorry honey, I'm so, so, (nasally) haaaaa! I'm so, so sorry, I just (nasally) haaaaaa! But I, oh what happened was, I-I-I can't breathe. Can you get me a bag **or something?**

Chandler: (giving her a bag) Here. E308

Marking the content of an utterance as possibly inaccurate

While *or something* in invitations functions as a face-threat mitigating force, lessening the degree of imposition on a hearer by providing alternatives, *or something* in the following examples indicates that the speakers are not certain of what they claim in the utterance preceding the GE. In [27], Rachel is trying to describe Monica and her encounter with another character, which took place in a lightless basement. The character in question had just gotten back from a four-month trek in the Andes and at the time of the encounter, he has dark hair, bushy beard and he is

carrying a pick axe. Combined with the fact that there is only little light in the basement, Rachel describes the encountered character as *a bigfoot or a yeti or something*. She marks her lack of certainty with two instances of *like* and utterance-final *or something*. Despite this uncertainty, however, she is successful in creating an image (or a category) in other interlocutors' minds, thanks to which Joey is able to make the connection and offers an explanation as he has more context than Monica and Rachel.

- [27]Monica: We were, we were just in the storage area and we saw this really creepy man!
Rachel: It was like this crazy-eyed, hairy beast man! He was like a, like a bigfoot or a yeti **or something!**
Monica: And he came at us with an axe, so Rachel had to use a bug bomb on him!
...
Joey: Uhh, like dark hair, bushy beard?
Rachel: Yeah!
Joey: Yeah, you fogged Danny. E506

Furthermore, in [28], Rachel uses *or something* to indicate her limited knowledge of football leagues. In addition to the GE, there are other markers of uncertainty, such as the modal adverb *maybe* and the adverb *like*. Crucially, all the interlocutors understand what Rachel means by her unspecific remark, so the conversation does not fall apart.

- [28]Rachel: We should definitely play football more often. Maybe there's like a league we could join **or something**.
Phoebe: Isn't there a national football league.
Chandler: Yes. Yes, there is, they play on Sundays and Monday nights. E309

Approximations

Very similarly to the function of marking an utterance as possibly inaccurate, *or something* can also function as an indication that the appended item is a mere approximation, and should not be taken literally. *Or something* functioning as a marker of approximation is especially clear when appended to numbers or amounts. For example, consider excerpt [29].

- [29][Scene: A Restaurant, Rachel pours the last of the champagne bottle in her glass.]
Rachel: (obviously drunk) I mean, it's a cat, y'know, it's a cat. Why can't they get one of those bugs, y'know, one of those fruit flies, those things that live for like a day **or something?** (belligerently) What're they called, what're they called, what're they called?
Michael: Fruit flies?
Rachel: Yes! Thank you. E207

Probably mostly due to her drunken state, Rachel is not sure of what an insect she has in mind is called and asks Michael, marking her uncertainty with utterances of *one of those bugs, one of*

*those fruit flies, those things, like,*²¹ and finally *or something*. The use of *or something* marks the coordinated part (*a day*) as a mere approximation, i.e., probably not accurate.

4.5.1.2. *or so, or whatever*

Approximations

Staying on topic of disjunctive GEs as markers of approximation, both *or so* and *or whatever* are suitable candidates to follow up with. In [30], *or so* marks its referent (*a hundred thousand years*) as approximation. Given its nature, *or so* is likely to be appended only to numbers or amounts;²² moreover, as it does not take up any significant interpersonal function, being used for approximations rather than anything else, it can freely occur in mid-sentence positions, as it does in [30].

[30]Ross: (reading from a notepad) I mean, we've been accepting Leakey's dates as a given, but if they're off by even a hundred thousand years **or so** then you can - you can just throw most of our assumptions, you know, right in the trash [...] E922

GEs as markers of approximation are also frequent in cases of reported speech. For example, consider excerpt [31], where Phoebe and Rachel argue about who should be the maid of honour to Monica. In her effort to win this dispute, Phoebe recalls a scene from her childhood, in which she was being chased by an escaped mental patient. The reported speech is introduced by an utterance of *in his own words* and *or whatever* marks the coordinated infinitive (*kill me*) as an approximation, i.e., she is not entirely sure what was his motivation in chasing her around.

[31]Phoebe: Hey, that's not fair! A person's wedding is important! And especially to me! Ok? I didn't have a graduation party! And I didn't go to Prom. And I spent my sweet sixteen being chased round a tire yard by an escaped mental patient who in his own words wanted to "kill me" **or whatever**. So I deserve a real celebration and I am not gonna let some sweaty little man make me feel badly about it. (She storms out) E1007

Marking the content of an utterance as possibly inaccurate, while expressing an emotional involvement

In addition to marking approximations, *or whatever* can also, like *or something*, mark the content of an utterance as possibly inaccurate, while carrying an additional meaning of indifference at the same time. Thus in examples [32]-[34], the uses of *or whatever* could be switched for *or*

²¹ Overstreet (1999: 121) mentions that co-occurrence of *like* with *or something* appears to have become almost formulaic in the construction *like X or something*. For example, see excerpts [6], [24], [27] and [28].

²² Aijmer (2013: 137) calls these examples 'measure phrases'.

something; however, although the inaccuracy would still be expressed, the examples would certainly read differently. In each of the situations, it seems, the speaker has a good reason for using *or whatever* instead of much more frequent, and neutral, *or something*, so it is best to take a closer look at all the situations individually.

In [32], Joey considers an option of finding a new apartment just for himself²³ as he was able to get a better-paying job, saying that this opportunity would be good for him and help him to *grow or whatever*. When he utters *whatever*, he makes a face to show confusion, disapproval even, probably because these kinds of deep thoughts are not usually expressed by men in their twenties who constantly hang around in a café, talking about sex and relationships – *or something*, though easily interchangeable in this example, would probably not be downgrading enough to express that feeling of confusion.

[32]Joey: Well, it was a fight. . . based on serious stuff, remember. About how I never lived alone or anything. I just think it would be good for me, ya know, help me to grow **or. . . whatever**. E216

In [33], Phoebe finds a lost cat and she makes herself believe that it is her mother inside the cat, rising from the dead back to her side. The friends look the other way until Ross discovers a poster saying that the cat in question belongs to a little girl, at which point he decides to confront Phoebe, who is reluctant to return the cat. His use of *or whatever*, in combination with utterances of *No!* and *enough is enough*, suggests that he is angry with her for being unreasonable. *Or whatever* obviously can express irritation much more efficiently than *or something*.

[33]Ross: No! No! Look–Hey, enough is enough! Look, I am sorry that you feel guilty **or whatever** about spending time with your new mom, but this is not your old mom. This is a cat! Okay, Julio the cat! Not mom! Cat! E402

Finally in [34], Monica tells Chandler and Joey that she received a threatening note, which, apparently, was Joey's doing. In explaining his actions, Joey tries to be as vague as possible, using *I don't know* and *or whatever*, the latter of which suggests not only that it does not matter why he did it, but also, in my opinion, that he would like to change the topic.²⁴ Since *or something* can sometimes make the hearer think of what the implied alternatives might be, *or whatever* discourages the hearer from such engagement. With that said, using *or whatever* is better for Joey to achieve his goal – changing the topic.

²³ At that point in the show, Joey and Chandler are roommates.

²⁴ The idea that Joey may be using *or whatever* to draw attention away from the topic is supported by the fact that immediately after Monica brought it up, holding the note in her hand to show it to Chandler, he grabs the note, as indicated by the bracketed scene instruction "Grabs the note."

[34]Chandler: ... Are you okay?

Monica: I'm fine now, but it was really scary there for a while. I mean, someone slipped a-a threatening note under the door.

Joey: (with his mouth full) Oh yeah, sorry about that. Mob mentality **or whatever**, I don't know... (Grabs the note.) E709

4.5.1.3. *or what*

As mentioned in the respective quantitative part, *or what* only occurs in two scenarios: the speaker is either soliciting an agreement/action or expressing confusion with the current situation.

Expressing confusion or lack of knowledge

In [35], Joey uses *or what* because he cannot explain why Ursula²⁵ looks so beautiful on that particular night. Interestingly, there is a short pause between the conjunction *or* and the indefinite pronoun *what*, which supports the idea that Joey's motivation for using this GE is his being confused and speechless.

[35]Joey: I don't know whether it's just 'cause we're breakin' up **or... what**, but you have never looked so beautiful. E117

In [36], Monica is using *or what* after complementary antonyms *old* and *new*; and since complementary antonyms, by definition, do not offer alternatives,²⁶ Monica's use of *or what* marks her lack of knowledge. In fact, *or what* in [36] may be considered as being somewhere in between the two functions mentioned in the introduction to this GE, i.e., not only it marks confusion/lack of knowledge, but it is also an appeal by Monica to the hearer for a clarification (thus soliciting an action from the hearer), which seems to be a typical function of this GE.

[36]Monica: (on machine) "Hi, it's Monica. I'm just checking in 'cause I got this message from you and I didn't know if it was old or new **or what**, so, I'm just checkin'. So let me know, or don't, whatever. I'm breezy." E302

Soliciting an agreement or an action from the hearer

The other function of *or what* can be divided into two categories: first, the speaker makes an evaluative assessment and the GE marks his desire to receive hearer's agreement; second, the speaker expresses a wish that requires an action from the hearer and the GE intensifies that wish/request. As discussed in 2.5.2.2, evaluative assessments preceding *or what* typically pertain

²⁵ In fact, it is Phoebe, Ursula's twin, dressed as her.

²⁶ For example, *or something* could not be used here as it implies possible alternatives.

to third person entities. For example, consider excerpts [37]-[39], in which the speakers are soliciting an agreement with their evaluative assessments.

[37]Eddie: Is this guy great **or what**?

Joey: Yeah, yeah he is. E217

[38]Chandler: Let me see the earrings.

Monica: Oh, honey, the earrings...

Chandler: (looking at them) They look great! Does your boyfriend have the best taste **or what**?

Monica: My boyfriend really does have good taste! E519

[39]Rachel: Monica, Monica, look at this lamp. (She's holding a lamp made from seashells.)

Is this tacky **or what**? We have to have this.

Monica: Rach, I think we have enough regular lamps. E203

The preference for third person entities is especially conspicuous in [38], where, notwithstanding Chandler speaking about himself, he uses third person rather than first. It is also interesting that the above examples of *or what* do not always grant the agreement despite having soliciting an agreement as its primary function (for example, consider [39]). This may be another area where the TV language differs from that of natural conversation, i.e., the GE does not deliver the expected result.²⁷ *Or what* with an agreement-soliciting function used in a first person environment is for example in [40]; in this scene,²⁸ Joey is trying to look like a 19-year-old in order to get a teenage part in a commercial, and he wants Chandler's affirmation that he has succeeded, intensifying the wish with the utterance of *Come on* as well as *or what*. The agreement, once again, is not provided by the hearer (Chandler), at least not in the way the speaker (Joey) has imagined it.²⁹

²⁷ This behaviour was first mentioned in 4.5.1.1, where it was argued that although *or something* in invitations makes the invitation more likely to be accepted, it is not so in a number of cases.

²⁸ Below follows the scene description taken from the transcript:

[Scene: Joey and Rachel's, Chandler is playing Playstation as Joey enters from his room desperately trying to look like a 19-year-old. He's got the wool cap, he's got the cut-off Knicks jersey over the faded T-shirt, and he's got the whole pants-around-the-knees-showing-off-the-boxers thing that rich, white, suburban kids have adopted in a desperate and extremely futile attempt to try to look like they're from the inner-city.]

²⁹ Chandler's ironic response is obviously humour-driven. There are other occurrences where GEs in *Friends* behave unusually to make room for comedy, which will be addressed in 4.5.4.

[40]Joey: ‘Sup? ‘Sup dude?

Chandler: (putting his hands up) Take whatever you want, just please don’t hurt me.

Joey: So you’re playing a little Playstation, huh? That’s whack! Playstation is whack! ‘Sup with the whack Playstation, ‘sup?! Huh? Come on, am I 19 **or what?**!

Chandler: Yes, on a scale from 1 to 10, 10 being the dumbest a person can look, you are definitely 19. E701

The second category – *or what* soliciting an action from the hearer – can be seen in the excerpts [41] and [42]: in [41], Jade makes it clear that she really wants to meet with Chandler,³⁰ while in [42], Joey intensifies his wish because Chandler making the call could get him a part in a movie starring Al Pacino.

[41]Chandler: (on phone) I’m back.

Jade: So, are we gonna get together **or what?**

Chandler: Um, absolutely. Uh, how ‘bout tomorrow afternoon? Do you know uh, Central Perk in the Village, say, five-ish?

Jade: Great, I’ll see you then. E205

[42]Joey: No-no-no, please-please Chandler I-I-I would owe you so much!

Chandler: You do owe me so much. You owe me three thousand, four hundred...

Joey: Hey-hey dude, why are you changing the subject? Why? Will you make the call **or what?**

Chandler: Oh okay, I’ll-I’ll try. E618

Both the speakers using *or what* in [41] and [42] are successful in receiving the desired response, i.e., a promise that the action will be taken, which is realised with *Um, absolutely* and *Oh okay, I’ll-I’ll try* respectively. It seems that in *Friends*, using *or what* to solicit an action is more successful than using the same expression to solicit an agreement with an evaluative assessment. The only reason for this distinction that comes into mind is that certain evaluations, such as in [39] or [40], leave more room for humorous and ironic answers than straight-to-the-point requests in [41] and [42].

As noted by Overstreet (1999), it is important to stress that *or what* solicits an agreement with speakers’ views, not just a positive answer. For example, consider excerpt [43], in which Janice uses *or what* right after she and Chandler are abandoned at a restaurant by Joey and his girlfriend, who happens to be a friend of Janice’s. As Chandler and Janice are not on good terms at that time, it was not something that would make Joey and his girlfriend *the best friends*. And indeed, Chandler provides the desired response (*Joey’s not a friend*) to Janice’s ironic utterance.

³⁰ This invitation with *or what* is considerably more urging than invitations with *or something* (4.5.1.1).

[43]Chandler: So...

Janice: Just us.

Chandler: Oh, what a crappy night!

...

Janice: So, do we have the best friends **or what?**

Chandler: Joey's not a friend. He's...a stupid man who left us his credit card. Another drink? Some dessert? A big screen TV? E114

4.5.1.4. *or anything*

Implying alternatives

Similarly to *or something*, *or anything* can imply possible alternatives, but it does so only in negative environments, at least as far as my data is concerned. For example, consider the following two excerpts. In [44], Rachel is telling others about a sex dream that involved Joey and Chandler, and since Ross is in love with Rachel, he would like to be in the dream as well, so he asks a very specific, yet general question *Nobody uh, handed out uh, mints or anything?* Ross certainly did not expect that the suggested activity (handing out mints) was likely to occur in the dream, but the GE *or anything* implies the possibility of alternatives and urges Rachel to think back; this implication is also supported by Ross's questioning of Rachel's recollection of the dream *You're sure?*

[44]Rachel: All right, fine. Um, you were not the only one there. (Camera fades to Ross, who's listening very carefully) Joey was there too.

Joey: All right. (Moves closer.)

Ross: Was there...uh, huh, huh, huh... anybody, anybody else there.

Rachel: No.

Ross: You're sure? Nobody uh, handed out uh, mints **or anything?**

Rachel: No, it was just the three of us. E122

In [45], Joey is supposed to deliver a speech at Monica and Chandler's wedding and he needs to use his own words, which poses a problem because his character is portrayed as not exactly bright. Saying *big words or anything*, he creates a category (alternate category members could be for example *expressive* or *poetic words*), and also marks his lack of confidence in this area. Ross is able to infer this rather vaguely formulated category that Joey has in mind, suggesting that he should use a Thesaurus.

[45]Ross: What... what you working on?

Joey: (using a laptop) Oh, Monica and Chandler's recommendation. I want it to sound smart but... I don't know any big words **or anything**, so...

Ross: Why don't you use your Thesaurus?

Joey: What did I just say? E1005

Marking the previous utterance as surprising or extreme

Or anything can also mark the preceding utterance as surprising or extreme, which can be seen in excerpts [46] and [47]. In [46], Rachel wants a lamp for Monica and her apartment and as Monica does not agree, she draws Monica's attention to an even more bizarre item, hoping that Monica will see that what Rachel suggests is not that extreme after all. The GE *or anything* marks the coordinated part (*asking for this girly clock*) as something which would be an extreme thing to do.

- [46]Rachel: Monica, Monica, look at this lamp. (She's holding a lamp made from seashells.)
Is this tacky or what? We have to have this.
Monica: Rach, I think we have enough regular lamps.
Rachel: What? Come on, it's not like I'm asking for this girly clock **or anything**, which, by the way, I also think is very cool. (It's a girl in a bikini and pasties standing behind an alarm clock.) E203

Similarly, in [47], Joey accepts an award on behalf of Jessica, who could not be present at the ceremony, and he subsequently visits Jessica in her office to hand over the award. Jessica is more successful as an actress than Joey and the award does not mean to her what it would to Joey if he were the one to win it. Therefore, he is astonished when Jessica throws the award on a couch, marking her action (*not ... put it on your shelf*) as surprising – or a minimum extreme what one should do with such an award – with the use of *or anything*.

- [47]Joey: Well, that-that-that's it? You're [not] gonna, you're [not] gonna put it on your shelf **or anything**?
Jessica: No, I try to save that for real awards. Now, if you'll excuse me. E718

Formulaic disclaimers

As discussed in 2.5.2.4, *or anything* and *and everything* (but also *and all* as far as my data is concerned) can form disclaiming constructions, where the GEs are placed between the part of the sentence that might lead the hearer to a wrong interpretation and the part that disclaims that interpretation; the parts are usually connected with *but* or *just* (for example, see excerpt [8] in 4.4.2). Instances of *or anything* used in these constructions can be seen in excerpts [48] and [49]. In [48], David, an ex-boyfriend of Phoebe's from season 1 (i.e., from six years ago), approaches Phoebe and realising that this act might be perceived as an intruding one, he uses a formulaic

disclaimer to prevent Phoebe from coming to that unfavourable conclusion. Moreover, this example is the only instance of a GE in its full form, i.e., with a comparative phrase *like that*, which is considered as an older form, or not so grammaticalised as its short form variant.

[48]David: Uh, I-I-I was hoping to run into you here. I didn't know whether I should call or not, y'know I-I was only in town for a few days. And y'know, I didn't want to intrude on your life **or-or anything like that**, but I-I really wanted to see you and—but I didn't know if you wanted to see me.

Phoebe: Well, of course I would want to see you. I...I think about you all the time. E711

The fact that these “response-controlling *but*-prefaces” (Baker 1975: 37, cited in Overstreet 1999: 88)³¹ are thought of as ‘formulaic disclaimers’ (Overstreet 1999: 88-93) is supported by excerpt [49], where the *but*-part is absent. Yet, Ross uses *or anything* for a similar reason as David in [48], i.e., to control the response and how he is perceived by the hearer. Interestingly, the disclaiming part only consists of one word (*five*), which, by means of ellipsis, refers to the content of the previous sentence.

[49]Ross: Oh, I'm so excited, I mean, apparently I beat out hundreds of other applicants, included five guys I went to graduate school with. Not that I'm keeping score **or anything... five!**

Charlie: Wow, that's great! So, tell me about the grant! E1006

4.5.2. Adjunctive GEs

Adjunctive GEs (e.g., *and stuff*, *and everything*) indicate that the content of an utterance is more complex. Similarly to disjunctive GEs, they can function as list-completers or category identifiers when analysed from the referential perspective. In terms of their interpersonal functions, adjunctive GEs can indicate shared knowledge and experience (strategy of positive politeness); further they can mark an attitude toward the message expressed or, given their “there is more” nature, they can function as hedges on the Maxim of Quantity.

³¹ Baker, Charlotte (1975) “‘This Is Just a First Approximation, but...,’” *Papers from the Eleventh Regional Meeting*, 37-47. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

4.5.2.1. *and stuff*

And stuff is the most frequent adjunctive GE in my corpus, which is consistent with previous research (Overstreet 1999).³²

Indicating that there is more but mentioning it is redundant as the interlocutors share the context

The most obvious function of *and stuff* is to indicate that the speaker decides not to include all the members of a certain category because they deem it unnecessary. For example, consider excerpt [50], in which Chandler needs money and Monica uses *and stuff* to imply that there is more to the job of TV stars' assistants than just to answer *fan mails*. What "more" does the job entail, however, is completely insignificant to reach the goal of the conversation – devising a plan how Chandler can earn some extra money. The fact that relying on shared knowledge and common ground was effective in [50] is supported by the immediate positive answer *That's great! ... Let's do that!*

- [50] Monica: Maybe Joey doesn't have to give you the money, TV stars have assistants right?
Joey: That's an idea! (To Chandler) Hey, if I hired an assistant, would-would you take money from her?
Monica: No Joey! Chandler could be your assistant! See, he could answer all of your fan mail **and stuff!**
Joey: That's great! That would be great! Let's do that! E615

While the speaker in [50] relies on 'global' level of context³³ (Bazzanella 2011: 32), the interactions in [51] and [52] are on the 'local' level. In the scene leading up to excerpt [51], the group is discussing in detail Monica and Chandler's relationship and their wedding. Chandler is feeling under pressure, which leads to the argument presented in [51]. By using *and stuff*, Monica economically refers to the previous conversation they both had with other characters without needing to go over everything that was said. Chandler makes it explicit that he knows exactly what Monica's use of *and stuff* implies by repeating the vague NP *stuff* in the following utterance *Well, you do want all that stuff, right?*

³² *And stuff* seems to be the most frequent adjunctive GE in American English, while British English appears to prefer *and things* (Martínez 2011).

³³ Global context is shared by all mature, aware human beings. In [50], it is safe to assume that even a complete stranger could guess what *and stuff* implied. For more information about different levels of context, see Table 2 in 2.5.1.2.

[51]Monica: Man, I knew it! I knew you were going to do this!!

Chandler: What?!

Monica: Get all freaked out because everybody was talking and just joking around about marriage **and stuff**.

Chandler: Well, you do want all that stuff, right? E515

Similarly, in [52], Monica, after discussing Chandler and her future with him, establishes common ground by referring to all that has been said in this respect with *future and stuff*. And once again, Chandler accepts the invitation of solidarity as an interactive partner by repeating the whole phrase. As already mentioned in the quantitative part, Chandler's repeating of *future and stuff* is merely an echo of Monica's, and as such it constitutes a single unit rather than the construction of NP + *and* + *stuff* as is the case in Monica's utterance.

[52]Monica: Oh, you're so sweet. (They hug and kiss.) Oh, but wait, what about our, what about the future **and stuff**?

Chandler: Eh, forget about the future **and stuff**! So we only have two kids, y'know? We'll pick our favorite and that one will get to go to college. E702

4.5.2.2. *and everything, and all, and all that*

Intensifiers

These three GE forms often function as intensifiers, used to emphasise or highlight a preceding part of an utterance. For example, consider excerpts [53]-[55]. In [53], Carol plans a wedding with her partner, Susan, and she is devastated that her parents have refused to come.³⁴ Parents' role at weddings is important (they are supposed to *give away* their children at the least), which Carol emphasises with the utterance of *and everything*. In [54], Rachel is changing a diaper on Ross's son, and she is surprised that the diaper *stays on*, emphasising the fact with the use of *and everything*. It could be also argued that by saying *and everything*, Rachel is marking her success as surprising, a similar function to that of *or anything* in excerpt [47]. And finally in [55], Chandler is trying to persuade Joey not to move out by emphasising the fact that their poultry³⁵ have had a bad year due to *the robbery and all*.

[53]Carol: My parents called this afternoon to say they weren't coming.

Ross: Oh my god.

Carol: I mean, I knew they were having trouble with this whole thing, but they're my parents. They're supposed to give me away **and everything**. E211

³⁴ Carol is a lesbian and her parents refuse to support her in this decision.

³⁵ Chandler and Joey own a duck and a chicken.

[54]Rachel: Ok, we can do this now, can't we Ben? Yes we can, yes we can. [finishes the diaper] There. I did it. I did it. Look at that, oh, stays on **and everything**. Hi. E220

[55]Chandler: All right look, if you're not gonna stay for me, then at least stay for them! Okay, they have had a very difficult year! What with the robbery **and all!** E408

Hedges on Maxim of Quantity

While in [53]-[55] the most obvious function of the instances of *and everything* and *and all* seems to be to emphasise and highlight the preceding part (*give me away*, *stays on*, *robbery*) rather than indicating that “there is more that could be said,” in [56] and [57], the opposite seems to be the case for the same GE forms. In [56], *and all* is further specified by the demonstrative pronoun *that*; in fact, it may be the sole presence of the pronoun, used here as a proform with anaphoric reference to shared context, that made me interpret the GE differently than in the previous cases of *and all*, i.e., as a hedge on the Maxim of Quantity rather than intensifying the coordinated NP *history*.³⁶

[56]Rachel: It just might be too hard, given the history **and all that**. E422

In [57], on the other hand, the referents of *and everything* are objectively retrievable from the situational context: the group is having a Thanksgiving dinner and Rachel would prefer all the members of the category implicated by the use of *and everything* to be kept on the other side of the table. Applying the mentioned members of the implicated category (*chicken* and *turkey*), the ad hoc category could be called “meat/aromatic food on the table.” In both [56] and [57], Rachel may think that she is in danger of not saying enough, thus violating the Maxim of Quantity, but she relies on the shared context with the other interlocutors and, using the GEs *and all that* and *and everything* respectively, invites them to make sense of her utterances.

[57]Rachel: What? (Joey starts offering Ross some turkey.) Oh y'know what? Can we please keep the chicken and the turkey **and everything** on the other side of the table? The smell is just yuck! E809

Formulaic disclaimers

As already mentioned in 4.5.1.4, *and everything* and *and all* can also form disclaiming constructions. In [58], Chandler is unsure whether he wants to see the girl again and he uses the

³⁶ GEs are multifunctional expressions and the intensifying function may play a role in [56], too. However, the function of indicating that “there is more but we both know what the more is” seems to be more prominent in this case.

formulaic disclaimer to mitigate the impact of his message “she is needy.” Similarly, in [59], Ross acknowledges that his friends enjoy teasing him,³⁷ and since this acknowledgment might be interpreted by others as reproachful, he disclaims that interpretation by using a formulaic disclaimer with *and all*.

[58]Chandler: Well, she seems very nice **and everything**, but that whole thing about her coming all the way down here, just to see if I was okay? I mean... how needy is that?
E120

[59]Monica: Well that is great. And seriously, she seems very nice.

Ross: Thanks. I know you guys like to give me a hard time **and all**, but it really means a lot to me that you like her. E619

4.5.3. other GEs

This chapter explores GE forms that differ both formally and semantically from the forms considered above. [60] and [61] show that GEs are productive expressions and speakers can insert other parts into the construction, which, however, leads to GEs losing some of their vagueness. In [60], the NP that can be expected after a conjunction and forming a GE (*crap*) is premodified by *all your weird relationship commitment*. As a result, the GE is unusually specific and the prominent communicative function seems to be that of marking an attitude towards the message expressed, in this case irritation indicated with the NP *crap* and the premodifier *weird*.

[60]Monica: Have you lost your mind? Chandler, this isn't about me! This is about you **and all your weird relationship commitment crap!** E515

In [61], Chandler refers to the message he received from Monica earlier. Having said to Monica that he does not like her massages, which ended up hurting her feelings, he comes to apologise later and rather than repeating the hurtful part (*I don't like your massages*), he refers to the whole incident with the GE *and the whole massage thing*. Despite being more specific than an ordinary GE, this GE still carries some vagueness, helping Chandler to spare Monica's feelings.

³⁷ Ross is dating one of his younger students at the time this conversation takes place.

[61]Chandler: I don't like your massages.

...

Chandler: (coming all the way in) Listen, I just wanted to apologize about this afternoon **and the whole massage thing**. Y'know? I-I really like 'em. E513

Formally, the GE in [62] differs in that the conjunction is missing.³⁸ *Blah, blah, blah* apparently expresses irritation and downgrades all that is listed by Monica prior to the GE. The function of *Blah, blah, blah* is similar to that of *and stuff* ("more could be said on this matter but it is not important"), which is supported by two instances of *y'know* (a marker of invited solidarity) right after the GE. Unlike *and stuff*, however, *Blah, blah, blah* carries an additional and derogatory meaning, which may be expressed with pejorative forms such as *and shit/crap like that*.

[62]Monica: Yeah, I mean yeah, I look great. Yeah, I feel great and yeah, my heart is not in trouble anymore! **Blah, blah, blah!** Y'know I still don't feel like I got him back, y'know? I just want to humiliate him. I wanna, I want him to be like naked and then I'm going to point at him and laugh! E508

4.5.4. Television GEs

In this chapter, I have considered two instances of GEs that seem to occur in television dialogue rather than in natural conversation. In the first part of [63], Rachel has an argument with Ross, saying that he should not have brought a picnic basket to her office (only park rangers may do that). In the second part, she retells the argument to another character, Mark, who does not share the context of that argument. Thus, her utterance of *I told him he treats me like a park ranger or something* is nonsensical to Mark; and indeed, not being able to infer the implicated category, the conversation breaks as he is unable to react appropriately and chooses to change the topic instead with the utterance of *Wow. I'm sorry. Eggroll?*

[63]Rachel: You had no right coming down to my office Ross. You do not bring a picnic basket to somebody's work! Unless maybe they were a park ranger!

...

Rachel: Oh, and then, we got into this big, stupid fight. I just, it was awful. I told him he treats me like a park ranger **or something**, oh and then I told him I wanted to take a break, I don't want to take a break.

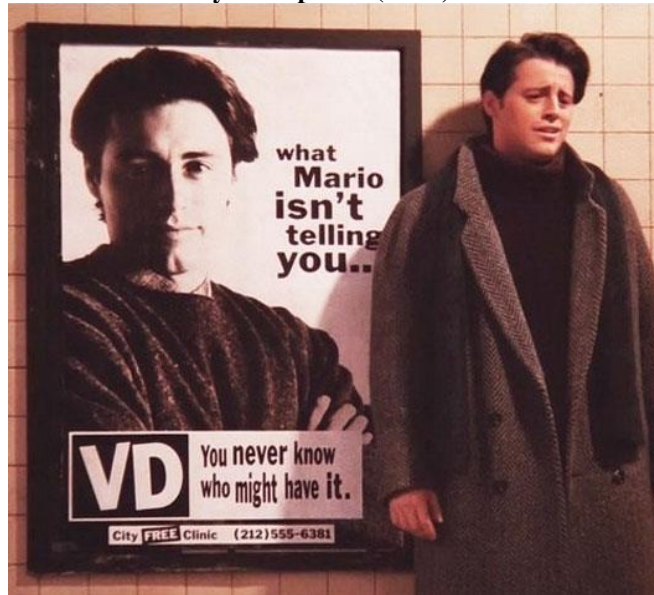
Mark: Wow. I'm sorry. Eggroll? E315

³⁸ In transcribing continuous speech, it is sometimes difficult to choose correct punctuation. Although punctuation in [62] suggests pauses between the first three sentences with a full stop and an exclamation mark, upon seeing the actual scene, all three sentences proved to be very closely connected – the GE *blah, blah, blah* is undoubtedly connected to the previous part, as if there was a comma.

The reason why this type of dialogue – one of the interlocutors does not have the necessary context to fully understand the speaker – frequently occurs in television dialogue and is unlikely to do so in natural conversation is because in television, it creates humorous situations for the audience. The event of audience sharing the context with the speaker that is unknown to other characters is called dramatic irony and it is a fruitful source of humour in most of the situation comedies.

In the episode which ends with Chandler’s proposing a toast that is transcribed in excerpt [64], Joey is a model for one of the posters for the City Free Clinic. He does not know in advance what the theme of the poster is going to be, ending up on one that says VD, an abbreviation for ‘venereal disease’ (see the picture below). Joey used to go home on Thanksgiving but since his family thinks he has a venereal disease, they cancel the invitation.

Illustration 1. Joey’s VD poster (E109)³⁹



[64]Chandler: I’d like to propose a toast. Little toast here, ding ding. I know this isn’t the kind of Thanksgiving that all of you planned, but for me, this has been really great, you know, I think because it didn’t involve divorce or projectile vomiting. Anyway, I was just thinking, I mean, if you’d gone to Vail, and if you guys’d been with your family, if you didn’t have [(Chandler stops and thinks for a while)] syphilis **and stuff**, we wouldn’t be all together, you know? So I guess what I’m trying to say is that I’m very thankful that all of your Thanksgivings sucked. E109

³⁹ <<http://www.missmalini.com/2014/07/29/shreyas-talpades-poshter-boyz-may-find-friend-joey-tribbiani/>> Accessed on July 25, 2016.

Significantly, at no point in the episode does anyone refer to Joey's problem other than venereal disease. Therefore it is interesting to consider why Chandler, in his toast, says *syphilis and stuff* rather than 'venereal disease'. I have shown some of the ways in which speakers employ GEs and it is mostly to take advantage of the vagueness associated with these expressions, allowing them to move from the specific to the general. In [64], however, Chandler devotes an effort to thinking of a different way to refer to Joey's situation, i.e., rather than simply saying venereal disease, he uses a member of the category "venereal diseases" and coordinates it with *and stuff*. The only motivation for this action is again humour, which is supported by the fact that from such candidates as *and everything, and all, and whatnot, and things*, Chandler uses the one which is acoustically consonant with the coordinated NP *syphilis*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Jefferson (1990: 69) calls this instance – that takes into account sound favourability – a dramatic instance.

5. Conclusions

The objective of the thesis was to explore linguistic expressions called ‘general extenders’ (e.g., *and stuff (like that), or something (like that)*) and their functions in communication. It was established in the theoretical part that rather than being used as expressions with a referential meaning, such as list constructions or category implications, GEs are primarily employed by speakers to express various interpersonal functions of language. With that in mind, an in-depth analysis of GEs’ interpersonal functions requires an intimate knowledge of the speakers, their personalities, goals, and relationships with other interlocutors. Unfortunately, these criteria make all the corpora comprising natural conversations impossible to use due to the unfamiliarity of the shared contexts that exist between the interlocutors.

For the purpose of this thesis, then, a corpus consisting of the popular American situation comedy *Friends* was created. In the world of television, the criteria listed above are met as wide audiences need access to characters’ shared world in order to enjoy the television show to its fullest. In the created corpus, containing approximately 970,000 word tokens, 188 different instances of GEs were found, out of which 61 were analysed in detail (48 in the Qualitative analysis part). As regards the frequency of individual forms, the results were in compliance with Overstreet’s (1999) data (both featuring American English), with *or something, and stuff, or anything* being the three most frequent forms in both corpora. Moreover, with 124 occurrences, disjunctive GEs (i.e., those beginning with *or*) were more than two times more frequent than adjunctive GEs (i.e., those beginning with *and*), which only occurred 60 times.

Similarly to previous research, my data revealed no significant gender variation in using the individual forms. Interestingly, the overall frequency of GEs was observed to decrease dramatically in the last three seasons, with 1.11, 1.00 and 0.69 occurrences per 10,000 words compared with the first seven seasons’ average of 2.37. As GEs were previously considered by some linguists as typical of the language of teenagers and young adults, the most probable, though not at all obvious, explanation for such a decrease is the need to portray the characters as growing older and more mature when compared with the first half of the series, where they were still in their twenties.

As the study of interpersonal functions is necessarily subjective to a certain degree, the analytical part of the thesis was divided into two subparts: quantitative (4.4) and qualitative (4.5). In the former, the preferred sentence types and clause positions of the five most frequent forms (*or something, and stuff, or anything, and everything, or what*) were objectively explored and

quantified, while in the latter, all the forms were analysed from the perspective of interactive communication, often providing subjective interpretations based on situational cues rather than stating facts.

The tendency to occur in positive declarative clauses was confirmed for the adjunctive GEs *and everything* and *and stuff*, with 84% and 75% instances of the GE, respectively, as well as *or something* (51%). Negative declarative clauses, on the other hand, were the most natural environment for the GE *or anything*, occurring in this sentence type in 19 (65%) out of a total of 29 instances. While adjunctive GEs occurred only occasionally in interrogative sentences (16% for *and stuff*, 11% for *and everything*), disjunctive GEs did so much more frequently due to the different functions that the two sets perform in communication: *or what* was most often used to urge the hearer to do something that the speaker desired and it typically performed this functions in a clause- or utterance-final position of an interrogative sentence (88%); *or something*, often used in invitations where the GE expresses tentativeness, occurred in an interrogative sentence in 42% of the cases. Finally, imperative sentences seem to be the least hospitable sentence type for GEs to occur, *or anything* being the most frequent of the forms with only 7%.

GEs are typically clause- or utterance-final, the latter of which suggests that GEs are used, next to other functions, for the purpose of turn-taking. The utterance-final position was most frequently occupied by *or something* (75%), closely followed by *or what* (69%) and *and stuff* (62%), which supports the view that these linguistic expressions are indeed often used to yield the floor to other interlocutors. The remaining two GEs explored in the quantitative part, *and everything* and *or anything*, occurred most frequently in mid-sentence positions (58% and 55% respectively) due to their ability to form disclaiming constructions.

The qualitative analysis firstly explored disjunctive GEs (4.5.1), which offer alternatives to whatever the speaker says prior to the GE. The suggested alternatives, however, can perform different functions in the interpersonal domain. *Or something* often expressed tentativeness in invitations or requests, marking that the speaker shows only a weak commitment to the proposal and therefore mitigates the face-threatening nature of every invitation and request. Further, *or something* can express a lack of knowledge on the speaker's part by marking the preceding part of an utterance as possibly inaccurate. When the inaccuracy is more probable or higher, *or something*, along with *or whatever* and *or so*, can mark the preceding part of an utterance as an approximation that should not be taken literally. The function of approximation was found with numbers (*or something*, *or so*) and with reported speech (*or whatever*). *Or whatever*, being more

emotionally involved than the neutral *or something*, turned out to be effective in fulfilling various communicative functions – from expressing irritation with the hearer, to downgrading the previous part of an utterance or even changing the topic. In fact, *or whatever* proved to be the most context-dependent GE of all the forms, showing slightly different speakers' motivations for using the expression in each case.

Or what, on the other hand, is used in very similar constructions in the majority of all the occurrences, soliciting either an agreement or an action from the hearer. Finally, *or anything* only occurs in negative environments and like most of the disjunctive GEs, it can imply alternatives. There are, however, more interesting functions associated with this form – intensifying a preceding utterance and marking it as surprising/extreme and the already mentioned disclaiming constructions, the latter of which, interestingly, does not have to follow the basic construction with *but* – i.e., *not X or anything, but Y* (Overstreet 1999: 88) – but can also occur with *just* (*not X or anything, just Y*) or only *Y* after the comma.

Adjunctive GEs (4.5.2) most often express that there is more that could be said, but since the interlocutors share the context, saying more is not necessary for the conversation to move forward. This was the case for all the occurrences of *and stuff* analysed in this part. Other forms (*and everything, and all, and all that*) were grouped together under one subchapter (4.5.2.2) as they perform similar functions in communication. Similarly to *or anything*, though in positive environments, *and everything* and *and all* often intensify the preceding part of an utterance marking it as surprising or extreme. Both GEs can also form the disclaiming constructions *X and everything, but Y* (Overstreet 1999: 91), and like in the case of *or anything, but* can be substituted with *just*; however, at least one of the words has to be present for the disclaiming construction to function properly. Finally, *and everything* and *and all that* occurred also as hedges on the Maxim of Quantity when the speaker is in danger of not saying enough; in these cases, speakers used an adjunctive GE, implying that they relied on the hearer to supply whatever information was missing from the shared context.

In the final two subchapters, other, less-frequent GE forms were considered. Although the examples in this section were unusual when compared with the preceding forms, they revealed some important, though perhaps marginal, characteristics of GEs: firstly, the partially specified GEs *and all your weird relationship commitment crap* and *and the whole massage thing* displayed the productivity of creating new GE forms; secondly, *blah, blah, blah* shows that the forms do not necessarily need a conjunction (*and/or*) in order to perform the function of a GE;

and finally, the last two examples highlighted specifics of television dialogue, which are unlikely to occur in natural conversation.

In conclusion, the quantitative part proved to be an interesting insight into the formal behaviour of GEs as I have not yet encountered any study with similar statistical data that would allow me to hypothesise what behaviour could be expected of individual forms. As for the communicative functions suggested in the qualitative part, most of them have already been described and my findings are mostly in conformity with what the studies suggest (2.5). On some occasions, the GEs would have been impossible to analyse fully without watching the scenes, with actors' intonation and facial expressions all at hand. Admittedly, the task proved to be too complex to be covered within the limited scope of this thesis: frequent co-occurrence with other discourse markers (e.g., *y'know, well, I mean, like, anyway, just*) – compelling evidence that GEs fulfil pragmatic functions in conversation – as well as co-occurrence with backchannels (e.g., *yeah, uhuh, mhm*) – hearer's way of indicating that he understands the implications made by the use of a GE – could not be assessed systematically. Yet studying the surroundings of GEs would undoubtedly be insightful in terms of their interpersonal functions.

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8. Resumé

V úvodní kapitole je vymezeno téma práce, jímž je prozkoumání jazykových prostředků označovaných jako ‚general extenders‘, tedy ‚vágní dovětky‘ (např. *or something (like that), and stuff (like that)*), a to jak z hlediska jejich syntaktického chování, tak z hlediska jejich funkce v komunikaci.

V druhé kapitole je na základě sekundární literatury stručně uvedeno téma vágního jazyka (2.1) a důvody, proč se k užívání vágních výrazů mluvčí uchylují – nejenže mohou zefektivnit komunikaci (určité detaily nemusí být v konverzaci explicitně zmíněny, když mluvčí sdílejí pozadí těchto detailů), ale také vyjadřují různé komunikační funkce. Vágní dovětky se nejčastěji vyskytují v neformálním mluveném dialogu, a to na konci věty ve formě spojky a substantivní fráze (např. *or something, and stuff*) (2.2 a 2.3). Jak ukazují některé studie (Cheshire 2007, Martínez 2011, Levey 2012), tyto výrazy postupně prochází gramatikalizačním procesem (2.4), při kterém jsou mimo jiné zkracovány z původních forem (*or something like that, and stuff like that*) a dekategoričovány.

Největší část Teoretického úvodu je věnována funkcím vágních dovětek (2.5). Jsou zde rozlišeny dva přístupy: první zkoumá referenční vlastnosti vágních dovětek, konkrétně jejich schopnost implikovat kategorie a výčty; druhý přístup se zaměřuje na interpersonální funkce, které vágní dovětky plní v komunikaci (např. vyjádření postoje ve vztahu k předchozí promluvě, zdvořilostní strategie nebo signalizace různé míry jistoty). Vzhledem k jejich multifunkční povaze není možné jednotlivé funkce objektivně kvantifikovat, protože se funkce v různé míře překrývají. Častý souvškyt s diskurzími částicemi (např. *you know, I mean, sort of, I think*) je v souladu s převládajícím názorem, že vágní dovětky jsou používány především k vyjádření interpersonálních funkcí v komunikaci, spíše než pouze jako referenční jednotky.

Jelikož je k hloubkové analýze diskurzími funkcí zapotřebí znát sdílený kontext a interpersonální vztahy mluvčích, byla pro výzkumnou část této práce vybrána americká situační komedie *Přátelé* – v televizních seriálech musí být sdílený kontext srozumitelný širokému publiku. Stručný popis televizního seriálu a specifík televizního dialogu je nastíněn postupně v podkapitolách kapitoly třetí, Materiál a metoda. Použitý korpus o velikosti zhruba 970,000 slov byl vytvořen autorem práce a zanalyzován pomocí freeware softwaru AntConc. Nalezeno bylo celkem 188 výskytů vágních dovětek, z nichž 61 bylo zahrnuto ve výzkumné části práce.

Výzkumná část začíná náhledem na frekvenci výskytů jednotlivých forem (Table 4) – výsledky jsou v souladu s daty Overstreetové (1999), tedy formy *or something, and stuff* a *or*

anything jsou nejčtenější. Tato shoda je zapříčiněna faktem, že oba korpusy obsahují americkou angličtinu; studie prováděné na britských korpusech například ukazují vyšší frekvenci vágních dovětek *and things* a *and that*. Disjunktivní vágní dovětky (ty se spojkou *or*) měly více než dvojnásobný počet výskytů než jejich adjunktivní protějšky (ty se spojkou *and*), konkrétně 124 a 60. V obecném úvodu je dále porovnání pěti nejčtenějších vágních dovětek vzhledem k pohlaví (Figure 1) – stejně jako u předchozích studií zde nebyly zpozorovány žádné významné variace. Je zajímavé, že v posledních třech řadách televizního pořadu *Přátelé* se výskyt vágních dovětek dramaticky snížil (1,11; 1,00 a 0,69 výskytů na 10,000 slov oproti průměrnému výskytu za předchozích 7 řad 2,37). To může být způsobeno tím, že vágní dovětky, a diskurzní částice obecně, jsou zkoumány především na jazyce náctiletých; úbytek tedy může reflektovat stárnutí postav.

Největší část práce je věnována dvěma podkapitolám výzkumné části: kvantitativní (4.4) a kvalitativní analýze (4.5). Kvantitativní analýza zkoumá syntaktické chování pěti nejfrekventovanějších vágních dovětek (*or something*, *and stuff*, *or anything*, *and everything*, *or what*), konkrétně větné typy a pozice ve větě, ve kterých se zkoumané výrazy vyskytují. Tendence vyskytovat se v kladných oznamovacích větách byla potvrzena pro adjunktivní formy *and stuff* a *and everything* (84% a 75%) a z disjunktivních forem pro *or something* (51%). *Or anything* se vyskytlo ve všech případech v negativním prostředí a tedy má největší zastoupení v záporných oznamovacích větách (65%). Tázací věty byly nalezeny v největší míře u *or what* (88%) a *or something* (42%) kvůli jejich diskurzním funkcím, o kterých bude řeč níže. Rozkazovací věty se neukázaly být vhodným prostředím pro vágní dovětky, s nejvyšším výskytem 7% u formy *or anything*.

Co se pozice ve větě týče, nejpřekvapivější výsledky přinesly formy *and everything* a *or anything*, které se vyskytly uprostřed věty v 58% a 55%. Příčina tohoto neobvyklého chování je schopnost tvořit popírací konstrukce, kde je vágní dovětek zakomponován uvnitř věty. Naopak očekávané chování bylo pozorováno u forem *or something*, *or what* a *and stuff*, které se vyskytly na konci promluvy v 75%, 69% a 62%.

Kvalitativní analýza se věnuje všem formám včetně těch méně frekventovaných a zkoumá funkce, které dovětky plní v konverzaci. Disjunktivní vágní dovětky (4.5.1), které by mohly být shrnuty jako nabízení alternativy, jsou předmětem analýzy jako první. *Or something* často vyjadřovalo váhavost v pozváních a žádostech, kde implikovaná možnost alternativy vyjadřuje, že mluvčí netrvá na svém návrhu. Literatura tuto komunikativní strategii označuje jako negativní

zdvořilost. *Or something* může dále označit předešlou promluvu jako potenciálně nepřesnou, čehož mluvčí využívají v případech, kdy si nejsou jistí pravdivostí obsahu své promluvy. Když je míra pravdivosti ještě nižší, vágní dovětky mohou předešlou promluvu označit jako pouhý odhad. Tato funkce je nejčastěji spojována s číselnými odhady (vyskytlo se u *or something* a *or so*) a nepřímou řečí (*or whatever*). *Or whatever* je emocionálně více zatížené než neutrální *or something*, a tak byla tato forma používána k vyjádření momentálního rozpoložení mluvčího. Interpretace *or whatever* se dále ukázala být nejvíce závislá na kontextu a v každém výskytu vyjadřovala odlišnou motivaci mluvčího (vyjádření podrážděnosti, zpochybnění předchozí promluvy a snaha o změnu tématu).

Or what je nejčastěji koordinováno se zjišťovací otázkou a mluvčí jím vyzývá posluchače, aby obsah promluvy buď potvrdil, nebo jednal podle představ mluvčího; jeho interpersonální funkce je tedy apelová. *Or anything*, *and everything* a *and all* v několika případech fungovalo jako intenzifikátor, který kladl důraz na předchozí promluvu a označoval její obsah jako překvapivý nebo extrémní. Dále tyto tři formy tvoří výše zmíněné popírací konstrukce, které umožňují mluvčímu kontrolovat, jak jeho promluva zapůsobí na posluchače, zejména proto, aby se vyhnul negativní interpretaci.

Adjektivní vágní dovětky nejčastěji značí, že obsah dané promluvy je ve skutečnosti mnohem širší, ale k tomu, aby se konverzace mohla posunout vpřed, stačí pouze to, co bylo zmíněno. V tomto použití se mluvčí spoléhá na znalosti, které sdílí s posluchačem a v literatuře je tato komunikativní strategie označována jako pozitivní zdvořilost. *And stuff* plnilo tuto funkci ve všech případech. Formy *and everything*, *and all* a *and all that* byly spojeny do společné podkapitoly (4.5.2.2), jelikož plní stejné komunikativní funkce. *And everything* a *and all* jsou podobně jako výše zmíněné *or anything* často používány v popíracích konstrukcích nebo jako intenzifikátory. Dále bylo *and everything* a *and all that* použito jako ‚hedge‘ – v těchto případech je mluvčí v nebezpečí, že neřekne dostatek (tedy poruší nároky na kooperativní konverzaci), a proto za použití vágního dovětku indikuje, že promluva je komplexnější a že spoléhá na sdílený kontext existující mezi ním a posluchačem, aby si posluchač dodatečné informace doplnil. V posledních dvou podkapitolách kvalitativní analýzy jsou popsány ojedinělé případy, které nabídky zajímavý vhled do chování vágních dovětek: zaprvé, formy *and all your weird relationship commitment crap* a *and the whole massage thing* ukazují produktivitu ve tvoření nových forem vágních dovětek; zadruhé, forma *blah, blah, blah* je jediný výskyt vágního dovětku bez spojky; zatřetí, na dvou příkladech jinak nejfrekventovanějších forem, *or something*

a *and stuff*, jsou ukázána specifika televizního dialogu, která se vyskytnou v běžné komunikaci jen s malou pravděpodobností.

Práci by prospělo rozšíření kvalitativní analýzy o zkoumání souvýskytu vágních dovětek s diskurzními částicemi (např. *you know, I mean, sort of, I think*), bohužel to nebylo v rozsahu práce možné. Současné studie zaměřené na vágní dovětky se často soustřeďují na jazyk náctiletých a dětí. Bylo například ukázáno (Levey 2012), že děti vágní dovětky začínají používat v kritickém období 10-11 let, kdy začínají být více orientovaní na své vrstevníky než na rodiče, což podporuje tvrzení, že jsou formy používány pro vyjadřování diskurzních funkcí, jako je vyjádření solidarity a sounáležitosti ke stejné skupině. Dále se zkoumají změny, kterými vágní dovětky prošly v rámci gramatikalizace (Cheshire 2007; Martínez 2011). Ani tyto aspekty užívání vágních dovětek už není při daném rozsahu práce možné detailněji popsat.

9. Appendix

List of GE forms in Friends

<i>or something</i>	64
<i>or what</i>	71
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<i>and everything</i>	77
<i>and stuff</i>	79
<i>and all</i>	83
<i>and all that</i>	84
<i>and all your weird relationship commitment crap</i>	84
<i>and the whole massage thing</i>	84
<i>blah, blah, blah</i>	84

or something

- (1) Monica: Joey, stop hitting on her! It's her wedding day!
Joey: What, like there's a rule **or something**? E101
- (2) Joey: Listen, while you're on a roll, if you feel like you gotta make like a Western omelet **or something**... (Joey and Chandler taste the coffee, grimace, and pour it into a plant pot.)
Although actually I'm really not that hungry... E101
- (3) Joey: Listen, uh, you wanna go get a drink **or something**?
Girl: Yeah. E109
- (4) Phoebe: You guys wanna try and catch a late movie **or something**?
Rachel: Maybe, but shouldn't we wait for Chandler? E115
- (5) Monica: Hi. Uh, my friend here was taking down our Christmas lights, and and she fell off the balcony and may have broken her foot or or ankle **or something**.
Nurse: My god. You still have your Christmas lights up? E117
- (6) Joey: Well, given that he's desperately in love with you, he probably wouldn't mind getting a cup of coffee **or something**. E124
- (7) Julie: Thanks. Hey, listen, would you like to go to a movie sometime **or something**?
Rachel: Yeah, that'd be great. I'd love it. E202
- (8) Rachel: Cats, how long do they live figuring you don't... y'know, throw 'em under a bus **or something**?
Michael: Um, maybe 15, 16 years. E207
- (9) Rachel: (obviously drunk) I mean, it's a cat, y'know, it's a cat. Why can't they get one of those bugs, y'know, one of those fruit flies, those things that live for like a day **or something**? (belligerently) What're they called, what're they called, what're they called?
Michael: Fruit flies?
Rachel: Yes! Thank you. E207
- (10) Chandler: It's alright. Is she good-looking?
Joey: Yeah, she's totally good looking. I mean, if I met her in a bar, **or something**, I'd be buying her breakfast. [pause] You know, after having slept with her. E210
- (11) Phoebe: The voice woman. Ya know, I mean, she has a great voice but she doesn't have a video.
Rachel: OK, Phoebs. But what about you?
Phoebe: Well I have a video, you have to pay attention. No this, this voice woman, she's so talented but, according to the producer people, they said she doesn't have like the right look **or something**, ya know. I mean, it's like, she's like one of those animals at the pound who like nobody wants 'cause they're not pretty enough or you know. Like, like some old dog who's just kind of like stinky and. HUUUUH, oh my God, she's smelly cat. Oh, oh that song has so many levels. E217
- (12) Machine: Message erased. To record a message begin speaking at the tone.
Monica: Hi, uh, Richard it's Monica, um, listen I did something kind of crazy tonight, um, maybe I'm getting my period **or something**, I don't know. Um, anyway, I, I, I beeped into your machine and I heard a message that, that freaked me out, and um, you

- know what Michelle will tell you the rest. I, I, um, I'm sorry, okay, I, I hope that we can forget the whole thing. Okay, bye. E302
- (13)Chandler: Okay, this is good, this is good. All right listen, I have one. Janice likes to cuddle, at night, which, you know I'm all for. But, uh, you know when you want to go to sleep, you want some space. So, uh, how do I tell her that without, you know, accidentally calling her fat **or something**. E303
- (14)Phoebe: Isn't it cool! Varoom! Varoom!
 Monica: This is not the bed I ordered!
 Phoebe: I know, you must've won like a contest **or something**! E307
- (15)Janice: Oh, I'm sorry honey, I'm so, so, (nasally) haaaaa! I'm so, so sorry, I just (nasally) haaaaaa! But I, oh what happened was, I-I-I can't breathe. Can you get me a bag **or something**?
 Chandler: (giving her a bag) Here. E308
- (16)Rachel: We should defiantly play football more often. Maybe there's a like league we could join **or something**. E309
- (17)Richard: So, you wanna get a hamburger **or something**?
 Monica: Oh, um, I don't know if that's a good idea. E313
- (18)Ross: Okay, okay, fine, you're right. Let's ah, let's take a break, (goes to the door) let's cool off, okay, let's get some frozen yogart, **or something**.. (opens the door)
 Rachel: No. (Ross is standing in the doorway.) A break from us. E315
- (19)Rachel: You had no right coming down to my office Ross. You do not bring a picnic basket to somebody's work! Unless maybe they were a park ranger!
 ...
 Rachel: Oh, and then, we got into this big, stupid fight. I just, it was awful. I told him he treats me like a park ranger **or something**, oh and then I told him I wanted to take a break, I don't want to take a break.
 Mark: Wow. I'm sorry. Eggroll? E315
- (20)Ross: (looking at the page) 717? (to Carol) Where's 717? (He gets up to return the page, Carol starts to take the last of the food into the kitchen, but Ross grabs the last piece.)
 Hey, you've have more of these for Susan right?
 Carol: No. But it's okay, I'll just put out pickles **or something**. E317
- (21)Phoebe: Maybe we can like go to a movie **or something**.
 Ross: Okay. E317
- (22)(Gunther tries to swoop in to ask Rachel out.)
 Rachel: I mean I think I'd say no to anybody right now. (Hearing this Gunther swoops back to cleaning tables.) Oh, but it was so strange. I mean I'm standing there with this charming, cute guy, who's asking me to go out with him, which I'm allowed to do, and I felt guilty. Y'know, like I'd be cheating on Ross **or something**. E319
- (23)Ross: What are you doing? Are you trying to hurt me[...]**or something**?
 Rachel: No. Ross, it, it just seems that y'know it's time we-we y'know, move on. I mean, I mean don't you think? E319

- (24)Lauren: (laughing) Oh, you're so funny. Listen, umm, what are you doing after rehearsals? Do you want to get a drink, **or something**?
Joey: Well Ahh, (he sees Kate and the director kissing) yeah! Yeah, sure, a drink sounds great. E320
- (25)Rachel: I know, isn't he great? It's so nice to finally be in a fun relationship, y'know? There's nothing boring about him, and ah, I bet he's never set foot in a museum.
Ross: Well maybe he'll get to go soon, like on a class trip **or something**. E405
- (26)Chandler: It just keeps getting worse and worse! Y'know? I mean it's bad enough that I'm in love with my roommate's girlfriend—which by the way, I think she knows. Because every time we're in the room together there's this weird like energy between us. And call me crazy, but I think she likes me too. And now I have seen her naked. I mean at least when I've seen her with clothes on, I could imagine her body was like covered in boles **or something**. But there are no boles, she's smooth! Smooth! (leaves) E407
- (27)Chandler: So what job did you get Joe?
Joey: Oh, ah, tour guide at the museum. Yeah, Ross got it for me.
Rachel: Well, how can you be a tour guide, don't you have to be a dinosaur expert **or something**?
Joey: No, not really. They give you all the information, it's uh, it's like memorizing a script. (Making like a tour guide) "And on your left, you have Tyrannosaurus Rex, a carnivore from the Jurassic period. E411
- (28)Ross: Oh, Liam. So uh, what, were you guys playing soccer **or something** – or should I call it (In an English accent) football?
Devon: We were playing rugby. E415
- (29)Emily: Ohh, I don't think so. I mean it would be different if it was way into the future – and-and-and we were getting married **or something**.
Ross: What? E419
- (30)Ross: I am so sorry.
Rachel: I know that too.
Joey: (entering) (He clears his throat to get their attention.) Hey, Rach? Sorry to interrupt but umm, Phoebe wanted me to talk to you about a trip **or something**. E505
- (31)Monica: We were, we were just in the storage area and we saw this really creepy man!
Rachel: It was like this crazy-eyed, hairy beast man! He was like a, like a bigfoot or a yeti **or something**! E506
- (32)Rachel: Hi! Just so you know, we-we didn't mean to fog you, we thought you were like a yeti **or something**.
Danny: Okay. E506
- (33)Joey: I ended up at Ross's place. Oh, I musta missed counted **or something**. (Looks out the window.) Damn! She's not there anymore. E517
- (34)Joey: Because it's impossible to find her apartment! She lives in some like of hot girl parallel universe, **or something**. E517

- (35) Ross: I wonder how I would react under fire, y'know? And not backfire but-but heavy fire, like I was in a war **or something**. E520
- (36) Chandler: Uh, are you crazy? Are you insane? If you live with Phoebe, you two are gonna be y'know, live-living together!
Gary: Yeah, I-I considered that. I just know it would make me happy.
Chandler: You mean scared.
Gary: No, I mean happy.
Chandler: Scared? Happy?
Gary: Chandler, what-what are you doing?
Chandler: I am trying to open your eyes, my man! Don't you see, if you lived with Phoebe she's always gonna be there. You're gonna get home, she's there. You go to bed, she's there. You wake up and oh yes, she's there!
Gary: I know! I can't wait!
Chandler: Were your parents happy, **or something**? E521
- (37) Rachel: Obviously you know how to haggle, so I'm not gonna try and take you on. Okay? So \$800 and I don't call the cops because you're robbing me blind! Blind! (Covers her eyes) Just take cat, leave the money, and run away! Run away! (Uncovers her eyes and sees that the woman has fled) Damnit! (To the cat) Cat, can't you at least smile **or something**?! (The cat hisses at her again, it sounds like Rachel) Okay, did anybody just hear that? Anybody? E521
- (38) Gunther: (To Ross) Hey! So what is this? Some kind of snake **or something**? E521
- (39) Ross: Ross: Phoebe, are you, are you mad at me, **or something**? 'Cause if are please, tell me what it is I did! E522
- (40) Phoebe: (To Joey) How could you pick up a hitchhiker?! He could be a rape--(She holds her hand in front of the hitchhiker's face), a rapist or a killer **or something**!
Joey: Don't you think I asked him that before he got in?! E601
- (41) Monica: It's okay. Chandler, are you afraid of me **or something**?
Chandler: Do you want me to be afraid of you?
Monica: Of course not. E607
- (42) Joey: Hey. Uh, can I talk to you for a second? This, uh, kid in this picture. Do you, uh, know this kid? Is that like a relative **or something**?
Janine: No, I just thought it was cute. E608
- (43) Joey: Well, this-this-this was great. Didn't everybody have a great time?
Janine: Well I did. I really did. And you guys, I've got to say, I'm sorry if I was a little weird after the last time we went out. I guess I was just nervous **or something**.
Chandler: That's totally understandable. E611
- (44) Rachel: Oh my God! I can not believe that! I mean I don't really like it when Ross goes out with anyone, but my sister isn't that like incest **or something**?! Oh my God, and they're gonna have sex! Oh! Oh no what if he marries her too?! Oh this is just terrible, this is just terrible. E613

- (45)Joey: Oh my God, I'm sorry, I'm being so rude. (Turns to Rachel.) Rachel, would you like a soda **or something**? Because Chandler would run right out and get it.
Rachel: Yeah sure, iced tea would be great. E615
- (46)Joey: No-no! I used to get paid for all kinds of medical stuff, remember? Let's see uh, well I don't want to donate sperm again. (To Ross) I really prefer doing that at the home office y'know? (Ross nods his head.) Ooh-ooh, maybe they want like some of my blood or-or spit **or something**, huh? E617
- (47)Joey: What do you need?
Wayne: I-I-I saw you on stage talking to that beautiful woman, y'know Sarah?
Joey: Yeah?
Wayne: I wish I could talk to her.
Joey: What are you in love with her **or something**?
Wayne: Yeah. Her. All of them. Anyone. E621
- (48)Elizabeth: (quietly) Hey umm, you brought protection right?
Ross: (loudly) Why?! Are there like bears **or something**?! (Looks around and then sees that Elizabeth is shaking her head no and realizes what Elizabeth meant.) Ohh. Oh, protection. Yeah-no, yeah-no, that-that-that I forgot. E622
- (49)Paul: Elizabeth, what are you doing here?! (Motions that he brought Rachel here to be alone with her.)
Rachel: Did-did you come up here to work on that term paper **or something**?
Elizabeth: Yeah! Yep. E622
- (50)Phoebe: Okay. There may be a way that we can get the other ring back. 'Cause I heard the guy tell the jeweler where he was going to propose. So maybe we can get him to trade rings **or something**.
Chandler: I can't do that. E623
- (51)Rachel: Joey, just-just he-he's new in town and I know he doesn't have any guy friends. Just take him to like a ball game **or something**. I'll really appreciate it.
Joey: Yeah, okay. E705
- (52)Phoebe: Does Joey have any idea?
Erin: I really don't think he does. And y'know what? Maybe you guys could help clue him in. Y'know, tell him I'm-I'm not interested in a serious relationship **or something**.
Phoebe: Yeah, you mean like that you're kind of a loner.
Erin: Yeah! That would be great! E707
- (53)Monica: Ross's apartment is nice! How come we don't hang out here more often?
Chandler: I don't know. Maybe it's because it smells a little weird. It's like old pumpkins **or something**.
Monica: That's my pie!
Chandler: Which smells delicious! E708
- (54)Joey: (interrupting her) Can you tell me how this happened?
Rachel: Well no.
Joey: Miracle!

- Rachel: No, y'know what? Maybe somebody came in here and fixed it! **Or something!**
E713
- (55)Chandler: So Joey breaks my chair and I get nothing!
(Joey whispers in Rachel's ear to confirm his response.)
Joey: That's right!
Chandler: What are you guys? Like a gang **or something?**
(They confer again.)
Joey: Yeah! We are! E713
- (56)[Scene: Joey and Rachel's, Phoebe is pouring Rachel some coffee.]
Rachel: Y'know what? I am going to do something today. I'm not just gonna sit around like some old lady. I'm gonna get something pierced. Like my uh, like my nose or my tongue **or something.**
Phoebe: Really?! 'Cause y'know that hurts. E714
- (57)Ross: So Joey umm, you look familiar. Are uh, are you on TV **or something?**
Kristen: Well Joey doesn't like to talk about it but, he's one of the stars of Days Of Our Lives. E717
- (58)Monica: (from the bedroom) Don't come in here!
Chandler: Why? Do you have another boyfriend in there **or something?**
Monica: No! We only mess around at his place!
Chandler: Y'know it's funny I started it but, now it's scaring me. So could you come out here please? E717
- (59)Helena: Well I wouldn't miss it for the world. Oh! I'm getting all misty here! You'd think I was having my legs waxed **or something.** (Goes back on stage.) E722
- (60)Rachel: Umm... I'm never gonna getting married!
Monica: Yeah you will! The right guy is just around the corner! Okay, are we done with that?
Rachel: No Monica! I'm serious! Oh, maybe I should just forget about it. Become a lesbian **or something.**
Monica: Any woman would be lucky to have ya. E723
- (61)Will: Nope. Uh, it's okay. It's just uh, God I hated her.
Monica: What?
Will: Yeah, I hated her. She was horrible to me in high school. But hey, it was a long time ago, I'm in a good place, it might be actually fun to see her again. You got any cakes or cookies **or something?** (Starts looking.) No Will no! E809
- (62)Rachel: Well, y'know what? I go see my doctor tomorrow, I'll ask her about this. Maybe she can give me a pill **or something.**
Phoebe: Yeah. Yeah, that's what you need a good...pill. E811
- (63)Chandler: Oh uh well tomorrow's no good for her either.
Doug: Oh? Why not?
Chandler: It's the semi-finals...of her...botchy ball tournament.
Doug: What's going on Bing? Does uh, your wife have a problem with me **or something?**

- Chandler: Well now-now you're just talking crazy. E811
- (64)Monica: Well, you just—you put a quarter in and y'know pull-pull some handles and win like a candy bar **or something**.
- Chandler: A vending machine? E812
- (65)Chandler: No-no-no, if you unplug it, I'll have nothing to show for my day! It would be like I was at work. (She unplugs it.) No! (And plugs it back in.) Hey look at that! Look at that, it's still there! This thing must have some kind of primitive ROM (Read Only Memory, it's a memory chip.) Chip in it **or something**! E812
- (66)Phoebe: So do you want to hang out **or something**?
- Monica: Phoebe! You kinda caught me at a bad time. E814
- (67)Joey: Oh now—Hey Ross-Ross! Do you wanna-wanna come in for a beer **or something**?
- Ross: Uh...yeah sure. (Enters.) E816
- (68)Monica: (Enters) Okay, it's baby time. Pants off Bing. (Sees Ross) Didn't see you there Geller.
- Chandler: Yeah, Ross is here so...
- Ross: Yeah, and I was really hoping that I could hang out. What do you feel like doing?
- Monica: We're gonna have sex.
- Ross: I don't feel like having sex. Maybe we can watch a movie **or something**.
- Monica: Let me put it this way. We're having sex whether you're here or not.
- Ross: Pants off Bing! E911
- (69)Joey: "I can't. Oh, I want to, long pause, but I can't."
- Lennart: I'm sorry, sorry. You're not supposed to say "long pause"
- Joey: (understandingly) Oh, oh, I thought that was your character's name, you know, I thought you were like an Indian **or something**, you know with a... (He mimes wearing a feather on his head [and riding a horse]) E915
- (70)Monica: Oh my God! Kyle Lowder!
- Kyle Lowder: (to Monica) Hi. (walks on)
- Monica: (Yells after him) I love you!
- Joey: Hey, that's why I didn't invite you. You have to calm down, alright... go, go get yourself a drink **or something**...
- Monica: Oh yeah that's what you want - my inhibitions lowered. E920
- (71)Precious: I'm not letting you leave until you tell me what's going on here. I mean, are you guys getting back together **or something**?
- Phoebe: Alright... Susie, can I call you Susie? E1001
- (72)Colleen: You told him he's adopted?
- Chandler: I'm so sorry, but you should have a sign out there **or something**. Or at least whisper it to people when they come in the door. "Owen doesn't know he's adopted, and he also thinks that Santa is real."
- Owen: He isn't?!
- Chandler (to Monica): We have to get out of here, baby! E1002

(73)Ross: You know, sometimes when I'm alone in my apartment, I look over here and you guys... are just having dinner or... watching TV **or something**, but... it makes me feel better. And now when I look over, who am I gonna see? The Gottliebs, the Yangs? They don't make me feel so good. (Joey pats Ross on his back)
Rachel: Yeah. So don't move, okay? Just stay here and... (nods towards Ross) maybe close your blinds at night. E1010

or what

(74)Janice: So, do we have the best friends **or what**?
Chandler: Joey's not a friend. He's...a stupid man who left us his credit card. Another drink? Some dessert? A big screen TV? E114
(75)Joey: I don't know whether it's just 'cause we're breakin' up **or... what**, but you have never looked so beautiful.
Phoebe: Really? E117
(76)Rachel: Monica, Monica, look at this lamp. (She's holding a lamp made from seashells.)
Is this tacky **or what**? We have to have this.
Monica: Rache, I think we have enough regular lamps. E203
(77)Chandler: (on phone) I'm back.
Jade: So, are we gonna get together **or what**?
Chandler: Um, absolutely. Uh, how 'bout tomorrow afternoon? Do you know uh, Central Perk in the Village, say, five-ish?
Jade: Great, I'll see you then. E205
(78)Eddie: [annoying laugh] Is this guy great **or what**?
Joey: Yeah, yeah he is. [leaves] E217
(79)Monica: (on machine) "Hi, it's Monica. I'm just checking in 'cause I got this message from you and I didn't know if it was old or new **or what**, so, I'm just checkin'. So let me know, or don't, whatever. I'm breezy." E302
(80)Monica: Are we playing football **or what**? Come on you hairy-backed Marries. E309
(81)Kathy: Ohh, God, guys, check it out, you can see that girl's underwear!
Joey: Is she great **or what**?
Kathy: (to Chandler) So? Huh? What do you think? E405
(82)Rachel: Ohh, it's gonna be so great! I'm gonna get to help decide what we sell, I'm gonna have an office with walls and everything. (turns to Monica) I'm gonna have walls!
Phoebe: Okay, is this the day of good news **or what**? I got us a job! The wedding reception.
Monica: Ohh! Umm, Phoebe, I kinda need to talk to you about that. (Rachel excuses herself) Umm, well I-I-I think it might be time for me to take a step back from catering. E409
(83)Phoebe: Nobody! Nobody respects the bucket! You wouldn't believe what people put in here! Look! (Hands it to Monica.) Okay, does this look like a garbage can to you?

Monica: No.

...

Ross: So Pheebs, are you gonna go back out there **or what?**

Phoebe: Well, yeah! But I'm not gonna take anymore crap. Okay? No more Mrs. Nice Bucket! E510

(84)(They both walk off the court.)

Monica: Am I on fire today **or what?!** Those birds are browned, basted, and ready to be carved!

Chandler: Okay, easy Martina. I think we should let them win the next game. E512

(85)Chandler: Let me see the earrings.

Monica: Oh, honey, the earrings...

Chandler: (looking at them) They look great! Does your boyfriend have the best taste **or what?**

Monica: My boyfriend really does have good taste! E519

(86)Joey: No-no-no, please-please Chandler I-I-I would owe you so much!

Chandler: You do owe me so much. You owe me three thousand, four hundred...

Joey: Hey-hey dude, why are you changing the subject? Why? Will you make the call **or what?**

Chandler: Oh okay, I'll-I'll try. E618

(87)[Scene: Joey and Rachel's, Chandler is playing Playstation as Joey enters from his room desperately trying to look like a 19-year-old. He's got the wool cap, he's got the cut-off Knicks jersey over the faded T-shirt, and he's got the whole pants-around-the-knees-showing-off-the-boxers thing that rich, white, suburban kids have adopted in a desperate and extremely futile attempt to try to look like they're from the inner-city.]

Joey: 'Sup? 'Sup dude?

Chandler: (putting his hands up) Take whatever you want, just please don't hurt me.

Joey: So you're playing a little Playstation, huh? That's whack! Playstation is whack! 'Sup with the whack Playstation, 'sup?! Huh? Come on, am I 19 **or what?!**

Chandler: Yes, on a scale from 1 to 10, 10 being the dumbest a person can look, you are definitely 19. E701

(88)Ross: Thanks. (Phoebe gets up to get a refill.) (To Monica) Oh! So for tomorrow, do you want to rent a car and drive down together **or what?**

Monica: What are you talking about?

Ross: Cousin Frannie's wedding, it's tomorrow night.

Monica: You were invited?! E711

(89)Monica: (entering) Oh my God! You are gonna love me so much! I felt really bad about the whole bachelorette party thing, so tonight you're gonna have a bachelor party.

Chandler: What?

Monica: Yeah, I got this number from this guy at work and I hired a stripper to come dance for you. Am I going in the wife hall of fame **or what?!**

Chandler: Honey! That's crazy! I don't want you to get me a stripper... E808

or anything

(90)Rachel: Okay, Pheebs, can I ask? So, he's going out with her. I mean, is it really so terrible?

Phoebe: Um, yeah. Look, I mean, I'm not saying she's like evil **or anything**...she just, you know, she's always breaking my stuff. When I was eight, and I wouldn't let her have my Judy Jetson thermos, so she threw it under the bus. And then, oh, and then there was Randy Brown, who was like... Have you ever had a boyfriend who was like your best friend?

Monica and Rachel: (Wistfully, shaking their heads) No.

...

Phoebe: I mean, I know Joey is not my boyfriend, or my thermos...[y'know] **or anything**, but...

Chandler: You're not gonna lose him.

E116

(91)second occurrence above

(92)Ross: You're sure? Nobody uh, handed out uh, mints **or anything**?

Rachel: No, it was just the three of us. E122

(93)Rachel: Monica, Monica, look at this lamp. (She's holding a lamp made from seashells.) Is this tacky or what? We have to have this.

Monica: Rache, I think we have enough regular lamps.

Rachel: What? Come on, it's not like I'm asking for this girlie clock **or anything**, which, by the way, I also think is very cool. (It's a girl in a bikini and pasties standing behind an alarm clock.)

Monica: It doesn't go with any of my stuff. E203

(94)Monica: Well, we don't really have to decide anything right now, do we?

Dr. Burke: No, no, there's no rush **or anything**. E215

(95)Chandler: Well I didn't think that was serious. [grabs the spoons back] Ya know I thought that was just a fight.

Joey: Well, it was a fight. . . based on serious stuff, remember[?] About how I never lived alone **or anything**[?] I just think it would be good for me, ya know, help me to grow **or . . . whatever**.

Chandler: Well, there you go. E216

(96)Joey: Okay. All right. You look me in the eye and tell me, without blinking, that you're not breaking up with her. No blinking.

Chandler: (looks him in the eye) I'm not breaking up with her! (they stare at each other for a while, then Joey blows in his face)

...

Joey: (entering) They're not breaking up. Chandler and Janice. They're not breaking up. He didn't blink **or anything**. E301

(97)Ross: We're all alone in an empty apartment.

- Rachel: Honey, come on, I have to be at work in like ten minutes (Ross starts kissing her neck) Oh, all right, well it's not like I'm employee of the year **or anything**. E303
- (98)Phoebe: Okay. (on phone) Ooh, I'm setting the phone down. (does so) But I'm still here! Just don't go anywhere I'm still here. (starts to put on the sweater) Don't-don't switch **or anything**, 'cause I'm, I'm right here. (She has pulled the sweater over her head, but her head is stuck in a sleeve.) Just one sec. One sec! One second!! (She is now frantically trying to get the sweater on, as Monica returns from the bathroom.) Wait! One second! Just... E322
- (99)Doug: Of course, you did. Forgot something else too ya bastard! (smacks him on the butt) (to Chandler) Well, what about you? You're not feeling left out **or anything** are ya?
Chandler: No. No, not at all, that's-that's ridiculous.
Doug: Everybody else got one, and you want one too. Don't you?
Chandler: Ye-ye-yeah, yes I do! E324
- (100)Phoebe: But, it's not like we're losing anything. Y'know?
Phoebe Sr.: Yeah, I guess you're right.
Phoebe: It's not like we-we know each other **or anything** or that [we] have anything in common.
Phoebe Sr.: Well, I don't know. I mean it's not like we don't have anything in common. I mean I like uh, pizza.
Phoebe: I-I like pizza! E401
- (101)Ross: Look, I gotta go pick up Ben. Everything so far sounds great Joey, just remember to keep it on the mellow side, okay? Just a couple of guys hanging out playing poker, no-no strippers **or anything** okay?
Joey: You got it. E422
- (102)Monica: Well, an-anyway, I just-that night meant a lot to me, I guess I'm just trying to say thanks.
Chandler: Oh. Y'know, that night meant a lot to me too, and it wasn't because I was in a bad place **or anything**, it just meant a lot to me 'cause, you're really hot! Is that okay?
Monica: (laughs) That's okay. E423
- (103)Monica: Hey, Joey's ass! What are you doing?
Joey: (holding a box) Well, remember when they got in that big fight and broke up and we were all stuck in here with no food **or anything**? Well, when Ross said Rachel at the wedding, I figured it was gonna happen again, so I hid this in here.
Monica: Ooh, candy bars, crossword puzzles... E505
- (104)Joey: Don't worry, there wasn't any sex in it **or anything**. I haven't dreamt about her like that since I found out about you two--ish. E516
- (105)Phoebe: (starts to walk away, but stops) Don't try to call him **or anything**, 'cause he's not there, he's out. His umm, his partner just died. E516
- (106)Ross: Okay, okay, I'll tell 'em it wasn't Chandler who got high. Now who should I say it was?
Monica: You! It's not like it's a big deal! You-you don't still do it **or anything**!

- Ross: Alright, alright, now-now who should I say tricked me into doing it? E609
- (107)Chandler: Y'know when you guys said you were gonna go across the hall and look, you don't, you don't do that every year do you?
- Rachel: Yeah.
- Chandler: You don't, like go into the back of my closet, and look under my gym bag **or anything**?
- Phoebe and Rachel: No, we never do that. (They turn away.) E610
- (108)Monica: So it's okay to date a student.
- Ross: Well, not really. I mean technically it's-it's not against the rules **or anything**, but it is frowned upon. Especially by that professor we ran into last night, Judgey von Holiertanthou. E618
- (109)Phoebe: So what do you guys want for an engagement present?
- Chandler: That's okay Pheeb, we're not having a party **or anything**, so you don't have to get us...
- Monica: (interrupts him) If someone wants to give us a present, we don't want to deprive them of that joy. E703
- (110)David: Uh, I-I-I was hoping to run into you here. I didn't know whether I should call or not, y'know I-I was only in town for a few days. And y'know, I didn't want to intrude on your life **or-or anything like that**, but I-I really wanted to see you and—but I didn't know if you wanted to see me.
- Phoebe: Well, of course I would want to see you. I...I think about you all the time. E711
- (111)Jessica Ashley: (shocked) Oh my God! I won! Do you have any idea what this means?! (She rolls her eyes and throws it onto the couch.)
- Joey: Well, that-that-that's it? You're [not] gonna, you're [not] gonna put it on your shelf **or anything**?
- Jessica Ashley: No, I try to save that for real awards. Now, if you'll excuse me. (She exits.) E718
- (112)Phoebe: Feel better?
- Joey: Yeah! Much! Listen uh, not that I'm y'know insecure about my manhood **or anything** y'know, but I think I need to hook up with a woman like right now.
- Phoebe: Yeah, I understand. E722
- (113)Amy: Listen, I was just thinking. You know what would be incredible? If you guys died!
- Ross: Thank you Amy!
- Amy: No, no, then I would get the baby! I mean you know, it'd be just like a movie, like at first I wouldn't know what to do with her, then I would rise to the occasion, and then I get a make-over and then I get married?
- Phoebe(Clapping): That's a great movie! (Joey nods along)
- Amy: Now listen, not that you guys could stop me **or anything**, cos you know, you'd be dead. But, I was thinking about changing her name...I'm just not really a big fan of Emily.
- Ross: Emma. E908

- (114)Mike: OK, I don't want to freak you out **or anything**, but I think I just saw a rat in your cupboard.
Phoebe: (relieved) Oh, whew, no, that's Bob. E912
- (115)Monica: Oh sweetie, I'm so proud of you!
Chandler: Does that mean I get the good loving tonight?
Monica: You bet! No TV **or anything**! E918
- (116)Joey: (talking to a pineapple in his hand) God, you're beautiful...why are we fighting this? You know you want it to happen as much as I do.
(Rachel comes out of her room and starts staring at him unseen)
Joey: I want you. I need you. Let me make love to you.
Rachel: I don't wanna stand in the way of true love **or anything**, but I think a canelope might hurt less.
Joey: Oh, ehm...I'm...I'm rehearsing my lines. E919
- (117)Ross: What... what you working on?
Joey: (using a laptop) Oh, Monica and Chandler's recommendation. I want it to sound smart but.. I don't know any big words **or anything**, so...
Ross: Why don't you use your Thesaurus?
Joey: What did I just say? E1005
- (118)Ross: Oh, I'm so excited, I mean, apparently I beat out hundreds of other applicants, included five guys I went to graduate school with. Not that I'm keeping score **or anything**... five!
Charlie: Wow, that's great! So, tell me about the grant! E1006

or whatever

- (119)Joey: Well, it was a fight. . . based on serious stuff, remember. About how I never lived alone or anything. I just think it would be good for me, ya know, help me to grow **or . . . whatever**. E216
- (120)Ross: No! No! Look–Hey, enough is enough! Look, I am sorry that you feel guilty **or whatever** about spending time with your new mom, but this is not your old mom. This is a cat! Okay, Julio the cat! Not mom! Cat! E402
- (121)Monica: I'm fine now, but it was really scary there for a while. I mean, someone slipped a-a threatening note under the door.
Joey: (with his mouth full) Oh yeah, sorry about that. Mob mentality **or whatever**, I don't know... (Grabs the note.) E709
- (122)Phoebe: (To Rachel) Shhh! I'm on a call! (On phone) Umm well yeah, you can pick it up tonight, say 8:30? At-at my apartment. It's umm, it's umm 5 Morton Street, Apartment 14, umm and then maybe y'know after we can grab a bite to eat **or whatever**. (Listens) Okay, well okay I'll see you then. (Listens) Bye. (Hangs up.) E715
- (123)Phoebe: Hey, that's not fair! A person's wedding is important! And especially to me! Ok? I didn't have a graduation party! And I didn't go to Prom. And I spent my sweet

sixteen being chased round a tire yard by an escaped mental patient who in his own words wanted to “kill me” **or whatever**. So I deserve a real celebration and I am not gonna let some sweaty little man make me feel badly about it.(She storms out) E1007

or so

(124)Ross: (reading from a notepad) I mean, we’ve been accepting Leakey’s dates as a given, but if they’re off by even a hundred thousand years **or so** then you can - you can just throw most of our assumptions, you know, right in the trash. (he throws the notepad in the waste bin) So-so what I am saying is - is is that (he picks the notepad back from the waste bin) is that the repercussions could be huge! I mean, not just in paleontology, but if-if you think about it, in evolutionary biology, uh, genetics, geology, uh, I mean, truly the mind boggles! E922

and everything

(125)Rachel: (on phone) Hi, Mindy. Hi, it-it’s Rachel. Yeah, I’m fine. I-I saw Barry today. Oh, yeah, yeah he-he told me. No, no, it’s okay. I hope you two are very happy, I really do. Oh, oh, and Mind, y’know, if-if everything works out, and you guys end up getting married and having kids- **and everything**- I just hope they have his old hairline and your old nose. (Slams the phone down.) (To everyone) Okay, I know it was a cheap shot, but I feel so much better now. E102

(126)Chandler: Well, she seems very nice **and everything**, but that whole thing about her coming all the way down here, just to see if I was okay? I mean,... how needy is that? (They all groan and hit him..) E120

(127)Mrs Green: [laughing] You have some life here, sweetie.

Rachel: I know. And Mom, I realize you and Daddy were upset when I didn’t marry Barry and get the big house in the suburbs with all the security **and everything**, but this is just so much better for me, you know? E211

(128)Carol: My parents called this afternoon to say they weren’t coming.

Ross: Oh my god.

Carol: I mean, I knew they were having trouble with this whole thing, but they’re my parents. They’re supposed to give me away **and everything**.

Ross: It’s ok. I’m sorry. E211

(129)Estelle: Don’t worry about it already. Things happen.

Joey: So, you’re not mad at me for getting fired **and everything**?

Estelle: Joey, look at me, look at me. Do I have lipstick on my teeth?

Joey: No, can we get back to me? E219

(130)Monica: I meant, why don’t you take Richard to the game? What?

Joey: I don’t know.

Monica: C’mon. Keeps his fingers to himself and he’s always minty fresh.

- Chandler: I don't know, Richard's really nice **and everything**, uh, it's just that we don't know him really well, ya know, and plus he's, ya know, old [Monica gives him a glare] - er than some people, but, uh, younger than some buildings. E220
- (131)Rachel: Ok, we can do this now, can't we Ben? Yes we can, yes we can. [finishes the diaper] There. I did it. I did it. Look at that, oh, stays on **and everything**. Hi. E220
- (132)Rachel: Pheebs, this guy has been obsessed with your sister, for God knows how long, okay, you don't just give up something like that.
Phoebe: Look, he gave me his night vision goggles **and everything**.
Ross: You're taking the word of a guy who has night vision goggles? E303
- (133)Rachel: Well, so, now, do you guys have a lot of big plans?
Phoebe: Oh yeah! Yeah, no, we're gonna connect, y'know bond, **and everything**.
Frank: Yeah, I was thinking that maybe we could go down to Time Square and pick up some ninja stars. And, oh, um, my friend Larry, he wants me to take a picture of a hooker. E305
- (134)Rachel: Ohh, it's gonna be so great! I'm gonna get to help decide what we sell, I'm gonna have an office with walls **and everything**. (turns to Monica) I'm gonna have walls!
Phoebe: Okay, is this the day of good news or what? I got us a job! The wedding reception. E409
- (135)Phoebe: Oh, I get a puppy!!
Phoebe Sr: Well, yeah! I mean yeah, but only for three days.
Phoebe: Why?
Phoebe Sr: I realise I don't have any right to start get all parenty on you **and everything** now, but umm, (Sees that Phoebe isn't paying attention and is busy mimicking the puppy.) uhh... Phoebe, would you please look at me and not the puppy, it's very important.
Phoebe: Okay. E411
- (136)Monica: Okay, look, I-I have enough stuff for one more sandwich, I mean I was going to eat it myself, but (motions that he can have it.)
Ross: (quietly) That-that would be incredible. Thank you so much. I-I still can't believe someone ate it!! I mean, look, I left a note **and everything**.
(Shows the note to Chandler who reads it aloud.) E509
- (137)Phoebe: Wait, you can't take the money out.
The Man: I'm making change. I need change for the bus.
Phoebe: But, can't you leave the dollar? This money is for the poor.
The Man: I'm poor! I gotta take the bus!
Phoebe: Okay, Seasons Greetings **and everything**, but still...
The Man: Bite me, blondie! (The man storms off.) E510
- (138)Chandler: Look, I just don't think Monica and I are ready to get married yet! Y'know? I mean, I love her **and everything** but seeing Ross and Rachel coming out of that chapel was like a, like a wake-up call that Monica and I are moving so fast. Y'know? And, how do I tell her without crushing her? E601

- (139)Ross: Yeah but, on the bright side, we get to be roommates again.
 Rachel: Yeah. Y’know umm, uh, umm, about that, umm, Ross I really appreciate your offer to let me move in **and everything**, but don’t you think it’s gonna be weird?
 Ross: Wh-why?! Why-why-why would it, why would it be weird? E603
- (140)Rachel: What? (Joey starts offering Ross some turkey.) Oh y’know what? Can we please keep the chicken and the turkey **and everything** on the other side of the table? The smell is just yuck! E809
- (141)Ross: Not just Janice, Janice in labor, contracting **and everything**. E823
- (142)Ross: Bye! Hey, I hope Emma isn’t making it too hard on you.
 Joey: No, hey, it’s been great.
 Ross: Yeah?
 Joey: Yeah. And look, I just want you to know that with Rachel staying here **and everything**, all my feelings from before are totally over, okay? And even if they weren’t, when you accidentally walk in on a woman using a breast pump...
 Ross: Yeah, that’ll do it. E914
- (143)Chandler: Yes! You want babies! You have baby fever!
 Monica: I do not have baby fever!
 Chandler: Oh please, you are obsessed with babies and-and marriage **and everything** that’s related to babies and-and marriage! I’ve got an idea, why don’t we turn down the heat on this pressure cooker?! E515

and stuff

- (144)Rachel: ...Jack from downstairs?
 Phoebe: No, Jack and the Beanstalk.
 Monica: Ah, the other Jack.
 Phoebe: Yeah, right! See, he gave up something, but then he got those magic beans. And then he woke up, and there was this, this big plant outside his window, full of possibilities **and stuff**.. And he lived in a village, and you live in the Village.. E104
- (145)Chandler: I’d like to propose a toast. Little toast here, ding ding. I know this isn’t the kind of Thanksgiving that all of you all planned, but for me, this has been really great, you know, I think because it didn’t involve divorce or projectile vomiting. Anyway, I was just thinking, I mean, if you’d gone to Vail, and if you guys’d been with your family, if you didn’t have syphilis **and stuff**, we wouldn’t be all together, you know? So I guess what I’m trying to say is that I’m very thankful that all of your Thanksgivings sucked. E109
- (146)Rachel: Oh, I would love some. But y’know what? Y’know what? Let’s not drink it here. I’m feeling kinda crazy. You wanna go to Newark?
 Ross: Uh, okay, yeah, we could do that, but before we head off to the murder capital of the North-East, I was, uh, kinda wanting to run something by you. Y’know how we were, uh, y’know, talking before about, uh, relationships **and stuff**? (Uncorks the wine) Well-

- Rachel: Oh God, Ross, I cannot do this. E119
- (147)Waiter: And for the gentleman?
Joey: Yeah, I'll have the Thai chicken pizza. But, hey, look, if I get it without the nuts and leeks **and stuff**, is it cheaper?
Waiter: You'd think, wouldn't you? Miss? E205
- (148)Monica: Guys, we bought the tickets.
Phoebe: Oh, well, then you'll have extra seats y'know, for all your tiaras **and stuff**.
Chandler: (to Phoebe) Why did you look at me when you said that? E205
- (149)Chandler: All right, check out this bad boy. 12 megabytes of ram. 500 megabyte hard drive. Built-in spreadsheet capabilities and a modem that transmits at over 28,000 b.p.s.
Phoebe: Wow. What are you gonna use it for?
Chandler: [doggedly] Games **and stuff**.
Monica: [reading the paper] There are no jobs. There are no jobs for me. E208 (*joke, topic changes*)
- (150)Joey: When I was little, I wanted to be a veterinarian, but then I found out you had to put your hands into cows **and stuff**.
[Ross enters, depressed.]
Ross: [sullenly] Hiiiiii. E210
- (151)Ross: Ahh, oh that's OK, I mean, he's probably got, you know, parties to go to **and stuff**. But, ya know, he's moved on. Hey, that, that's the way it goes right. E212
- (152)Frank: Hey, what kind of work do you do?
Phoebe: Oh! I'm a masseuse. I give people massages **and stuff**.
Frank: You-you work at one of those massage parlors? E305
- (153)Joey: Oh, yeah, that. All right, means that much to ya, I'll let you have her.
Chandler: Thanks. What, let me have her?! What do mean? Like if you didn't I wouldn't have a shot?
Joey: Well I don't like to say it out loud, but, yeah! Don't feel bad man, we all have our strengths. You're better with numbers **and stuff**.
Chandler: Math!! You're giving me math! E309
- (154)Chandler: Hey, you have nothing but talk about her for the last 48 hours! If you were in a school yard you'd be pulling her pigtails and pushing her down now!
Joey: Oh, yeah?! Then how come I keep thinking about her in all these sexual scenarios **and stuff** huh?! E319
- (155)Chandler: Yeah, it's two guys in a ring, and the rules are: "There are no rules."
Monica: So you can like, bite, and pull people's hair **and stuff**?
Ross: Yeah, anything goes, except ah, eye gouging and fish hooking. E324
- (156)Phoebe: There you go, that's the spirit! Okay! Now, if you need money, I will lend you money, but just get moving!
Monica: Really? Cause I'd need like \$500 for all the food and the supplies **and stuff**.
Phoebe: Okay! It's worth it, if it will get you moving. You haven't worked in months. E406

- (157)Ross: Yeah, I'm gonna stay and read my book. I just wanna be alone right now.
Joey: Oh. Are you sure you don't want to come? Tom Hanks, Meg Ryan, they get mail **and stuff**.
Ross: That's okay, Joe. E512
- (158)Monica: Man, I knew it! I knew you were going to do this!!
Chandler: What?!
Monica: Get all freaked out because everybody was talking and just joking around about marriage **and stuff**.
Chandler: Well, you do want all that stuff, right? E515
- (159)Monica: Or, it could mean that-that you saw Chandler and me together and we y'know were being close **and stuff** and then you just want to have that with someone too.
Joey: In the dream I did enjoy the closeness. E516
- (160)Joey: Pheebs, I am so sorry! I know I promised you a fun road trip with your friend and I didn't deliver. But-but-but now I know that you think being awake is an important part of friendship! So, so, so I will strive to-to stay awake for as long as I know you.
Phoebe: You can still [like] sleep at night **and stuff**.
Joey: Thank you. E601
- (161)Chandler: (entering) Oh hey Rachel, sweetheart? You have got to tell the post office that you have moved. Okay? We are still getting all your bills **and stuff**. (Hands her all of her bills **and stuff**.) E611
- (162)Monica: Maybe Joey doesn't have to give you the money, TV stars have assistants right?
Joey: That's an idea! (To Chandler) Hey, if I hired an assistant, would-would you take money from her?
Monica: No Joey! Chandler could be your assistant! See, he could answer all of your fan mail **and stuff**!
Joey: That's great! That would be great! Let's do that! E615
- (163)Monica: Oh, you're so sweet. (They hug and kiss.) Oh, but wait, what about our, what about the future **and stuff**?
Chandler: Eh, forget about the future **and stuff**! So we only have two kids, y'know? We'll pick our favorite and that one will get to go to college.
Monica: You thought about that?
Chandler: Yeah.
Monica: How many kids were we gonna have?
Chandler: Uh, four, a boy, twin girls and another boy.
Monica: What else did you think about?
Chandler: Well, stuff like where'd we live, y'know? Like a small place outside the city, where our kids could learn to ride their bikes **and stuff**. E702
- (164)second occurrence above
(165)third occurrence above

- (166) Rachel: (startled) Ahh, hi! Hi! Melissa, what's up? I'm just uh, about to umm, go out to the store to get some stuff to put in my backpack. Y'know, like dried fruit and granola **and stuff**. What's up? (She has put on the backpack.)
Melissa: Umm, is Tag here? E705
- (167) Mr. Geller: Well, I used your boxes to divert water away from the Porsche.
Monica: So wait, Ross's stuff is fine, but I have no memories because you wanted to keep the bottom two inches of your car away from water!!!
Mr. Geller: There was also leaves and guk **and stuff**.
Monica: I can't believe this! (Storms out.) E713
- (168) Phoebe: Oo! You should have one of us do it!
Monica: Phoebe, we're getting married, married; not sixth grade married.
Phoebe: No! No! It's-it's uh a real thing! Anyone can get ordained on the Internet and perform like weddings **and stuff**!
Monica: Are you serious? E716
- (169) Phoebe: It's amazing! My headache is completely gone! What are those pills called?
Monica: Hexadrin. (She gets the box out of her purse.)
Phoebe: Oh, I love you Hexadrin! (She kisses the box.) Oh look! It comes with a story! (She pulls out the instructions and side effects paper.)
Monica: No Phoebe, those are like the side effects **and stuff**.
Phoebe: Say what?
Monica: Y'know, the possible side effects. E716
- (170) Lewis: Professor Geller?
Ross: (turning towards him) Yes Mr. Lewis, how can I help you?
Lewis: I know I didn't do well on my midterms **and stuff** but, I was kinda hoping you could change my grade.
Ross: And why exactly would I do that? (Goes back to writing on the board.)
Lewis: Because I'm in love with you.
Ross: (turning around and dragging the chalk down the board) What?!
Lewis: Yeah, I'm all...in love with you **and stuff**. So could you change my grade?
Ross: No! E718
- (171) second occurrence above
- (172) Richard: Could you uh, could you lower your script? I need to see your face so I can uh, play off your reaction.
Joey: Okay uh, look I know you're a great actor, okay? And you play all those Shakespeare guys **and stuff**...
Richard: Oh, thanks.
Joey: But you're spittin' all over me man! E723
- (173) Chandler: You really want to take me?
Joey: Yeah! Yeah! I mean I'm sorry, I wish I can take everybody, but y'know Chandler always supported my career. He's paid for acting classes and head shots **and stuff** and well this will be my way of paying you back.

Chandler: So you're never actually going to pay me back? E822
(174)Ross: You wanna know how she knew him? (He points at Phoebe) Because Phoebe used to mug people.
Monica: (shocked) Seriously?
Phoebe: Well, I'm not proud of it, but, you know... sometimes when I was living on the street and I needed money for food **and stuff** I...
Monica: (disapproving) Phoebe, that is awful! E915
(175)Monica: So, what are we gonna do today?
Mike: They have a game room downstairs! Ping pong **and stuff**.
Monica: (pleasantly surprised) Ping pong? (to Chandler) Honey, they have ping pong! Let's play! E923

and all

(176)Mrs. Geller: (to Monica) Your grandmother would have hated this.
Monica: Well, sure, what with it being her funeral **and all**. E108
(177)Joey: Hey, look, since we're neighbors **and all**, what do you say we uh, get together for a drink? E206
(178)Estelle: Stop saying you're not talented, you're very talented. It's just with the bird dead **and all**, there's very little act left. Oh, honey, give me a break, will ya? [a knock on the door] Oooh, ooh, I'll talk to you later. E210
(179)Ross: I don't get it, he seemed so happy to see me yesterday.
Trainer: Hey don't take it personal, he's under a lot of pressure, ya know, starring in a movie **and all**. E212
(180)(The chick and the duck walk into the living room.)
Chandler: All right look, if you're not gonna stay for me, then at least stay for them! Okay, they have had a very difficult year! What with the robbery **and all**!
Joey: When that guy was robbing us, and I was locked in the entertainment unit for like six hours, you know what I was doing in there all that time? I was thinking about how I let you down! E408
(181)Joey: I'm sorry Pheebs, I just, y'know, I just wanted to do a good deed. Like-like you did with the babies.
Phoebe: This isn't a good deed, you just wanted to get on TV! This is totally selfish.
Joey: Whoa! Whoa! Whoa! What about you, having those babies for your brother? Talk about selfish!
Phoebe: What-what are you talking about?!
Joey: Well, yeah, it was a really nice thing **and all**, but it made you feel really good right?
Phoebe: Yeah. So?
Joey: It made you feel good, so that makes it selfish. Look, there's no unselfish good deeds, sorry. E504
(182)Monica: Well that is great. And seriously, she seems very nice.

Ross: Thanks. I know you guys like to give me a hard time **and all**, but it really means a lot to me that you like her. Just knowing that you guys are... E619

and all that

(183)Rachel: Oh, well, actually we were just talking about me not going to Ross's wedding.

Phoebe: Oh!

Rachel: It just might be too hard, given the history **and all that**... E422

and all your weird relationship commitment crap

(184)Monica: Have you lost your mind? Chandler, this isn't about me! This is about you **and all your weird relationship commitment crap**! E515

and the whole massage thing

(185)Chandler: (coming all the way in) Listen, I just wanted to apologize about this afternoon **and the whole massage thing**. Y'know? I-I really like 'em. E513

blah blah blah

(186)Phoebe: He said that, um, he understands how sex can be like, a very emotional thing for a woman and he was just afraid that I was gonna get all, y'know, like, 'ohh, is he gonna call me the next day' and, y'know, 'where is this going' and, ya know, **blah-la-la-la-la**. So he said he wanted to hold off until he was prepared to be really serious. E207

(187)The Director: (entering carrying a newspaper) Here we go people! (starts reading the review) Boxing Day! The Lucille Lortel Theatre, **blah-la-la-la**... Ah-ha! Joey Tribianni, gives an uneven performance, but Mr. Tribianni is not the worst thing in this production. E322

(188)Monica: Yeah, I mean yeah, I look great. Yeah, I feel great and yeah, my heart is not in trouble anymore! **Blah, blah, blah!** Y'know I still don't feel like I got him back, y'know? I just want to humiliate him. I wanna, I want him to be like naked and then I'm going to point at him and laugh! E508