

GENERAL EXTENDER USE IN SOUTHERN MANITOBAN AND FILIPINO-WINNIPEGGER SPEECH*

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1. Introduction and Background

General Extenders are a widely-studied sociolinguistic variable due to their rich variety and different uses by various communities. General extenders (GE) are expressions at the end of a phrase or clause which usually begin with the conjunction *and* or *or* plus Noun Phrase, in order to extend complete utterances without specific reference, such as *and stuff*, *and everything* and *or something* (Overstreet 2005). Other terms used to refer to expressions of this kind include ‘set marking tags’ (Dines 1980), ‘extension particles’ (Dubois 1992), but ‘general extenders’ is used here (Overstreet 1999, Overstreet 2005, Cheshire 2007, Tagliamonte and Denis 2010). GEs can be grouped into two types: those beginning with *and*, called ‘adjunctive general extenders’ as in (1)-(2), and those beginning with *or*, called ‘disjunctive general extenders’ as in (3) (Overstreet 2005:1847).

- (1) I don’t know. I guess like Filipino, but then for government forms *and stuff*, I’m Canadian. (MB-uf020.53).¹
- (2) When you go that far, it should be a month, then we could do a tour *and everything*. (MB-uf010.37).
- (3) And, it was like a Nunavut project *or something*. (MB-uf020.8).

General Extenders carry various functions, such as implicating a category (Dines 1980:22), referential function/meaning, Politeness Strategies, marking intersubjectivity and shared knowledge and experience (Overstreet 1999), signaling turn-taking (Winter and Norrby 2000), and speech production (Cheshire 2007). Thus, the most salient characteristic of these linguistic forms is the flexibility and multifunctionality (Cheshire 2007:158). While early research stressed the referential meanings of the forms, more recent research has focused on their functions in the interpersonal domain (Cheshire 2007:158). All these forms occupy clause final position and they generally signal turn exchange (Winter and Norrby 2000:6). However, in the last few years, some of these forms have become more flexible in their position (Overstreet 1999:13; Cheshire 2007:156; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010:342). General extender use can differ markedly across localities (Tagliamonte and Denis 2010) and is considered the favorite feature in youth speech (Cheshire 2007).

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¹All the examples in the paper are from the Languages in the Prairies corpus housed by Dr. Nicole Rosen at the University of Manitoba.

Previous GE research has examined sociolinguistic variation among English speakers in other communities (Overstreet 1999; Cheshire 2007; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010). This paper investigates how GEs are used as a sociolinguistic variable among different communities' speech in Manitoba. This research will compare GE use among two groups: Winnipeg-born Manitobans of Filipino descent (Filipino-Winnipegger) with English as the first language, i.e. the first generation born in Canada between 1979-1993, and Southern Manitoban speakers from Southern Manitoba (Winkler-Altona-Morden) with English as the first language and born in Canada between 1933-1994. We are unable to find Filipino-Winnipegger participants of 50 years old or older who speak English as the first language to be included in this group. Due to the history of immigration of Filipinos, Filipino-Winnipeggers of that age range speak English as the second or third language and they follow another pattern of GE use.

Filipinos is the largest visible minority in Winnipeg with the population of 73,365 (Census 2016). Filipinos have great effects on the development of Winnipeg. That is why the Filipino community is the appropriate choice for the purpose of study on linguistic variation and change. Looking at the community under the lens of the Two Market Model identified by Hall-Lew (2009), Southern Manitoban speakers should be considered as the traditional market since they moved to Manitoba generations ago and their first language is English, with Filipino-Winnipegger speakers viewed as the emerging market since they are more recently immigrated.

In brief, there is a need to investigate how the Filipino-Winnipegger (FW) community as one of the largest visible minority groups in the emerging market use GEs differently from Southern Manitoban (SMB) speakers in the traditional market in the Two Market Model (Hall-Lew 2009). My research questions are:

1. Are GEs used differently among Southern Manitoban and Filipino-Winnipegger speakers in terms of frequency and distribution?
2. What are the social and discourse factors that affect GE use among Southern Manitoban and Filipino-Winnipegger speakers?

The paper is organized as follows. The methodology is in section 2. In section 3, the findings on the frequency and distribution of GEs, and discourse factors in GE use among the two communities in the corpus will be presented. Discussion will be in section 4. Section 5 concludes the findings and makes suggestions for further research.

2. Methodology

The data for this study comes from a corpus of twenty-nine interviews with the speakers for the Languages in the Prairies Project (LIPP), in which twenty speakers are Southern Manitoban (11 females, 9 males) and nine are Filipino-Winnipeggers (4 females, 5 males). Each interview is from 48 minutes to one hour 48 minutes long. The speakers' age ranges from 19 to 81 years old.

All GEs which emerge in the interviews are identified, extracted, and coded using ELAN (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics) for quantitative analysis (Nagy and Meyerhoff 2015). All GEs were coded for: GE, GE type: adjunctive or disjunctive; Actual referent; Referent type: plural Noun Phrase (NP), singular (count Noun), mass (Noun),

AdjP (Adjective Phrase), VP (Verb Phrase), or clause; Turn-taking: middle or end; Reported speech: yes or no; Speech disfluency: yes (can't find word) or none, Discourse particles nearby the GE: 'like', 'so', 'you know', 'I don't know' or absent. A coding example is illustrated in (4).

- (4) - You know in summer time something like those vegetables *and stuff like that* so
 - Did you have any animals there? (MB-uf019.1).

GE: *and stuff like that*
 GE type: adjunctive
 Actual referent: *those vegetables*
 Referent type: plural Noun Phrase
 Turn-taking: end
 Reported speech: no
 Speech disfluency: none
 Discourse particle nearby: *so, like*

Coding was transferred into an Excel spreadsheet (Microsoft Excel 2016), where data was tabulated.

3. Findings

3.1 Overall frequency/distribution

In this section, overall frequency and distribution of general extenders in Filipino-Winnipegger and Southern Manitoban speech will be presented.

Overall, GE frequency in Filipino-Winnipegger (FW) speech, 31 per 10,000 words, is much higher than that of Southern Manitoban (SMB) speech, 21 per 10,000 words.

Table 1: The frequency of GEs (No. of GEs per 10,000 words)

	Adjunctives	Disjunctives	Total	No. of words	No. of GEs per 10,000 words
FW	85	134	219	69,843	31.36
SMB	116	88	204	97,172	20.99

It is interesting to note that Filipino-Winnipegger speakers use GEs at a more frequent rate than Southern Manitoban speakers in terms of GE frequency. More interestingly, the difference in GE frequency among younger speakers of the two communities is very striking. Table 2 shows that the frequency of GE use in younger Filipino-Winnipegger speech (37 per 10,000 words) is much higher than the GE use frequency of their Southern Manitoban peers (25 per 10,000 words).

Table 2: Overall frequency of GEs by Age (No. of GEs per 10,000 words)

	<i>>55year-olds</i>	<i>30-55 year-olds</i>	<i><30 year-olds</i>	<i>Average</i>
FW	N/A	22.51	37.28	31.36
SMB	8.13	20.02	25.08	20.99

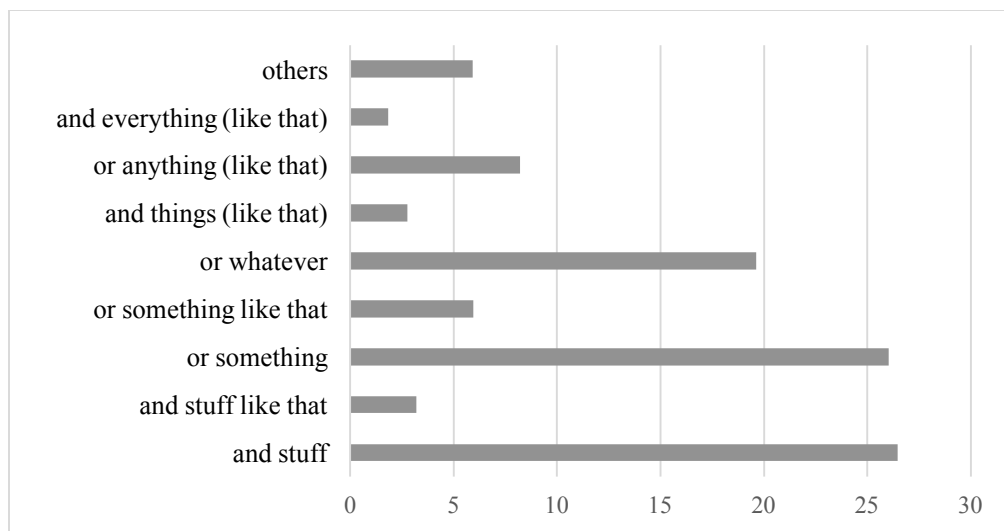
The frequency of GEs in younger Filipino-Winnipegger speech is also higher than the rates of middle-aged speakers (22 per 10,000 words). This means that younger speakers prefer to use GEs than other speakers. Due to the nature of the Filipino-Winnipegger population, we do not have participants among the older FW group who speak English as the first language.

Similarly, the frequency of GEs in younger Southern Manitoban speech (25 per 10,000 words) is also higher than the rates of middle-aged and older speakers (20 and 8 per 10,000 words respectively). Particularly, the frequency of GEs used by older Southern Manitoban speakers is very low, only eight per 10,000 words.

The data shows that younger speakers in the corpus use GEs more often than older speakers do. It is remarkably striking that that the younger the speakers are, the higher the frequency is in both the Filipino-Winnipegger and Southern Manitoban groups. This is a change in progress, potentially, which is backed up by other studies (Tagliamonte and Denis 2010). However, younger Filipino Winnipegger speech has much higher overall GE rates than younger Southern Manitoban speech, 37 per 10,000 words in comparison with 25 per 10,000 words. This means that younger FW speakers are far ahead of younger SMB speakers in GE use.

Although FW speakers use fewer variants (17) than SMB speakers (24), both FW and SMB speakers use *and stuff* and *or something* most frequently. Figure 1 shows that in FW speech, *and stuff* and *or something* are the most two common variants, representing 26 percent of all GEs each.

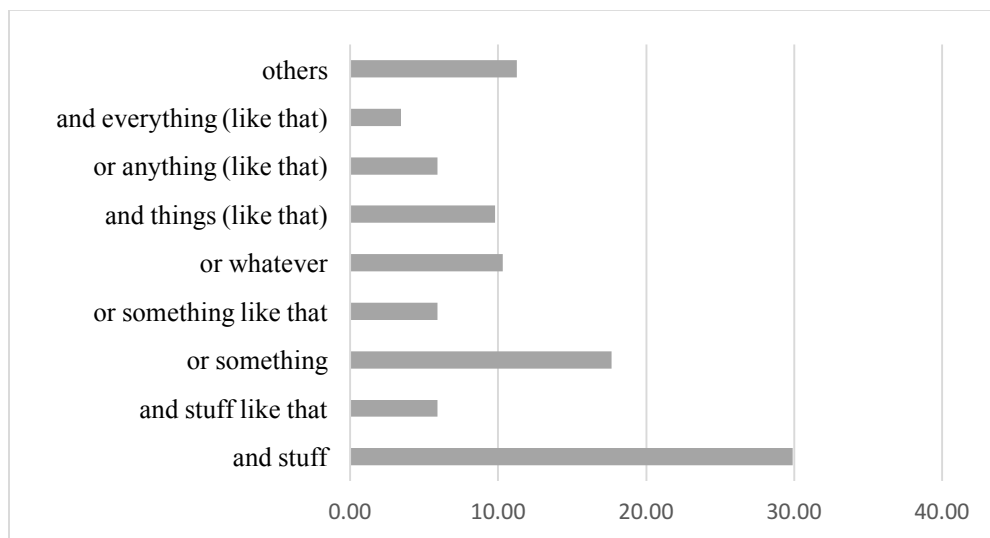
Figure 1: GE Distribution in FW



Together with the longer forms *and stuff like that* and *or something like that*, each of them accounts for approximately 30 percent of all GEs in the FW data. The disjunctive form *or whatever* is the third most common variant in FW speech, representing 20 percent. Other GE forms account for less than 10 percent.

Figure 2 shows that *and stuff* is the most common variant, with 30 percent of all GEs in SMB speech. Together with the longer form *and stuff like that*, the adjunctive forms with *stuff* represent more than a third of all GEs in the SMB data. The disjunctive GE form *or something* is the second most common variant. With the longer form *or something like that*, these disjunctive forms with *something* represent 23 percent of all GEs. The disjunctive form *or whatever* and the adjunctive form *and things like that* are the third most common in SMB speech, at 10 percent.

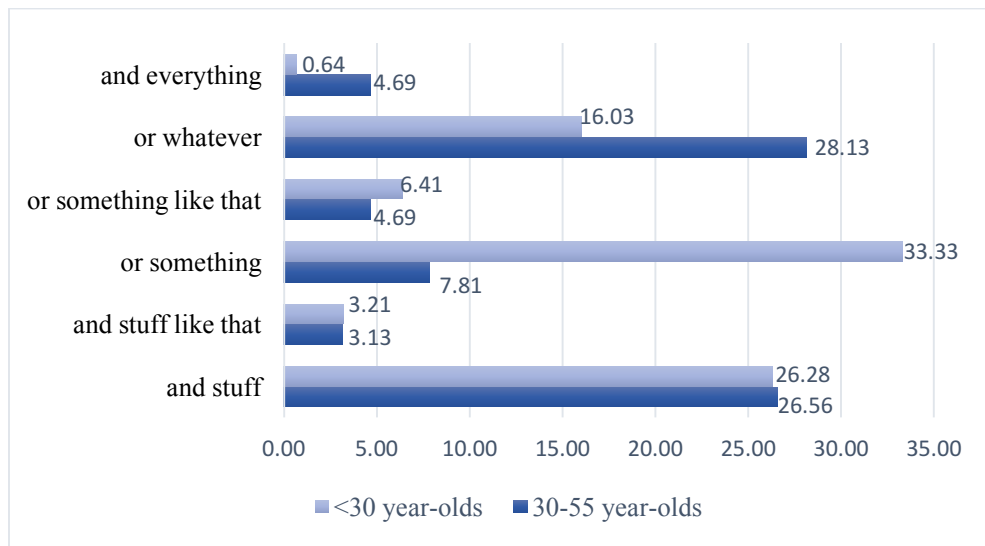
Figure 2: GE Distribution in SMB



In sum, although it appears that more GE variants occur in Sothern Manitoban speech than in Filipino-Winnipegger speech, the results of SMB and FW data are consistent with previous research in that the speech community exhibits rich variation of forms. GE distribution are quite similar among these two communities in which *and stuff (like that)* and *or something (like that)* are the most two common variants. They appear to prefer to use shorter GE forms rather than longer forms with comparative. The results of FW and SMB data are especially consistent with Overstreet and Yule (1997)'s study of American English and Tagliamonte and Denis (2010)'s research of Toronto English in which *and stuff* and *or something* are the most common.

In terms of GE distribution by age, figure 3 shows common GE distribution by age in FW speech. Both younger and middle-aged FW speakers use *and stuff* equally often, 26 percent of all GEs each. However, the most common variant that younger FW speakers use is *or something*, 33 percent, while middle-aged speakers do not use this variant very often, 8 percent. In contrast, middle-aged FW speakers use *or whatever* most often, 28 percent.

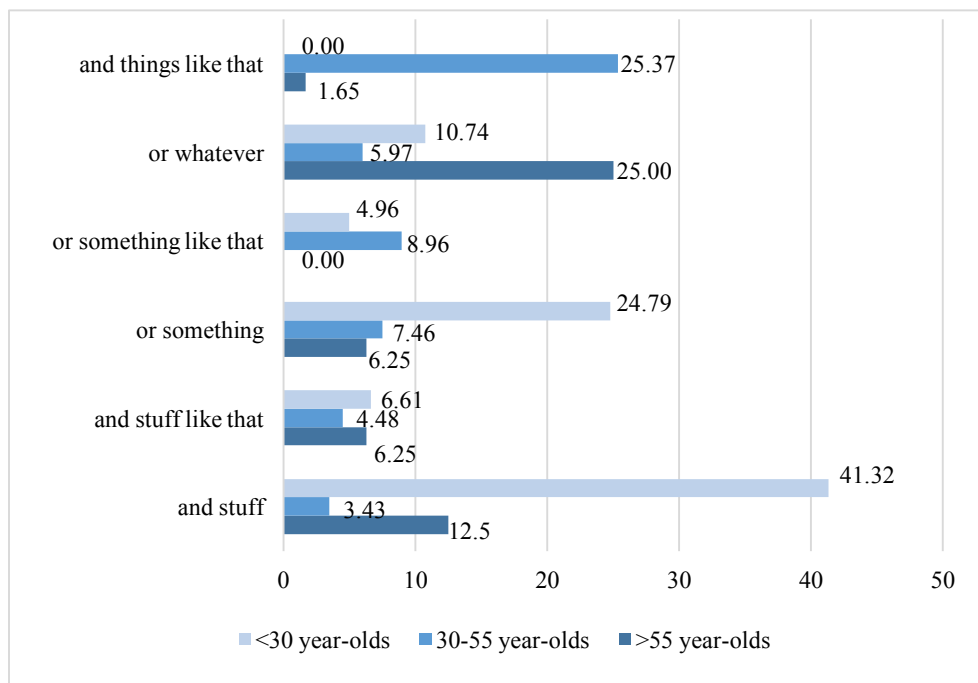
Figure 3: Common GE Distribution by Age in FW speech



In sum, younger FW speakers use *and stuff* and *or something* most frequently while middle-aged speakers use *or whatever* and *and stuff* most often. Thus, younger FW speakers do not seem to follow their parents' generations' patterns in variant choice.

Figure 4 shows GE distribution by age in SMB speech. The adjunctive *and stuff* occurs most frequently among younger SMB speakers, at 41 percent.

Figure 4: Common GE Distribution by Age in SMB speech



The disjunctive *or something* is the second most frequent among younger SMB speakers, at 25 percent. However, older SMB speakers use *or whatever* most frequently, 25 percent, and *and stuff* second most often, 12 percent. In contrast, middle-aged SMB speakers use *and things like that*, 25 percent.

In sum, *or something* and *and stuff* are most common among younger SMB speakers while older SMB speakers use *or whatever* most often and middle-aged speakers use *and things like that* most frequently. Thus younger SMB speakers do not follow their parents' patterns in variant choice.

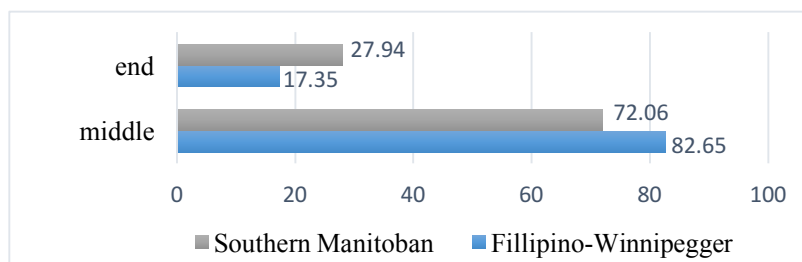
In brief, the results of GE distribution by age in FW and SMB speech show that younger speakers tend to use *and stuff* more often although this trend is developing a bit more slowly among FW speakers as compared to younger SMB speakers. Furthermore, younger speakers in both communities highly favour the shorter GE form *or something* while older speakers use *or whatever* more often. This suggests that age is an important factor in language variation in general and in general extender use in particular. It shows significant differences in GE frequency and distribution used by various age groups of speakers in both FW and SMB communities. Age is also a factor to indicate the trend of GE use in the future.

3.2 Discourse environment

In this section, discourse factors of general extenders in the corpus, such as turn-taking, speech production, and discourse particles nearby GEs will be investigated.

Firstly, the paper will explore turn-taking as a variable predicting general extenders in FW and SMB speech. Figure 5 shows that general extenders can occur in the middle and at the end of turn, so turn-taking does not indicate much difference in GE use in both FW and SMB speech.

Figure 5: Turn-taking in FW and SMB speech



The data also show that GEs occur in the middle of turn as in the example in (5) more often than at the end of turn as in the example in (6) in the speech of both communities. This leads to the assumption that general extenders may be used for other functions rather than the function of signaling turn-yielding such as marking intersubjectivity through which speakers indicate solidarity, self-connection or an assumption of shared experience (Overstreet 1999:66; Overstreet and Yule 1997:250; Stubbe and Holmes 1995) or showing

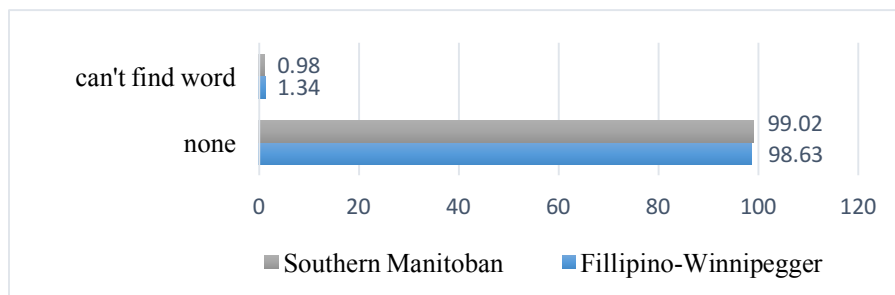
local knowledge of the discipline and academic practices, assumed shared societal and cultural understandings (Evison, McCarthy and O’Keeffe 2007).

- (5) You’re just walking from one end to the other, I don’t know, but it needs, *I don’t know*, and the performances *and everything* is not just, *I don’t know*. I don’t like it. It could be done way better. (MB-uf018.7).
- (6) - if you don’t take those subjects, then you cannot, you cannot graduate *or something like that*.
- Did you ever have to do like physical education? (MB-uf019.8).

However, GEs occur at the end of turn in Southern Manitoban speech (28 percent) more often than in Filipino-Winnipegger speech (17 percent). This might explain that SMB speakers use GEs to signal turn-yielding more often than FW speakers do.

Another factor that may be related to GE use is ‘speech production’. Figure 6 shows that almost all GEs in the corpus have no relation with speech production. Thus speech disfluency is a very minor variable in GE use in SMB and FW speech, where only about 1% of the time, GEs are used for when a speaker can not find the appropriate word.

Figure 6: ‘Speech production’ with GE use



Both SMB and FW speakers hardly ever use GEs because of being unable to find the appropriate word for their expressions or they forget the terms they want to use. An example of this usage is given in (7).

- (7) They said that ah you are throwing away the you know the what do you call that, the grace *or something like that*, ah you know so that ... (MB-uf020.33).

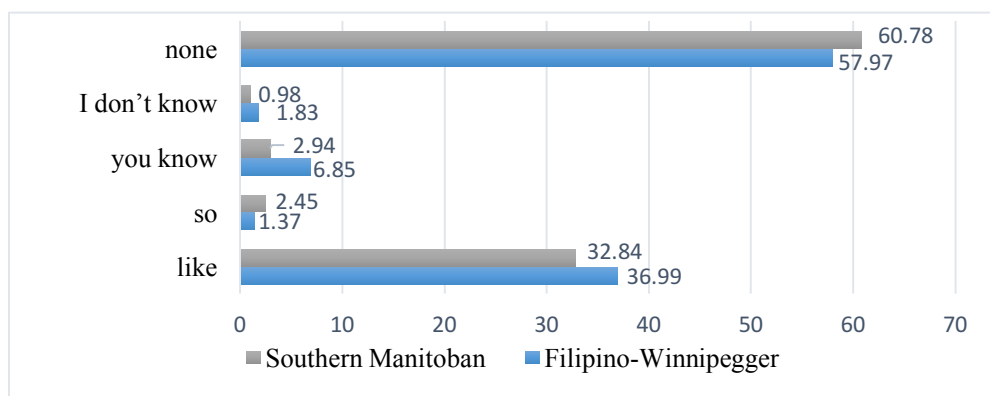
In sum, speech disfluency is a minor variable in GE use in the corpus, and GEs are used for other pragmatic uses rather than speech production.

The third factor is to be examined is discourse particles appearing nearby GEs in FW and SMB speech. Figure 7 shows that over a half of all GEs in both FW and SMB speech in the corpus do not have any discourse particles nearby. However, more than 30 percent of all GEs in both FW and SMB speech co-occur with the discourse marker *like*. This particle always precedes the actual referents and GEs as it indicates examples of referents

and GEs to be followed as in (8). This confirms that this discourse particle is one way for speakers to help their addressees to cope with their ambiguity (Cheshire 2007:187).

- (8) He's a part of the Winnipeg-Presbytery, um and he does other ... ah other stuff on the side, *like* human-rights issues *and stuff*. (MB-uf018.1).

Figure 7: Discourse particles nearby GEs



The discourse marker *you know* is used with GEs as in (9) more often in FW speech (7 percent) than in SMB speech (3 percent). This suggests FW speakers may use this discourse marker to show a closeness or friendliness from shared knowledge and/or experience between the interlocutors (Macaulay 2002).

- (9) They will go to the *you know* canteen or something like that, okay buy some liquor, drink, drink drink drink ... (MB-uf019.17).

The other two discourse particles '*so*' as in (4) and '*I don't know*' as in (6) rarely occur nearby GEs in the corpus (under two percent).

In sum, the results of this research support some findings of previous research. First, GEs in the data occur in the middle of turn more frequently than at the end of turn, suggesting that GEs are used for many other functions rather than the signal of turn-yielding. In addition, GEs occur at the end of turn more often in SMB speech than in FW speech, which suggests that SMB speakers may use GEs for the function of turn-yielding more often than FW speakers do. This may be because SMB speakers, who are in the Traditional Market and come from smaller towns, may originally use GEs with their first basic function of turn-yielding signal. Meanwhile, FW speakers in the Emergent Market may use GEs with other later discourse-pragmatic functions. Lastly, discourse particle *you know* is used with GEs by FW speakers more than by SMB speakers. This reflects a closeness or friendliness in the interviews from shared knowledge between interviewee and interviewer among FW speakers.

4. Discussion

The results of the study are consistent with previous research (Overstreet 2005; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010); *and stuff* and *or something* are the most common GE variants in the corpus. The same GE structures are used among Filipino-Winnipegger and Southern Manitoban speakers. Younger speakers of both communities use the same common GE variants although they do not follow their parents' patterns in GE variant choice. The GE frequency rate increases as speakers are younger in both FW and SMB speech, following the patterns in Toronto English (Tagliamonte and Denis 2010). GE use among younger speakers in the corpus are in line with GE use among Torontonians speakers (Tagliamonte and Denis 2010), especially in terms of common variants. The findings of this research support the results of other researchers such as Dubois (1992:185), Stubbe and Holmes (1995), and Cheshire (2007) that GEs are a feature of youth speech.

As seen in table 2, GE use among FW speakers are further ahead of SMB speakers in terms of GE frequency. In particular, younger FW speakers are further ahead of younger SMB speakers (37 per 10,000 words in comparison with 25 per 10,000 words). This can be explained that younger FW speakers are well integrated enough to employ GEs in their speech. This supports for Hall-Lew's Two Market model (Hall-Lew 2009), with new Filipino-Winnipeggers as the emerging market and other Southern Manitobans, the traditional market, each displaying different linguistic patterns. The emerging linguistic market may get more effective and fast effects by the language change; whereas, the traditional market gets affected more slowly.

Furthermore, FW speakers are more urban than SMB speakers as they live in Winnipeg while SMB speakers live in small towns in Southern Manitoba. As the result of geo-linguistic diffusion (Trudgill 1974), changes occur first in city (Winnipeg), then get diffused to smaller population centres (Winkler). Geo-linguistic diffusion is the process by which linguistic changes spread geographically from one dialect or language to another (Boberg 2000:1). Trudgill (1974:227) affirms that the diffusion from one area to another is usually a gradual one, and in any case the difference between the two areas is more-or-less rather than the result of dynamic linguistic, social and geographical processes. Innovations arise in one place and gradually spread out spatially from their point of origin among adjacent speech communities until they have become general in the language as a whole or perhaps in a group of neighboring languages. The diffusion follows an urban hierarchy, usually beginning in major cities, then spreading to affect smaller surrounding cities, and finally diffusing from small towns and villages into the countryside since people in small towns only gain access to people in metropolises through people in large regional centers through personal communication and interaction (Boberg 2000:2). In this way, Toronto is the largest center of population and an urban metropolis as well as a major economic, cultural, and administrative center. Thus, Toronto appears to be the local origin of the language change in GE use. Then, in this case, in a hierarchical model of diffusion, FW speakers should be affected before SMB speakers as FW speakers live in Winnipeg – the major economic, cultural, and administrative centre of Manitoba province while Southern Manitoban speakers are in small towns in the Southern area of Manitoba. Linguistically, GE use in Toronto is far ahead of FW and SMB speakers in terms of GE

frequency. Toronto is thus the original location in Canada in which the innovations of GE use arise. Younger FW speakers are found to be far ahead of younger SMB speakers in GE use in terms of frequency. This means that younger FW speakers might get diffused from Toronto speakers' GE use more effectively and faster than their peers in SMB. It is unclear whether this is due to geo-linguistic diffusion or to the Two Market Model since we do not have the right data for this. If there are data of Winnipegger speech, it can be certain that this would be due to geo-linguistic diffusion or to the Two Market Model.

Another reason for the higher GE frequency in FW speech might be that younger FW speakers may consider using GEs as an evidence to show that they sound as vernacular, or urbanized as Toronto speakers do. That might be the reason why they have motivation to use GEs more often as Torontonians do.

Linguistic context effect and individual effect may also lead to the difference in GE frequency and variant choice among FW and SMB speakers. The findings show that some speakers use only one or two GEs in the whole conversation while some others use a large number of GEs in their talk. Thus, the individual frequency among SMB speakers ranges from as low as 4 GEs per 10,000 words to as high as 46 GEs per 10,000 words. FW speakers' frequency ranges from 5 per 10,000 words to 65 per 10,000 words. This reflects a large difference in GE frequency among individual speakers, so individual effect does play a role in the difference in GE use among both communities in the corpus.

The variant choice is also very different among individual speakers, and this reflects the individual effect on GE variant choice in these two groups in the corpus. The variant choice is various among individual speakers, ranging from 1 to 8 variants. Some speakers do not use GEs often, but use a wide range of GE variants. Other speakers frequently use GEs, but they use some GE variants more often than other variants. The most common variants in the corpus include *and stuff (like that)*, *or something (like that)*, *or whatever, and things (like that)*, and *or anything*. The rarely used variants are *or things (like that)*, *or so, and so on, and that kind of thing, and what not, or what not*. The variant choice among individual speakers is different from one another regardless of any speaker among the two groups. Thus, the individual effect does play a role in the differences in GE use in terms of frequency and variant choice in the corpus.

5. Conclusions

The results of this study show that despite some differences, GE use in the Filipino-Winnipegger and Southern Manitoban data shares many features, which are consistent with the previous research. Firstly, certain generic elements usually go in one general extender type, either adjunctive or disjunctive. To be specific, *stuff, everything* and *things* usually occur in adjunctive forms while *something, anything* and *whatever* usually occur in disjunctive forms. This is consistent with Tagliamonte and Denis 2010's research. Secondly, some GE forms are more common than other variants. Those forms such as *and stuff, or something (like that), and everything, and things like that* and *or whatever* are more frequent variants in the corpus, in which *or something* and *and stuff* are the two most common variants in the data, which is similar as the results of previous research (Overstreet and Yule 1997; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010).

The foremost social factor affecting GE use in the corpus is age. The high rates of GEs among younger speakers in the FW and SMB data support the results observed by Dubois (1992:185) and Stubbe and Holmes (1995) and Cheshire (2007) that GE use is a feature of youth speech. It is important to note that younger FW speakers are far ahead of younger SMB speakers in GE use in terms of frequency. This can be explained by the fact that younger FW speakers get diffusion from Toronto speakers' GE use more effectively and faster than younger SMB speakers due to their urbanity and easier access (Trudgill 1974). One further reason for the difference in GE frequency and variant choice is the individual effect.

In terms of discourse factors, the results of this research show that speech production is a very minor variable affecting GE use. GEs are hardly ever used in both FW and SMB speech because of being unable to find the appropriate words for their expressions. It is also found that GEs sometimes co-occur with other discourse markers, in which many of GE forms co-occur with *like*. This confirms that it is one way for speakers to help their addressees to cope with their ambiguity (Cheshire 2007:187). Also, the discourse marker *you know* co-occurs with GEs to reflect a closeness or friendliness among the interlocutors with shared knowledge and/or experiences.

Due to the limited time, data and scope, limitations are unavoidable. For future research, we could look at how Winnipeggers use GEs in comparison with younger FW and SMB speakers. This would help to confirm whether GE use differences among these groups is due primarily to geo-diffusion (Trudgill 1974) or to the Two-Market model (Hall-Lew 2009).

In summary, this research supports the results and observations in previous research on GE use and contributes to the overall picture of how GEs are used among different communities. Especially, the results of this research show that younger Filipino-Winnipegger speakers are far ahead of younger Southern Manitoban speakers in general extender use in terms of frequency, either due to more effective and faster geo-diffusion (Trudgill 1974), or to motivation to integration in the Two-Market model (Hall-Lew 2009).

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