

# “HERBS AND OTHER INGREDIENTS”. SPECIFIC AND GENERAL EXTENDERS IN THE *CORPUS OF WOMEN'S INSTRUCTIVE TEXTS IN ENGLISH* (COWITE18)

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## ABSTRACT

Extenders frequently appear at the end of enumerations, often taking forms such as *or things like that* or *and so on*, and their primary function is to broaden the semantic range of a list of elements. This study aims to examine the distribution and usage patterns of extenders by female authors in the eighteenth century in a corpus of recipes called *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (CoWITE18) comprising a total of 541,973 words. From a methodological perspective, the compilation of a list of likely general and specific extenders will represent a preliminary step. The subsequent analysis will be conducted using a computerised corpus-based approach, with the aim of identifying which forms are most frequently employed in instructional discourse produced by women in that century.

**KEYWORDS:** Extenders, Instructive Texts, Recipe books, Late Modern English, Women Writing.

“HERBS AND OTHER INGREDIENTS”. *EXTENDERS* GENERALES Y ESPECÍFICOS  
EN EL *CORPUS OF WOMEN'S INSTRUCTIVE TEXTS IN ENGLISH* (COWITE18)

## RESUMEN

Los *extenders* suelen aparecer al final de las enumeraciones, a menudo adoptando en inglés formas como *or things like that* o *and so on*. Su función principal es ampliar el alcance semántico de una lista de elementos. Este estudio tiene como objetivo examinar la distribución y los patrones de uso de los extenders por parte de autoras del siglo XVIII en un corpus de recetas denominado *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (CoWITE18) que comprende 541 973 palabras. Metodológicamente, el primer paso consistió en elaborar una lista de posibles extenders generales y específicos. El análisis posterior se llevaría a cabo utilizando un enfoque basado en corpus informatizado, con la intención de identificar qué formas se emplean con mayor frecuencia en el discurso instructivo producido por las mujeres en el siglo XVIII.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *extenders*, libros de recetas, *late Modern English*, CoWITE18, escritura de mujeres.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2026.92.10>

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 92; abril 2026, pp. 215-237; ISSN: e-2530-8335  
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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Extension is a fundamental strategy for organizing information within discourse. To support understanding beyond the literal level, speakers use discourse strategies that depend on the listener's ability to make inferences and construct mental representations. In this study, I examined certain structures that trigger one of these inferencing processes: extenders (*and others, and things like that...*), and more explicitly, in late Modern English recipe books.

This study aims to identify and examine the frequency of occurrence of adjunctive and disjunctive extenders, both general and specific, in eighteenth-century English texts produced by female authors, and explore possible variant forms within the dataset. In order to do that, I will adopt a traditional, frequency-based approach. Quantitative analysis and visual inspection are combined using software tools to examine occurrences and perform a comprehensive analysis. The corpus material was taken from a subcorpora of the *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (CoWITE18) (541,973 words in total). The CoWITE18 covers the 18th century and its texts mainly consist of instructive prose, covering genres like household guides, conduct literature, recipe collections, and medical treatises aimed at a female audience or presenting a woman's viewpoint. This genre provides valuable insight into the linguistic practices of the period. Recipes, typically prepared by middle- and upper-class women, functioned not only as cookbooks but also as vehicles for transmitting knowledge and traditions within the domestic sphere (Soto-Déniz 2024). Although genres such as recipes may require precision and clarity to understand the cooking process or to make the correct ointment, they also allow for the incorporation of linguistic elements like extenders that permit flexibility and adaptation by the reader, making this genre a suitable context for the occurrence of those forms.

Next, I provide a detailed description of the corpus used, along with a thorough explanation of the methodology applied for the analysis. This is followed by a discussion of the data, highlighting significant patterns and allowing for the extraction of meaningful insights. Finally, the study concludes with a series of closing remarks that summarize the main findings and suggest potential directions for future research.

## 2. EXTENDERS: FORM AND USAGE.

In English linguistics, extenders are pragmatic markers used to broaden or generalize the meaning of preceding elements, often appearing at the end of lists or enumerations. They typically indicate approximation or non-exhaustiveness, helping speakers and writers to manage the scope of their statements. Extenders occur frequently in both spoken and written discourse and play a key role in making communication more flexible and natural. Thus, formulaic expressions such as *or other things, and the like, or and so on and so forth* can be regularly observed in both forms of language use.



Extenders have long been recognised as representative instances of linguistic vagueness (Channell 1994; Drave 2002; Cutting 2007). Indeed, their use often reflects a deliberate choice to employ imprecise or non-specific language. Typically, vagueness in reference was regarded as a deplorable departure from precision. Following a relevantist approach, Jucker, Smith, and Lüdge (2003) fled from this consideration and presented extenders as powerful devices that help convey the intended meaning of an utterance, following the path opened by Aijmer (1985). They (2003, 1737) claimed that vagueness is an interactional strategy and that the purpose of using extenders could be correlated with speakers' strategic desire to digress from precision and to offer instead effective procedural guides that trigger powerful contextual implications. For example, in 1:

- (1) This had great Success, under God, in the Plague; 'tis good likewise against the Small-Pox, or any other Pestilential Disease. (Smith 1728)

The structure positions the extender at the end of the enumeration, thereby constraining the semantic domain of possible alternatives to those associated with "pestilential diseases", including examples like *cholera* and *typhus*. Instead of presenting a focus, the extender becomes the informatively marked element. It allows the possibility of showing (i) that the writer's intention was not that of providing an exhaustive list; (ii) that the enumeration is somehow incomplete; and (iii) that it is the reader's responsibility to complete it (Domínguez 2005). Its main function is to expand the semantic field to which the words it precedes belong without the need to resort to a large number of terms from that same semantic field that could make the list endless.

According to their structure and their function in extending the semantic scope within an enumeration, extenders can be classified into two categories, as proposed by Overstreet (1999): general and specific. Thus, expressions such as *and things of this kind*, or *and others* would exemplify general extenders, whereas examples like (1) would show instances of specific extenders, whose tendency inclines to reinforce or clarify the category to which the listed items belong. At the same time, the extenders analysed in this study will be grouped into two main types: those introduced by *and*, known as adjunctive, and those introduced by *or*, referred to as *disjunctive extenders*.

### 3. WOMEN, RECIPE BOOKS AND EXTENDERS

Seeking to explore women's writing through a historical perspective, the current research examines the discourse employed by English women recipe writers of the eighteenth century. The recipe is defined as a genre that serves the purpose of providing "instructions on how to prepare medicine, a dish, or some household utility like ink" (Taavitsainen 2001, 86). Recipes fulfilled not only a practical purpose, but also played a crucial role in the exchange of knowledge within women's social networks. In pre-modern households, recipes, both medical and culinary, served as



the primary means for recording and sharing information and knowledge, and many families had a designated notebook for recording, compiling, and sharing essential pieces of practical knowledge (Leong 2013, 83). As well as that, recipe books also had sentimental value as inherited objects (Allen 2015, 2). In addition, these kinds of compilations were subject to exchange and gift, for example as a wedding present, as mentioned by Leong and Pennell (2007, 141).

While this particular domain is predominantly shaped by women, it is equally important to acknowledge that the history of science has been marked by an enduring male-dominated culture that has systematically excluded or overlooked women's roles and voices. This has created systemic barriers for women in science, limiting both their active involvement and the recognition of their contributions within the field (Golinski 2002). Women have struggled to define and assert their identities within that men's world. It is important to remember that not everyone had access to education at the time, and, regrettably, this was especially true for women. Publishing opportunities for them were severely limited, a condition further intensified by the fact that their work was often carried out "in the shadows" (Moskowich 2017), without recognition. Social factors may account for the absence of female authors in certain disciplines. To put an example, historical narratives or nature observation, particularly in rural settings, were deemed more suitable for women, in contrast to areas like astronomy or philosophy. The practice of stargazing at night was often considered inappropriate for women, while prevailing gender norms cast doubt on women's intellectual abilities. Men at the time were credited as "being more able to engage in abstract reasoning, with women considered to be suited to the more practical, immediate aspects of life" (Moskowich 2013, 469). One of these aspects may include the compilation of recipes and remedies showing how women at the time were bearers of their family's knowledge and responsible for its dissemination and preservation for future generations. Thus, through the analysis of recipes, we can deepen our understanding of female writing practices in the 18th century, revealing how women modified linguistic conventions to suit personal and practical needs.

Relatively few scholars have examined extenders from a historical perspective in the context of the English language. However, the contributions of Carroll (2007) and Ortega-Barrera (2008), who has also worked with a corpus of recipes, have been particularly valuable. We aim to contribute to the diachronic study of extenders in English corpus linguistics, as existing research in this area remains limited. The use of extenders can be interpreted as a way of assuming shared knowledge and reducing the distance between reader and creator. If the extender and something like that occurs, how should this be interpreted? Extenders can serve to downplay importance, to lighten the tone or remove rigidity from the text as a whole. They can thus bring the reader closer, who is free in a certain way to choose the ingredients that best suit them, within certain limits, of course. Therefore, the use of a linguistic device like extenders in recipes appears quite reasonable, as their inclusion can leave room for interpretation and adaptation based on factors such as personal taste, economic constraints, or practical considerations.



## 4. CORPUS DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY

### 4.1. SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

One of the main motivations behind my decision to explore the use of extenders in CoWITE18 was the results obtained in earlier research. Previously, I had employed various corpora to examine the most traditional use of extenders, as this field had received relatively little scholarly attention. Thus, the majority of published works on the topic rely on oral and contemporary sources, whereas diachronic and historical studies have been largely overlooked. Some prior corpus material was sourced from two subcorpora within the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing: CHET* or *Corpus of History English Texts* (Moskowich, Lareo, Lojo and Sánchez-Barreiro 2019) and *CELiST* or *Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts* (Lareo, Monaco, Esteve-Ramos and Moskowich 2020). The first one belongs to the field of History whereas the second one pertains to Life Sciences. The objective was to identify a suitable representation of scientific English in the 18th century. Thanks to that historical approach to extenders, it was demonstrated that not only were these elements used in writing more than two centuries ago (although their presence was already well-documented in the Oxford English Dictionary), but they also existed in a non-oral and more formal context, such as scientific texts.

Although, on this occasion, the focus is not on scientific texts, the material under consideration is historical and also pertaining to the same century. Similarly historical, and more specifically centred on the recipe genre, is the work of Ortega Barrera (2008), who conducted a study where she shed some light about extenders in recipe texts in order to examine their forms and usage, as well as formal and/or functional changes. In contrast to my study, her research covered a different corpus<sup>1</sup> not specifically written by women.

The genre of recipes to which the analysed samples belong may significantly influence the overall study, as each genre is assumed to exhibit distinct linguistic and rhetorical features that could account for the use of extenders. Simultaneously, female authorship may shape the way extenders are used, affecting their form, frequency, and typical co-occurrences.

### 4.2. CORPUS MATERIAL

To frame this work, I made use of the *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (henceforth, CoWITE). The complete project CoWITE constitutes a diachronic collection of English-language instructional and technical texts authored by women and written between 1550 and 1899. Once complete, the corpus is expected

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<sup>1</sup> Her paper explores the forms and the functions of extenders in the *Corpus of Early English Recipes (1350–1850)*.



to comprise over 1.75 million words. It includes excerpts from printed books and manuscripts related to cookery, domestic economy, health, and dietetics. The corpus supports research into many historical patterns, but without a doubt it represents women's contributions to the transmission of knowledge within domestic domains.

Within the collection of subcorpus available, I have chosen to work with the 18th century subcorpus of CoWITE, called CoWITE18. This one includes texts written by women as instructions to guide the reader throughout the preparation of a recipe. The cognitive domain primarily reflects the culinary field, incorporating terminology pertaining to ingredients and dish types included in each book. However, CoWITE18 also contains recipes about medical and pharmaceutical remedies, among other topics like household management or economy.

The version employed for this study (Version v1) comprises texts collected up to 5 April 2025<sup>2</sup>, which belong to the recipe genre and reflect an expositive text-type. The texts derive from both printed and manuscript sources located in UK and USA libraries and have been computerised and stored as plain text which can be used in linguistic software for its consultation and retrieval.

CoWITE18, and therefore my study, consists of 22 texts all written by women in the eighteenth century and mainly in British English variety including also American English and Scottish English for two authors. All extracts are centred on instructive topics like cookery and household management. Each sample has a non-fixed word count and the total amount of analyzable tokens for the study is 541,973. The following table (1) shows all these details.

TABLE 1. FEMALE AUTHORS AND WORKS.

| YEAR | AUTHOR                     | TITLE   | WORDS  |
|------|----------------------------|---|--------|
| 1703 | Fitzgerald, Lady Catherine | <i>Collection of Cookery and Medical Receipts</i>                                   | 38,454 |
| 1709 | Hickes, Hannah             | <i>Hannah Hickes her Book of Receats</i>  | 17,152 |
| 1712 | Fuller, Elizabeth          | <i>A Collection of Cookery and Medicinal Receipts</i>                               | 13,329 |
| 1714 | Kettilby, Mary (ed.)       | <i>A Collection of above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery</i> | 21,056 |
| 1715 | Owen, Letitia              | <i>Cookery book, with a few medical receipts</i>                                    | 8,013  |
| 1720 | Haddock, Elizabeth         | <i>A Book of Receipts for Cookery and Physick</i>                                   | 17,363 |
| 1728 | Smith, Mary                | <i>A Book of Choice Receipts</i>  | 24,259 |
| 1730 | Wake, Mary                 | <i>Mary Wake Canterbury December ye 3: 1730</i>                                     | 392    |
| 1733 | Harrison, Elizabeth        | <i>The House-Keeper's Pocket-Book, and Compleat Family Cook</i>                     | 27,494 |

<sup>2</sup> They warn us to be mindful that some transcriptions in the current release of the corpus may contain inaccuracies, due to the complexity and variability of original manuscripts and early printed sources. A thoroughly revised and verified edition is currently in progress to improve overall accuracy and consistency.



| TABLE 1. FEMALE AUTHORS AND WORKS. |                         |   |         |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---|---------|
| YEAR                               | AUTHOR                  | TITLE   | WORDS   |
| 1740                               | Johnston, Mrs.          | <i>The Young House-Keeper's Daily Assistant</i>   | 22,015  |
| 1747                               | Glasse, Hannah          | <i>The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy</i>   | 26,062  |
| 1750                               | Bradley, Martha         | <i>The British Housewife: Or, The Cook, Housekeeper's, and Gardiner's Companion</i>                   | 27,109  |
| 1752                               | Moxon, Elizabeth        | <i>English Housewifry: Exemplified in above Four Hundred and Fifty Receipts</i>                       | 27,809  |
| 1755                               | Cleland, Mrs. Elizabeth | <i>A New and Easy Method of Cookery</i>   | 27,913  |
| 1767                               | Shackleford, Susanna    | <i>The Family Receipt-Book, or, Universal Repository of Useful Knowledge</i>                          | 25,140  |
| 1769                               | Raffald, Elizabeth      | <i>The Experienced English Housekeeper</i>  | 26,321  |
| 1774                               | Maciver, Susanna        | <i>Cookery and Pastry</i>   | 25,282  |
| 1777                               | Mason, Charlotte        | <i>The Lady's Assistant for Regulating and Supplying her Table</i>                                    | 28,219  |
| 1785                               | Fisher, Ann             | <i>The Practice of Cookery, Pastry, and Confectionary. In Three Parts</i>                             | 25,114  |
| 1789                               | Cole, Susanna           | <i>The Cook's Companion: or, the Housekeeper's Assistant in Dressing of Meat, Fowl, Fish, &amp;c.</i> | 28,696  |
| 1791                               | Frazer, Mrs.            | <i>The Practice of Cookery, Pastry, Confectionary, Pickling, and Preserving</i>                       | 57,286  |
| 1795                               | Taylor, Mrs.            | <i>Mrs. Taylor's Family Companion, or the whole art of cookery made plain and easy</i>                | 27,495  |
| TOTAL                              |                         |   | 541,973 |

The corpus was analyzed using *AntConc* (Version 4.3.1)(Anthony 2024), a corpus analysis toolkit that enables concordance, frequency, and keyword extraction.

Finally, I examined the possible tokens using a predefined set of adjunctive and disjunctive general extenders. The compilation of this initial inventory is based on works by Overstreet (1999), Aijmer (2002), Carrol (2007) and Sánchez-Barreiro (2010, 2024). The detailed list is shown in Table 2. At the same time, the inventory serves as a reference point for locating possible specific extenders within the corpus.

| TABLE 2. GENERAL ADJUNCTIVE AND DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS TO BE SEARCHED FOR IN THE ANALYSIS |  |
|--|--|
| ADJUNCTIVE GENERAL EXTENDERS   |  |
| and all (that)   | and so on and so forth                       |
| and (this/that) (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)  | and things of (this/that) (kind/nature/sort) |
| and (all) the rest   | and stuff (like that)                        |
| and c. (&c)  | and such (or any)                            |
| and everything (like that)   | And such like                                |
| and other  | and that                                     |



TABLE 2. GENERAL ADJUNCTIVE AND DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS TO BE SEARCHED FOR IN THE ANALYSIS

| ADJUNCTIVE GENERAL EXTENDERS  |  |
|---|--|
| and others  | and the like                                       |
| and (other) things (like this/that)                                 | and the whole thing                                |
| and so  | and this and that                                  |
| and so forth  | and whatever                                       |
| and so on   | and whatnot  |
| and so on and so on   | etc. / et caetera                                  |
| DISJUNCTIVE GENERAL EXTENDERS                                       |  |
| Or any(one/body/thing/where)/some(one/body/thing/where) (like that) | Or (anything/something) of (that/this) (kind/sort) |
| Or stuff (like that)  | Or others  |
| Or such thing(s)  | Or this or that                                    |
| Or such-like  | Or so  |
| Or things (like that)   | Or what  |
| Or that   | Or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)               |
| Or other  | Or whatever  |
| Or the like   | Or other things                                    |

Although the list of extenders is predefined, conducting the searches with *AntConc* allows for the inclusion of possible modifiers. Consequently, some results may feature them even when they have not been originally included in the previous inventory. Thus, retrieval of instances of *and other* may result in *and the other*, *and any other*, *and every other*, *and all other*, etc., or they may display variations in the position of the elements, as was the case with example 1 where the original form to find would be *and (all) (this/that) (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)*.

(2) WHEN you roast a Goose, Turkey, or Fowls of any Sort, take care to singe them with a Piece of white Paper, and baste them with a Piece of Butter, [...] (Glasse 1747)

After completing the inventory and making initial searches with *AntConc*, the next step involves manual disambiguation, which constitutes a fundamental phase in the process. There is no doubt that such technologies significantly facilitate work where frequency analysis plays a key role, but the use of automated methods does not eliminate the need for manual text review in studies of this nature (Rissanen 1989). Thus, the necessity of discarding constructions that, due to their form, initially appeared to be extenders but were ultimately unrelated to the linguistic unit, is a task which must be carried out by examining the sections of the text that contain the possible forms. The feedback generated during the search process will facilitate access to the specific fragment in which the potential extender occurs.



Certain structures present significant challenges. Such is the case of *and that* or *and all*. In most instances, the element *that* is a relative, or at times, a pronoun, never representing any kind of general or specific extender. Many of the supervised sequences have a different function from the one researched in this paper or they do not have anything to do with the basic definition of extender, not to mention that they do not meet the essential requirement of belonging to an enumeration.

In addition, although the common trend is for enumerations to have three segments, as some authors have pointed out (Jefferson 1990; Lerner 1994), in this study I have chosen to include instances where extenders are used to accompany only one preceding referent. In such cases, even when the list contains only a single item followed by an extender, the meaning is implicitly broadened to include multiple elements. At times, the extender itself suggests reference to more than one unit.

Moreover, I have excluded from the analysis those cases which do not form part of an enumeration of different elements. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (3) At the same time let there be provided another shorter broom of about a foot and a half long, that with one hand may be so employed in the upper and other parts as to clean the cask well: [...] (Taylor 1795)

In this case, the set of words that take the form of extenders serves no pragmatic purpose and its function is strictly referential. It indicates parts of a cask other than the upper, but never gives any precise name to create a proper enumeration like *stave* or *hoop*.

Finally, in this study, I compiled all concordance lines corresponding to each term listed into Excel spreadsheets using LibreOffice (Version 24.8.1.2.), separating the valid forms from the invalid ones by following the criteria outlined above. Other elements considered, though not explicitly in the Table 2, include cases where certain adverbs or other types of modifiers appear between the conjunction and the noun or noun phrase which forms the extender.

Upon completion of this phase, we proceeded to the analysis, as detailed in the following sections.

## 5. ADJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18

The current section outlines the frequency count, showing the proportion of general and specific extenders, based on the list provided in the previous section (Table 2 above). To facilitate a clearer analysis, the results for adjunctive and disjunctive extenders will be presented separately.

The samples analysed in this study originate specifically from the period spanning 1703 to 1795. A total of 22 samples were analysed, which together contained 541,973 words. The study revealed 271 occurrences of extenders, both general and specific. The adjunctive forms registered the highest count, 190, a result that was foreseeable given the nature and level of appearance of the conjunctions



*and* and *or*, even not being part of an extender. As shown in previous historical research, for example by Carroll (2007), conjunction-initial constructions with *and* occur more frequently than those introduced by *or*. That figure (190 extenders) corresponds to 12 expressions included in the initial list. No data is available for the remaining expressions.

In the case of the disjunctive constructions, those amount to a total of 81 occurrences represented by 8 different expressions. Again, some examples from the initial inventory could not be located. It is worth noting that the original list was also based on sources of oral discourse, as the written records from this period remain insufficiently studied to provide reliable comparisons. As well as that, the catalogue of adjunctive and disjunctive forms differ in the distribution of extender types. General-type extenders are more prevalent in adjunctive constructions, whereas disjunctive lists show a higher frequency of specific-type extenders. Table 3 below presents an overview of the first set of results obtained for adjunctive extenders.

TABLE 3. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC ADJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18

| ADJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS                              | GENERAL | SPECIFIC | TOTAL |
|---|---------|----------|-------|
| And (all) the rest                                | 0       | 2        | 2     |
| And all (that)                                    | 14      | 18       | 32    |
| And c. (&c.)                                      | 83      | 0        | 83    |
| And everything (like that)                        | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And other   | 0       | 20       | 20    |
| And (other) things (like this/that)               | 8       | 0        | 8     |
| And others  | 1       | 0        | 1     |
| And so  | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And so forth                                      | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And so on   | 14      | 1        | 15    |
| And so on and so forth                            | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And so on and so on                               | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And stuff (like that)                             | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And such (or any)                                 | 0       | 1        | 1     |
| And such like                                     | 1       | 1        | 2     |
| And that  | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And the like                                      | 4       | 0        | 4     |
| And the whole thing                               | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And things of (this/that) (kind/nature/sort)      | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And this and that                                 | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And (this/that) (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff) | 0       | 5        | 5     |
| And whatever                                      | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| And whatnot                                       | 0       | 0        | 0     |



TABLE 3. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC ADJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18

| ADJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS | GENERAL | SPECIFIC | TOTAL |
|----------------------|---------|----------|-------|
| Etc.                 | 17      | 0        | 17    |
| TOTAL                | 142     | 48       | 190   |

A first examination reveals that some adjunctive extenders in the inventory do not correspond to any of the samples. This includes the forms *and everything (like that)*, *and so forth*, *and so on and so forth*, *and so on and so on*, *and stuff (like that)*, *and that*, *and the whole thing*, *and things of (this/that) (kind/nature/sort)*, *and this and that*, *and whatever*, *and whatnot*, *and so*. Some of the examples were excluded, such as those containing the word *stuff* as it functioned exclusively as a verb. In the case of *and everything* it seemed to serve as a summarizing reference to prior instructions or as an anaphoric expression more than as an extender.

Far from being rare, the forms *and so* or *and that* occur with notable frequency<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, during the analysis, I consistently encounter expressions that do not align at all with the definition of extender we propose. Thus, in countless instances, *and so* merely serves to introduce a consequence. Sometimes, its purpose is to indicate an ongoing process, not implying additional items as it is shown in example 4.

- (4) Take an anchovy barrel or a deep glazed pot, put a few bay leaves at the bottom, a layer of bay salt, some salt-petre mixed together, then a layer of sprat crouted close, then bay-leaves and the some and sprats, and so till your barrel or pot be fill, [...] (Fisher 1785)

As well as that, many times it indicates that an action can be repeated with many more containers.

- (5) Tie it in a Rag and let it hang for 6 days in a Bottle, and then put it in another, and so for a great many if you please, or else you may put 3 or 4 Drops of Tincture of Ambergrease. (Smith 1728)

Similarly, *that* may function as a demonstrative, a relative or a conjunction in the samples. However, no genuine instances of extension using *and that* were identified. A more detailed account of all the adjunctive extenders recorded can be seen in Figure 1, in which all these types with no instances have not been included.

Additionally, the formulaic expressions *and so on*, *and so forth*, *and so on and so forth*, and *and so on and so on* share the same basic meaning and function in language. However, in spite of being extremely similar, all the authors in CoWITE18 opted for using only one: *and so on*. All the instances corresponded to general extenders,

<sup>3</sup> Searches using the general extenders *and so* and *and that* yielded 86 and 29 hits, respectively.



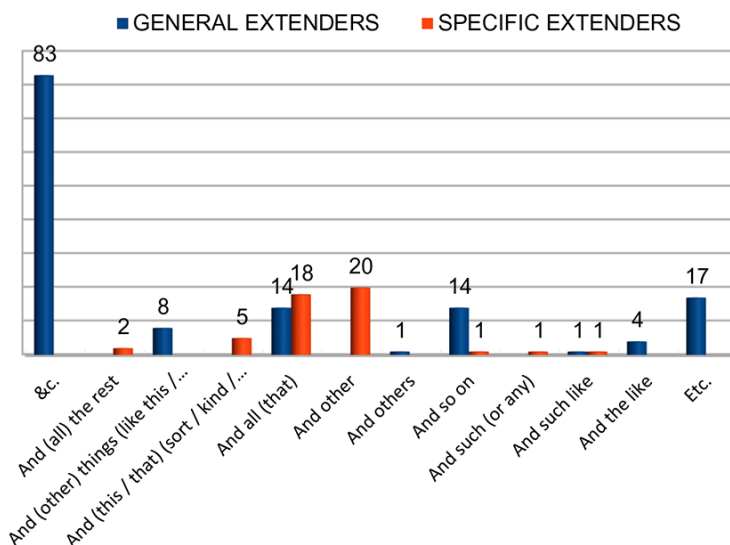


Figure 1. General and specific adjunctive extenders in CoWITE18.

present in 7 of the texts, except an example that we have classified within the group of specific extenders, *and so on of every sort*.

- (6) Yt lay a laying of toasts again, & so on of every sort till your pudding is full. (Haddock 1720)

This does not seem a very common expression, either in formal or informal contexts. It may even be viewed as unnecessarily repetitive and somewhat awkward.

*And the rest* refers to the remaining part of a specific set. For the purpose of this analysis, only two instances were included as specific extenders, as the remaining tokens did not qualify. The majority were anaphoric noun phrases whose function was not to extend the discourse, but rather to serve to complete a previously established quantity. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (7) [...] put in betwixt a Jack and a Jill of good Brandy, a Quart of light Yeast, and the rest of the Cream, [...] (Moxon 1752)

Additional entries, but within the general extenders category, include *and the like* (4 tokens), together with *and such like* (1 general and 1 specific token). Particularly, the earliest text by Fitzgerald (1703) records the form *& ye like*. Thus, among the spelling variants, the form *ye* (as a replacement for *the*) and the ampersand (as a substitute for the conjunction *and*) have consistently been used in queries.

Another point of interest is the form *&c.* When conducting searches, alternative forms such as *and c.*, *& co.*, *and co.* were also taken into account, but not



found. These different variants also highlight the simultaneous use of two forms: *and* and *&c.* Both coexisted naturally in the eighteenth century for various reasons, such as practical considerations, as the ampersand could save necessary space in printed texts, the idiosyncrasy of the author herself, the context, and so on. There was not exclusive use of either and they could appear alternately within the same sample.

In this context, *&c.* invariably serves as a general extender, and no ambiguity regarding its reference arises. It appears both in section headings and in smaller subsections that present different recipes or variations of the same dish. Moreover, the data indicates a significant preference for this form *&c.* since it is the most commonly found expression within the list, with as many as 83 instances, being employed by over half of the authors. A closer examination revealed that four of them included this expression no fewer than 12 times in their texts.

Another notable feature is the amount of antecedents attached to *&c.*, which also exceeds the number found in any other extender., reaching up to 13 instances along with many others where 6 or 7 are attained. In most cases, those antecedents are a sequence of nouns, as illustrated in example 8, but adjectives and verbs have also been counted, though to a lesser extent.

- (8) To chuse Salmon, Carp, Tench, Pike, Trout, Whitings, Barbels, Smelts, Shads, Chubs, Ruffs, Mackarel, Herrings, &c. (Taylor 1795)

Although not explicitly featured in the list, I conducted a search for several variations of *etc.* including forms like *et cetera*, *et caetera*, *et cætera*. Unfortunately, no cases were referred and only *etc.* could be accounted for. Such formula is similar in meaning to the previous *&c.* Both come from the Latin expression *et cetera*, which could be the equivalent of *and other things*. Within the corpus, it is apparent that both forms coexisted, with a clear preference for the use of *&c.* Today, this extender is rare and considered archaic or formal, whereas *etc.* is the common and standard way in English, and many other languages, to extend an enumeration.

In terms of the number of authors using an extender, *and all* stands out as the most prominent on this occasion, since more than approximately 72% of them use it at least once, both in its general or specific versions. As a result, *and all* becomes the second most widely used overall. Together, the figures yield a total of 37 (14 general and 18 specific).

- (9) TAKE half a peck of Shell-Snails, wipe them and bruise them Shells and all in a Mortar; (Ketillby 1714)

The previous example (9) includes the form as a general extender. In that context, *and all* can convey an impression of naturalness or informality, and it seems more typical of spontaneous speech. Probably, as a mirror of oral traditions or instructions, the use of *and all* gives the genre of recipes a more casual or conversational tone.



In some instances, the word *sorts* appeared together with *all*, in which case this form acts as a modifier. Therefore, constructions similar to example 10 were finally included under the expression *and (this/that) (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)*.

- (10) [...] split them down the back, and marinade them about an hour in a little oil, with pepper and salt, and all sorts of sweet herbs chopped; [...] (Cole 1789)

All the reported cases belong to the specific group. However, another notable example is observed, an extender that occurs mid-way through a quite long list of ingredients and which continues after it. See the example below (11):

- (11) Cabbages and their sprouts, cauliflowers, artichokes, cabbage lettuce, beets, carrots, potatoes, turnips, some beans, peas, kidney-beans, and all sorts of kitchen herbs, radish, horse-radish, cucumbers, cresses, some tarragon, onions, garlic, roucombole, melons, and cucumbers for pickling. (Taylor 1795)

Here, *and all sorts of kitchen herbs* seems to mark a transition within a broader list. Preceding this expression, the list comprises staple vegetables such as cabbages, cauliflowers or lettuce, and root crops like carrots, potatoes or turnips. Those make a total of 12 antecedents, almost reaching the aforementioned case of *etc.* Following the specific extender, another enumeration of items continues, naming aromatic plants and culinary herbs like tarragon and cresses, condiments like garlic or rocambole and items of culinary use, rather than vegetables. However, there are only two herbs included in the latter part, out of the 10 ingredients mentioned, so the extender is merely functioning as a single item within the enumeration, an item followed by other types of non-herbal ingredients.

Regarding the construction *and other*, only specific extenders were listed. This expression ranks third in frequency of use with 20 tokens. A number of these extenders are likewise preceded by *all* such as *and all other green pickles*, that I decided to incorporate under the form *and other* after considering that *all* was here a modifier and not a main component of the unit. Included as well is the form with the article *the*, or as it was also searched *ye*, completing expressions such as *and the other ingredients*.

Similarly, but being another listed extender, we found *and others*. In this case, only one instance was recorded in the whole corpus. The category is that of a general extender with just one antecedent identified in a book by Martha Bradley (1750) who was referring to different kinds of asthmas.

Finally, another significant expression classified as *and (other) things (like this/that)* has registered 8 tokens. The criterion for inclusion of other similar forms was the presence of the word *thing* or *things* as the core element. Therefore, even extenders that reflected *the other* as part of it were included under this construction if their form resembled *and the other things*. The truth is that I consider this extender noteworthy because *and things* is rather vague and general. For example, it does not specify quantity or type, but simply adds a sense of undefined things. On the



contrary, a construction like *and all* is usually more emphatic and more precise, even its general version, as it implies the complete inclusion of everything that follows. Also consider *and others*, which has a degree of specificity because it refers to more items similar to those already mentioned. That said, this may provide some support for the argument that all forms containing *thing(s)* can be categorized as general extenders, which is precisely the case.

Consider these two forms, which share similar grammatical structures: *and such things* and *and such materials*. When comparing them, we find that *and such things* is more prototypical as a general extender due to its inherent vagueness, whereas *and such materials* moves beyond generality toward greater specificity. In that case, when closing the enumeration with the word *thing(s)*, constructions resembling *and (other) things* have been classified as general extenders associated with that adjunctive element: *and the other things*, *and such things*, *and all the other things*, *and all those things*, *and other thing*, *and other things*, *and things*. Together, they may constitute a more comprehensive inventory of general extenders to be considered in future historical research.

## 6. DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18

This part will analyse disjunctive extenders found in the same samples from CoWITE18, following the organisational structure of the previous section and proceeding with their analysis using the same semantic criteria. As expected, based on findings from previous studies, as outlined in previous sections, the proportion of disjunctive extenders is significantly lower than that of adjunctive lists. Compared to the 190 examples obtained in the previous section for adjunctive extenders, the analysis reveals 81 occurrences of the disjunctive type. All the identified forms correspond to 8 expressions from the initial inventory.

As already mentioned, the distribution of extender types varies between the catalogues of adjunctive and disjunctive forms. Thus, it was verified that general-type extenders were more prevalent in adjunctive constructions. In contrast, disjunctive lists exhibit a higher frequency of extenders of a specific type. Table 4 below provides an overview of the initial results obtained for disjunctive extenders.

| TABLE 4. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18.    |         |          |       |
|---|---------|----------|-------|
| DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS   | GENERAL | SPECIFIC | TOTAL |
| Or (anything/something) of (that/this) (kind/sort)                  | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)                                | 0       | 12       | 12    |
| Or any(one/body/thing/where)/some(one/body/thing/where) (like that) | 5       | 8        | 13    |
| Or other  | 0       | 37       | 37    |
| Or other things   | 0       | 1        | 1     |
| Or others   | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or so   | 0       | 0        | 0     |



TABLE 4. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS IN COWITE18.

| DISJUNCTIVE EXTENDERS | GENERAL | SPECIFIC | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|-------|
| Or stuff (like that)  | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or such thing(s)      | 4       | 1        | 5     |
| Or such-like          | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or that               | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or the like           | 0       | 1        | 1     |
| Or things (like that) | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or this or that       | 0       | 0        | 0     |
| Or what               | 0       | 11       | 11    |
| Or whatever           | 0       | 1        | 1     |
| TOTAL                 | 9       | 72       | 81    |

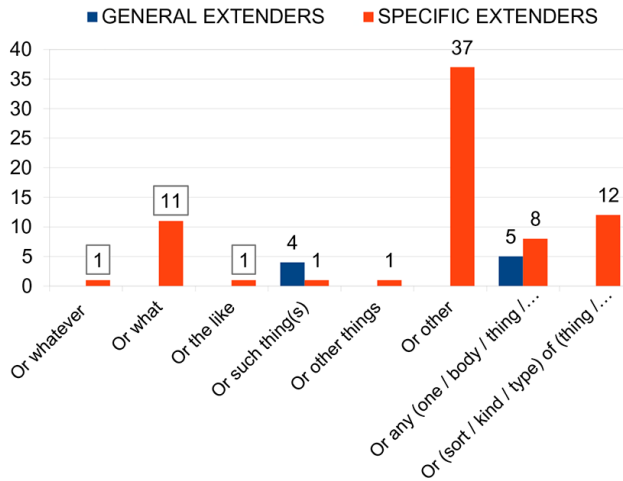


Figure 2. General and specific disjunctive extenders in CoWITE18.

Of the potential forms proposed in the initial inventory, 8 have been attested: *or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff), or any(one/body/thing/where)/some(one/body/thing/where) (like that), or other, or other things, or such thing(s), or the like, or what, or whatever*. Proportionally, the most frequent was the phrase *or other*, which accounts for 37 specific occurrences, representing more than half of the total instances.

By contrast, it is readily apparent that several disjunctive extenders included in the list are entirely absent from the samples analysed. These include 8 other forms: *or (anything/something) of (that/this) (kind/sort), or others, or so, or stuff (like that), or such-like, or that, or things (like that), or this or that*. As in the previous section, a more detailed overview of all recorded disjunctive extenders is provided in Figure 2 above, excluding those types for which no instances were found.

Certain forms have not achieved significant prominence among women in this corpus. As previously noted, the adjunctive form *and whatever* was not attested in any of the samples analysed. However, its disjunctive counterpart was identified on a single occasion. The example is presented below.

- (12) It is a fine Thing in a House, and will serve for Gravy, thicken'd with a Piece of Butter, Red Wine, Catchup, or whatever you have a mind to put in, [...] (Glasse 1767)

As illustrated, the example shows a pattern with a specific disjunctive extender that conveys an open-ended option, allowing the interlocutor the freedom to include any element of their choice, or any other ingredients available in the kitchen at the time that could be useful for thickening the gravy.

Other expressions with a single specific occurrence are *or the like*, *or other things* and *or such thing*. The first case is exemplified in the excerpt below.

- (13) How to Cleere grounds ouerone with Gorse, broom Turss or the like weeds. (Fitzgerald 1703)

The following illustrates the second, assigned to *or other things* for incorporating that substantive.

- (14) Get a White Cabbage, one Cauliflower, a few small Cucumbers, Radish Pods, Kidney Beans, and a little Beet Root, or any other thing you commonly pickle; [...] (Raffald 1769)

On the contrary, a specific extender like *or such as are Weak*, has been included within the form *or such thing* due to its structural similarity and affinity. However, it does not contain the element *thing(s)*, which, as previously noted, is the component responsible for conveying general extension.

- (15) This is good for Consumptive Persons, or such as are Weak, in recovering a long Sickness. (Kettily 1714)

Additionally, some more instances with the expression were identified, these being general and incorporating the element *thing(s)*. Moreover, in all cases, they are accompanied by modifiers such as *any* and *some*, as in *or any such thing(s)* and *or some such thing*. *Some* and *any* do not alter the generality of the expression. Although they may introduce a degree of quantification, the overall meaning remains intact and they serve to add nuance or subtle variation.

Regarding the extender *or what*, it was incorporated into the inventory on the grounds that it constitutes a form of extension predominantly associated with spoken discourse. In contemporary English, it may simply be used to solicit agreement with someone's views (Overstreet 1999, 94), to express impatience, or even uncertainty that varies depending on the context and tone of voice. Therefore, it was not anticipated



that examples of this nature would be found in recipes or remedies, a supposition that has indeed been confirmed. In the analysis, in its specific type, eleven instances were documented. One of them is given below:

- (16) When your fowls are enough, send them to table with the gravy sauce in the dish. In this manner you may do pheasants, turkeys, or what fowls you please. (Shackleford 1767)

The rest of the examples are all of a kind including constructions such as *or what you please*, *or what fish you have*, and *or what you design to glue together*. All these expressions grant the reader considerable flexibility to choose or adapt the content based on their individual preferences or contextual circumstances. In fact, the phrase *or what fish you have*, for instance, is broader than it may initially appear, as its interpretation and application will vary depending on the reader. In this sense, the referent becomes highly variable, shifting from a matter of shared general knowledge to one shaped by personal, situational factors.

However, if any form stands out quantitatively, it is undoubtedly *or other*, a construction already documented in previous historical studies (Sánchez-Barreiro 2024). 45% of all disjunctive extenders belong to this expression, representing nearly three times the frequency of the next most common types (detailed below). All tokens identified were of the specific type, with a total of 37 occurrences. In addition, out of all the forms, only *or other* and its modified version *or any other* have been attested, consistently followed by a noun phrase. Besides that, the instances are evenly distributed, with over half of the authors using them at least once in their texts, and up to a maximum of five times.

With regard to other cases, when examining the combination *or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)*, a variety of patterns can be applied, namely *or that kind of thing*, *or some kind of thing*, *or any sort of thing*, *or that kind of stuff*, *or any type of thing*, etc. Any additional related expressions formed with *sort/type/kind* that do not involve *thing* or *stuff*, for instance, *or any sort of fowl*, were accounted for in the analysis as specific extenders, resulting in 12 occurrences.

I would like to draw attention to two cases where the construction had shifted from its original position as observed in example 17:

- (17) When you roast a Goose, Turkey, or Fowls of any Sort, take care to singe them with a Piece of white Paper, [...] (Glasse 1747)

Both on this occasion and another instance in which the specific extender followed a similarly reversed order, it will appear listed after *or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff)*.

A last case to consider is that of *or any (one/body/thing/where)/some (one/body/thing/where) (like that)*, where many potential options are readily visible. Nevertheless, the last prepositional phrase *like that* has always been omitted in all the tokens found. Instead, instances combining *or anything* and *or something* were common. Moreover, in many of the cases those structures co-occurred with the words *else* or



*more*. This leads me to consider the prospective inclusion of general extenders with that specific configuration in the compiled list, namely: *or anything else, or something else, or something more*.

In this case, after performing the searches based on the initial inventory, I detected one of those previous combinations which had initially been overlooked. Examples 18 and 19 illustrate this:

- (18) [...] and put them in the same Water they were codled in, cover them with Vine Leaves, a white Paper or something more at the Top, [...] (Moxon 1752)
- (19) [...] put in as much grated manchet as will make it light, a nutmeg or something else, and as much sugar as you please, [...] (Fisher 1785)

Two more examples were noted, both functioning as specific extenders, under the form *or something* plus a comparative form of an adjective. Those were classified under the aforementioned construction *or any(one/body/thing/where)/some(one/body/thing/where) (like that): or something larger, or something thicker*. The rest of extenders within this category were formed with *anything*. No instances with other possible combinations like *anyone, anybody, somewhere*, etc. were observed.

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The growing and necessary interest in recent times in uncovering and valuing women's contributions has led to the development of projects like the corpus used in this study, CoWITE18, which places texts written exclusively by women at the forefront. This focus is especially significant given the historical context of the 18th century. Recipe books from this period are rich sources of knowledge, not merely compilations of culinary instructions, but true repositories of domestic expertise. Among numerous other aspects, they often included remedies for everyday ailments, instructions for making ointments, and advice on the medicinal use of plants, wisdom carefully preserved and passed down through generations as a valuable legacy of everyday life and care.

In this paper, we have explored the use of extenders in these historical texts, considering that such structures are typically associated with colloquial speech and oral discourse, in order to assess the extent to which they were present in 18th-century English recipe books, and to compile a definitive list of the extenders most frequently used by women within this genre.

The material analysed consisted of 22 texts dating from 1703 to 1795, comprising a total of 541,973 words, and taken from a subcorpora of the *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (CoWITE18) which covers the 18th century. The analysis revealed 271 occurrences of extenders (190 adjunctive and 81 disjunctive), both general and specific. However, general extenders were predominant in adjunctive lists, contrasted with the dominance of specific extenders in disjunctive ones.

Regarding adjunctive forms, those accounted for the majority of the linguistic elements, with 142 general-type and 48 specific-type instances. The total number of



tokens corresponded to 12 of the expressions from the initial inventory, including: *and (all) the rest, and all (that), &c., and other, and (other) things (like this/that), and others, and so on, and such (or any), and such like, and the like, and (this/that) (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff), etc.* The expression *&c.* was particularly prominent, representing the majority of the adjunctive extender occurrences, and being broadly distributed throughout the corpus.

As regards disjunctive constructions, a total of 81 occurrences were recorded, 9 pertaining to the general type and 72 to the specific type. Eight expressions from the original list were attested: *or (sort/kind/type) of (thing/stuff), or any(one/body/thing/where)/some(one/body/thing/where) (like that), or other, or other things, or such thing(s), or the like, or what, and or whatever.* Among these, the most frequent was the phrase *or other*, which appeared 37 times and accounted for more than half of the total disjunctive instances.

Finally, this study has sought to demonstrate that extenders in recipe books written by women in the 18th century do not merely serve a linguistic function of enumeration or closure, but also act as discursive strategies that reflect orality, proximity to the reader, and the practical nature of the knowledge being transmitted. Since the findings so far are not definitive, further research could benefit from a more comprehensive approach that includes additional variables potentially affecting the use of extenders in English during that period of history.

Reviews sent to the authors: 15/12/2025

Revised paper accepted for publication: 30/01/2026



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