Multiple-marking constructions in New Zealand and Australian English

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To my children, Ale and Anto.

There is no biggest number, no furthest star, no end to my love for you.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of multiple-marking constructions in post-colonial varieties of New Zealand English (NZE) and Australian English (AuE). Its primary objectives are to explore how these constructions help speakers express communicative intentions, determine whether they attract specific lexical items, and investigate the link between constructional productivity and linguistic evolution as outlined in Schneider (2007)'s Dynamic Model. Drawing on Construction Grammar, the study views constructions as meaningful form-meaning pairings used for pragmatic effect. It introduces the term *multiple-marking constructions* to describe cases where repeated or redundant lexical items are employed to achieve such pragmatic functions.

It focuses on three types of such constructions: double comparison, double negation and double intensifier. A corpus-based analysis was conducted using five corpora, including both spoken and written data from NZE and AuE.

Findings show that NZE tends to use double comparison and double intensifier constructions more frequently, while double negation appears significantly more often in AuE. Each variety also shows distinct preferences for the lexical items that fill these constructions, suggesting differences in morphosyntactic development. These patterns reflect each variety's position in the evolution of post-colonial Englishes, particularly during the phase of differentiation as described by Schneider (2007).

The study further reveals that speakers use these nonstandard grammatical constructions to fulfill various communicative purposes. This variation appears to depend on both speaker intention and context, supporting usage-based theories of language (Tomasello 2003; 2008; 2014). The findings also address a gap in the literature by highlighting the use of multiple intensifiers in post-colonial Englishes, especially in NZE.

Finally, the study raises important questions for future research.

Keywords: Multiple-marking constructions, post-colonial Englishes, New Zealand English, Australian English, Construction Grammar, Dynamic Model, pragmatic functions.

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List of abbreviations/symbols

ADJ adjective

ADV adverb

AFFIR affirmative

ALVEO Above and Beyond Speech, Language and Music: A Virtual Lab for Human Communication Science

AmE American English

ART Australian Radio Talkback

AuE Australian English

AusVE Australian Vernacular English

AUX auxiliary

BrE British English

Bet. between

CA Collexeme Analysis

CoANZSE the Corpus of Australian and New Zealand Spoken English

CxG Construction Grammar

Cxn construction

DIR direction

DET determiner

DM Dynamic Model

ENL English as a native language

ESL English as a second language

eWAVE the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English

FREQ frequency, frequent

GloWbE Global Web-based English Corpus

IDG indigenous strand/group

IrE Irish English

L1 first language, mother tongue

L2 second language

LDN logical double negation

KWIC Key word in Context

MV main verb

N noun

NC negative concord

NeCTAR National eResearch Collaboration Tools and Resources

NEG negative

NP noun phrase

NZE New Zealand English

OBL oblique

OBJ object, direct object

OBJ COMPL object complement

PCE Post-colonial English

POS possessive

POSTAG parts of speech tags

PP prepositional phrase

PRN pronoun

QBCC QuakeBox Canterbury Corpus

StAusFE Standard Formal Australian English

STL settler strand/group

SUBJ/SBJ subject

SUBJ COMPL subject complement

V/VB verb phrase

WCSNZE Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English

WE World English

WWI First World War

WWII Second World War

[ ] – insertions or clarifications added to quoted material by the author

1 Introduction

1.1 Goals and contributions

Over the past few decades, the study of nonstandard features in English has been a central focus in linguistics and usage-based grammar. Researchers have tried to explore why native speakers choose certain linguistic constructions over others and why speakers of standard English varieties incorporate nonstandard features into their speech (Goldberg 2019; Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

This thesis seeks to address these questions by investigating three linguistic constructions in two varieties of English, offering fresh insights into Construction Grammar and World Englishes. Moreover, this study is significant in highlighting speakers' communicative behaviours, emphasising the role of linguistic choice and the integration of nonstandard features in standard English (Searle 1979; Tomasello 2014; Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

The primary objective of this research is to analyse what I define as MULTIPLE-MARKING CONSTRUCTIONS (see Section 2.2). Specifically, I aim to explore why native speakers of standard New Zealand English (NZE) and Australian English (AuE) frequently use multiple linguistic markers in everyday speech and to examine the underlying motivations behind these choices.

To this end, this study contributes to the fields of Construction Grammar and World Englishes by examining how nonstandard grammatical features – such as double intensifiers, double comparison, and double negation – are employed within standard discourse in Post-colonial Englishes. It addresses a gap in existing research by highlighting the frequency and pragmatic functions of multiple intensifiers in NZE and AuE. Additionally, the study introduces the term *multiple-marking constructions* to describe the use of repeated linguistic elements within constructions, offering a unified framework for future comparative research across English varieties.

1.2 Why NZE and AuE?

Australia and New Zealand share notable similarities, particularly in their linguistic development, as highlighted by Kiesling (2006: 74). A key factor contributing to this is "intermigration," referring to the frequent "travel and migration between the two nations since colonisation", which has influenced their speech patterns. Furthermore, both countries

underwent relatively "late British colonisation, Australia in 1788 and New Zealand [around] 1840," placing them at similar stages of historical development (Kiesling 2006: 74).

Building on this, Schneider (2007: 52-55; 125-127; 132-133)'s Dynamic Model (DM) categorises both Australian and New Zealand English within the same evolutionary phase – Phase V, known as *differentiation.* This stage signifies that these Englishes have developed into distinct varieties, separate from British English not only politically and economically but also culturally. Additionally, this phase marks the emergence of regional and ethnic identities, further shaping the unique linguistic landscape of each nation. Importantly, both Australian and New Zealand English share this stage of evolution, reflecting common linguistic features that have developed through similar historical and social influences (see Section 2.8.4.).

1.3 Exploring the research problem

One important question in linguistics is why speakers choose certain linguistic constructions over others. Many researchers have looked into this question from different angles.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Coulmas (2013) studies how social factors affect how people select linguistic items in different situations. He believes that these choices are not random but are influenced by factors like cultural norms, identity, gender, age, bilingualism. He suggests that the way people speak shows their social identity.

On the other hand, Goldberg (1995) approaches this question from a Construction Grammar perspective, which argues that linguistic constructions, pairings of form and meaning, are learned and used holistically. Goldberg (1995) explains that the Ditransitive construction (like *She baked him a cake*) conveys the idea of "giving" or "transfer", even when the verb itself does not explicitly indicate giving or transferring. She also points out that people are creative with language. For example, *sneeze* is typically an intransitive verb, but its use in the sentence *He sneezed the foam off the cappuccino* is extended to indicate that an agent caused something to move. Similarly, *baked* is usually used transitively (with a subject, verb and object), but in the sentence *She baked him a cake*, the verb is used ditransitively to convey a sense of transfer – specifically, giving a cake to someone. This supports the idea that speakers use existing constructions to fit new communicative needs.

In a like manner, from a usage-based perspective, Bybee (2010) emphasises that speakers tend to favour constructions that are more frequent and easier to process. Her theory suggests that linguistic structures emerge and persist due to repeated usage rather

than innate syntactic rules. For example, speakers frequently use *I'm gonna* instead of *I am going to* because the former is phonetically reduced and cognitively easier to retrieve.

Another relevant issue is the presence of nonstandard features within standard varieties of English.

Kortmann et al. (2020), for example, investigate the distribution of nonstandard morphosyntactic features across standard English varieties worldwide. They have developed an online map (known as 'eWave') showing where these features are more or less commonly used. One example is the double comparison construction (e.g. *more better*), which appears in multiple standard varieties despite being traditionally considered nonstandard. Crystal (2019) also comments on the increasing use of multiple negation in contemporary English. In addition, Nuñez and Palacios-Martinez (2014) explore the redundant use of double intensifiers (e.g. *absolutely totally*) in British English. Aside from their study, there appears to be little dedicated research on the use of double or multiple intensifiers in Post-colonial Englishes. This points to a potential gap in the existing literature and suggests that double intensification deserves further attention, particularly given its absence from major references such as eWAVE (Kortmann et al. 2020).

Moreover, Austin (1962), Searle (1979) and Tomasello (2003; 2008; 2014) have shown that language is performative; in other words, actions are carried out through language. Spoken words may convey meanings that are different from their literal content. For instance, if someone remarks *it's hot in here*, they might actually be hinting that the listener should open a window or door to let in fresh air. Goldberg (1995) and Hoffmann (2022) also acknowledge that constructions can have pragmatic functions. For instance, a construction such as *this is so much more worse* could function pragmatically as a complaint about the topic of conversation. However, the pragmatic functions of multiple-marking constructions in Post-colonial Englishes have received relatively little attention in the existing literature. According to Crystal (2017; 2019), pragmatics involves examining linguistic choices, the reasons behind them, and their effects. So, why might a speaker opt to use multiple or doubled linguistic elements in their speech? What motivates this choice? This study aims to investigate the contexts in which multiple-marking constructions are used and infer the speaker's intention when employing them.

Another key point is that relatively little work appears to have classified these constructions under a single term (i.e. *multiple-marking*) to describe the phenomenon of lexical item repetition or redundancy used to convey a pragmatic function.

Building on these discussions, this study will explore why speakers favour nonstandard forms and incorporate multiple linguistic elements into their constructions such as *I ain't never going to do it* over standard counterparts like *I will never do it*. Furthermore, it will examine the motivations behind this linguistic multiplication.

1.4 A brief introduction to multiple-marking constructions

Many linguists have described a *construction* as a pairing of form and meaning (Goldberg 1995, 2019; Herbst & Hoffmann 2024; Hilpert 2014; Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013). Drawing on De Saussure's (1916) theory of the linguistic sign, constructions are understood as consisting of both a sound sequence and a mental concept. For example, the word construction *blue* comprises the sound /'blu:/ and the mental representation of a particular colour. Constructions exist across all levels of linguistic structure, ranging from morphemes to full sentences, and they encode various types of linguistic information, including phonological, semantic, pragmatic and syntactic features (Goldberg 1995; 2003; 2006).

Returning to the example of *blue*, this word construction incorporates all these elements: it has a specific sound form (/'blu:/); it possesses morphosyntactic properties, functioning as an adjective that modifies a noun (e.g. *blue sea*); it conveys the semantic meaning of a specific colour shade; and it can also carry pragmatic meaning, which is context-dependent (e.g. *I feel blue* to express sadness). Consider this analysis below:

(1.1.) *blue*
FORM: PHONOLOGY: /'blu:/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [ADJ + N]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: type of colour
PRAGMATICS: feeling of sadness (e.g. *I feel blue)*

Given that, in this present thesis I will examine MULTIPLE-MARKING CONSTRUCTIONS. I will employ the term MULTIPLE-MARKING as an overarching label to describe constructions that involve the use of multiple linguistic elements (e.g. *you **don't** know **nothing** 'bout hard work* <GloWbE#

3333275 #AuE>) to reinforce the intended meaning of the construction (see Section 2.2.). Like any other construction, they carry semantic, syntactic, phonological and pragmatic functions. Consider:

(1.2.) *You **don't** know **nothing** 'bout hard work* <GloWbE# 3333275 #AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint; insult

(1.3.) *It's unfortunately the **more poorer** areas* <QBCC# LY962_AleciaLove.eaf>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings (regret) and implicit request (authorities should take action)

(1.4.) *My jeans were **absolutely horribly** brown with dirt*
<QBCC# AP2513LJ_JulieGray.eaf>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$+$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$+$ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: complaint and seeking empathy with interlocutor

Moreover, I will explore three specific constructions in this thesis. Namely, double comparatives, double negatives, double intensifiers (see examples above). The choice of these constructions is based on the fact that they represent distinctive morphosyntactic features of the varieties of English under analysis (see Sections 2.2., 2.5., 2.8.6., 2.8.7.). Existing literature suggests that such constructions primarily serve to reinforce a speaker's

proposition or emphasise meaning (Crystal 2019). However, this thesis focuses on the pragmatic function of multiple-marking constructions, specifically how they convey the speaker's communicative intent. For instance, Searle (1979) argues that utterances function as speech acts, meaning that language is used to perform actions, such as making requests or suggestions. Using corpus examples, I will illustrate how multiple-marking constructions reflect and convey the speaker's intended communicative actions.

1.5 Method

To explore the research questions, this study adopts a corpus-based approach, drawing on data from five relevant corpora. The analysis focuses on two English varieties – NZE and AuE – which were selected due to their closely linked historical development. By examining multiple-marking constructions within these corpora, the study aims to determine whether the shared evolutionary background of NZE and AuE influences their grammatical patterns. Further details are provided in the Method section.

1.6 Research questions and hypotheses

Ultimately, this thesis aims to address the following research questions and, in doing so, to validate the proposed hypotheses.

Research Questions (RQ):

- RQ 1: Is there a correlation between phases of evolution and slot productivity in multiple-marking cxns?
- RQ2: What are the pragmatic functions of multiple-marking constructions? How do they contribute to meaning? Are there particular pragmatic functions associated with their use?
- RQ3: Are there specific words that are attracted by multiple-marking constructional slots?

Hypotheses (H):

- H1: NZE and AuE show similar slot productivity in multiple-marking constructions owing to their phase of evolution

Kiesling (2006: 74) highlights that New Zealand and Australia have followed similar paths in their linguistic development since the colonial era, with intermigration between the two nations playing a significant role in shaping their speech patterns.

Moreover, Schneider (2007) situates varieties such as NZE and AuE in phase V of the Dynamic Model (DM). He postulates that such PCEs have evolved independently from their mother country and become a variety in their own right – developing unique features that characterise their singularity from other varieties.

As well, Hoffmann (2021: 3) has recently provided a cognitive foundation of the DM and indicated that there is a correlation between the different stages of evolution of the DM and an incrementation of the "schematization of constructions." Based on diverse cognitive reasons (such as the DM Productivity Hypothesis), Hoffmann (2021) explains that PCEs at more advanced stages of evolution display similar productivity of constructional slots.

Given that, this study posits that these two PCEs share similar productivity of slots in multiple-marking constructions – signifying how CxG can complement the theory of the DM and how varieties develop specific constructions which correlate to their particular phase of evolution.

- H2: The multiplying of linguistic elements in multiple-marking constructions has the pragmatic function of expressing different communicative intentions of the speaker (e.g. expressing emotions, making complaints, seeking empathy, persuading, etc.).

Crystal (2017; 2019) highlights the importance of communicative context in influencing how speakers formulate utterances, noting that speakers' linguistic choices are influenced by the specific interactions they have with other language users.

Additionally, Tomasello (2008: 72–73) suggests that an awareness of communicative intentions emerges early in life, particularly during language acquisition in children. When children are exposed to language, their primary aim is to comprehend the speaker's overarching communicative intent – such as whether a statement is meant to command, inform, or declare.

Furthermore, Hoffmann (2022) notes that constructions serve pragmatic functions. These functions are frequently tied to the speaker's intended meaning, a point also supported by Searle (1979).

Moreover, Palacios Martínez (2003) and González Díaz (2008) highlight that forms such as multiple negation and double comparison do more than convey literal meanings of negation or comparison – they also intensify the speaker's message.

In consideration of the factors discussed, this study hypothesises that the repetition or multiplication of linguistic elements (as seen in expressions like *he won't hear nothing*) operates as a necessary grammatical mechanism to convey the intended meaning of the construction and/or articulate the speaker's communicative intention.

- H3: There are associations between specific words and multiple-marking cxns

There are several factors to consider when examining why certain constructions are allowed while others are not. For instance, adjectives like *cold, hot, warm* and *big* are sometimes used in double comparative constructions because they possess inherent scalar properties. These adjectives exist along a spectrum of degrees (e.g. *hot, warm, lukewarm, cold*), allowing for gradability (Kennedy & McNally 2005). This characteristic might explain why such adjectives are more frequently used in comparison than other types. Additionally, some adjectives may be employed because they carry an emotional component (Dirven et al 1997), enabling the speaker to intensify their feelings by repeating the comparative element, as in *more happier*. This leads to an exploration of whether certain words are drawn to multiple-marking constructions, and why speakers choose specific words in particular constructions over others. To investigate this, I plan to conduct a collexeme analysis. Following the methods of Gries and Stefanowitsch (2010) and Levshina (2015), this analysis compares two or more constructions to determine which slot fillers are captivated by one construction and cancelled by another (see Method Section). This approach will provide some insights into the associations between words and multiple-marking constructions, highlighting patterns in how certain items are used.

1.7 Outline

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 offers an introduction, outlining the scope and objectives of the research project; and, presents the research questions and hypotheses

guiding the investigation. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature and prior studies in the field. Chapter 3 details the methodology, including data collection procedures and the corpus study framework. Chapter 4 reports the findings of the study, while Chapter 5 provides an in-depth discussion of these results. Finally, the thesis concludes with a summary of the key insights and their implications.

2 Literature review

2.1 Construction Grammar Principles

The concept of *construction* is rooted in the Saussurean notion of a linguistic sign; that is, a complex pairing of form or sound and a meaning or mental concept (De Saussure 1916; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013: 1).

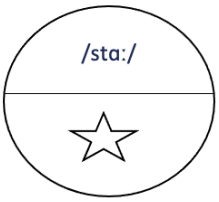


Figure 2.1. Illustration of De Saussure (1916)'s linguistic sign

As it can be observed from Figure 2.1., the word *star* is a linguistic sign which consists of a form (i.e. the sound sequence) and a mental concept (i.e. a point of light in the sky). Any form-meaning pairing is understood as a construction as long as it is frequently used in the communicative environment (Goldberg 2006). If the construction is used with high frequency, it will be stored in the mind of the speaker, in his long-term memory for subsequent uses.

Construction, as a term, has been applied in the field of Construction Grammar (CxG). Differing from the framework of mainstream Generative Grammar, which argues that individuals possess an innate linguistic knowledge of their language's rules (known as Universal Grammar or UG), CxG challenges this perspective (Goldberg 2006: 5). It asserts that children are not born with grammatical knowledge but instead acquire it by generalising from the language they hear (Ambridge & Levin 2011: 2,126, 133). For instance, Ambridge and Levin (2011: 3,126, 133) suggest that the formation of the past tense, such as adding *-ed* in words like *kissed*, does not follow a strict grammatical rule but occurs through analogy with similar sounding pairs like *missed*.

What is more, CxG believes that there is no separation between the lexicon and syntax (Goldberg 1995: 7). CxG is a usage-based approach – which entails that language emerges from social interaction. As Goldberg (2006: 5) puts it, "patterns are stored as constructions (…) as long as they occur with sufficient frequency". For constructions to be acquired and stored there must be communicative interaction between language users (Goldberg 2006).

Usage-based or constructivist approaches argue that language is acquired through social interaction and that speakers, rather than grammars, generate sentences. Speakers can creatively combine constructions as long as those constructions exist within the language (Goldberg 2006: 22; Tomasello 2006: 3). Due to this creative aspect of language use, constructions are never entirely predictable (Hilpert 2014: 10). Goldberg (1995: 9) illustrates this with the example *He sneezed the napkin off the table*, which demonstrates linguistic creativity. The verb *sneeze* is typically intransitive, yet in this case, the speaker has used it transitively. This pattern follows what is known as the *caused-motion construction*, which can be paraphrased as "X causes Y to move along or towards Z."

What is more, Goldberg (1995: 1) postulates that "sentences of English are instances of *constructions* (…) constructions themselves carry meaning, independently of the words in the sentence." The linguist asserts that constructions are found in all levels of linguistic description (from morphemes to sentences) (Goldberg 2003: 219, 220). As she notes, "[a]ll levels of grammatical analysis involve constructions: learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms" (Goldberg 2006: 5). Moreover, Lyngfelt (2018: 2) notes that constructions are "any linguistic structure where a formal pattern is conventionally associated with a certain meaning or function." Examples of different constructions include *pre-* (morpheme construction), *avocado* (word construction), *going great guns/jog <someone's> memory* (idiom construction), among many others (Goldberg 2006: 5).

Further examples of constructions are listed below:

(2.5) *i was just* ***more browner*** *than what I* <WCSNZE# DPC195:0725:BN>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: clarification

(2.6) *well how can i tell what temperature it is if we* ***haven't*** *got* ***nothing*** *to test it*
<WCSNZE# DPC077:0035:CY>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

In addition, Hoffmann and Trousdale (2013: 2) explain that constructions can be either substantive or schematic. The difference between schematic and substantive is clearly illustrated in the table below.

Table 2.1. Examples of substantive and schematic constructions (reproduced from Brunner & Hoffmann 2020: 4)

Construction	Example	Form	Meaning
Partly substantive Partly schematic (‘morpheme construction’)	*un*-construction	$[[ʌn]_1$-$ADJ_2]_{ADJ3}$	‘not $_1$ A_2’$_3$
Fully substantive (‘word construction’)	*apple*-construction	$[æpl]_N$ ‘apple’	‘apple’
Partly substantive Partly schematic (‘idiom construction’)	X *take* Y *for granted* construction	$[SBJ_1$ $TAKE_3$ OBJ_2 fə grɑ:ntɪd$_3]_{idiom}$	‘A_1 [does not value]$_3$ B_2 enough’
Partly substantive Partly schematic (‘phrasal construction’)	Comparative construction	[X BE $Adj_{Comparative}$ ðən Y]	‘X is more Adj than Y’
Fully schematic (‘syntactic construction’)	Resultative construction	[X V Y Z]	‘X causes Y to become Z’

A substantive construction is considered lexically fixed, meaning that its lexical components cannot be altered or omitted. Examples of such constructions include idiomatic expressions like *spill the beans* or *a bun in the oven* whose meanings are not derived from their individual words. For instance, *a bun in the oven* does not refer to baked pastries but rather to pregnancy. The overall meaning comes from the construction as a whole. On the other hand, a schematic construction is more flexible and allows for variation in its lexical components (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013: 2). For example, one could say *he kissed/hugged/waved her goodbye*. Furthermore, the authors introduce a third category: a construction that is "partly schematic, partly substantive." In this case, some elements remain fixed while others are variable. For instance, in *John is taller than you*, the word *than* is the only substantive element, while the rest of the construction can be adapted, as seen in *Peter isn't cleverer than her* or *they are bigger than me*.

In summary, constructions can be described as follows:

- Form-meaning pairings: Constructions consist of a combination of a form (sound sequence) and a mental representation (concept) (see Figure 2.1.) (Hilpert 2014: 10).
- Conventional: Constructions arise from social conventions; they emerge through shared linguistic usage within a community (Tomasello 2006: 3).
- Compositional vs. Noncompositional: The meaning of some constructions is compositional; meaning can be inferred from their individual components (e.g. *John cut the tree*). Others are noncompositional, as in idioms where meaning is derived from the whole rather than its individual parts (e.g. *kick the bucket* does not mean "kick" + "bucket", but "to die") (Hilpert 2014: 10).
- Not fully predicatble/creative pattern: Constructions follow patterns, but they also allow for creative and less predictable expressions, such as *he sneezed the foam off the cappuccino* (Goldberg 1995: 9; Goldberg 2006: 5; Herbst & Hoffmann 2024: 5).
- Language-specific: Constructions vary across languages. For instance, English allows *he sneezed the foam off the cappuccino*, whereas in Spanish, expressing the same concept generally requires an additional clause: *estornudó y la espuma salió volando del capuchino* (Croft 2001: 51; Goldberg 2006: 5, 13; Tomasello 2006: 6-7).
- Substantive vs. schematic constructions: Some constructions are lexically fixed, meaning their words cannot be altered without changing their meaning (e.g. *kick the*

bucket). Others are schematic, allowing for variability within their structure (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013: 2). For example, to illustrate a schematic construction, one could say *She elbowed her way through the crowd* or *She pushed her way through the crowd*.

Apart from that, the mental inventory of linguistic constructions is referred to as the "constructicon." In other words, "the network of constructions that emerges in a speaker's brain" (Herbst & Hoffmann 2024: 5). Notably, these stored form-meaning pairings vary in complexity, ranging from simple words to highly abstract patterns. Crucially, a constructicon differs from speaker to speaker as the storage and entrenchment of constructions depend on personal experience, exposure to the language and frequency of use. As Herbst and Hoffmann (2024: 5, 6) explain:

> There is (…) no such thing as a single constructicon of English, but rather a vast amount of constructicons that all differ from one another (…) the shape of a person's constructicon is highly dependent on social factors as well, because they play an important part in determining that person's linguistic experience (Herbst & Hoffmann 2024: 5, 6).

In the same vein, Diessel (2019: 44) elucidates that "[s]ince linguistic experience varies across the members of a speech community, individual speakers can have different representations of constructional schemas".

Furthermore, Diessel (2019: 44) also elaborates on the concept of "network," arguing that the human mind organises constructions into an interconnected system. He claims that a fundamental principle of usage-based linguistics is that "schemas and lexical units are linked within a "taxonomic network""(see also Goldberg 1995: 70-71). In addition to this, Diessel (2013: 350) postulates that "[i]n analogy to the mental lexicon, grammar can be seen as a network of complex linguistic signs that are associated with each other by various types of links." In addition to this, Hilpert (2014: 57) also points out that the constructicon is a "hierarchical network in which constructions are interlinked."

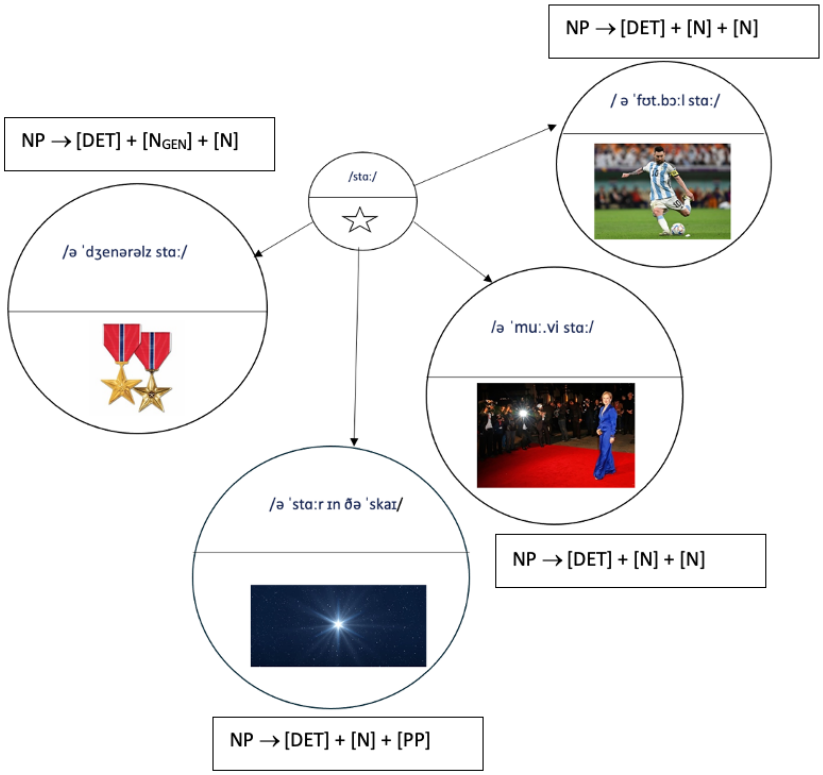


Figure 2.2. Representation of a constructional network of the NP a star

As a way of illustration consider Figure 2.2. above. A speaker forms different noun phrase (NP) constructions involving the word *star* by establishing connections with other NP constructions in his constructicon. Constructional schemas emerge when speakers generalise linguistic input. Through linguistic interactions or experiences – such as hearing bedtime stories – children learn that the simple construction *star* refers to a point of light in the sky. As they grow and engage with more language users, they come to understand that *star* can carry different meanings in other contexts. For instance, in phrases like *movie star* (e.g. Meryl Streep) or *football star* (e.g. Messi), the word *star* denotes someone famous in the fields of cinema or sports. Most importantly, these constructional interconnections enable speakers to extend the use of *star* to new contexts. Depending on their interests, professions, personal relationships and experiences, they may create novel expressions such as *my granny is a cooking star* or *my grandpa is an engineering star.*

2.2 Multiple-marking constructions

2.2.1 What are multiple-marking constructions?

Similar to other patterns, multiple-marking constructions are complex pairings of form and meaning. They carry semantic, syntactic, phonological and pragmatic functions (see examples below). I will use MULTIPLE-MARKING as an umbrella term to describe constructions that attract the use of multiple linguistic elements *(e.g. you **won't** hear **nothing** on the tape <WCSNZE# DPC082:0505:BB>, cash is **more easier** to handle <WCSNZE# DPC170:0030:AL>, if it wasn't for the **absolutely incredibly** smart brains <QBCC # NB1SS_AaronLewis.eaf>)* to convey the intended meaning of the construction. More precisely, it is hypothesised that the pragmatic function of these constructions is to express the speaker's communicative intention (such as expressing emotions, making complaints, among others) (see Findings section).

Earlier prescriptive accounts have often described patterns such as double negation, double comparison as redundant, illogical, or nonstandard (see Section 2.5). In contrast, the present study adopts a Construction Grammar and usage-based perspective, in which recurrent linguistic patterns are treated as meaningful form-meaning pairings rather than mistakes. Multiple-marking constructions are analysed here as resources that speakers use to achieve specific pragmatic effects, rather than as deviations from an idealised standard.

Moreover, it is important to highlight that multiple-marking constructions consist of multiplied or doubled linguistic elements which serve the same semantic function – whether in negation, comparison or intensification. In negation, negative auxiliaries or modal verbs (e.g. *haven't, won't*), negative pronouns (e.g. *nothing, nobody*), and negative adverbs (e.g. *never, nowhere*) all function to express negation. Similarly, comparison is conveyed through both comparative and superlative adjectives (e.g. *bigger, huger, best*) and periphrastic forms (e.g. *more, most*). Likewise, intensifiers (e.g. *absolutely, incredibly*) all fulfill the same semantic function of intensification.

Some examples of the constructions analysed in this thesis are illustrated below:

(2.7) *theories **don't** prove **nothing*** <GloWbE# 1716442 #NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: downplaying; expressing dissatisfaction; and implicit request (more action is needed beyond theories)

(2.8) *your bloggs are becoming more and **more better*** < GloWbE# 3334738 #AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: praise (compliment) and implicit request (encouragement to continue)

(2.9) *The carpet python has occasional individuals which are **absolutely outrageously** stunning* <ART # ABCE4 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings; praising

(2.10) *it's far **more huger** than what it was say ten years ago*
<WCSNZE # DGI157:0060:PK>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings/complaint (frustration) and implicit request

According to Table 2.1., there can be different constructional templates for these multiple-marking constructions. For instance, in the double comparison construction, [MORE/MOST] [$ADJ_{ER/EST}$][NP] or [SUBJ:NP] [BE] [MORE/MOST] [$ADJ_{ER/EST}$], the periphrastic

forms *more* and *most* can be seen as substantive items, while the comparative or superlative adjectival slot is schematic, as it can accommodate a wider range of adjectives. Thus, the double comparison construction is considered a partially substantive and partially schematic construction.

Similarly, the double negation construction can exhibit various templates. For example, [SUBJ:NP] [AUX_{NEG}] [V] [PRN_{NEG}] (e.g. *You haven't heard nothing*) or [SUBJ:NP] [AUX_{NEG}] [$ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ}$] [V] (e.g. *You won't never call him*). In these templates, *nothing* and *never* are substantive elements, while the other lexical items are schematic, as a variety of negative auxiliaries or verbs can be used.

In the case of the double intensifier construction, the template is [SUBJ:NP] [BE] [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ] or [SUBJ:NP][ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}] [V]. This construction is considered fully schematic, as it can be filled with a wide range of linguistic elements, such as *They are absolutely totally sweet, He is utterly completely curious about your work, You very really have to talk to her, or We extremely horribly need his help.*

Although the study focuses on the varieties of NZE and AuE, it is important to acknowledge that multiple-marking exists in other PCEs – for instance, double negation in African American English (otherwise called Vernacular Black English) (Hickey 2004: 608). As stated earlier, this thesis will only analyse three constructions (i.e. double comparison, double negation and double intensifier constructions). Further multiple-marking constructions, like double modals (e.g. *I might could help you* <GloWbE # 293434 GB>)[1] – will not be included in this thesis. The main reason for this is that double modals are characteristic of other PCEs – mainly, Scottish, Northern English, Southern American, and Caribbean English varieties (Schneider 2004: 285-286). It is worth noting, however, that Morin and Coats (2023) have recently conducted an extensive corpus analysis to investigate double modals in NZE and AuE. Their research identified a significant number of double modals employed by speakers, with the data sourced from videos on YouTube council channels. As a result, the double modal constructions observed in their study differ from those examined in the present thesis. Upon reviewing their examples, it can be said that that double modals are used primarily as a politeness strategy, serving to protect face. The concepts of "face" and "face-saving" refer to the image individuals aim to project during social interactions, as well as the strategies they

[1] GloWbE: corpus of web-based global English
GB: General British English

adopt to express approval, solidarity, or appreciation, or to respect another person's face and avoid imposing on them. However, everyday conversation often contains face-threatening acts, which, as the term suggests, pose a threat to the speaker's face (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 273-275). Thus, speakers employ politeness strategies to preserve social harmony. This is exemplified in the interactions between council members and citizens, as highlighted by Morin and Coats (2023), who observe that "the strong connection between polite, face-preserving speech and double modal use is also evinced in our corpus" (Morin and Coats 2023: 8).

To summarise, the primary difference between double modal constructions and the constructions examined in this thesis lies in their pragmatic function. Double modals are generally employed to soften statements or introduce hedges, making speech sound more polite in conversation. In contrast, double negatives, double comparatives, and double intensifiers are primarily used to emphasise the speaker's proposition and convey the speaker's communicative intent. While instances of hedging or mitigation may occur in some cases, this study takes a broader perspective on pragmatic effects, considering not only politeness but also other functions such as expressing complaints, persuasion, emotional emphasis, or praise. The dominant function of these constructions remains emphatic and pragmatic rather than solely mitigative.

Importantly, the communicative intentions of double comparatives, double negatives, and double intensifiers vary across social contexts. Depending on the situation, speakers may use them to complain, persuade, express emotions, or offer praise, among others. Consider the following examples mentioned earlier:

(1.4) *My jeans were **absolutely horribly** brown with dirt*
<QBCC # AP2513LJ_JulieGray.eaf>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: complaint and seeking empathy with interlocutor

(1.2) *You **don't** know **nothing** ' bout hard work* <GloWbE# 3333275 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: complaint; insult

(2.10) *it's far **more huger** than what it was say ten years ago*

<WCSNZE # DGI157:0060:PK>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings (regret) and implicit request (authorities should take action)

In the first example, the communicative intention combines a complaint with an appeal for empathy from the interlocutor. The speaker presents an unpleasant situation and implicitly expects emotional responses such as *Poor you, What a pity, The same thing happened to me.* By contrast, in the second example, the construction places greater emphasis on criticising the interlocutor's perceived laziness, functioning as a complaint. Lastly, in (2.10), the speaker is using double comparison to express his emotions and make a complaint. Indeed, he is concerned about the increase in domestic violence incidents. He even compares the current situation to what it was ten years ago. The redundancy of the comparative markers (e.g. *more huger*) serves an emotional purpose: to emphasise the speakers' emotions about the incident (i.e. his frustration or shock) and a complaint or implicit request that something must be done to improve the situation. To conclude, while most of the examples discussed here are complaints, other constructions, such as (2.8) *your bloggs are becoming more and more better* < GloWbE# 3334738 #AuE>*,* serve a different pragmatic purpose, namely praise and encouragement, illustrating that context shapes the communicative function of the construction.

2.2.2 Exploring possible explanations for the formation of multiple-marking constructions

Bybee (2010: 57) suggests that new language constructions emerge through analogy to previously established patterns stored in speakers' minds. She explains that analogy involves the process by which a speaker adopts "a novel item [within] a construction, [with its acceptability depending] on the extent of similarity to prior uses of the construction" (Bybee 2010: 57). For instance, Bybee (2010: 62, 63) explains that the Spanish structure *quedarse + ADJ* emerges through comparisons with existing patterns. A clear example of this is the phrase *me quedé atónita* ("I became amazed"), which arises by analogy to other similar preexisting constructions of [*quedarse + ADJ*] and that convey the idea of being surprised, such as *quedarse asombrado, quedarse pasmado, quedarse boquiabierto, quedarse desconcertado,* or *quedarse estupefacto.*

In light of this, and considering Diessel's (2019) theory, it can be argued that constructions are interconnected – speakers link available constructions within the constructicon to serve their communicative goals, such as expressing emotions, complaining, seeking empathy, or making requests.

Additionally, Clark (2004) suggests that when adults forget something, e.g. like the location of their house keys, the conceptual (spatial) information tied to the object (in this case, the keys) is still available in their mind. The person retrieves this conceptual information and can then recall where they left the keys. This process highlights how cognitive mechanisms facilitate the access and integration of information.

In linguistics, constructional schemas refer to the mental templates that guide the use of specific grammatical constructions in language. These templates allow speakers to use language flexibly by combining different elements (like words or phrases) in ways that suit the context or communicative need. For example, Tomasello (2000) suggests that children creatively form new constructions by blending various patterns or schemas. In one study, Diessel and Tomasello (1999) examined how six children began using complex sentences. The findings showed that children often used attention-getting verbs like *see* alongside a full sentence. For example, *See he bite me* – where the child combines the *See*__ construction with the *he bite me* construction.

In the context of multiple-marking, the following schemas [more ADJ] and [ADJ-er] help speakers express comparison. Following Clark (2004)'s cognitive theory, when the need or context arises, speakers automatically draw on these schemas and combine them in an

appropriate way (e.g. multiple-marking constructions such as *more bigger*, reflecting the combination of these schemas *[more ADJ]* and *[ADJ-er]*). Just as conceptual information about keys can be retrieved when needed, language users retrieve specific constructional schemas from their constructicon.

What is more, conceptual blending theory, developed by Fauconnier and Turner (2003), is a cognitive framework that explains how people combine elements from different mental spaces to create new meaning. For example, the compound noun *house boat*, illustrates how conceptual blending constructs meaning beyond simple combination of concepts. In this blend, there are two primary input spaces: one for house, associated with land, residence, stability, and domestic life; and one for boat, associated with water, mobility, and nautical activity (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 70-71). These inputs belong to distinct conceptual domains – land and water – with different participants (e.g. "a resident lives in a house, a sailor is aboard a boat") (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 70). However, in the blend, the house and the boat are projected onto a single entity: a *house boat* – a hybrid construction that borrows from both domains. Here, they do become counterparts in the blend, and this integrated concept gives rise to new meaning not present in the inputs alone. The result is an emergent structure: a boat that functions as a home but stays on water (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 70).

In addition, conceptual blending operates through what Fauconnier and Turner (2003: 59) describe as a four-space model (as presented in the Figure below).

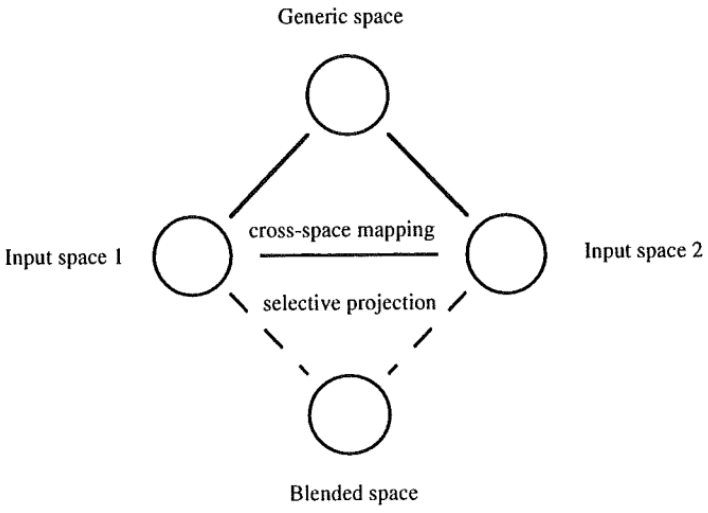


Figure 2.3. Four-space model (reproduced from Fauconnier and Turner (2003: 59))

This theory relies on four mental spaces to explain the process of generating new ideas. First, there are two input spaces – each one represents a different idea or situation. Then, there is a generic space, which shows a basic pattern or general structure that the two inputs share. Finally, there is the blended space, where parts of both inputs are mixed together to create a new idea (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 59-60).

Given that, the blending of *house* boat relies on these four mental spaces: input space 1 contains one conceptual structure (e.g. a house on land, associated with stability, residence, and domestic life), input space 2 contains another (e.g. a boat on water, associated with travel, mobility, and nautical function), the generic space includes shared structure (e.g. a physical structure that provides shelter for people), and the blended space creates a new, emergent meaning (e.g. a house boat – an integrated structure that functions as a home but floats on water) (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 59-60).

Beyond that, this framework could be useful in explaining constructions like double comparison, such as *more better*. In this case, input space 1 contains the word *better*, which is already the comparative form of *good* and represents an improvement or a comparison between two things. Input space 2 contains the intensifier *more*, which serves to amplify or strengthen the comparison. The generic space holds the general concept of comparison or making something greater or improved. In the blended space, these elements combine to create a new meaning where *more better* expresses a stronger or intensified comparison. This blended meaning reflects the speaker's pragmatic intention to emphasise the degree of improvement beyond what the simple comparative form can convey.

In a similar fashion, in the double intensifier construction *absolutely totally*, input space 1 contains the intensifier *absolutely*, which expresses extreme emphasis. Input space 2 contains the intensifier *totally*, which similarly conveys completeness or totality. The generic space includes the general concept of intensification – modifying an expression to make it stronger. In the blended space, elements from both input spaces combine to produce a new construction, serving the pragmatic function of expressing strong feelings or emotions on the part of the speaker.

Similarly, in the double negation construction *ain't hear nothing*, input space 1 contains the negative AUX *ain't*, which already marks the clause as negative. Input space 2 includes the negative PRN *nothing*, which also carries a negative meaning. The generic space involves the

abstract notion of negation. In the blended space, both negative elements are combined to strengthen the negative meaning. The resulting construction functions pragmatically as an emphatic complaint or expression of dissatisfaction, reinforcing the speaker's emotional investment.

Multiple-marking constructions can be interpreted as instances of conceptual blending. Conceptual blending theory is employed here solely to illustrate a possible cognitive mechanism underlying the formation of these constructions. The theory is not analysed in depth and is not applied to the examination of empirical findings or the discussion of results. The examples and theoretical framework serve to show that multiple-marking constructions could emerge through the blending of distinct input constructions that share a generic semantic space, producing new forms with redundant or enhanced marking and generating additional pragmatic effects.

This subsection outlined general cognitive and conceptual explanations for how multiple-marking constructions may arise. The following section examines how these constructions are acquired and develop through children's language learning.

2.3 CxG and language acquisition: how constructions are formed and acquired

Children learn language step by step, starting with simple phrases and gradually building more complex sentences. Diessel (2013: 351) explains that this process begins with *item-based constructions*, where children use isolated words or fixed expressions like *What-s-that?* or *Get-it*. These early phrases help them communicate basic needs and observations (Diessel 2013: 351). Tomasello (1999) adds that these "linguistic symbols" reflect how children understand the world around them (as cited in Diessel 2013: 350) (see also Tomasello 1999).

Moreover, Tomasello (2006:5-6) examines how children develop linguistic constructions, progressing from basic to more abstract forms. Around 14 months of age, they begin with *holophrases*, where a "single linguistic symbol" is used to communicate about a particular "experiential scene." Examples include expressions like *Birdie!*, *Pick-up!*, and *Lemme-see!*. By approximately 18 months, children advance to *pivot schemas*, which are word combinations employed to express their "communicative intentions." These schemas typically consist of two parts, such as *Open_* (e.g. *open box*), *X gone* (e.g. *teddy gone*), and *More_* (e.g. *more juice*). Around 20 months, they develop *item-based constructions*, where they apply "syntactic marking such as word order or grammatical morphology to indicate

participant roles in scenes." Examples include structures like *X hit Y*, *X broken*, and *Put X in/on Y*. Eventually, children acquire *abstract constructions*, where they convey meaning through utterances that align with "adult-like linguistic constructions that syntactically mark participants for verb-general classes of constructions." Examples of these include ditransitive and passive constructions (Tomasello 2006:5-6).

In addition, as children hear the same types of sentences repeatedly, they begin to notice patterns. Bybee (1995: 427) states that generalisations or schemas emerge when similar verb forms are used in different ways. Tomasello (2006: 10, 11) describes this as *schematisation*, where children not only copy phrases but also recognise how they can be changed slightly to mean different things. A key part of this process is *analogy*, which helps children group words into categories and see how sentences relate to each other. For example, the sentences *The X is Y-ing the Z* and *The A is B-ing the C* follow the same pattern, where X and A are the actors, Y and B are the actions, and Z and C are the receivers. This ability to recognise patterns allows children to move from specific phrases, like *thrower* and *thing thrown*, to more general sentence structures, such as *subject-verb-object* (Tomasello 2006: 10, 11).

As their language skills grow, children start forming *early multi-word constructions*, also called *pivot schemas* (Diessel 2013: 352; Tomasello 2003: 114-117). These phrases have a fixed word or *pivot word* and an open slot which can be filled with various words, such as *More_* in *more cookie* or *more juice*, and *All_* in *all gone* or *all wet* (Diessel 2013: 352). Tomasello (1992) studied his daughter's speech and found that her utterances were built around specific verbs, a pattern he called *constructional islands* (Diessel 2013: 353). Examples include *_get-it* as in *Mama get-it, Phone get-it* and *_gone* as in *Raisins gone, Peter Pan gone*.

Over time, children's sentences become more flexible and independent of specific words. While early speech relies on fixed phrases, adult language includes structures that follow clear grammatical rules. For example, the Comparative Correlative Construction, as in "*the faster the better*", has fixed grammatical markers (i.e. the two determiners *the, The_ the_*) (Diessel 2013: 355; Hoffmann 2013: 325). As children develop, their sentences evolve from expressions like *I wanna bag* to more complex ones like *Do want he walk?* (Diessel 2013: 356).

Eventually, children learn to mix and match words to express the same idea in different ways. Diessel (2013: 357) explains that at first, children may only know one way to

say something, but as they expand their knowledge of verbs and sentence structures, they start choosing between different options. “What children learn is a network of related constructions in which the same event is construed from different perspectives” (Diessel 2013: 357). This makes their grammar more advanced and allows them to adjust their language to fit different situations or achieve particular communicative intentions.

The developmental patterns described above illustrate how multiple-marking constructions emerge naturally from children’s early language use. As children progress from holophrases to pivot schemas, and then to item-based and early multi-word constructions, they gradually learn to combine words and grammatical markers in flexible ways. Through repeated exposure, schematisation, and analogy, they form networks of related constructions that allow the same event to be expressed from different perspectives. This acquisition perspective highlights the cognitive and communicative mechanisms underlying multiple-marking constructions in mature language, showing how these constructions build on patterns already present in early child speech.

Building on these acquisition-based insights, the next section situates multiple-marking constructions within Hoffmann’s constructional taxonomy, providing a cognitive framework for how constructions interact and develop in Post-colonial Englishes.

2.4 Constructional taxonomy as the cognitive base for multiple-marking constructions

Building on the cognitive and conceptual mechanisms outlined above, Hoffmann’s (2021) constructional taxonomy offers a framework for understanding how multiple-marking constructions are systematically organised in the mind. Hoffmann (2021: 8,9) explains how people learn language patterns by hearing and using them in conversations. At first, they come across specific utterances, called “constructs” – for example, *She refused him a kiss.* When people hear and use these phrases often, they become deeply familiar and stored in the brain as “micro-constructions” – fixed phrases that connect form and meaning (Hoffmann 2021: 8).

As people hear different versions of these phrases, i.e. different lexical elements occupying particular slots (e.g. *They refused him the answer* or *He denied him the opportunity*), speakers start to recognise a common pattern. This process, called “schematisation”, leads to the creation of a “meso-construction” – a slightly more flexible

structure, such as the Refusal construction: [SUBJECT] [REFUSAL/DENIAL VERB] [RECIPIENT] [DENIED ENTITY] (Hoffmann 2021: 8).

Over time, as these meso-constructions are used in more situations, people notice even more abstract patterns. This results in a "macro-construction"– a very general grammatical structure (Hoffmann 2021: 8). In this case, the *Ditransitive Construction*, which includes sentences where someone transfers (or refuses to transfer) something to someone else: [SUBJECT] [VERB] [INDIRECT OBJECT] [DIRECT OBJECT] (Hoffmann 2021: 8). For example:

(2.11) *She gave him a book* (Transfer)

(2.12) *She refused him a kiss* (Denied transfer)

(2.13) *He offered her an explanation* (Offer)

(2.14) *They taught him a lesson* (Teaching as a type of transfer)

In short, as speakers hear and use language repeatedly, they move from learning specific phrases (constructs) to small fixed patterns (micro-constructions), then to broader patterns (meso-constructions), and finally to very general grammatical structures (macro-construction). This theory helps explain how language structure develops in the mind.

In the same vein, the formation of multiple-marking constructions can also be explained by taking into account Hoffmann (2021)'s constructional taxonomy. A summary is provided below.

Double comparison

The constructional taxonomy of double comparison can be outlined as follows:

Macro-Construction:

Abstract schema for comparison

[SUBJ] [BE][ADJ_{IRREG}/ ADJ_{ER} / MORE ADJ / ADJ_{EST} / MOST ADJ]

Meso-Constructions:

Productive patterns

- Double comparatives: [MORE] [ADJ_{ER}] → *more browner* <WCSNZE #DPC195:0725:BN>
- Double superlatives: [MOST] [ADJ_{EST}] → *most healthiest* < GloWbE # 1723838 # NZE>

- Redundant irregulars: [MORE] [ADJ_{IRREG}]→ *more better* <CoANZSE # DKVA4oaGxGg # AuE>

Micro-Constructions:

Specific constructions

- *it's far more huger than what it was ten years ago* <WCSNZE#DGI157:0060:PK>

Double negation

The constructional taxonomy of double negation can be outlined as follows:

Macro-Construction:

Abstract schema for negation

[SUBJ] [AUX_{NEG} / $ADV_{NEG-FREQ}$] [V] [PRN] [ADV_{PLACE}]

Meso-Constructions:

Productive patterns

- Negative auxiliary + verb + negative pronoun: [AUX_{NEG}] [VB] [PRN_{NEG}] → *haven't got nothing* <WCSNZE #DPC077:0035:CY>
- Auxiliary + negative adverb + negative adverb of frequency + verb: [AUX] [ADV_{NEG}] [$ADV_{NEG-FREQ}$] [VB]→ *had not never registered* <GloWbE # 1731903 # NZ>
- Negative auxiliary + verb + negative adverb of place: [AUX_{NEG}] [VB] [$ADV_{NEGPLACE}$] → *can't get nowhere* <CoANZSE # CYhsaSSLxuM # AuE>

Micro-Constructions:

Specific constructions

- *we ain't seen nothing yet* < GloWbE # 3325113 #AuE>

Double intensifiers

The constructional taxonomy of double intensifiers can be outlined as follows:

Macro-Construction:

Abstract schema for intensification

[SUBJ][BE][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ]

Meso-Constructions:

Productive patterns

- Adverb of degree + adverb of degree + emotional adjective: [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}] [$ADJ_{EMOTIONAL}$]→ *The wireless safety measure is **very really** important to protect you* < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>
- Adverb of degree + adverb of degree + noun phrase: [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}] [NP]→ *he had **really amazingly** high coolness* < WCSNZE #DPC043:0165:KV>
- Adverb of degree + adverb of degree + adverb of manner: [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{MANNER}]→*this shows action sequences are amazingly well done. I mean, **incredibly amazingly** well* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>

Micro-Constructions:

Specific constructions

- *My jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>

To summarise these instances, speakers initially encounter various linguistic constructs (e.g. *it's far more huger than what it was ten years ago* <WCSNZE#DGI157:0060:PK>; *we ain't seen nothing yet* < GloWbE # 3325113 #AuE>; *My jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>) within their communicative environment. When such expressions are frequently used, they become ingrained in the minds of speakers as micro-constructions. However, as speakers are exposed to multiple variations of these phrases, they begin to recognise a shared structural pattern. This process leads to the formation of meso-constructions, which are more generalised patterns, such as *most healthiest* < GloWbE # 1723838 # NZE>, *can't get nowhere* <CoANZSE # CYhsaSSLxuM # AuE>, *very really* < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>. Eventually, as these meso-constructions gain wider usage, speakers identify even broader linguistic patterns, resulting in macro-construction – for example, structures like [SUBJ] [BE][ADJ_{IRREG} / ADJ_{ER} / MORE ADJ / ADJ_{EST} / MOST ADJ], [SUBJ] [AUXNEG] [ADVFREQ] [V] [PRN] [ADVPLACE], [SUBJ][BE][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ].

While the examples above illustrate micro-, meso-, and macro-constructions, they are presented here for theoretical reference only. This study does not analyse constructions at these levels in depth; rather, Hoffmann's taxonomy provides a cognitive framework for understanding the emergence and formation of multiple-marking constructions.

2.5 Types of multiple-marking constructions analysed here

2.5.1 Double negation

2.5.1.1 Description of the use of double and multiple negatives

To negate a sentence, speakers use the full or contracted form of the adverb *not* – as in *he won't do the dishes, they don't speak Spanish.* As a general rule, the auxiliary or modal verb is negated, e.g. *has not, hasn't* (Quirk et al. 1985: 121, 122). The adverb *not* can be contracted in the form of an "enclitic particle" and attached to the auxiliary, e.g. *didn't* (Quirk et al. 1985: 122). Moreover, there are certain exceptions where the main verb can be followed by the negative adverb *not* in order to negate the sentence, e.g. *he decided not to see the play/I like not working on Fridays*. What is more, archaic language also displays constructions in which the adverb *not* follows the main verb, e.g. *whether they succeeded I know not* (Quirk et al. 1985: 121, 122).

Nowadays, it is common to find more than one negative element in the sentence. Dixon (2012:102) describes the multiple-marking of a negation as "the multiple realizations of a single underlying negation [as in] *you couldn't not realize that he was lying (…)* A single negation realized twice by two distinct negators." To complement this, Palacios Martinez (2003) affirms that double negation is used for reinforcement of the negation or emphasis. Other linguists, like Labov (1972:784) and Hay et al (2008: 55), talk of "negative concord" to allude to the phenomenon of multiple negation. Labov (1972:774) describes multiple negation as being present in "nonstandard dialects of English [and that multiple negation] is the traditional pattern, and [that our] standard form is a rule imposed on English by grammarians in the 18th century." Additionally, Quirk et al. (1985: 787) also highlight that double or multiple negatives are a distinct characteristic of nonstandard English varieties, exemplified by sentences like *no one never said nothing to nobody.*

Despite being considered a feature of vernacular language, the use of double or multiple negatives has spread across several varieties of English around the globe. For example, Crystal (2019: 346) observes the use of "quadruple negatives in the English spoken in the north of Manchester" as in *I am not never going to do nowt, we couldn't see nowt*[2]*, I've never hardly done it.* In addition, Crystal (2019: 206) also notes that double negatives are used

[2] According to Crystal (2019: 346), in Northern English, *nowt* means nothing

mainly in nonstandard speech to reinforce the negation. He provides the following example *They haven't done nothing* to explain that in fact the sentence actually means *They haven't done anything* and for the sake of emphasis the speaker opts for additional negative elements.

Moreover, Palacios Martinez (2003) states that the evolution of double negation fluctuates over the years. At the beginning, it becomes frequent in the Old, Middle and (part of) Early Modern English period; and it is heard regularly in the speech of the upper class. Yet, its usage declines around the 17th c. In addition to this, the linguist reflects that although double negation is now considered nonstandard, most children when acquiring their mother tongues come up with double negation constructions (e.g. *I don't want it no more*) regardless of what is available in the input (Palacios Martinez 2003: 479).

Jespersen (1966: 63) subclassifies double negation into various types, based on the position of negative elements, the context in which they appear, or the number of negatives in the sentence. First, he notes that double negatives alter the meaning of the original affirmative construction. Examples include *not uncommon* and *not unhandsome* (Jespersen 1966: 63). In this framework, Jespersen distinguishes between "double attraction" and "cumulative negation": the former refers to "plac[ing] the negative with the verb as nexal negative or amalgamate a negative element with some word capable of receiving prefix," while the latter refers to "sentences with double, or even [triple] or quadruple negation" (Jespersen 1966: 64). In simpler terms, double attraction occurs when a second negative element is attracted to a word that can take a negative meaning, such as a verb or an adjective with a prefix like *un-* as in *not unhandsome.* This usually softens the meaning instead of making it fully negative. For example, *not uncommon* means "somewhat common" and *not unhandsome* means "fairly attractive." By contrast cumulative negation involves multiple negatives that add together to intensify the negation. This type was common in Old English but later came to be regarded as a feature of uneducated speech. Repeated negation is also found in other languages, such as Spanish, where double negation is very frequent among speakers (Jespersen 1966: 67). Another interesting feature of double negation concerns the construction *no nothing*, typically placed at the end of a list, as in *no paper, no pen, no ink, no nothing* (Jespersen 1966: 79, 80).

Furthermore, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 379) reflect that there are different patterns concerning multiple negation. One pattern describes "the marking of the negative

on the auxiliary verb and the indefinites following the verb" as in *the man wasn't saying nothing*. Another possible pattern is that referring to the "negative marking of an indefinite before the verb phrase and of the auxiliary verb" such as *nobody didn't like the mess.* A final pattern described is that of "the inversion of the negativized auxiliary verb and the pre-verbal indefinite" as in *can't nothing stop him from failing the course* (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 379).

2.5.1.2 Negative concord vs double logical negation

It appears important to point out that different linguists make a distinction between negative concord and double negation. Negative Concord (NC) refers to double or multiple negatives used in the construction as an emphatic way of strengthening the sentential negation (as discussed by Crystal (2019) and Palacios Martinez (2003)). Along with this line of thought, Van der Wouden (1997: 179,236) argues that double or multiple negative elements in NC constructions "enhance each other [and] the result is more negative." To Horn (2010: 111, 112), NC alludes to emphatic negation, i.e. the use of double or multiple negatives to reinforce sentential negation. Negative concord has also been associated with colloquial speech and vernacular English. It is also typically used with "indefinites [containing] negative force *nobody nothing*" (Horn 2010: 120, 121). The other theoretical standpoint discusses the use of logical double negation (LDN) to cover those constructions in which the use of double negatives implies an affirmation (Horn 2010).

As a way of illustration consider these two examples from a YouTube channel: [3]

(2.15) *I never don't wear matching pyjamas* [4]

(2.16) *I always wear matching pyjamas* [5]

In two different videos, the native speaker has chosen to use distinct constructions. In (2.15), the speaker resorts to double negation. At first glance, following the literature, one could

[3] On the subject of research ethics, as this study is dealing with an online and access-free social media platform, it was believed that no consent was required from the YouTube channel host. This research ethics method is clearly stated in Granato and Parini's study (2015:153). All content has been made publicly available by the creator; no subscription is necessary for having access to the posts.

[4] Example 1: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsPUmiJ5lPI&t=65s (see References)

[5] Example 2: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wdVv44RR5-k&t=17s (see References)

assume that the multiplying of the negative elements emphasises the negation. This is clearly overruled once construction (2.16) is encountered. Therefore, example (2.15) can be considered an instance of logical double negation (LDN) – making the sentence affirmative (Horn 2010: 111, 112). As well, the stress pattern falls on the two negative markers (i.e. the negative ADV *never* and the negative AUX *don't*). The sentence implies that there is no instance where she is not wearing matching pyjamas. Eventually, the second example shows an affirmative sentence which expresses habit formation as it can be observed by the use of the frequency ADV *always*. In other words, the speaker has the habit of always wearing matching pyjamas. The stress pattern occurring on *always.* Because of this habit formation, it can be concluded that the first example refers to LDN. Two negatives being used to affirm the construction (Horn 2010: 111, 112).

Van der Wouden (1997) also makes a point about LDN, expressing that two negative elements can cancel each other out and make the meaning of the construction positive. This may reflect a process of semantic reversal in the mind of the speaker. In other words, speakers appear to mentally reverse the semantic polarity of the negated elements to convey an affirmative message. As in *You can't not go* (= You have to go) (Van der Wouden 1997: 179,236).

Moreover, Quirk et al. (1985: 799) emphasise that LDN is a feature of Standard English, whereas NC or double/multiple negation is associated with nonstandard English.

In a similar vein, Blanchette et al. (2018) argue that negative concord (NC) is strongly associated with negative perception and is seen as a characteristic of nonstandard English. In a study by Blanchette (2017), participants were asked to assess how natural sentences felt in context. The results indicated that, although the sentences were generally judged as unacceptable, participants showed a clear preference for object sentences in NC contexts and for subject sentences in logical double negation (LDN) contexts (Blanchette et al. 2018: 4, 12).

In terms of geographical distribution, eWAVE[6] indicates differences in the use of multiple negation between NZE and AuE (Kortmann et al 2020). Consider the following map:

[6] eWAVE (i.e. World Atlas of Varieties of English) was developed by Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS) and the English Department of the University of Freiburg between 2008 and 2011 to examine morphosyntactic features of different varieties of English around the globe. The platform is available online at https://ewave-atlas.org/

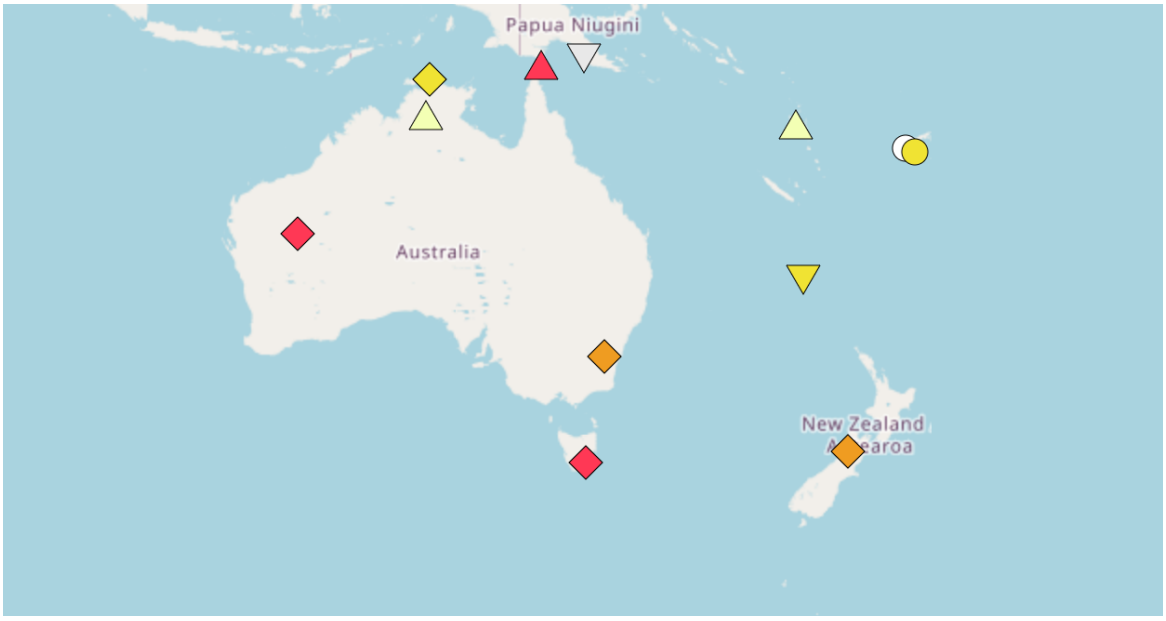


Figure 2.4. Representation of the double negation feature in NZE and AuE (reproduced from eWAVE, Kortmann et al 2020)

This map indicates that in NZE, multiple negation is categorised as either nonobligatory or rare. In contrast, in AuE, it is an obligatory feature, especially in Tasmania, Western Territory and the northern tip of Queensland. However, in the region between Victoria and New South Wales, the feature is either nearly absent or seldom used.

2.5.2 Double comparison

Following Quirk at al (1985: 434, 435), gradability is described as "a semantic classification of adjectives". It alludes to a continuum, to a scale of several values or degrees, e.g. *this soup is much more better than mine!, her tea is far more warmer* (Kennedy & McNally 2005). Gradability allows adjectives to express these degrees through comparative forms. In English, such comparisons are achieved by either inflecting adjectives or using periphrastic forms, allowing flexibility in emphasising various qualities (Quirk at al 1985: 434, 435).

As a rule of thumb, it is explained that speakers should use the inflections *-er* or *-est* for monosyllabic adjectives – such as *bigger, tallest.* However, Crystal (2019: 211) notes that some monosyllabic or participial adjectives do not abide by this rule. This is the case of *real, right, wrong, burnt.* The linguist also comments on the fact that disyllabic adjectives allow for both inflections and/or periphrastic forms: *quieter, more quiet.* The use of each may depend on style. When the adjective has three or more syllables speakers should use periphrastic

forms such as *more, most* (e.g. *the most expensive hotel, he's more intelligent than Tom*). Polysyllabic adjectives which start with the prefix *un-* can be inflected: *unhappier* (Crystal 2019: 211). As well, there is a short list of adjectives (also known as 'irregular adjectives') "which have comparative and superlative forms with stems that are different from the base." These include *good/better/best, bad/worse/worst, far/further/furthest, old/elder/eldest* (Crystal 2019: 211; Quirk et al. 1985: 458).

Beyond noting that adjectives are gradable, it is crucial to recognise that they encapsulate emotional content. Language serves as a medium for articulating human sentiments and experiences (Bamberg 1997: 309; Dirven et al 1997: 316). Adjectives are fundamental to describing and intensifying emotions. Hilpert (2013), for example, highlights this in his exploration of double comparatives, which serve as tools of expressiveness. He further argues that linguistic forms persist in the language when they fulfill expressive functions for speakers, even in informal contexts, illustrating language's natural preference for emphasis through redundancy. In addition to this, Hilpert (2008) argues that there are various options available for the speaker. The synthetic comparative construction (*prouder* formed by ADJ + -er), the analytic comparative (*more proud* formed by MORE + ADJ), and the double comparative (MORE + ADJ-er). The last construction, following Hilpert (2008), suggests that the double comparative construction reflects the speaker's repertoire of constructions – the linguistic patterns they have acquired and use in their communicative surroundings. The acquisition of such forms aligns with a usage-based approach, as language is learned through social interaction. Finally, Hilpert (2008) highlights the pragmatic function of this construction. He believes that it is often used to reinforce the comparison, reflecting the speaker's communicative intention to emphasise or intensify the message.

Furthermore, the multiplying of comparative elements in the construction has been increasingly used in the speech of most standard PCEs. eWAVE shows, for example, that double comparatives are a pervasive or obligatory feature in NZE (Kortmann et al 2020). In the next figure, the map shows different features of World Englishes (WEs) – which are illustrated with different colours. In the case of NZE, double comparison is indicated with the colour red and is considered to be a pervading morphosyntactic feature. As well, the AuE feature is indicated with the colour yellow. This implies that double comparison exists in AuE but it seldom occurs in communication.



Figure 2.5. Representation of the double comparison feature in NZE and AuE (reproduced from eWAVE, Kortmann et al 2020)

What is more, Kortmann et al (2020) assert that East Anglian English (i.e. the English spoken in Norfolk, Sufolk, eastern Cambridgeshire, central Essex, NE Hertfordshire notably) has shaped the English spoken in AuE and NZE. It is not surprising then that double comparison is a pervasive feature in both East Anglian English and NZE (see Table 2.2.). Moreover, it can also be said that different regional dialects of British English have been involved in the formation of AuE and NZE. This can be demonstrated in Table 2.2. below – where the value of the double comparison feature is the same in AuE as well as the dialect of Southwest English English. As well, this goes in hand with Schneider (2007)'s DM – where similar slot productivity between varieties is associated with their phase of evolution.

Table 2.2. Double comparison feature across different varieties (adapted from eWAVE, Kortmann et al 2020)

Variety/Region	Feature	Value
NZE	Double comparison	**feature is pervasive or obligatory**
AuE	Double comparison	**feature exists, but is extremely rare**
Irish English	Double comparison	feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
Scottish English	Double comparison	feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
East Anglian English	Double comparison	**feature is pervasive or obligatory**
North of England	Double comparison	feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
Southeast of England	Double comparison	feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
Southwest of England	Double comparison	**feature exists, but is extremely rare**

Aside from that, Corver (2005:167) defines double comparison as the "co-occurrence of a free comparative morpheme and a bound comparative morpheme." Unfortunately, this definition fails to explain the existence of constructions like *most worst, betterer, worser.* A further morphological process seems to be involved here. Kortmann (2005: 92) notes that gradable adjectives like *good, bad* go through a morphological process known as "suppletion" where "the allomorph resulting from the grammatical conditioning neither bears any resemblance to the root morpheme nor is it etymological related to the latter". *Good* becomes *better, bad worse.* Quirk et al (1985: 458) describes them as irregular adjectives and explains that no

inflections *-er/-est* are used with these special adjectives. Nonetheless, most PCEs have begun using constructions such as *worser, bestest,* and the like.

Moreover, Gonzalez-Diaz (2008:290) analyses the evolution of double comparison and observes that "first instances [are] found in Latin translations [around] the [9th – 10th c.]" Later, around the Late Middle and Early Modern English period, these constructions are frequently encountered in the speech of the nobility. Yet, double comparison constructions decline "around 1620 [, but] they reappear in 18th c." and are viewed as "features of nonstandard speech and […] markers of social class" (Gonzalez-Diaz 2008: 291, 293). In addition to this, she describes double comparatives as "hybrids formed by the combination of *more* with adjectives already inflected for comparison (*more friendlier, more better*), or by the addition of inflectional endings to suppletive comparative adjectives (*worser, lesser*)" (Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 177, 178). In a corpus study, Gonzalez-Diaz examines the evolution of periphrastic forms in EModE and the reason for why double comparatives have been labelled as belonging to nonstandard language. She analyses works of different literary authors such as William Shakespeare, Thomas Middleton, among others. In Shakespeare's plays, she finds that double comparatives (such as *more fairer, more worthier*) are used by high-status-individuals (i.e. royal family members, Greek or Roman nobles, or powerful citizens) (Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 179, 180). It is deduced then that the use of double comparatives is characteristic of upper-class individuals and formal registers (Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 182). Furthermore, Blake (as cited in Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 182) indicates that the *-th* ending of EModE verbs *have* and *do* (as in *doth* and *hath*) attract the use of double comparatives instead of the *-s* counterparts *has* and *does* (see also Blake 1983: 38). This finding is relevant to Modern English because it highlights how certain grammatical forms, once acceptable in formal contexts, later became marked or nonstandard (Gonzalez-Diaz 2008). While double comparatives like *more better* are generally discouraged in formal Standard English (such as in education or academic writing), they still appear in everyday conversation and popular media (Wlodarczyk 2007). Understanding their historical association with conservative verb forms like *hath* and *doth* sheds light on how language standardisation shaped current norms and explains why some nonstandard structures continue to surface in modern usage.

Additionally, Gonzalez-Diaz (2004) analysed texts from the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, Helsinki Corpus and Lampeter Corpus; and, few instances of double comparatives were observed. Gonzalez-Diaz (2004: 185-188) believes that the use of double

comparison is characteristic of "dramatic written domains of the period." Another possible interpretation of these results is the "beginning of the loss of prestige of double forms" (Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 189). It is noted that double comparison was at its peak at the end of the 16th c. and considered a feature of upper-class; but, around 1670s the use of this form started to decrease and be denounced. As Gonzalez-Diaz puts it, "the loss of prestige led to a process of stigmatisation" (Gonzalez-Diaz 2004: 193, 201).

Wlodarczyk (2007: 196) uses the term "double pleonastic marking" to refer to the amalgamation of different comparative elements in the construction, such as the comparative affix (*-er*) and the periphrastic form (*more*) (as in *more easier*). Wlodarczyk also notes that the use of double comparison was not abundant in the OE period, but her findings reveal that the use of double comparison increased in the ME period between 1350 and 1450. She also observes that, in Shakespearean time, double comparison was considered to be an innovating trend (Wlodarczyk 2007: 197, 198). However, purist grammarians condemned the redundant use of double comparatives in Standard English and became to be seen as an instance of poor English. Nonetheless, double comparison prevailed and has now become a feature of most varieties of English around the globe (Wlodarczyk 2007: 198).

2.5.3 Double intensifier

Many linguists have defined intensifiers as adverbs of degree or adverbial modifiers[7]. According to Quirk et al (1985: 438-449), an adverb can serve as the head of the adverb phrase; and, from a morphological point of view, three kinds of adverbs exist. These include "simple adverbs" (such as *just, only*), "compound adverbs"(e.g. *somehow, somewhere*) and "derivational adverbs" (like *oddly, interestingly, clockwise*). In addition to this, adverbs can have two syntactic functions: they can function as a "clause element adverbial" in sentences like *he quite forgot about it*, or as a modifier of an adjective or adverb as in *they are quite happy/they are quite happily married.* Moreover, adverbs can also function as optional adverbials – also known as 'adjuncts' – which are "peripheral to the structure of the clause", e.g. *John always loses his pencils/Slowly they walked back home*. Besides, modifier adverbs are often called 'intensifiers' and are described as "scaling device[s] which cooccur with a

[7] Although Quirk et al. (1985) sometimes describe these elements as adverbials in a functional sense, in this study intensifiers are treated strictly as adverbs of degree.

gradable adjective" (Quirk et al 1985: 438-449). There are three types of intensifiers: amplifiers, downtoners and emphasisers. Amplifiers are said to "scale upwards from an assumed norm" (e.g. *terribly nervous, amazingly calm*); downtoners "have a generally lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm" (e.g. *fairly small, pretty rare*); and emphasisers "add to the force of the adjective" (e.g. *She has a really beautiful face, you are certainly welcome*). As well, adverbs can also be considered intensifiers when they are modifying other adverbs. Consider: *I expect them pretty soon, he played surprisingly well* (Quirk et al 1985: 438-449).

Furthermore, some intensifiers tend to "co-occur predominantly with certain verbs" (Quirk et al. 1985: 566–601). For instance, *entirely* often appears with verbs such as *agree*, *badly* with *need* or *want*, *completely* with *forget*, and *greatly* with verbs like *admire* or *enjoy*. Additionally, *greatly* is typically used with verbs "having a favourable implication," *utterly* with verbs "having an unfavourable implication," and *deeply* tends to appear with attitudinal verbs, as in *they wounded him deeply* (Quirk et al. 1985: 566–601).

For a better and clearer understanding of the theory on intensifiers, the following table has been created:

Table 2.3. List of intensifiers by group (based on Quirk et al (1985))

Amplifiers	Downtoners	Emphasisers
Absolutely	*A bit*	*Really*
Absurdly	*Almost*	*Just*
A good deal	*Fairly*	*Indeed*
A great deal	*Nearly*	*All*
A lot	*Quite*	*Certainly*
Altogether	*Relatively*	*Frankly*
Amazingly	*A little*	*Too*
Awfully	*Little*	*Actually*
Badly	*Barely*	*Clearly*
Bitterly	*Hardly*	*Definitely*
By far	*Scarcely*	*Plainly*
Completely	*Pretty*	*Surely*

Deeply	*Rather*	*For certain*
Downright	*Somewhat*	*For sure*
Enormously	*Practically*	*Of course*
Entirely	*Virtually*	*Honestly*
Extremely	*As good as*	*Literally*
Far	*All but*	*Simply*
Fully	*Kind of*	*Fairly* (BrE)
Greatly	*Sort of*	
Heartily	*Enough*	
Highly	*Sufficiently*	
How (exclamatory)	*More or less*	
In all respects	*Mildly*	
Irretrievably	*Partially*	
Intensely	*Partly*	
Much	*Slightly*	
Perfectly	*In the slightest*	
Quite	*In part*	
Severly	*In some respects*	
Sharply	*To some extent*	
So	*Least*	
Strikingly	*In the least*	
Strongly	*Only*	
Terribly	*Merely*	
Thoroughly	*Simply*	
Too	*Just*	
Totally	*At all*	
Unbelievably		
Utterly		
Violently		
Well		

What is more, Naya (2008: 213) defines intensifiers as "degree words (…) which convey the degree or the exact value of the quality expressed by the item they modify." In addition, Nevalainen (2008) claims that there are certain degree adverbs which are employed by specific social groups; one case in point being *extremely* which is frequently used by "high-social-rank [individuals]," mainly females (as cited in Naya 2008: 216) (see also Nevalainen 2008). Moreover, Tagliamonte (2008: 364, 372) conducts a corpus study and analyses the distribution of intensifiers in the variety of Toronto English, taking into account contextual factors such as "adjective function and type" and social factors like "age, sex, group membership [and] emotionality of content". Her study is based on the Toronto English Corpus which holds "informal conversations with people born and raised in the city of Toronto (…) in the early 2000s" (Tagliamonte 2008: 365). Results reveal that *really* is the most frequently used intensifier among speakers. Besides this, findings also show that the use of intensifiers like *really, very, pretty, so* depend on social factors such as age and gender; younger generations of both males and females preferring *pretty* and *so*. Apart from that, Stoffel (1901: 147-53) posits the idea that *pretty* can be considered a "unique" intensifier because "it is able to express 'moderate degree'" (as cited in Tagliamonte 2008: 370) (see also Stoffel 1901). Furthermore, Partington (1993: 183) affirms that "[while older or more delexicalised intensifiers] can be expected to appear widely across a broad range of adjective types [, incoming intensifiers or those that are falling away collocate with specific lexical items]" (as cited in Tagliamonte 2008: 376) (see also Partington 1993). One clear example is that of the intensifier *very*, which even though it is "receding, it has not lost its capacity to collocate with a broad range of adjectives" (Tagliamonte 2008: 389).

Apart from that, "intensifier use is also thought to correlate with the emotional value of the modified adjective" (Tagliamonte 2008: 380). This theory was proven in Tagliamonte and Roberts' (2005) study, which affirmed that the intensifier *so* was used strictly with adjectives denoting emotions and such construction was typically employed by females.

Extending this idea of emotional and emphatic intensification, some speakers employ double intensifiers to convey an even higher degree of emphasis, such as *absolutely totally.* However, it is also true that the insertion of a second adverb in the construction may sound redundant. However, it is also true that the insertion of a second adverb in the construction may sound redundant. Some linguists have attempted to explain the use of double intensifiers. As a way of illustration, Nuñez and Palacios-Martinez (2014) carry out a study on

the use of intensifiers (such as *totally, absolutely*) in British English (BrE) to compare the speech of adolescents to that of adults. They find that both *totally* and *absolutely* can be followed by other intensifiers in the speech of adults, as in *it was absolutely totally idiotic* <DCDIB4/6286> (Nuñez and Palacios-Martinez 2014: 13-14). The researchers assert that the use of double intensifiers in the construction serve as "extra emphasis (…) [expression] of a higher degree of agreement" (Nuñez and Palacios-Martinez 2014: 13-14). As well, adolescents seem to be using double intensification (e.g. *we're gonna get totally totally tarted <COB142304/73>*) in their daily speech. The redundancy of the intensifier proves to be an illustration of "exaggeration [, denoting] the speaker's increased emotional involvement" in the conversation to attract the interlocutor's attention (Nuñez and Palacios-Martinez 2014: 19, 22).

Apart from that, the title of the Australian TV series *I Am Totally Completely Fine*[8] serves as a strong example of the double intensifier construction used to fulfill pragmatic functions in language. Below, this constructional pattern is analysed:

(2.17) *I Am* ***Totally Completely*** *Fine*

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: irony

The choice to double the use of adverbs of degree serves a key pragmatic function by emphasising irony and signaling a discrepancy between appearance and reality. As the protagonist is a young woman facing significant personal and emotional challenges. The communicative intention here is to mask these struggles. The intensifiers precede the

[8] *Totally Completely Fine* official trailer, 2025, Explosion Network Trailers, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eON2Quksphg.

On the subject of research ethics, as this study is dealing with an online and access-free social media platform, it was believed that no consent was required from this trailer. This research ethics method is clearly stated in Granato and Parini's study (2015:153). All content has been made publicly available by the creator; no subscription is necessary for having access to the trailer.

adjective *fine*, which typically carries positive connotations [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]. As well, the intensifiers used are amplifiers, which, as the name suggests, increase the degree of intensification to fulfill a certain communicative intention (Quirk et al 1985).

Besides that example, the children's picture book *Little Mice Is Absolutely, Completely, Totally Fine!*[9] clearly demonstrates the use of a double intensifier construction. In this instance, author Sharon Hopwood actually employs three intensifiers – or more precisely, amplifiers – to emphasise the maximum degree of intensification. The book is intended to help children recognise and explore a variety of emotions. The use of the double intensifier construction in the title thus supports Tagliamonte (2008)'s theory that intensifiers typically co-occur with emotional adjectives.

It is important to note that the pragmatic function of the three intensifiers in *Little Mice Is Absolutely, Completely, Totally Fine!* differs significantly from that in the TV series *I'm Completely Totally Fine*, primarily due to the context and audience. In the children's book, the use of multiple intensifiers serves to emphasise and clarify emotions in a way that helps young readers understand and express their own feelings. The amplified language functions to make emotional states vivid and easily grasped by children, without any irony. In contrast, the TV series, aimed at an adult audience, likely employs intensifiers for ironic effect. The character's exaggerated claim of being *completely totally fine* could signal sarcasm, where the language contradicts the true emotional state of the person.

As it will be demonstrated later, the communicative intentions of multiple-marking constructions can vary depending on the speaker and the situation.

With respect to geography, the double intensifier construction appears to be absent from the eWAVE atlas (Kortmann et al. 2020). There is no available information on the geographical distribution of this feature. While eWAVE provides detailed data on constructions such as double negation and double comparison, the omission of double intensification suggests that it has not been widely addressed in previous research on morphosyntactic features of English varieties and may be worth further investigation.

[9] Hopwood, S. 2024. *Little Mice Is Absolutely, Completely, Totally Fine!*. Harper Collins.

2.6 Pragmatic function of constructions

According to Crystal (2019: 304; 2017: 127),

> Pragmatics is the study of the choices we make when we use language, the reasons for those choices, and the effects that those choices convey (…) Special attention [is] made to the way context contributes to meaning, to the way utterances implement actions (*performatives*), and to the assumptions about the world (*presuppositions*) that people make when they use and interpret utterances (Crystal 2017: 127; 2019: 304).

Indeed, speakers do make linguistic choices when they interact with other language users. As Crystal (2017; 2019) acknowledges, the communicative context is important. Depending on the social setting the speaker is in, he/she may employ different constructions to suit that linguistic scenario. For example, a speaker of NZE may use Māori words like *kia ora* when having a conversation with other speakers who speak and/or cherish the Māori language. In other contexts, such as the workplace, where everyone speaks English, they may need to accommodate and make other linguistic choices such as *hello, good morning*.

Communicative intention is considered an internal factor that influences a person to behave in specific ways (Haugh 2008). It is the purpose behind the utterance. It is what the speaker hopes to achieve through communication; to express his feelings, to complain about something, to seek empathy, to offer someone something, among others.

Moreover, the concept of communicative intention is explained thoroughly in the work of Speech Act Theory by Austin (1962). His theory alludes to the fact that conversation consists of performing acts. The term *speech act* refers to the utterance itself since speakers are said to use language to perform actions, such as making a command, inviting someone somewhere. In addition, and according to Austin (1962: 6), speaking is not only the exchange of information but acting. Each speech act consists of three components which are performed simultaneously. The *illocutionary force/act* is the communicative intention behind the spoken message. In *Can you clean the table?*, the utterance or *locutionary force* is the proposition itself, the words the speaker utters. Yet, the communicative intention or *illocutionary act* is that of making a request. The speaker wants the interlocutor to clean the table. It is an implicit command. Depending on the context, the same utterance can have different communicative intentions. Finally, the *perlocutionary act/force* is the effect that the utterance has on the

listener/interlocutor – e.g. accepting or refusing to clean the table (Austin 1962: 98-99, 109-110). Furthermore, Searle (1979: 12-19) developed a classification of illocutionary acts. This includes *representatives/assertives* (which describe the world, e.g. assertions, conclusions); *directives* (which ask the listener to perform an action, e.g. requests, questions); *commissives* (which commit the speaker to an action, e.g. promises, threats); *expressives* (which denote emotion, e.g. thanking, welcoming); *declarations* (which directly bring about a new state affairs, e.g. a declaration of war, christening).

Along with this, constructions are said to carry pragmatic functions (Goldberg 1995; Hoffmann 2022). Language is said to be performative (Crystal 2019). As Searle (1979: viii) reckons, "we tell people how things are (assertives), we try to get them to do things (directives), we commit ourselves to doing things (commissives), we express our feelings and attitudes (expressives)." In a situation where the window is open and one speaker claims *it's cold in here*, his/her construction does not only mean that it is cold but also implies that his/her colleague/friend/acquaintance should close the window. As Searle (1979: ix) asserts, "the speaker means what he says but he also means something more." That is, constructions express the speaker's communicative intentions. This is clearly demonstrated in the example above – where the speaker implies that his interlocutor has to close the window because he feels too cold.

According to Tomasello (2003:100), "a construction is prototypically a unit of language that comprises multiple linguistic elements used together for a relatively coherent communicative function". What is more, Tomasello (2008: 72,73) argues that when a child is exposed to language, their primary focus is on understanding the overall communicative intention behind an utterance. They are trying to grasp the speaker's purpose, such as whether the utterance is imperative, declarative, informative, often by interpreting the emotional cues from the speaker's facial expressions or tone of voice. For instance, in the sentence *I stapled your papers*, the child can understand the communicative intention of the utterance only if they also recognise the communicative function of specific words within the utterance (such as *I, stapled).*

Additionally, Tomasello (2008:72) argues that "an utterance is the smallest unit through which an individual [conveys] a complete communicative [purpose]". This means that when people speak, they want others to pay attention and respond in a certain way. In this sense, speaking is similar to pointing, as both are used to direct attention and communicate

a purpose, whether it is to ask for something, share information, or make a statement. Moreover, Tomasello (2008:73) adds that when an adult speaks to a child, the child's main task is to interpret the speaker's communicative intention, what the adult means overall. As well, the child is also working to understand the function of individual elements within the utterance and how they contribute to the overall meaning. Tomasello explains that if a child, for example, hears phrases like *There's the ball, Give me my ball* continuously they begin to recognise "ball" as a meaningful word they can use independently to refer to that type of object. Adults can help this learning process by emphasising important words, making it easier for children to connect words with objects or actions.

Furthermore, Tomasello (2008:74,75) also discusses an experiment carried out by Akhtar and Tomasello (1996) in which two-year-old children watched an adult perform specific actions with toys. For example, "Big Bird" was always placed on a swing. At one point, the adult lifted Big Bird and said, "Let's meek Big Bird," but did not show the action. As the swing was missing, children never noticed what meek meant. However, when given a different toy and instructed to "meek it," children looked for the swing and made use of it to swing the toy. This shows that children understood the intended action. The only way they could infer this was by grasping "the adult's communicative intention" (Tomasello 2008:75). In addition to that, Tomasello (2008: 75) observed that his daughter acquired the preposition "of" from phrases like *piece of ice, scared of monsters*. Thus, language learning is not just about acquiring individual words, but, rather, it also involves understanding how to choose between different terms based on the communicative context. To do this effectively, children must recognise why a speaker selects one term over another, which requires an understanding of the speaker's intentions in making that choice.

What is more, Tomasello (2003: 313-314) emphasises the significance of "pragmatic grounding" in language acquisition. In other words, when children produce an utterance in a specific communicative situation, they must simultaneously structure it in a way that suits the context. This requires them to pragmatically base their message on appropriate linguistic elements to convey their attitude and adapt to the listener's perspective. This includes using proper grammar and linguistic constructions that make the message clear and suitable for the listener.

In addition to this, Tomasello (2003: 24) claims that understanding a communicative intention involves recognising an individual's intention in relation to another person's mental

states. For example, in a conversation between two speakers, if Speaker A comments on how messy the kitchen table is, Speaker B must interpret A's intention concerning their own awareness and potential actions. In this case, Speaker A is making an implicit request, suggesting that Speaker B should clean the mess. In other words, Speaker B must interpret Speaker A's utterance not just as an observation but as a suggestion or request that relates to their own ability to act on the situation.

Moreover, Tomasello (2014) expands on the concept of intention-reading**,** which explains how crucial it is for human interaction to interpret and understand the intentions behind others' actions. This ability is essential for both everyday communication and human development. Tomasello (2014) highlights that, for example, in order for a child to successfully develop language skills, they must understand and respond to the communicative needs of others. He further argues that intention-reading is a prerequisite for cultural learning. For instance, when a child observes their mother preparing a bath, they realise that she is not simply performing a task, but is working toward a specific goal – the desired outcome of becoming clean. Similarly, every utterance serves a pragmatic function. For example, when a speaker says *I'm busy* as the doorbell rings, this implies an implicit request for the listener (perhaps a spouse, friend, or parent) to go and open the door.

Besides this, Tomasello (2014: 11) argues that a particular situation can be perceived differently by each individual since people have different "ways of life." There can be different perspectives for different linguistic or communicative situations.

In addition to all that, Clark (2006: 562-577) explains how humans develop an understanding of communicative intentions and learn to use them appropriately. She asserts that from an early age, children not only express their own intentions but also infer the intentions of others (Clark 2006: 562). By the time they are between nine and twelve months old, infants actively seek to engage adults' attention, either to share their interests or to express their desires. These attempts often include "pointing gestures", such as "extending an index finger", as well as reaching objects they want. Research has shown that these early gestures emerge before children begin speaking and are seen as precursors to speech acts (Clark 2006: 569-570).

As children's language abilities develop, they start pairing gestures with single words and later with short phrases to convey different intentions. Clark emphasises that in order to understand a speaker's intent, children must learn to associate specific utterances with their

corresponding functions. Since the same phrase can often serve multiple purposes depending on the context (Clark 2006: 570).

By the age of two, children can recognise speaker intentions across different situations. While complex language can sometimes be a barrier, Clark notes that when children are engaged in an activity, they demonstrate a strong ability to grasp conversational adjustments made by speakers. They also respond effectively when asked for clarification (Clark 2006: 572).

By the age of six, children have gained significant knowledge about language use, allowing them to make inferences based on what is said or left unsaid (Clark 2006: 576).

Based on this line of thought, I believe that the multiplying of linguistic elements in multiple-marking constructions can carry different pragmatic functions.

Consider the following examples:

(2.18) *I feel relatively safe in Rolleston. There's no high buildings. I don't feel trapped in Rolleston. I feel as though if there was an earthquake we could get out. If I lived in a city. I'd move out away from high buildings (…) I* ***wouldn't never*** *move into a town or city after the experience* <QBCC# QB463_VioletMayLouisaMagrs_QB2.eaf>.

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings and seeking empathy with the interlocutor

The participant is discussing a profound encounter with witnessing an earthquake within her native locality. Nevertheless, she asserts her decision to remain in the same place, primarily due to her sense of security. Eventually, she uses double negation to reinforce the negation, to express her dismissive feelings and pessimistic attitude towards changing homes and also to request the interlocutor's empathy with her experience.

The constructional template for the double negation used in this specific communicative situation is [AUX_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ2}$ + V_3]. The redundancy of the negative multiple markers intensify the speaker's communicative intention.

According to Searle (1979: viii), this would represent an expressive act. This intended meaning can only be made possible thanks to multiple-marking; to the multiplying of linguistic elements in the construction.

(2.19) *at this stage I feel that there's far **more better** things for council to be doing* <CoANZSE # DKVA4oaGxGg # AuE>.

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: complaint; implicit request (authorities should take action)

In this linguistic scenario, the speaker is using a multiple-marking construction (i.e. double comparison) to emphasise that the council is focusing on trivial things rather than doing its job and help the community with their problems. In addition, the speaker makes use of the construction [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]. From a pragmatic point of view, and following Searle (1979: viii), this construction could be interpreted it as an implicit request or directive, as hoping the council would do something for the citizens.

(2.20) *I've been o on Prednisone since October last year um for an on un undiagnosed muscle problem which which they s seem to have um y y'know problems diagnosing and I'm just worried about long term effects 'cos everyone tells me that that it gives you cataracts that it gives you osteo that that it causes cancer and . Prednisone is a wonderful drug Chris but it must be used m **absolutely totally and completely** properly. It can save your life but it can also kill you and therein lies its paradox*
<ART # COME3 # AuE>.

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3Y_4/
MORPHOSYNTAX:
[$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$+$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$+$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER3}$+ ADV_4]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: warning

The speaker informs his interlocutor about muscle problems he has been experiencing and mentions that a medication has been prescribed to relieve his pain. The pragmatic function or communicative intention of this construction is a strong warning. By employing a double intensifier construction (e.g. *absolutely totally and completely*), the speaker warns the interlocutor about the potential side effects of the drug if it is not administered properly.

Morphosyntactically speaking, the constructional template used is that of [$INTENS_1$ + $INTENS_2$ + $INTENS_3$ + ADV_4]. As the speaker intends to make a strong warning about how to use certain drugs, multiple adverbs of degrees are used to reinforce the manner this medicine should be administered.

2.7 Standard vs nonstandard

Numerous linguists have attempted to clarify the meanings of the terms "standard" and "nonstandard." The table below provides a summary of their distinguishing features:

Table 2.4. Features of standard and nonstandard varieties

Standard	Nonstandard
• Prestigious, codified variety (Holmes & Wilson 2022) • Superior form; an ideology (Walsh 2021)	• Inferior form; nonprestigious variety; "broken" (Crystal 2002; Walsh 2021)
• High variety; formal contexts of usage, e.g. education, dictionary, trade, government (Cox & Palethorpe 2012; Holmes & Wilson 2022)	• Low variety; informal contexts, e.g. everyday conversations (Holmes & Wilson 2022)
• Written medium mainly (Crystal 2005) • Variety taught at schools and overseas (Crystal 2005; Crystal 2019; Gordon 2012)	• Spoken and colloquial speech (Crystal 2005)

Trudgill (2002: 160-165), for example, acknowledges that Standard English "is not a language, an accent, a style or a register [; but rather,] a variety of English." A concise definition of the term "standard" is that proposed by Holmes and Wilson (2022: 112):

> A standard variety is generally one which is written, and which has undergone some degree of regularisation or codification (for example, in a grammar and a dictionary); it is recognised as a prestigious variety or code by a community (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 112).

Three criteria are necessary for a variety to be considered standard: it has to be "prestigious, codified, and serve H functions" in certain domains of life such as government, education and the like. H here refers to high variety, i.e. the prestigious variety. Whereas L alludes to low varieties, i.e. nonstandard varieties (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 112, 113).

Moreover, Crystal (2019: 118) elucidates that Standard English is the variety chosen overseas for teaching English as a foreign language. Whereas in many English-speaking countries Standard English serves as "an acceptable national curriculum for English in primary and secondary education."

Furthermore, the standardisation of a language can be a lengthy process. First, speakers need to follow the same rules – which helps them interpret what is grammatically correct from what is not (Crystal 2005: 223-4). As well, there should be "a growing sense of shared usage (…) [and individuals] with different backgrounds come into contact and begin to influence each other" (Crystal 2005:229). In addition to this, there must be a "need" for using this type of variety, and it must be "spread regionally and socially" by its speakers. Indeed, maintenance is key for the development of a standard language.

Crystal (2005:223) states that the "basis of standard English" began at the end of the Middle Ages, in the fifteenth century. Yet, this process did not have institutional support. It was not until the eighteenth century that people began to focus on correctness and incorrectness. That is why many linguists claim that a standard English variety emerged "naturally" (Crystal 2005; Holmes and Wilson 2022). However, to Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006:271), the standardisation of the English language has its roots in the ninth century under the rule of King Alfred. He is said to be the first king of a unified Britain and to be known for wanting to spread literacy among his subjects. Indeed, he wished to

establish “West Saxon [as] the official language, [and] to be used as a medium for teaching and of scholarship” (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:271).

The first standard dialect variety emerged from a mass wave of immigration to London as many were in search for better job opportunities (Crystal 2005). This variety came to be respected by most speakers as it was the variety which was used by affluent people of the time – such as merchants, clerks, and the like. It came to be known as “Chancery English” or “Chancery Standard” (Crystal 2005; Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:274).

Apart from that, several researchers comment on the existence of different stages during the standardisation of the English language (Crystal 2005; Holmes and Wilson 2022; Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006). First, there is a *selection*. That is, a particular dialect variety is chosen over others. This variety is spoken and used by educated people (e.g. by the king and his administration) and it is used in many important domains such as education, government, the court, business. After a certain variety is chosen, it has to be accepted and adopted by its speakers. This is the *acceptance* stage. “The Chancery had to convert a spoken dialect into a written form” (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:275-6). But for a variety to be successful and become standard, it has to be diffused by its speakers. The Midland variety came to be used and spoken by many. Both the Chancery and the clerks were responsible for “the diffusion of the writing system” (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:276-7). Moreover, for a variety to survive as such it must be maintained. The printing press and the production of books helped with the preservation of a standard variety. It is important to note here that William Caxton “translated his books into the variety used by his intended audience, educated people and those belonging to the higher regions of society. [And by doing so, he] *maintained* a selection which had been made in the early decades of the century” (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:277-8). The next stage is that of *elaboration of functions*. This simply alludes to the fact that the English language did not have exact terms for various French and Latin words and, as a result, it had to “adapt accordingly.” For example, Caxton has been claimed to introduce many words into the English language since he had to come up with many terms for his translations as there were no possible translations available (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:279). The *codification* phase deals with grammatical rules in language. Dictionaries provided such rules together with a set of words used by speakers on a daily basis (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:283). The last stage, the *prescription* stage, “is marked by Lowth’s

Short Introduction to the English Language (1762) (…) Lowth presented his reading public with a norm of correct English (…) [But,] the prescriptive stage in the standardisation process has not been very successful, particularly when applied to speech" (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006:284-5). This is so because many "modern writers [or even] people" are disturbed by correctness and incorrectness of the language.

In addition to all this, Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 2, 3) assert that nonstandard varieties of English hold features which are not present in Standard English. For example, Standard English does not resort to double negation (e.g. *I couldn't find none nowhere*) as many nonstandard varieties worldwide do. Besides this, nonstandard varieties make use of vernacular forms of reflexive pronouns such as *hisself, theirselves, yourselves.* Moreover, nonstandard varieties make use of SUBJ VB nonagreement, as in *you was, he were*. As well, nonstandard varieties tend to use past tense and past participle forms interchangeably, e.g. *I seen him.* What is more, Standard English lacks singular-plural distinction in the second personal pronoun *you* (as most nonstandard dialects prefer to use *youse* for the plural form) (Trudgill 1999: 10,11; Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 2,3). One final distinction is the use of *yon* and *yonder* to signify "at a distance" or "far away from both the speaker and the listener" (Trudgill 1999: 10,11) – a feature that is absent in modern Standard English varieties. All this goes back to the difference between high and low varieties proposed by Holmes and Wilson (2022: 112, 113). Various reasons have been proposed to account for the differences in features between low and high varieties of English. One of the main reasons for this is the context of language use. Low varieties are used in everyday interactions. And that is why they are said to evolve rapidly and to innovate the way in which speakers communicate with one another, making communication easier and more flexible. On the other hand, high varieties are claimed to be resistant to change because they are used in social spheres like government, education – which require a greater consistency. Another reason is the medium of language use. In other words, spoken language is said to be more flexible than written language. Since written language consists of endless grammatical rules speakers have to follow to create a cohesive and well-formed piece of text. A final reason to note is that of group identity. Many speakers are believed to use certain features because they want to belong to a certain group, copying the features their peers use (Trudgill and Hannah 2008).

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 19), British and American English are regarded as the "national standards of English" because they "predominate in the number of distinctive

usages and in the extent to which these distinctions are institutionalized" (Quirk et al. 1985: 19). The grammatical differences between them are minimal, including:

- American English has two participle forms of *get*, whereas British English has only one.
- In British English, a singular collective noun can take either a singular or plural verb, as in *the government is/are in favour of economic sanctions*. In American English, a singular collective noun is always followed by a singular verb.
- American English tends to use the simple past in informal contexts, while British English prefers the present perfect, as in *Sue just/'s just finished her homework*.
- When using the subjunctive, British English typically employs the modal verb *should*, whereas American English prefers the present subjunctive, as in *I insisted that he should take/take the documents with him.*

In addition, "Present-day Standard English" refers mainly to the written language (Crystal 2005:224). One should be cautious with the term standard since "no variety of language ever stands still, or is used by everyone in exactly the same way" (Crystal 2005:224). Language is the product of society, of its speakers; and, that is why, language is forever changing. Eventually, the features of what used to be known as nonstandard have become part of the speech of educated people in informal contexts. Nonstandard features are now being used by many speakers of many walks of life and "could probably be seen as part of colloquial Standard English" (Crystal 2005:482).

Following Schreier (2012: 357), many points have to be considered in the standardisation process. A variety can be reckoned as standard because of high status or reputation among its speakers; thus, it becomes the model to follow in schools, reference books, and the like. Due to this focus on correctness, "the wider community comes to regard the standard language not just as the best form of language but even as the language itself" (Schreier 2012: 357). Resulting in other varieties being treated with contempt. However, it is concluded that, as migration increases, standard BrE and AmE may not be the standard models to follow. Other types of standards may come to existence. A clear example is the massive influx of Asian learners of English taking up language courses in Australia and New Zealand. The future holds a "tripartite competition involving multiple local standards,

established standards (of British and American English) and international English" (Schreier 2012: 365).

Apart from that, Crystal (2002: 294) comments on the future of the English language. As speakers wish to reflect their identities or personal backgrounds in the language they speak, "the demand for a language medium which is universally intelligible is widely felt. At present, English is the (…) world's first language" (Crystal 2002: 280). In addition, many new mixed varieties of English have arisen in the past years. This involves the mixture of the English language and the mother tongue of the speakers. Varieties which have been frowned upon by speakers of the standard languages and regarded as "Broken English" (Crystal 2002: 294). Examples include Spanglish, Denglish, etc. However, it is believed that, in the long run, "we [will become] bilingual (…) with our home variety of English co-existing with an English international franca" (Crystal 2002: 294).

Unlike "standard", the notion of "nonstandard" or "vernacular" can be applied to various linguistic scenarios (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 110). A linguistic feature can be treated as vernacular if it is used in informal registers, colloquial speech in a given speech community, or if it reflects social variations denoting the cultural identity of its speakers. To reinforce this idea, Holmes and Wilson (2022: 110) explain that the term vernacular or nonstandard can refer to "a language which has not been standardised and which has no official status, such as Buang in Papa New Guinea". As well, it can allude to the speakers' L1 in a multilingual community. Lastly, it can also touch upon "a language which is used for everyday interaction, for example, Hebrew (…) From being a language of ritual, Hebrew became a language everyday communication" (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 111).

Walsh (2021) further explains that the concept of "standard" represents an ideology tied to societal norms that individuals are expected to follow. She defines ideologies as "sets of beliefs that are shared by members of a community" (Walsh 2021: 774). She discusses the concept of "standard language ideology", which is the belief that one specific language form is considered the "most correct", while all other forms are seen as less valid (Walsh 2021:775). According to Walsh, this ideology is closely linked to language attitudes, as people often perceive "the standard form as superior" (Walsh 2021: 775). As a result, it leads to "the hierarchisation of language varieties", which marginalises speakers of non-standard forms and features (Walsh 2021:775).

In his work on nonstandard features of English varieties, Bamgbose (1998) discusses innovations, defining them as emerging features or characteristics that deviate from existing language norms. Furthermore, Bamgbose (1998: 3) outlines five key factors that influence the status of an innovation in language. These factors are demographic, geographical, authoritative, codification, and acceptability. First, the demographic factor is concerned with the number of speakers using a particular language form. The greater the number of users in this variety, the more likely it is that the innovation will be accepted (Bamgbose 1998: 3). Second, the geographical factor examines how far the innovation has spread, whether it is limited to a particular region or has become more widespread. Third, the codification factor refers to the formal recognition of an innovation through written forms such as dictionaries, or educational materials. This process often involves "raising awareness, evaluating the innovation, promoting [positive] attitudes towards it, developing proficiency in its use", and adopting it as a common practice (Bamgbose 1998: 4). Fourth, the authoritative factor is about "the approval or use of an innovation by influential figures such as teachers, media professionals, publishers" (Bamgbose 1998: 4). Finally, the acceptability factor determines whether an innovation gains lasting recognition. If accepted, the innovation is likely to be integrated into the language, undergoing changes over time. In conclusion, Bamgbose emphasises that codification and acceptability are the most important factors in determining the status of an innovation. Without these, innovations may continue to be viewed as incorrect, despite widespread use (Bamgbose 1998: 4).

With respect to standard NZE, Gordon (2012: 323, 324) makes a distinction between written and spoken medium. The linguist affirms that people can speak of a standard written NZE. This variety is used and taught at schools and universities and is grounded on and still resembles that of Standard English English (SEE). Nonetheless, it is debatable whether there is a true spoken standard variety of NZE as there are various regional differences among speakers and social groups as well. One example is the vowel merger of words like *near* and *square* (Gordon 2012: 324-327).

As far as standard AuE is concerned, Cox and Palethorpe (2012: 295) assert that this variety is used by the vast majority. It is mainly employed in education, government, media, dictionaries and trade. Spoken standard AuE resembles Standard Southern British English (SSBE) with the exception of some vowels. Also, AuE and NZE share some vowel features as they both have similar settlement roots (Cox and Palethorpe 2012: 297).

Like human beings, language is in a constant state of flux. As Crystal (2019:506) explains, language is "inexhaustible" as it constantly develops in new ways. And so are NZE and AuE. Varieties of English change alongside with their speakers. Especially, when it comes to forge a national and/or cultural language identity.

Along with Schreier (2012: 365)'s theory on standards, Hundt (1998: 13) acknowledges that both NZE and AuE may become the new Standards to be learnt and taught in the Southern Hemisphere. As both these varieties can "develop into a new epicentre in the Pacific region. Japanese, Indonesian or Filipino learners of English (…) might start modelling their speech (…) rather than AmE or BrE" (Hundt 1998: 13).

2.8 English around the world

2.8.1 English as a global language

English has become the dominant or official language in several regions across all continents, playing a significant role in government, business, education, entertainment and politics (Crystal 2019: 112). Its current global status is largely due to the expansion of the British Empire overseas, and the rise of the United States as an economic leader (Crystal 2019: 112).

Furthermore, Crystal (2003: 3,4) explains that a "global language" is one that holds a special and important status in every country. He says that for a language to become global, it must be spoken in many countries around the world, not just in places where it is a native language. As well, Crystal (2003: 3,4) mentions that a language becomes global when it is "officially recognised" by a country. However, this does not mean it is the first language of the people. It can be a second language (L2), meaning it is widely spoken and used in government and public life. Another important factor is education. When a country chooses to teach English as the main or most important foreign language in schools, it helps people access better job opportunities in the future. Additionally, he states that a language becomes global because of the influence of its speakers (Crystal 2003: 9). English, rather than any other language, became the global language for two main reasons. The first is its historical spread through colonialism, which led to its use on every continent. The second reason is its role in modern life – people around the world depend on English for "work, business, communication, entertainment, politics, media, and education" (Crystal 2003: 29,30).

Besides this, Schneider (2007: 317) talks about how English is changing in different parts of the world through a process called *glocalisation*. This means that while English spreads globally, it also adapts to local languages and cultures. As a result, English is not the same everywhere, it develops unique versions in different regions, like Nigerian English, and Singaporean English. These varieties include local words, accents, and grammar, making them distinct but still part of the global English language. Indeed, he argues that the glocalisation of the English language will continue and that English will keep evolving in different parts of the world, reflecting local identities and cultures while maintaining its role as an international language (Schneider 2007: 317).

2.8.2 World Englishes

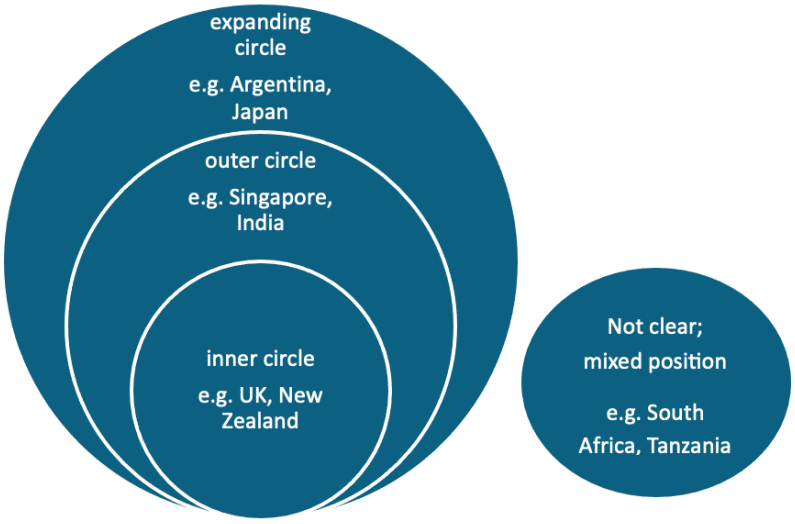


Figure 2.6. Visualisation of World Englishes (adapted from Crystal (2019) and Kachru (1992))

The concept of *World Englishes*, according to Kachru (1992: 2-3), explains the spread and use of English around the globe through three concentric circles. The inner circle includes countries where English is the mother tongue of its speakers, such as the UK, Canada, Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand. The outer circle consists of nations where English serves as a second language, holding considerable importance in business, education, and politics (such as India and Singapore). The expanding circle refers to countries that recognise English as an important international language but do not have a colonial history with it or grant it a

special status in language policies, treating it instead as a foreign language (Kachru 1992:2-3; Crystal 2019: 113).

In addition to this, Crystal (2019: 113) and Schneider (2007: 12, 13) point out that Kachru's model of the three concentric circles has certain shortcomings. Some nations, including South Africa, Nigeria and Malaysia, use English in ways that make it difficult to classify as either a first or foreign language (Crystal 2019: 113). Moreover, Schneider (2007: 12, 13) also notes that the model does not recognise the existence of non-native speaking communities within ENL countries (i.e. English as a Native Language), such as Australian Aboriginals and Native Americans. Furthermore, the model does not clearly differentiate between ENL and ESL (i.e. English as a Second Language), as in some countries considered ESL, English is increasingly becoming the first language for certain families.

2.8.3 PCEs as a term and its distinction to World Englishes

Before delving into the description of Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs), it is important to distinguish between related terms such as 'World Englishes,' 'Global Englishes' and 'New Englishes'. As Bolton (2006: 240) explains, the term World Englishes can have multiple meanings. It can function as an overarching term encompassing various English varieties spoken worldwide. Additionally, he notes that in recent years, World Englishes has been linked to other terms such as 'International Englishes' and 'Global Englishes', which refer not only to English varieties spoken in L1 English-speaking countries but also to "nonnative" English, L2 English and EFL varieties. Furthermore, World Englishes can also encompass 'New Englishes', which denote English varieties spoken in regions such as the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. On the other hand, the term 'Postcolonial Englishes' (PCEs), introduced by Schneider (2007: 3), takes a more sociolinguistic perspective. Schneider's main focus is to explore "evolutionary process tied directly to [the varieties'] colonial and postcolonial history (…) until the maturation and separation of these dialects as newly recognized and self-contained varieties" (Schneider 2007: 3). While the term PCEs, like World Englishes, refers to different English varieties spoken globally, its focus is on the sociolinguistic development of former British colonies and how these varieties emerged as distinct linguistic entities. A thorough descritpion of PCEs is explained below.

2.8.4 The Dynamic Model (DM)

2.8.4.1 Description

The Dynamic Model (DM) proposes various sociolinguistic factors to account for how new varieties of English develop their distinguishing features. This model was developed by Schneider (2007) and elucidates how post-colonial Englishes (PCEs) come into existence, considering various factors such as identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects (Schneider 2007: 33). As well, such a process illustrates that all PCEs "have originated in contact settings, involving intercultural encounters" (Schneider 2007: 4). In other words, contact between the settlers of different regions of Britain carrying their own regional dialects, and contact between the settlers and the indigenous people of the new territory. In addition to this, based on the distinction between English as a second language (ESL) and English as a native language (ENL), Schneider (2007: 31,32) coined the term *strands* to talk about the communicative perspectives between both social groups – the STL (settler) strand and the IDG (indigenous) strand. Furthermore, the evolution process of PCEs – i.e. how English is founded in a foreign territory to how it becomes a new distinctive variety – encompasses five stages of evolution. Namely, foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation (Schneider 2007: 32, 33).

2.8.4.2 Sociolinguistic factors

As mentioned earlier, Schneider (2007) examines various elements that influence the formation and development of Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs). These elements include sociopolitical context, identity formation, linguistic impact, and sociolinguistic conditions.

The first factor, sociopolitical context, relates to the nature of the colonisation process, whether the colony functioned as a military base, a trade post, or a settlement. New Zealand, for instance, represents a settlement colony, meaning that British settlers were sent to new territories overseas to expand the British Empire. These settlers had to establish themselves in a foreign land, often among non-English-speaking populations, and impose their language and culture on the indigenous communities (Schneider 2007: 33).

Identity formation pertains to the social identities that emerge among groups coexisting in the same region. In New Zealand, Schneider (2007: 34) highlights the contrast between "us" (the identity embraced by the settler group) and "other" (the identity ascribed by settlers to the indigenous people, in this case, the Māori).

Sociolinguistic conditions refer to the language contact situations in which speakers find themselves. One type involves dialect contact among settlers from various British regions, which gradually led to a blending of these dialects (Schneider 2007: 34). The second type concerns interactions between settlers and indigenous people, initially serving only practical communication purposes and hindered by mutual unintelligibility due to their differing native languages.

Linguistic impact encompasses language changes at multiple linguistic levels. In New Zealand, for example, Schneider (2007: 35) notes that settlers' dialects and regional variations gradually merged, resulting in more uniform phonetic and grammatical structures. Another linguistic development was the adoption of Māori place names and botanical terms into English to facilitate communication between settlers and the indigenous population.

It is important to emphasise that these examples pertain specifically to the first stage of the Dynamic Model, known as the foundation phase. However, these factors evolve across the different evolutionary phases as the language and its speakers continue to develop. Further details on these changes will be provided below and in Sections 2.8.6 and 2.8.7.

2.8.4.3 Phases

The first stage is known as *foundation* since English is established in a new land to suit the settlers' purposes (e.g. the creation of trading outposts or emigration settlements). This immigration brings about disastrous consequences to the indigenous community – who have been living in this territory for many years cherishing their language, customs and ideologies. They are faced with "marginalisation, isolation, cultural extinction, even genocide" (Schneider 2007: 36). At this point, there is a clear distinction between "us" and "other". While British colonisers (STL strand) wish to create a settlement in the image of Britain and impose their language and culture on the new territory, the indigenous community (IDG strand) believes that they are the sole and lawful inhabitants and holders of the land (Schneider 2007: 34). Indeed, communication seems almost impossible between the two groups. Only toponymic borrowings (e.g. flora and fauna terms) come into the English language. Another linguistic effect of this period is the koineisation of the English variety spoken by the settlers. The settlers come from different regional backgrounds. As a result, "speakers [adjust] their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding (…) [and develop] a relatively homogenous variety" (Schneider 2007: 35).

In the next phase, *exonormative stabilisation*, "colonies are established" and the English language is used as the means for "education, administration, legal system" (Schneider 2007: 36). In addition, the "British plus" identity is forged within the settler community. This means that they still consider themselves British but "their identity is enriched with the overseas experience" (Schneider 2007: 37). As well, the children born in the new territory develop a "hybrid cultural identity" (Schneider 2007: 37). Either because their parents come from different backgrounds (e.g. Māori and British); or because from a young age they acknowledge the place of origin (e.g. New Zealand). In addition to this, schools are formed to instruct a group of indigenous people in British customs and teach the English language. These indigenous people "are expected to assist the British in maintaining their dominance" (Schneider 2007: 38).

The third phase, *nativisation*, is said to be the most essential of all. This is because the settlers come to terms with their separation from their homeland, and the differences between colonisers and aborigines weaken. Now, the distinction between "us" and "other"– which was strong in the foundation phase – begins to fade since both groups perceive themselves as equal citizens of the country (Schneider 2007: 40,41). Nevertheless, throughout this process, the language of the IDG community becomes affected and even endangered by the dominance of the English language (Schneider 2007: 42). Additionally, a set of constructions (such as *pick someone, protest something, different to*) arise and illustrate the uniqueness of the developing variety (Schneider 2007: 46, 47).

The fourth phase, *endonormative stabilisation*, is characterised by what Schneider (2007:49) calls *Event X*. An episode in the settlers' life causes them to grow apart from their mother country (e.g. when soldiers are abandoned and left without protection during the WWII). Such an event marks the independence of the colony from Britain; colonisers come to realise that they belong to a new nation with independent cultural, political, and economical values. In addition, independence also brings about the expression of a new national identity which incorporates the indigenous language and culture.

In the last phase, *differentiation*, not only do the residents of a new nation celebrate a new national identity away from British dominance, but also recognise the existence of "subgroups" within their own nation – each with its own unique identity (Schneider 2007: 52,53). NZE and AuE, for example, are both settler colonies and situated in phase V, i.e. differentiation – which indicates the birth of a new variety of English with its distinctive lexical,

grammatical, and phonological features, as well as a new social identity (that of being a member of a new nation separated from its former coloniser).

A more detailed description about the different phases of evolution of NZE and AuE can be found in Sections 2.8.6 and 2.8.7.

2.8.5 CxG as the cognitive foundation of the DM

Construction Grammar (CxG) and the Dynamic Model (DM) are both usage-based approaches and emphasise the importance of empirical evidence from language use in understanding linguistic phenomena. As Hoffmann (2021: 3) points out, "[a constructional foundation of the DM] shows how the evolutionary stage of a variety can be predicted to correlate with the productivity of constructional schemata and how variety-specific constructional patterns emerge in the different varieties." For example, constructions such as *more prettier <CoANZSE # kaBT2L9P23o # AuE>* and *most safest <QBCC# WF2532_ChrisWinslow.eaf>,* uttered by speakers of AuE and NZE, indicate that these patterns are correlated to their evolutional stage (phase V of the DM in this case); and, because they are at an advanced stage of evolution they are said to hold more "schematic" constructional slots than other varieties of English. This means that there are more fillers that can occupy the constructional slots. To be more precise, depending on the position constructions take, they can be regarded as substantive or schematic. Idioms, like *kick the bucket*, are considered substantive constructions since "their phonological form is fixed." Schematic constructions, on the other hand, can be filled with greater flexibility (Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013: 2), such as the resultative construction *he shrieked himself unconscious* (Hoffmann 2022: 8). Constructional productivity has been tested by Brunner and Hoffmann (2020) in their study of the *way*-construction. The DM Productivity Hypothesis stipulates that the more advanced the variety of English is the more schematisation of the construction; that is, the more productivity of slots (Brunner and Hoffmann 2020; Hoffmann 2021).

What follows is a description of each usage-based approach.

CxG posits that speakers of a language store and use linguistic knowledge as constructions, which are form-meaning pairings. These constructions are used in any linguistic decription; i.e. from morpheme (e.g. *un-* in *unhappy*) to sentences (e.g. *He's going to drink himself sick*). Additionally, CxG sets to determine how linguistic units combine to form larger

structures; and, analyses semantic, syntactic, phonological and pragmatic properties of constructions to comprehend language productivity (Goldberg 1995).

The DM emphasises social and cultural factors influencing language variation. What separates the DM from other approaches to World Englishes is that the DM suggests a shared process which explains how all post-colonial Englishes (PCEs) come into existence, considering various factors such as identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects (Schneider 2007).

To elaborate on the correlation between the DM and CxG, Brunner and Hoffmann (2022) conduct a study on the *way*-construction across different PCEs. The researchers have designed a table to situate world-wide varieties of English in the DM's different stages of evolution. Consider:

Table 2.5. PCEs and their stages of evolution as described in the DM (reproduced from Brunner and Hoffmann 2020: 3)

Phase I	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase IV**	**Phase V**
foundation	exonormative stabilisation	nativisation	endonormative stabilisation	differentiation
–	Bangladeshi English Pakistani English	Philippine English Malaysian English Indian English Kenyan English Tanzanian English Nigerian English Hong Kong English Sri Lanka English Ghana English	Singaporean English Jamaican English	American English Australian English New Zealand English Canadian English Irish English South African English

Table 2.5 situates NZE and AuE, both settler colonies, in Phase V (Differentiation), marking the point at which these English varieties develop unique linguistic features and a separate social identity from their colonial origins.

There are various constructional studies that demonstrate that the productivity of constructional slots correlate to a variety's evolutionary phase in the DM. These include:

Table 2.6. Constructional studies demonstrating a correlation between productivity and DM's evolutionary stage

PCE	Construction	Template	Year	Author
20 varieties	*Way*-construction	[SUBJ:NP_I [V $POSS_I$ *WAY*] (DIR:PP)]	2020;2022	Brunner & Hoffmann
20 varieties	*Into*-causatives	[SUBJ][$V_{1CAUSE\ PREDICATE}$][$NP_{AFFECTED\ ENTITY}$][$V_{2RESULT\ PREDICATE\ -ING\ PARTICIPLE}$]	2022	Brunner
20 varieties	Marginal Argument Structure	[$SUBJ_I$ V[*THE* $N_{TABOO-WORD}$ *OUT OF*]$_J$ OBJ_K]	2020	Hoffmann

According to the table above, the first of these studies was conducted by Brunner and Hoffmann (2020; 2022). Their research focuses on the *way*-construction, represented in the template [SUBJ:NP_I [V $POSS_I$ *WAY*] (DIR:PP)] and analyses its usage across 20 varieties of English using the GloWbE corpus (i.e. Corpus of Global web-based English). This template consists of a subject $SUBJ_I$ (typically a noun phrase), followed by a verb, the noun *way* with a possessive determiner $POSS_I$ referring back to the subject, and an adverbial prepositional phrase DIR. This linguistic construction conveys the notion that the NP moves along a path defined by the prepositional phrase. For instance, *grabbing that panga and cutting your way through the jungle* <GloWbE-KE-G> (Brunner & Hoffmann 2020: 4,5). The study also proposed and verified that the frequency of the construction in the corpus data is directly related to the evolutionary stage of a variety (as shown in the DM), and that the more advanced a variety is in Schneider (2007)'s phases of evolution, the more productive the constructional slots are.

Similarly, Brunner (2022: 7) explores whether the productivity of the verbal slots in *into-causative* constructions, structured as [SUBJ][$V_{1CAUSE\ PREDICATE}$][$NP_{AFFECTED\ ENTITY}$][$V_{2RESULT\ PREDICATE\ -ING\ PARTICIPLE}$], corresponds to the developmental phase of a variety. This research also examines 20 English varieties using the GloWbE corpus. The *into-causative* construction features two verbal slots: one for the *cause predicate* and another for the *result predicate*. The first slot accommodates lexical verbs from various semantic fields, including those

associated with trickery (such as *trick* or *fool*) and stimulation (such as *influence* or *inspire*) (Brunner 2022: 5). Additionally, differences exist in the verbs used across postcolonial English varieties. For instance, British English tends to favour verbs that imply physical force, like *push*, whereas American English prefers verbs related to communication, such as *talk* (Brunner 2022: 5). The study concludes that all varieties reach comparable levels of productivity in this construction, though the choice of verbs is influenced by the pragmatic preferences of each variety (Brunner 2022: 26).

As well, Hoffmann (2020) investigates what is referred to as the *Marginal Argument Structure* construction, represented by the pattern [$SUBJ_I$ V[THE $N_{TABOO\text{-}WORD}$ OUT OF]$_J$ OBJ_K]. According to Goldberg (1995; 2006; 2019), argument structure constructions are general linguistic patterns that reflect fundamental human event concepts, such as transferring something to someone, causing movement or change, and experiencing an event. These structures include broad schematic patterns like the transitive construction (SUBJ V OBJ) and the resultative construction (SUBJ V OBJ OBL). Hoffmann (2020: 2) adds that "languages also possess 'marginal' Argument Structure constructions that never give rise to a fully schematic schema, but remain partly lexically filled and considerably more restricted in their meaning (…) [one example] includes the *V the hell out of NP* construction". Hoffmann's study examines this specific construction across 20 varieties of English using the GloWbE corpus and his findings prove that the productivity of the verb slot in this construction is assiociated with the developmental stage of a variety in the DM.

To explain how constructional innovations emerge in PCEs across these different stages of evolution, Hoffmann (2021: 8,9) describes important aspects of constructional networks. In communicative environments, speakers are exposed to different peculiar utterances. These are known as "constructs" such as *she refused him a kiss*. When this construct is frequently heard in the communicative surroundings of the speaker, it "become[s] entrenched as a fully 'micro-construction' in the long-term memory"(Hoffmann 2021: 8). When there are filler variations in the constructional slots (such as *they refused him the answer, he denied him the answer*), "schematisation will lead to the entrenchment of a slightly more abstract constructional template, 'meso-construction'" (Hoffmann 2021: 8). Based on this, Hoffmann (2014;2022) has recently shed light on a CxG account of the DM and demonstrated different constructional innovations in every stage of the DM (Hoffmann 2014: 165, 166). In the Foundation phase, not only there is "little (socio-)linguistic contact between"

the settlers and the indigenous groups but also these two groups hold different constructional taxonomic networks. Eventually, English is only influenced by the indigenous language in terms of toponymic borrowings such as place names. In this linguistic scenario, settlers will include in their "mental constructicon a [small] number of fully substantive constructions [which] are salient in the local context" (Hoffmann 2014: 165, 166). Because of their high frequency of occurrence, settlers will entrench these place-names-constructions effortlessly (Hoffmann 2014: 166). In the next phase, Exonormative Stabilisation, contact with the indigenous groups increases and more borrowings (i.e. flora and fauna, cultural terms, objects) enter the English language. With respect to constructions, "the borrowing of a set of fully substantive, locally salient, and very frequent micro-constructions" takes place (Hoffmann 2014: 167). In the third phase, Nativisation, further variations in the taxonomic constructional networks of the two groups occur owing to greater language contact. Indeed, many indigenous people become bilingual by this time. "[N]ew and idiosyncratic innovations emerge at the meso-constructional level [, e.g. in NZE [SBJ *protest* OBJ]]" (Hoffmann 2014: 167). These meso-constructions are characterised by the combination of a "constant substantive element (…) as well as a schematic slot" (Hoffmann 2014: 167). In the fourth phase, Endonormative Stabilisation, members of both groups start to see themselves as part of the same country, a hybrid culture as part of the national legacy of the country. There is then a more stabilised set of "[newly-formed] taxonomic constructional networks" which depict the new national identity (Hoffmann 2014: 168). In the last phase, Differentiation, a new variety emerges with its unique linguistic features which set it apart from other PCEs. Eventually, new subgroups within the country emerge – each with its own cultural identity and unique linguistic features. This phase sees advent of identity-constructions which characterise the new variety (e.g. NZE) (Hoffmann 2014: 168).

Moreover, Brunner and Hoffmann (2022: 4) also comment on the correlation of constructional innovations and the DM's phases of evolution. To illustrate this and quoting Diessel (2013) and Tomasello (2003), the researchers note the following: "similar to first language acquisition processes the first stored patterns of a construction will arise at the partly substantive, partly schematic meso-constructional level (…) [But,] more advanced varieties are expected to exhibit greater slot productivity and should, correspondingly, rely less on specific, substantive fillers" (Brunner and Hoffmann 2022: 4). Their study shows then how the increasing schematisation of constructional slots correlates to the DM's phases of

evolution – where varieties at more advanced stages of evolution (Phase V) have more productive verbal constructional slots in the way-construction than varieties at lower levels (e.g. Phase II- varieties) (Brunner and Hoffmann 2022: 11). Notably, the researchers point out that, in line with the predictions of the DM, "varieties at more advanced stages will differ qualitatively, not just from the original colonial standard (British English), but also from one another" in how they utilise constructional slots (Brunner and Hoffmann 2022: 11).

All things considered, Construction Grammar provides the cognitive explanation for how speakers of postcolonial Englishes acquire, adapt, and use linguistic constructions, while the Dynamic Model contextualises these processes as part of a larger evolution shaped by social factors. Together, they offer a comprehensive view of how postcolonial Englishes develop both in the mind of the speaker and in the speech community, highlighting how linguistic structures are shaped by both cognitive processes and social interaction.

2.8.6 New Zealand English (NZE)

2.8.6.1 What is NZE?

New Zealand English refers to the variety of English spoken and used in New Zealand. Despite its widespread use, English is not an official language of the country. Instead, it functions as a de facto language, which means it is the most commonly spoken language. As a result, English plays a dominant role in various aspects of public life, including government, education, and other official sectors. Nevertheless, New Zealand has two official languages that hold legal status. These are Te Reo Māori, the indigenous language, which was granted official recognition in 1987, and New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL), which became an official language in 2006 (Bardsley 2013; Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi 2013).

2.8.6.2 Situating NZE: historical context and language evolution

For several years, the Māori [10] are the sole inhabitants of New Zealand. This linguistic and social context dramatically changes with the arrival and settlement of the colonisers. The English language is brought to New Zealand by emigration settlers and whaling ships between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An "official colony [is] not established until 1840"

[10] The Māori people are descendants of Polynesian explorers who arrived in New Zealand around 1300 AD (Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi 2013)

(Crystal 2002: 257). At this time, there is a clear distinction between "us" and "other". While "the [settler] population (…) hope[s] to build a cultural copy (…) of their homeland [, the indigenous] people regard themselves as the only rightful residents (…) of the territory" (Schneider 2007: 34). From a linguistic perspective, at the beginning, only toponymic borrowings enter the language of colonisers (Māori place names such as *Aotearoa, Takapuna*) (Schneider 2007: 127-128).

Later on, the Waitangi Treaty is signed in 1840. It is drawn up by the representatives of the British Crown and the Māori rangatira (i.e. chiefs) (Orange 2012). Following Orange (2012), this document is meant to establish peace in the land between these two communities; nonetheless, each group holds different interpretations and expectations about the territory. While one group wishes to rule and exploit it, the other desires to retain its indigenous rights, culture and language. Gradually, the colonisers' identity changes. The settlers perceive themselves as "British plus" (Schneider 2007: 37). That is, even though the colonisers wish to construct a replica of Britain, their British identity is "enriched by the experienced abroad" (Schneider 2007: 128). In addition to this, the offsprings of European whalers and Māori women forge a "hybrid cultural identity" – preserving and cherishing both ethnic backgrounds (Bardsley 2013; Schneider 2007: 37). From a linguistic perspective, the colonisers see the necessity to incorporate Māori borrowings. In order to comprehend the Māoris, to trade, and to label or categorise the natural environment's features, the colonisers gradually begin to pick up Māori words involving flora and fauna and cultural concepts (e.g. *whanau, kiwi*) (Schneider 2007: 129).

As time goes by, "both parties consider themselves permanent residents of the same territory (…) and accept that they will have to get along with each other for good" (Schneider 2007: 41). Despite gaining independence in 1947, New Zealand still maintains strong bonds with Britain – mainly, in exportation of goods. Distinctive features start to emerge which characterise the new variety of English. This can be seen in the domains of pronunciation and vocabulary. Among the settler community, a more stabilised accent is built. New Zealanders start to create new "speech ways of their own" which are frowned upon by "the conservative members of the society" (Schneider 2007: 130). One clear example is the "complaint tradition" in which various individuals moan about the degradation of the New Zealand current accent (Schneider 2007: 130). With respect to vocabulary, Māori loan words enter the English language (e.g. *whare boy*). There are also changes in the lexis and grammar

of the English language. This is seen in: new compounds (e.g. *walkway, sharemilker*), hybrid compounds (e.g. *whare boy, manuka blight*), transitivity of intransitive verbs (e.g. *to farewell someone*), and deletion or alternation of prepositional complements (e.g. to *provide someone something*) (Schneider 2007: 130-131).

After Britain joins the European Union, New Zealand has to start functioning as an independent country in terms of economy and exportation of goods. There is a "reorientation toward the neighbouring Asia-Pacific region" (Schneider 2007: 131). A new identity is constructed, integrating the Māori population as part of the "national heritage" of the country (Schneider 2007: 131). New Zealand is by this time bilingual. Indeed, the Māori language is made official in 1987.

New Zealand perceives herself as a new nation and a new language variety emerges. That of New Zealand English (NZE), which reflects its national hybrid culture (both settlers as well as the indigenous culture). This last phase of evolution also sees the emergence of subgroups and ethnic identities within New Zealand, Pākehā English (PE) and Māori English (ME) respectively. Immigrants from the Pacific islands (Samoa, Niue, Cook Islands, etc.) are also seen as contributing to the national heritage of the country (Schneider 2007: 133).

2.8.6.3 NZE's morphosyntactic features

Hay et al (2008) discuss different morphosyntactic features of NZE. They observe that New Zealanders tend to use past participle forms of verbs to indicate both past and perfect tense. In a study, Quinn (2005) discovers that the past participle verb form *come* is used to indicate past tense and has become "a social marker in NZE" (as cited in Hay et al 2008: 49). In addition to this finding, Quinn (2005) notes than young females in Canterbury use the past participle verb form *seen* instead of *saw* to indicate finished actions in the past. The linguist predicts that these linguistic changes may remain "[and be frequently heard] in the future of NZE" (as cited in Hay et al 2008: 49). Moreover, Hay et al (2008: 49) argue that, like BrE, NZE uses the irregular past tense and past participle forms of verbs like *spoil, burn, dream, smell.* A survey by Bauer (1989) illustrates a further important feature of NZE, that of the intrusive *have* as in *If I had have passed, I wouldn't be in this situation*. This study shows that *have*-insertion is used in "official documents, indicating the construction is quite well accepted in New Zealand" (as cited in Hay et al 2008: 51). Apart from that, the modal construction *should've* is nowadays being written as *should of* because "speakers place sufficient stress on the 'of' [and,

thus,] the vowel quality gives away the identity of the word" (Hay et al 2008: 54). This linguistic change is also observed in negation as in *Nigel should of not done that*. Hay et al (2008:54, 55) remark that this is a recent change and is not employed by the majority of New Zealand speakers. Furthermore, double negation (as in *most of the times they don't do nothing*) in NZE could be treated as a social marker as it is a feature of Māori English (i.e. New Zealanders of Māori descent) but not so frequent in Pākehā English (i.e. New Zealanders of European descent) (Hay et al 2008: 55; Jacob 1991: 67). Along with that, double comparatives have been considered another feature of NZE both in spoken and written language. Besides this, the linguists also make a note about adjectives in NZE being used as adjectival intensifiers/modifiers in the place of adverbs as in *he just was real scared of the pain* (Hay et al 2008: 62, 63).

Apart from that, Maclagan (2010: 156, 157) notes that NZE's morphosyntactic features have differed from BrE's features over the years and quotes Bauer (1994)'s study to illustrate some examples. The first of these include the transitivity of intransitive verbs (as in *they farewelled their friends, we protested the decision*); the use of nonepistemic *must* in negative constructions (such as *the bus mustn't be on time today =* the bus's running late); the use of *anymore* in affirmative questions (as in *Do they brew beer in Timaru anymore?*) (Maclagan 2010: 156, 157).

Bauer (2007) comments on the lack of certain constructions in NZE but which are found in other varieties of the world. The linguist considers this lack important because it symbolises the uniqueness of NZE and explains that it is not yet known why these features are not found in NZ. These constructions include *They done finished this, he don't like me, I was there so was they, the man what I saw* – among others. At the same time, Bauer (2007) also provides a large list of constructions that do occur in NZE. For example, the use of the pronoun *she* with inanimate reference (e.g. *She'll be right*) – a feature shared with AuE (see also Pawley 2004). As well, the subject and object PRN forms tend to differ in NZE. Some constructions such as *Me and Kim went to the cinema* may be licensed in colloquial NZE. It is questioned whether this should be included as part of the standard language since many speakers of different ages and professions (i.e. from retired to nonretired; from teachers to lawyers) may use this type of construction. Furthermore, double comparatives are said to be characteristic of NZE. Its use has its roots in older English when these constructions were considered yet standard (e.g. Shakespearean English) (Bauer 2007:10). Another feature is that of the use of the

demonstrative *them* with the meaning of *those* as in *them things* – a feature also used in AuE. Along with this, the use of uncountable partitives with countable NPs seems to be a common trend in NZE (e.g. *amount of people*). There are as well changes in the forms of the verbs. NZE shares with BrE the irregular past tense and past participle forms of verbs like *learn, dream.* Moreover, the past participle form may be used instead of the past tense form of the verb in cases where the "ablaut pattern" remains the same such as *swim, swam, swum* (Bauer 2007:13). As far as negation is concerned, there is a wide variety of options. The *have*-constructions may or may not have DO-support – e.g. *he hasn't a clue, he doesn't have a clue, he hasn't got a clue.* In addition, the negative ADV *not* may or may not be contracted in questions, such as *Did you not find her?, Didn't you find her?,* a pattern characteristic of Scottish and Northern English varieties (Bauer 2007:16). Other important points include variations in prepositional complementation such as *in/on/at the weekend.* Finally, Bauer (2007) concludes his paper by questioning the nonstandard status of certain features, affirming that many have entered the everyday language of New Zealanders; and, advises to carry out further investigations on the issue.

Moreover, Quinn (2000) notes several morphosyntactic features of New Zealand English. First, she observes changes in the past participle forms of verbs. Speakers can opt for the past participle form of the verb instead of the past tense form for completed actions in the past: e.g. *Yesterday I seen the girl.* There can also be deletion of the auxiliary *have* in present perfect constructions: e.g. *no you're not driving you been drinking.* In addition to this, the pronoun *yous* is preferred for denoting second person plural. As well, double negatives are used to express negation, such as *you I won't say nothing to nobody.* Hundt (1998) adds to the list regularisation of irregular past tense forms (e.g. *dreamed, learned, burned*), double comparatives (e.g. *the most unkindest*), among others.

In an attempt to find the most characteristic morphosyntactic features of standard NZE, Hundt (1998) conducts a study where NZE is compared to other standard varieties such as BrE, AmE and AuE. Findings are gathered from different corpora (LOB[11], FLOB, Brown, Frown, WCNZE, ACE). The basic premise of this investigation is that modern-day NZE has been influenced by BrE and AmE. Moreover, the linguist notes that, before the Wellington Corpus

[11] LOB stands for Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus, FLOB for Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English, Frown for Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English and ACE for Australian Corpus of English (see Hundt 1998: 19, 39)

of Written New Zealand English (WCNZE) was created, the only way to examine morphosyntactic features of NZE was by performing elicitation tests. The first of these were conducted by the linguist Bauer (Hundt 1998: 80). Hundt (1998: 37) finds that, for instance, the use of the verb *gotten* appears to be a "recent innovation in spoken NZE." Bauer (1994:418) believes this phenomenon to be a result of AmE influence (as cited in Hundt 1998: 37). In terms of collective nouns, speakers may opt for different verbs depending on the collective noun that is used. For instance, "[with] the noun *family*, speakers of NZE still use plural verbal concord frequently, a preference also found in BrE. [But,] NZE is similar to AmE in the use of singular verb concord with *team"* (Hundt 1998: 83). With respect to complementation, the adjective *different* can be followed by *to/from* both in NZE and BrE (Hundt 1998: 106).

2.8.7 Australian English (AuE)

2.8.7.1 What is AuE?

Australian English is the variety of English spoken in Australia. According to the Macquarie University (n.d.)[12], English is the official and national language of the country. However, Australia is also home to a diverse range of languages, including its own Aboriginal languages as well as the languages spoken by immigrant communities.

2.8.7.2 Situating AuE: historical context and language evolution

English is brought to Australia to establish a penalty colony in New South Wales around the eighteenth century. The settler population consists of a group of free settlers and convicts from different parts of Great Britain, most of them coming from London and Ireland (Crystal 2002: 258). Moreover, Crystal (2002: 258) also notes that, with the exception of flora, fauna, and place names, "hardly any Aboriginal words [come] into English". This is mainly due to the fact that the number of Aborigines is very low; and, the aboriginal languages are numerous and different from one another (Crystal 2002: 258).

[12]https://www.mq.edu.au/faculty-of-medicine-health-and-human-sciences/departments-and-schools/department-of-linguistics/our-research/collective-for-language-sciences/australian-voices/languages-in-australia

Furthermore, language contact between the settler population and the Australian Aboriginals proves to be catastrophic. Not only a new culture and language is imposed on them, but they are also deprived from their lands, or even killed by all the new illnesses that the Europeans bring with them (Schneider 2007: 118). Furthermore, some Aboriginals are trained in English to act as interpreters in trade negotiations. From a linguistic perspective, toponymic borrowings (place names taken from the Aboriginal languages, such as *Wodonga*) enter the English language (Schneider 2007: 119).

Later on, English is spread across different parts of Australia and new colonies are established. Thus, the Australian population increases. The identity of the settler community is still British but slowly growing apart from Britain. For instance, in the nineteenth century, the Eureka Rebellion led by gold miners takes place in the colony of Victoria as an act of resistance from British authority. Apart from that, English gradually inserts itself in the indigenous community. In order to get by, many Aboriginals have to succumb themselves to the settler community as servants or workers for the exchange of goods or food. The contact between both communities results in "ethnolectal forms of English" (Malcom 2004: 657-8). This is illustrated by flora and fauna borrowings (e.g. *wallaby, kangaroo*, *outback*).

Apart from that, and due to the loss of many soldiers during the WWI, a sense of nationhood moderately increases among the Australian population. Yet, Australia remains close to Britain politically speaking "as a dominion and later Commonwealth member" (Schneider 2007: 121). The language of the settlers sees grammatical changes during this period. For instance, the preference of the preposition *to* instead of *from* in *different to;* the use of *less* instead of *fewer* (Schneider 2007: 122). In addition to this, the indigenous population becomes bilingual. Some Aboriginal languages turn out to be endangered or even extinct. Aboriginal English represents the identity of the indigenous community by "preserving principles of kinship, spirituality, hunting patterns" (Malcolm 2001: 233).

After the WWII, where Australia is left defenseless, a new national identity emerges. This implies political autonomy. There is "an orientation away from the settlers' European roots and toward the neighbouring Asia-Pacific region" (Schneider 2007: 123). Eventually, a large Asian immigration into the country is permitted. Besides this, better life opportunities have been provided to the indigenous community. "Preservation and revitalization projects" have been made to help the language "flourish." This growing sense of Australian identity can be appreciated in the works of Patrick White, Nevil Shute, and the like (Schneider: 2007, 124).

Apart from that, the codification of the variety of Australian English in dictionaries, such as the Macquarie Dictionary, "can be regarded as an explicit declaration of linguistic independence" (Schneider 2007: 125).

Moreover, there is regional variation across the country, both in accents as well as vocabulary. Social variation is observed in the Australian population as well. Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) note a distinction between Broad, General and Cultivated accents according to "levels of formality and education" (as cited in Schneider 2007: 126) (see also Mitchell & Delbridge 1965). AuE consists of not only regional differences within the country but also immigrant groups with their own foreign English accents depicting their place of origin (Schneider 2007: 126).

2.8.7.3 AuE's morphosyntactic features

Willoughby and Manns (2020: 1, 2) discuss how AuE today exhibits elements from both BrE, due to early settlement, and AmE, owing to global influence. Furthermore, AuE has had an impact on other English varieties across Oceania, such as NZE and Singaporean English. The authors examine various morphosyntactic characteristics across three forms of AuE: vernacular, colloquial, and standard/formal (Willoughby and Manns 2020: 126). Colloquial AuE is identified as the version most frequently spoken by Australians from middle-class backgrounds (Pawley 2008: 365). Moreover, it is noted that "many Australians are polylectal and might shift to AusVE in less formal contexts or to StAusFE in formal contexts" (Pawley 2008: 365). AusVE, in particular, is often associated with speakers from rural areas. Willoughby and Manns (2020) outline various morphosyntactic traits in AusVE, such as the use of *never* as a negative past tense auxiliary (e.g. *he never did it* = he didn't do it), adjectives functioning as adverbs, interchangeable usage of past tense and present perfect verb forms, and lack of subject-verb agreement (e.g. *They was*) (Willoughby and Manns 2020: 127).

Building on this point, Pawley (2008: 362) states that Australian Vernacular English (AusVE) is typically found in the speech of "working-class or country men" and is used in informal settings. Additionally, Pawley (2008: 362, 363) identifies several nonstandard linguistic features in AusVE. These include errors in subject-verb agreement, as seen in *things is goin' to crook* or *you was really trying*; use of double negatives like *I never said nothing for a while*; the plural pronoun *youse* in examples such as *Where were youse this mornin?*; the interchangeable use of past tense and past participle forms, for instance, *I should've threw*

the buggers over the fence there; and "the use of a masculine or feminine pronoun for an inanimate referent," as in *That's a carrot! I've been watering 'im, looking after 'im* (Pawley 2008: 364–392).

In addition to this, Burridge (2010: 141) discusses how double negation appears in vernacular AuE, particularly when used with "indeterminates" like *nothing*, as in *I never said nothing*. She also highlights the marked impact of Americanisation on Australian "teenage slang [and] culture" (Burridge 2010: 148), though she does not specify any morphosyntactic features influenced by this trend.

Similarly, Collins and Peters (2004: 341–357) explore a variety of morphosyntactic characteristics found in standard AuE. Their research reveals a tendency among younger speakers to favour past participle verb forms to express completed actions, such as *My woolly jumper shrunk in the wash*. Furthermore, there is a preference for using the irregular -n/-en participles instead of the regular -ed forms, as in *The inquiry has not proven that they were negligent*. An additional pattern involves the adjective *different*, where Australians more often use *different to* rather than *different from* (Collins and Peters 2004: 341–357).

In the same vein, Newbrook (2001: 116) distinguishes several morphosyntactic features of AuE. One unique feature to AuE, not yet found in other World Englishes, is that of the use of *usedn't to* instead of its grammatical counterpart *didn't use to*. Another notorious feature that is becoming a more integrative part of AuE is the use of the periphrastic form *less* with plural countable nouns instead of (the hypercorrect) *fewer* as in *We have less students this year* (Newbrook 2001: 118, 119). As well, AuE seems to share with NZE the use of singular and plural forms of verbs with nouns denoting sports, such as club names, as in *North Melbourne is/are playing well* (Newbrook 2001: 119, 120).

Moreover, Taylor (2001: 320, 321) observes that IrE might have shaped the English spoken in present-day Australia. A massive influx of Irish settlers arrived in Australia during the colonial period, leaving eventually traces in AuE's colloquial language. Instances include intonation patterns, the use of the pronoun *yous*, adverbial use of *but*. Complementing this, Newbrook (2001: 127) notes IrE influence on the use epistemic *mustn't* as in *she mustn't be at home; the light's off.*

2.8.8 Summary of morphosyntactic features in NZE and AuE

The following section describes the most important characteristics of NZE and AuE, with an emphasis on morphosyntactic features. The table compiles features unique to each variety – that is, NZE and AuE – as well as features they share with each other, and those they share with BrE and AmE. This theoretical overview provides background for the multiple-marking constructions examined in this study, including double negation, intensification, and comparison. While these broader morphosyntactic features are not analysed in detail, they help to situate these constructions within the wider grammatical systems of each variety.

Table 2.7. Morphosyntactic features of NZE, AuE and shared features

Varieties	**Unique to AuE**	**Unique to NZE**	**Shared bet. NZE & AuE**
Morphosyntactic Features	*Never* serving as a negative past tense auxiliary as in *he never did it* (Willoughby and Manns 2020). No SUBJ-VB agreement: *they was* (Willoughby and Manns 2020). *Usedn't to* instead of *didn't use to* (Newbrook 2001). *Less* used with plural Count Ns (Newbrook 2001).	Prepositional complementation. E.g. *at/in/on the weekend* (Bauer 2007). Uncountable partitives with countable NPs. E.g. *amount of people* (Bauer 2007). Intrusive *have* in *If I had have passed, I wouldn't be in this situation* (Hay et al 2008). *Should of* instead of *should've* (Hay et al 2008).	Demonstrative PRN *them* for *those:* E.g. *them people* (Bauer 2007). PRN *she* with inanimate reference: E.g. *She'll be right* (Pawley 2004). Past participle for finished actions. E.g. *My woolly jumper shrunk in the wash* (Collins and Peters 2004; Hay et al 2008). Past tense and past participle verbs used interchangeably (Collins and Peters 2004; Hay et al 2008). *Yous/youse* as second person plural (feature also

		Double comparatives (Bauer 2007; Hay et al 2008). Adjectival intensifiers as in *he just was real scared of the pain* (Hay et al 2008). SUBJ and OBJ PRNs differ: *Me and Kim went to the cinema* (Bauer 2007). Deletion of *have* in perfect constructions: *you been drinking* (Quinn 2000). Use of *anymore* in positive questions. E.g. *Do they brew beer in Timaru anymore?* (Bauer 1994; Maclagan 2010). Nonepistemic use of *must* in negative constructions as in *The bus mustn't be on time* (Bauer	shared with IrE) (Quinn 2000; Taylor 2001). Double negatives, e.g. *I never said nothing* (Burridge 2010; Quinn 2000). Sport names can take both singular or plural verbs: *Melbourne is/are* (Newbrook 2001).

		1994; Maclagan 2010). The transitivity of intransitive verbs as in *They farewelled their friends* (Bauer 1994; Maclagan 2010).	

Table 2.8. Morphosyntactic features NZE shares with BrE and AmE

Varieties	**Shared bet.** **NZE & BrE**	**Shared bet. NZE & AmE**
Morphosyntactic Features	Irregular past tense and past participle forms. E.g. *learnt, dreamt* (Hay et al 2008). Collective noun and plural verb concord. E.g. *family are* (Hundt 1998). Adjectival complementation: E.g. *different to/from* (Hundt 1998). Negative ADV *not* may or may not be contracted in questions: E.g. *Did you not find her?* (Bauer 2007).	Use of *gotten* (Bauer 1994; Hundt 1998). Collective noun *team* followed by singular verb: *team is* (Hundt 1998).

Table 2.9. Morphosyntactic features AuE shares with BrE, IrE and AmE

Varieties	**Shared bet. AuE & BrE**	**Shared bet. IrE and AuE**	**Shared bet. AuE & AmE**
Morphosyntactic Features	ADJ complementation: *different to* (Collins and Peters 2004).	Epistemic modal *mustn't* as in *he mustn't be at home* (Newbrook 2001).	Double negation employed with 'indeterminates' such as *nothing*, e.g. *I never said* nothing (Burridge 2010).

2.8.9 Possible reasons for shared features

Some linguistic features may be shared between varieties of English that are geographically distant or between varieties that have undergone a similar linguistic and colonial evolution. Various explanations for this phenomenon have been discussed in the literature:

- **Vernacular universals**: this refers to the global spread of vernacular features common to nonstandard varieties of English (Chambers 2004; Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008). These include phenomena like multiple negation (e.g. *I didn't do nothing*) and regularisation of irregular verbs (e.g. *knowed* instead of *knew*) (Chambers 2004: 129). Moreover, Chambers (2004: 129) argues that the recurrence of certain linguistic features across different languages suggests they are not learned, but arise from an innate language faculty shared by all humans.
- **Universals of New Englishes**: a term coined by Christian Mair to describe shared tendencies that emerge during the standardisation of postcolonial varieties of English, which cannot be attributed to historical or genetic factors (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008: 1646; Mair 2003). As well, Mair (2003) argues that many of the common features found across New Englishes may result from the "learning strategies of non-native speakers" (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008: 1647).

- **Angloversals**: features that frequently recur across all types of English, whether they are L1 vernaculars, L2 vernaculars, or pidgins and creoles (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008: 1647). For example, "*me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects" (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008: 1646).
- **Sociolinguistic context**: language and culture are intertwined, and linguistic features may be influenced by speakers' cultural backgrounds and the social settings in which they communicate (Peters & Burridge 2012: 254).
- **Language contact or British English inheritance**: Certain features may persist as remnants of the English used by British settlers (Schneider 2007).
- **Glocalisation:** Schneider (2007: 317) explains that English is changing in different parts of the world because of globalisation. This process means that while English spreads globally, it also adapts to local languages and cultures. As a result, new varieties of English develop, reflecting both global connections and regional identities.

NZE serves as a clear example of the glocalisation process. As highlighted in the literature, it shares characteristics with other varieties of English, such as British, American, and Australian English, reflecting the global spread of the language. However, despite English being the dominant language in New Zealand, it is also shaped by the indigenous language, Te Reo Māori, demonstrating a bidirectional influence between global English and local linguistic traditions. Macalister (1999; 2000; 2009) notes the increasing presence of Māori lexical items in everyday speech (e.g. *marae, hui*)[13], showing how New Zealanders incorporate indigenous elements into their variety of English. This adaptation reflects the essence of glocalisation – where a global language is localised to maintain cultural identity while still facilitating international communication. The English spoken in New Zealand continuously evolves alongside its people, responding to their communicative needs and reinforcing a uniquely New Zealand identity, all while maintaining its place within the global English-speaking community.

In addition to that, double comparatives appear in several varieties of English unrelated to AuE or NZE, such as Hong Kong English, Barbadian Creole, Vincentian Creole, Cameroon

[13] *Marae*: a Māori communal/ceremonial meeting place (Macalister 2009)
Hui: a gathering or meeting, especially one held on a marae (Macalister 2009)

English, and Fiji English (Kortmann et al. 2020). One possible explanation for this phenomenon is angloversals and universals of New Englishes, indicating that some linguistic features can arise independently in geographically separated varieties without being a result of language contact or inheritance from British English, regardless of whether they are L1, L2, pidgin, or creole varieties (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008; Peters & Burridge 2012: 234). Another explanation is the sociolinguistic context in which these features develop, as "the sociolinguistic context of culture needs to be admitted as a factor in explaining the characteristic features of one or more regional varieties of English" (Peters & Burridge 2012: 254).

Apart from that, double comparatives are also morphosyntactic features that NZE and AuE share with other settler varieties of English. For example, East Anglian English, which influenced the English used in both AuE and NZE, also features double comparison (Kortmann et al. 2020). Some reasons why certain settler features remain or persist in postcolonial English lexicons include:

- **Geographical isolation**, which encourages new varieties to develop unique dialects and features (Schneider 2007).
- **Influence from other languages**, such as Te reo Māori in New Zealand (Hickey 2004).
- **Dialect mixture or levelling**: The combination of dialects brought by settlers from various regions (Trudgill 2004).
- **Language identity**: A reflection of cultural and linguistic pride (Schneider 2007).

These factors help settler features survive by protecting them from change or encouraging their use. Geographical isolation keeps settlers' words and forms from being replaced. Influence from other languages, like Te reo Māori, adds new words that appear alongside settler features. Dialect mixture blends different English forms, some of which continue in the new variety. Language identity and cultural pride encourage people to keep words that reflect their heritage. Together, these factors help settler features remain an important part of postcolonial English (Hickey 2004; Schneider 2007; Trudgill 2004).

In conclusion, the spread of linguistic features across varieties of English worldwide demonstrates the complex interaction of historical, social, and cultural influences on language evolution. While some features, such as double comparatives, are shared across distant

varieties like NZE, Hong Kong English and Barbadian Creole, their occurrence can be attributed to multiple factors. Explanations range from linguistic universals – vernacular patterns common in nonstandard Englishes – to unique sociolinguistic contexts shaped by colonial and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, influences like geographical isolation, language contact, and dialect mixing have helped shape distinct forms of English in postcolonial settings. All in all, the way certain features persist in different types of English highlights how both inherited traits and unique developments contribute to the ongoing spread and diversification of English across the globe.

3 Method

3.1 Introduction, goals and strengths

A corpus study has been conducted for the present project to acquire data relevant for the research questions and to prove or disprove the hypotheses. The primary goals of this approach are to:

- Gather authentic data for valid conclusions.
- Inspect the frequency of multiple-marking constructions in NZE and AuE.
- Compare multiple-marking slot productivity in both varieties of English.
- Examine the pragmatic function of multiple-marking constructions.
- Explore associations between words and constructional slots in multiple-marking.

The investigation focuses on the standard varieties of NZE and AuE. These varieties have been selected because they share a similar linguistic evolution (Schneider 2007). The corpus study will allow for a comparative analysis that can determine the correlation between slot productivity and the evolutionary phases of these varieties.

Data have been collected from a variety of corpora, notably those specifically designed to investigate features of NZE or AuE – including ALVEO, WCSNZE, QBCC, and CoANZSE. Additionally, GloWbE serves as a platform to search for other varieties of English.

The use of corpora is particularly advantageous for conducting CxG studies (Gries & Newmann 2013). This method allows for the collection of vast amounts of data and facilitates advanced query searches. As well, it enables the researcher to obtain a representative sample of the language varieties under investigation and offer insights about the behaviour of certain linguistic features.

3.2 Corpora as sources for constructional studies

The data collection consists of 989 tokens which have been extracted from diverse corpora. The reason for the selection of different databases has been mainly to collect a sufficient number of examples to verify the hypotheses.

Moreover, it is assumed that each corpus is beneficial for the study of multiple-marking constructions. As a case in point, the QuakeBox Canterbury Corpus (QBCC) provides the user with both participant information and video recordings. This linguistic scenario proves valuable for examining the pragmatic circumstances which multiple-marking

constructions are used in. As Walsh et al (2013:21) put it, “Canterbury speakers’ [witness] very recent ‘danger of death’ experiences.” The user is able to see then how each participant interacts in the interviews and what kind of attitudes they have towards what is being discussed. As well, the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (WCSNZE) offers detailed information about the participants (e.g. cultural background, age, gender, setting) – which makes it a valuable resource. Although social factors are not analysed in the present study, such metadata help contextualise the linguistic patterns observed in the corpus. Moreover, the corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE) and the CoANZSE corpus have been chosen because they hold a large number of samples from the varieties under investigation. Lastly, the ALVEO’s Australian Radio Talkback (ART) and ICE-AUS have been consulted because they provide the user with colloquial and spoken language material.

However, as mentioned before, not every corpus offers the personal background of the speaker. And that is why I am not going to touch upon social factors such as age, ethnicity and gender.

Below a brief description of each corpus is presented – describing word count, spoken/written medium, year of data collection, variety studied.

The QuakeBox Canterbury Corpus (QBCC)[14] has been created by the University of Canterbury and is a collection of 722 stories about people’s experiences over Christchurch earthquakes between 2010 and 2011. 697 of these have been made in the English language and 25 in other languages. Only 576 stories have been allowed by participants to be used publicly. For the purpose of the research project, only these 576 stories will be analysed. In addition, this corpus contains 929 906 words and audio and video recordings of monologues. The name “QuakeBox” refers to the “shipping container [used as] a transportable recording studio” for interviews conducted at various locations (Walsh et al. 2013:21). For access, the corpus is available through LaBB-CAT (Language, Brain, and Behaviour Corpus Analysis Toolkit), a web-based tool developed at the University of Canterbury.

In addition, the GloWbE corpus powered by CQPweb[15] was consulted. The CQPweb, developed by Andrew Hardie in 2009, is a web-based tool designed for searching and analysing large linguistic corpora. It allows researchers to query, explore, and analyse textual data. As well, the CQPweb enables complex searches, such as investigating various syntactic

[14] https://labbcat.canterbury.ac.nz/quakestudies/search
[15] http://eo-vmw-corpus.ku.de/glowbe/

patterns (Hardie 2012). Researchers can use it to consult various corpora. The tool provides numerous benefits, such as accessibility from any device with an internet connection, efficiency in querying large datasets, and the ability to analyse language use across diverse contexts and genres (Hardie 2012). Besides this, the corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE) has been created by Mark Davies and consists of approximately 1.9 billion words collected from 20 different countries. Its data are comprised of online texts such as newspapers, magazines, among others (Davies 2013a; Davies 2013b). It contains samples of NZE (81 390 476 words) and AuE (148 208 169 words).

Australian Radio Talkback (ART) is a collection of 27 Australian audio recordings and transcripts of talkback from 2004 to 2006. It boasts 200 000 words of AuE.

The ICE-AUS is a gathering of 558 samples of spoken (40%) and written (60%) Australian English from 1992-1995. It holds samples of 1 million AuE words.

Both samples of ART and ICE-AUS have been taken from ALVEO[16]. ALVEO is a "virtual lab [which] provides access to collections of speech and language data" (NeCTAR n.d.). The name ALVEO stands for "Above and Beyond Speech, Language and Music: A Virtual Lab for Human Communication Science" (NeCTAR n.d.). Western Sydney University and ALVEO acknowledge funding from NeCTAR, which is supported by the Australian Government through the National Collaborative Research Infrastructure Strategy (NCRIS). The ALVEO project has been the result of the collaboration and partnership of several universities and human communication science researchers. It "overcomes resource limitations of individual desktops; allows easy access to shared tools and data; and provides the guided use of workflow tools and options to allow researchers to cross disciplinary boundaries" (NeCTAR, n.d.). The Alveo Virtual Laboratory has since been discontinued and is no longer accessible.

The CoANZSE[17] corpus (The Corpus of Australian and New Zealand Spoken English) has been created by Steven Coats (2022) and is an assembly of approximately 195.5 million words from NZE (84 058 661 words) and AuE (111 470 235 words). A very small discrepancy of 4 000 tokens was present in AuE count due to a summing error. As this represents only approximately 0.0036 percent of the subcorpus, it is expected to have minimal impact on the results of this study. In addition, it consists of YouTube videos to analyse spoken language from local councils of different regions in New Zealand and Australia. To access the corpus,

[16] https://app.alveo.edu.au/
[17] https://coanzse.org/landing/index.html

the CoANZSE data is available through BlackLab, an open-source search platform developed at the Dutch Language Institute.

The Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (WCSNZE) is made up of 996 496 words and comprises samples of spoken English of various contexts from New Zealanders. It was built between 1988 and 1994; and, it is a set of formal, semi-formal, and informal spoken language, which is found in 551 extracts distributed among 15 categories or contexts of usage. The formal type of speech encompasses various kinds of monologues (broadcast news, weather, sports commentary) and parliamentary debates. The semi-formal one includes public and private interviews (such as oral history, social dialect, and broadcast interviews). Finally, the informal type of speech consists of face-to-face conversations (Holmes et al. 1998).

3.3 Limitations

Several challenges were encountered during the data analysis process. A significant limitation is the lack of participant demographic information in some corpora, which prevents examination of the influence of sociolinguistic variables such as gender, occupation, age, first and second languages, education, and social class on the constructions under investigation.

Additionally, the relatively small number of multiple-marking constructions identified in each corpus limits the statistical robustness of the findings. The total tokens of these constructions are low compared to the overall corpus sizes, which reduces generalisability.

Another notable challenge relates to corpus-specific limitations in search functionality. In some corpora, the available search tools did not support flexible or regex-based queries, requiring manual searches using exact word forms. This approach, while ensuring retrieval of known constructions, likely limited the discovery of novel or less frequent variants and increased the time and effort needed for data collection.

Moreover, inconsistent POS tagging and differences in tagsets across corpora complicated the development of reliable and comprehensive search patterns. In some cases, such as CoANZSE, tags were applied inconsistently (e.g. the contraction *not* tagged variably as FW, CC, or NN), making it difficult to retrieve all relevant examples systematically. Similarly, tools like LaBB-CAT (QBCC) and AntConc (WCSNZE) had limitations in regex or POS-tagged search capabilities, necessitating simplified or exact-match queries that may have missed less frequent or unexpected variants.

Explanatory comments were added to the Excel data sheets where necessary to clarify search strategies or corpus-specific issues.

3.4 Data analysis

To extract relevant linguistic variables, I first identified which search tools were available for each corpus. The process varied depending on the corpus format and its search capabilities. For WCSNZE, which was provided as a text file containing certain annotation symbols, I used AntConc to analyse constructions and examine their occurrence in context. AntConc was chosen because it supports pattern searches, concordances, and annotation symbols, allowing efficient extraction of target constructions (any necessary text cleaning is described in subsubsection 3.4.1.2.).

In the case of GloWbE, contextual examples were accessible directly within the interface by clicking on the relevant text file number. Relevant texts were then downloaded as concordance TXT files and imported into Excel for further organisation and analysis.

For CoANZSE and QBCC, both corpora provided interfaces that allowed query searches, as well as the option to export findings in CSV format for further analysis. CoANZSE provided only the sentence containing the target construction, which limited context, whereas QBCC offered complete plain-text transcripts of participant audio, facilitating richer contextual interpretation. Exporting to Excel enabled systematic organisation, sorting, and preliminary analysis of the extracted constructions.

For ALVEO, although plain text downloads were available, the absence of advanced or automated search tools meant that relevant examples had to be manually organised and analysed in Excel.

For clarity, all running text, examples, constructional templates, and search patterns (including regular expressions, wildcards, and POS tag queries) in the main body of the thesis are presented in a proportional font (Calibri). R Studio codes, which appear in the appendix, are presented in a monospaced font (Courier New) to distinguish them from running text.

These steps are explained in more detail below.

3.4.1 General steps followed[18]

3.4.1.1 AntConc [19]

AntConc, a concordance and text analysis tool developed by Laurence Anthony, was used to investigate constructions in the WCSNZE corpus. AntConc allows researchers to examine how words and phrases occur in a corpus, whether through simple keyword searches or more complex patterns. For WCSNZE, which was provided as a text file containing certain annotation symbols, AntConc was used to identify relevant constructions and view them in context using its KWIC (Key Word in Context) function. The search process was not always straightforward: in the corpus where AntConc was used, limitations sometimes arose when trying to use regular expressions. In some cases, only exact word or phrase matches returned results, and more generalised patterns failed to retrieve all expected examples. This meant that searches sometimes had to be run multiple times with different query formats to ensure as many relevant hits as possible were found.

To begin working with AntConc, the "File" menu was accessed, followed by the selection of "Corpus Manager" to load the relevant files. AntConc offers several options at this stage, including "Corpus Database," "Raw Files," and "Word List." The "Corpus Database" option refers to precompiled corpora, whereas "Raw Files" allows users to upload their own texts. After selecting the desired files, the option "Open as Target Corpus" was chosen, followed by "Return to Main Window." This action opened the Concordance tool, also known as the Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) tool (see Figure 3.7).

[18] I would like to thank Thomas Brunner for his assitance in processing one of the corpus files (WCSNZE) and for his guidance on using AntConc.

[19] https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/

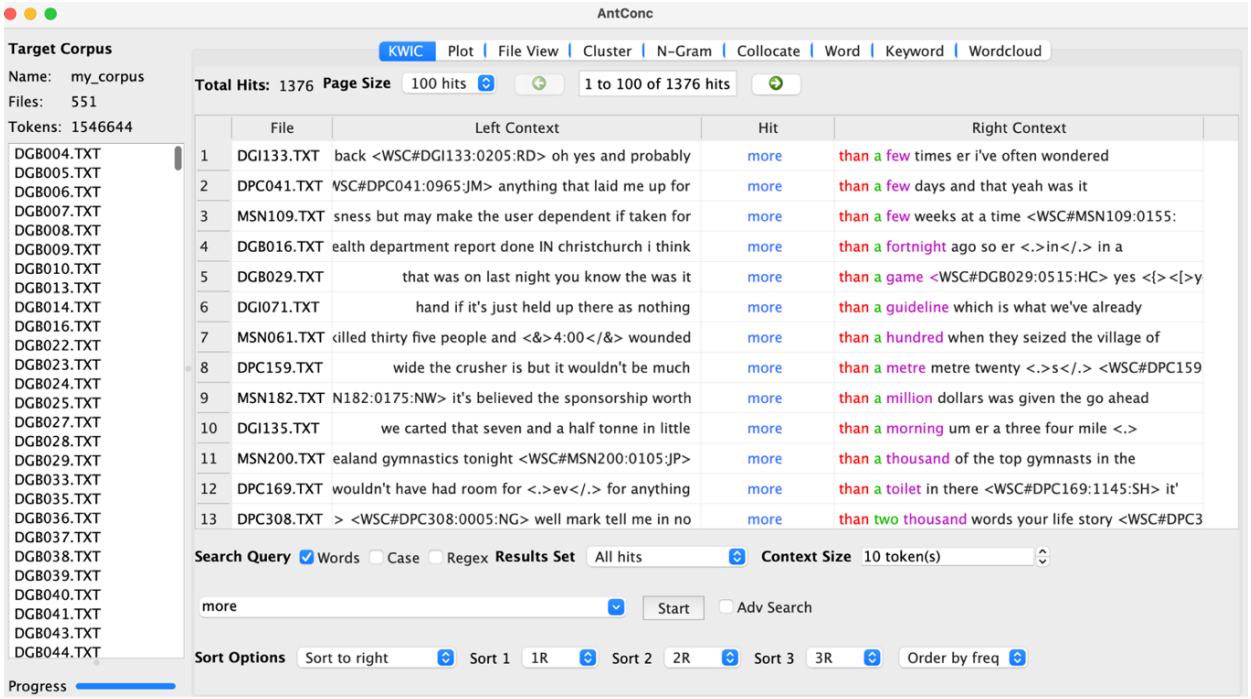


Figure 3.7. Snapshot of AntConc's concordance tool

The Concordance tool enables searches for words or phrases and shows how they are used within the corpus. This is useful for identifying target constructions and observing their use in context. The "File View" option provides the surrounding discourse for each hit, which is particularly helpful for examining speaker interactions.

Searches can be performed using a single word (e.g. *more*) or more advanced techniques, such as Regex (Perl-based regular expressions at the word level) and wildcards. Depending on the purpose, it is possible to view all results or a smaller sample (e.g. 10 examples).

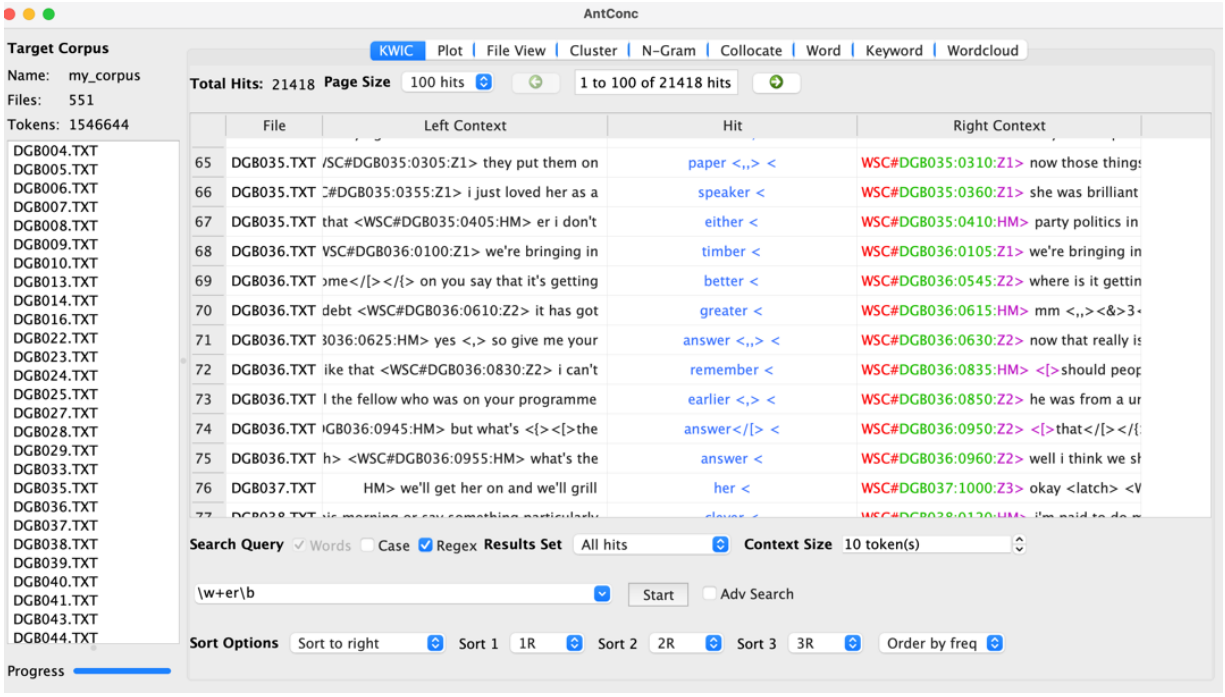


Figure 3.8. Snapshot of the query search tool using Regex

Regex can be used to capture a broad range of forms. For example, the pattern \w+er\b retrieves comparative adjectives, although it also returns non-target forms such as certain nouns. This highlights one of the practical challenges encountered in this study: search patterns sometimes produced incomplete or unexpected results, requiring adjustments.

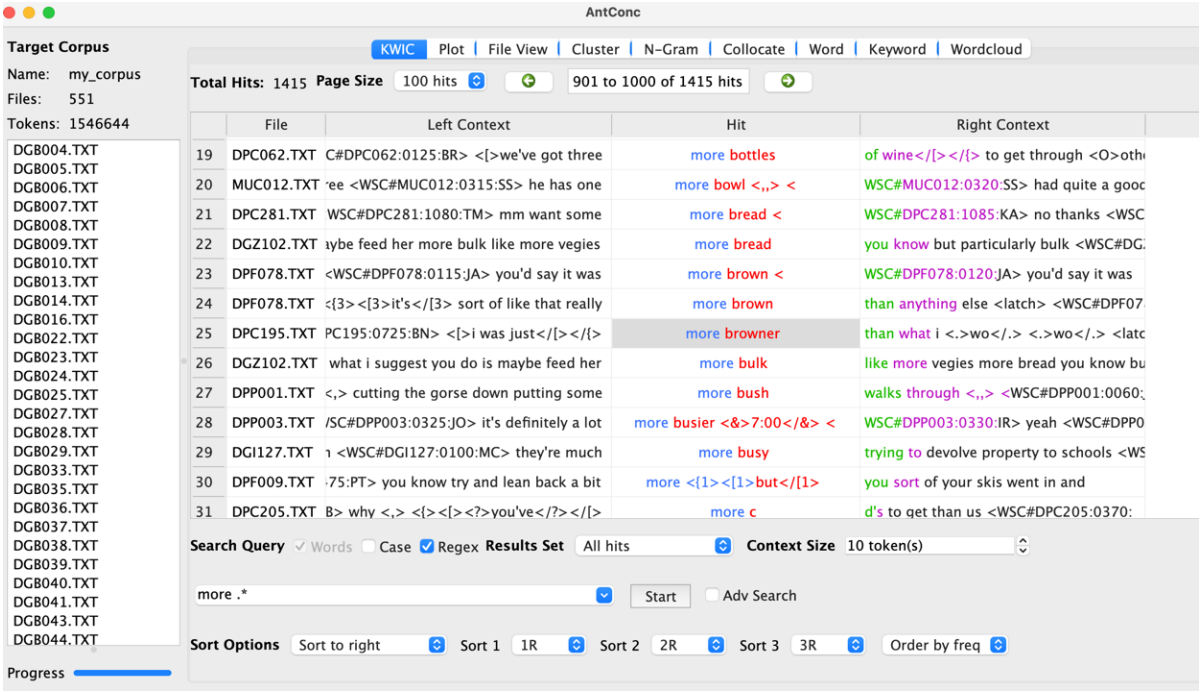


Figure 3.9. Screenshot of the query search tool using wildcards

Wildcards offer another way to capture variation. For instance, an asterisk *"*"* represents zero or more characters, a dot "." represents any single character, and ".*" represents any sequence of characters. To search for double comparatives, the query "more.*" retrieves any word following *more*, such as the target examples *more browner* and *more busier* (shown in Figure 3.9.).

3.4.1.2 Corpus cleaning

Before analysing the linguistic variables in Excel, the relevant hits from WCSNZE were copied from AntConc and pasted into Sublime Text, a text editor that allows for preliminary text cleaning. Using the "Find and Replace" function (Cmd + Alt + F) and turning on Regex mode (the .* button), two simple patterns were applied: <.*?> to remove extra codes or tags that were added to the text, and [[:punct:]] to remove punctuation marks. Each pattern was entered into the "Find" field, the "Replace" field was left empty, and the "Replace All" function was used to apply the changes across the text. These steps made the WCSNZE text easier to work with in Excel.

After this initial cleaning, POS tags and any remaining unwanted elements were removed manually. Once the target constructions were identified, only the instances relevant to the analysis were kept, as shown in the screenshots.

The cleaning process described above was applied only to WCSNZE; CoANZSE, GloWbE and QBCC contained minimal annotation symbols, so additional preprocessing in Sublime Text was not required.

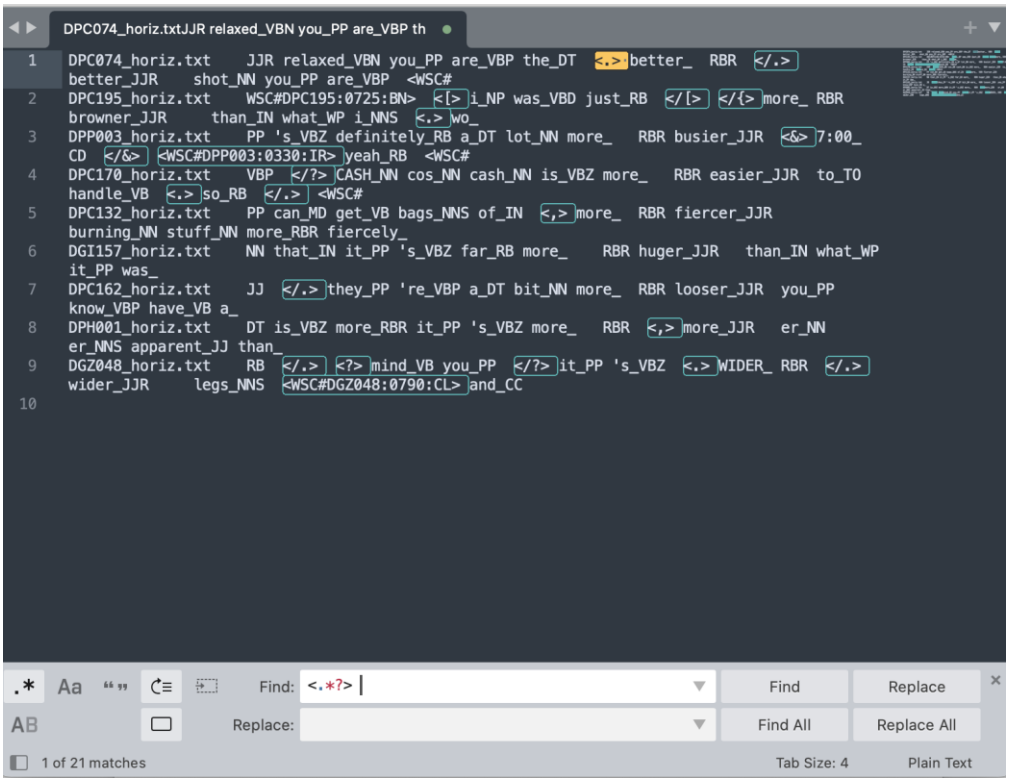


Figure 3.10. Screenshot of the key features of Sublime Text

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	**ID**	**Left Context**	**Hit Word**	**Right Context**	**Search Method**	**Pattern Used**
2	<WCSNZE# DPC195:0725:BN>	I was just	more browner	than what I	POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
3	<WCSNZE# DPP003:0325:JO>	It's definitely a lot	more busier		POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
4	<WCSNZE# DPC170:0030:AL>	Cash is	more easier	to handle	POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
5	<WCSNZE# DPC285:1010:KA>	to get it flowing a lot of	more faster		POS tag sequence	RBR + RBR
6	<WCSNZE# DPC132:0690:MP>	you can get bags of	more fiercer	burning stuff	POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
7	<WCSNZE# DGI157:0060:PK>	it is far	more huger	than what it was say	POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
8	<WCSNZE# DPC162:0210:TR>	they are a bit	more looser	you know	POS tag sequence	RBR + JJR
9	<WCSNZE# DPC130:1260:TM>	betterer and	betterer		Word + POS tag sequence	betterer NN
10	<WCSNZE# DPC130:1215:AM>	i've got an even	betterer	idea	Word + POS tag sequence	betterer NN
11	<WCSNZE# DPC130:1255:AM>	that wasn't part of my	betterer	idea	Word + POS tag sequence	betterer NN
12	<WCSNZE# DPC130:1260:TM>	it's betterer and	betterer	laughs	Word + POS tag sequence	betterer NN
13	<WCSNZE# DPC060:0640:VV>	i went into	worser	bay and i met some lovely girls	Word + POS tag sequence	worser JJ
14	<WCSNZE# DPC040:0305:KA>	it would actually look less wrinkled and	smoother	in certain colours	Word + POS tag sequence	smoother JJR
15	<WCSNZE# DGB051: 0920: Z3>	there are	more greater	issues to discuss	Word + POS tag sequence	greater JJR
16	<WCSNZE# DGB014: 0790: Z5>	that's one of the	most worst	things that can happen to you	Word + POS tag sequence	most JJS worst NN

Figure 3.11. Filtered dataset in Excel including only relevant instances of multiple-marking constructions prepared for analysis

The image above displays the structure of the Excel dataset, which contains six columns. The first column, ID, indicates the specific corpus file to which each entry corresponds. The next two columns, Left Context and Right Context, provide the immediate linguistic environment surrounding the target form. The Hit Word column contains the keyword(s) itself, as extracted from the AntConc KWIC tool. The final two columns, Search Method and Pattern Used, specify how each instance was identified (e.g. POS tag sequence or Word + POS tag sequence) and which search pattern was applied.

These contextual columns were particularly valuable for analysing both syntactic and pragmatic aspects of the data. For example, they allowed examination of syntactic features such as the fact that double comparative constructions like *more browner* and *more busier* function as subject complements of the verb BE in sentences like *I was just more browner* and *It's definitely a lot more busier*. Pragmatically, they made it possible to assess whether the construction served a particular communicative function. Additionally, using Excel columns offered the advantage of clearly displaying file names, which helped trace each example back to its source for contextual interpretation. However, as previously noted, due to the limited personal background information of the participants in the dataset, sociolinguistic variables will not be analysed in this thesis.

3.4.1.3 Data organisation in Excel

The corpus data were managed in Excel due to its flexibility in organising and analysing data, which facilitated both grammatical and contextual analysis. The spreadsheet layout allowed easy handling of the columns previously described, supporting tasks such as:

- Examining syntactic constructions, for example double comparatives like *more browner* and *more busier* as subject complements of the verb BE.
- Interpreting pragmatic functions of constructions, such as requests or expressions of emotion.
- Tracing examples back to their source documents for accurate contextual interpretation.

Excel also facilitated the organisation and examination of the data, allowing patterns and constructions to be easily identified and analysed.

3.4.1.4 Data management and analysis tools

All corpora in this study were analysed in Microsoft Excel to ensure that all corpora were organised according to the same column structure and coding criteria, allowing for systematic comparison across datasets. Excel was chosen over plain text (.txt) or comma-separated values (.csv) formats because it offers practical tools for organising, sorting, and filtering large datasets, making it easier to identify linguistic patterns. Its spreadsheet layout also made it possible to add comments and use formulas to support a systematic and replicable analysis.

Data from each corpus were imported into Excel after being retrieved through the relevant search tools. For WCSNZE, examples were first extracted using AntConc and, when necessary, cleaned in Sublime Text before import. The CoANZSE and QBCC corpora produced outputs in CSV format, and GloWbE in Concordance.txt format, all of which were directly exported to Excel; these datasets contained only minimal symbols or annotations and therefore required no additional preprocessing. For the ALVEO corpus, plain text downloads were possible, but due to the lack of advanced search tools, examples were manually organised and analysed in Excel.

All identified instances of multiple-marking constructions were manually verified in context after extraction and before final inclusion in the structured Excel dataset. Each example is accompanied by its corpus reference code, allowing it to be traced back to the original source within the respective corpus. While most corpora used in this study are publicly accessible, some required authorisation for access. The data can be independently retrieved using the search procedures described above, subject to access conditions where applicable.

Across all corpora, certain search limitations – such as restrictions on some regex patterns, inconsistent POS tagging, and, in some cases, the need to rely on exact word forms – meant that search strategies had to be adapted for each dataset. In several instances, initial searches returned only partial results, requiring further adjustments to capture a fuller range of relevant examples. While this process was time-consuming, it ensured that the data collected reflected genuine usage in the corpora and that the methodology remained transparent and replicable.

3.4.2 Corpora particularities

3.4.2.1 GloWbE powered by CQPweb

The GloWbE corpus, accessed via the CQPweb interface, features a powerful query search tool that allows users to conduct advanced searches and apply regular expressions to identify linguistic constructions efficiently. One key feature is the ability to filter searches by specific English varieties and genres using the "restricted query" function (see Figure 3.14). Genre categories are represented by the letters B (blogs) and G (general websites), allowing for more targeted analysis. The interface also supports interactive results: search hits are displayed with left context, keyword, and right context, and clicking on a keyword redirects users to the original source text – similar to the functionality in AntConc.

To carry out searches, GloWbE relies on part-of-speech (POS) tags, which must be incorporated into the regular expressions. For this analysis, I used the POS tagset developed by Lancaster University (see figure below). This tagset was selected for its comprehensive and detailed classification of word types, which enabled the creation of accurate and targeted search patterns. While other tagsets are available, the Lancaster system is widely used in corpus linguistics and was best suited to the needs of this study.

For example, the following pattern was used to identify double negation: [POS="XX"][POS="VVN"] [POS="PN1" & WORD="NO.+"].

This expression captured instances of double negation, such as *'m not hurting nobody, can't see nothing, is not for nothing,* among others. The results obtained are shown in the figure below and illustrate the different realisations of double negation in the corpus.

UCREL CLAWS7 Tagset

APPGE	possessive pronoun, pre-nominal (e.g. my, your, our)
AT	article (e.g. the, no)
AT1	singular article (e.g. a, an, every)
BCL	before-clause marker (e.g. in order (that),in order (to))
CC	coordinating conjunction (e.g. and, or)
CCB	adversative coordinating conjunction (but)
CS	subordinating conjunction (e.g. if, because, unless, so, for)
CSA	as (as conjunction)
CSN	than (as conjunction)
CST	that (as conjunction)
CSW	whether (as conjunction)
DA	after-determiner or post-determiner capable of pronominal function (e.g. such, former, same)
DA1	singular after-determiner (e.g. little, much)
DA2	plural after-determiner (e.g. few, several, many)
DAR	comparative after-determiner (e.g. more, less, fewer)
DAT	superlative after-determiner (e.g. most, least, fewest)
DB	before determiner or pre-determiner capable of pronominal function (all, half)
DB2	plural before-determiner (both)
DD	determiner (capable of pronominal function) (e.g any, some)
DD1	singular determiner (e.g. this, that, another)
DD2	plural determiner (these,those)
DDQ	wh-determiner (which, what)
DDQGE	wh-determiner, genitive (whose)
DDQV	wh-ever determiner, (whichever, whatever)
EX	existential there
FO	formula
FU	unclassified word

Figure 3.12. Screenshot of the Lancaster University's tagset

1	1758378	within Labour are working hard to make things better . I	have n't said nobody	in the party gives a crap . But I have n't heard
2	1792890	That is what you 're always going to imagine . You	ca n't see nothing	else . Why do you think this happens ? Why do
3	1717405	standard of living , as a ' glass wall ' . It	's not for nothing	that South Africans like Desmond Tutu say that although apartheid was bad
4	1721115	entirely subjective (non-objective) is still " something . " It	is not " nothing	. " What you are calling Nothingness (a Nothingness which has
5	1752616	money was spent on this film , with this director . It	's not just nothing	new and nothing fresh . AGREE ? DISAGREE ? ...
6	1760404	these eggs in has to be good quality , because if it	is not then nothing	is forgiven . Mother Nature won ? t let us get away
7	1767714	Auckland has much more grey skys than Niue (the name Aotearoa	is n't for nothing	) . It really is like a @ @ @ @ @
8	1733351	your objections and alternative position . Smackdown : No , it	is not that no-one	cares , it is that no-one has the ability to win the
9	1760339	a job with that oving , " said she . " I	ca n't get nothing	to brown . " " Really ! " said Beryl .
10	1760956	of recidivism . 1 . Your headline is misleading -- it	's not that no-one	would get a third strike under the definition as introduced , it
11	1762334	my intelligence @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @	'm not hurting nobody	... You 're a liar . You are hurting yourself ,
12	1762365	who have come alive . The most difficult phase of life	is not when no-one	understands you , it 's when you do n't understand yourself .
13	1779960	to believe in the theoretical entities postulated by those theories . It	is not for nothing	that Laudan attributes to the realist claims like ' A theory whose
14	1785742	's definitely possible and common to have platonic friendships . If it	was n't , no-one	would be able to move without having someone hitting on them .

Figure 3.13. Snapshot of GloWbE's hits for double negatives

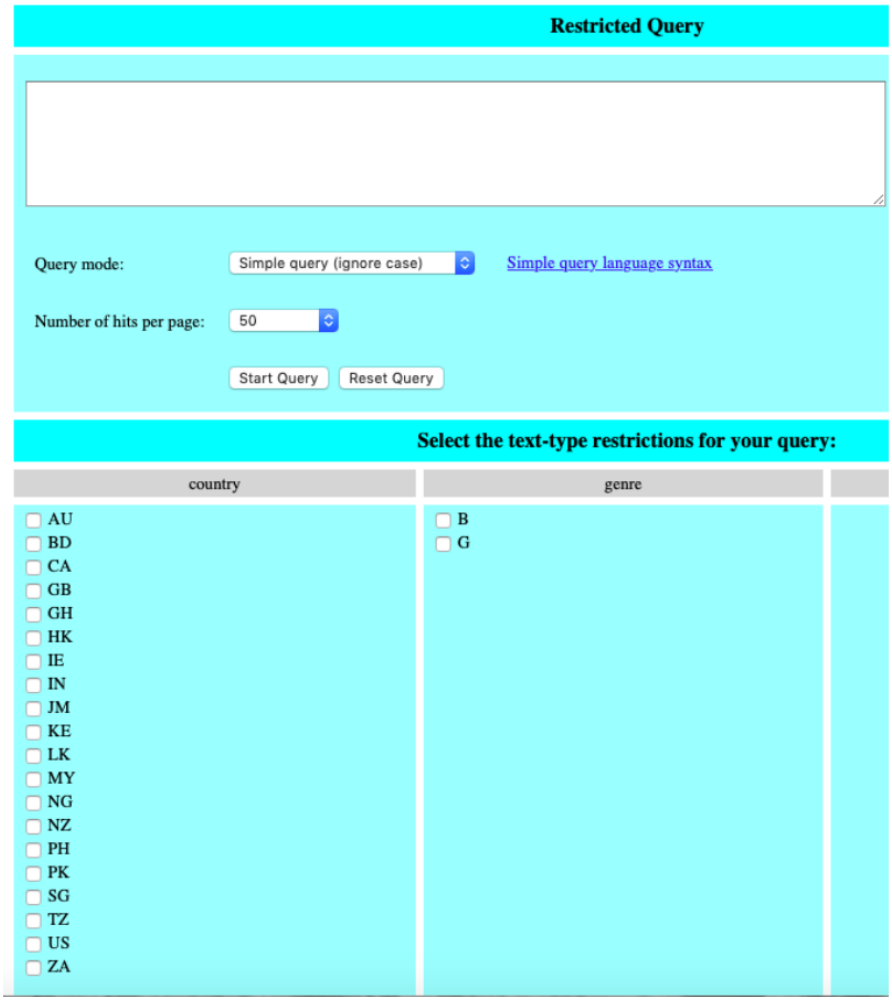


Figure 3.14. Screenshot of the restricted query function in GloWbE

During the analysis, the query tool was used extensively to retrieve instances of multiple-marking constructions. Queries typically combined POS tags and word forms to target relevant patterns. However, a key challenge was the inconsistency of POS tagging across some examples, which affected the reliability of the results. To address this, the “show tags” feature in CQPweb was used to examine the POS tags surrounding each hit. This manual inspection helped refine and improve the accuracy of the search patterns by ensuring that the results reflected the intended constructions.

In some cases, the regular expressions or POS-tagged queries failed to retrieve constructions that were known to exist in the corpus. In such instances, it was necessary to simplify the search query – sometimes using only the word form (e.g. [word="absolutely"]) without any

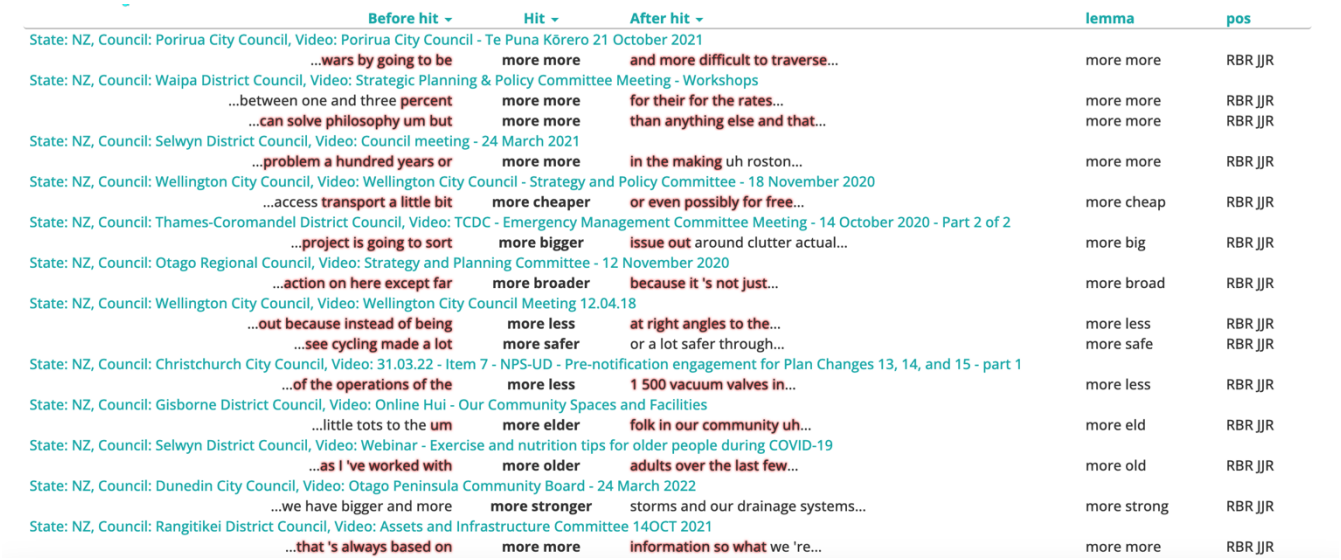
POS information. In addition, before applying any complex search pattern, manual observation of the corpus was sometimes necessary to verify whether the construction occurred and whether a search pattern should be created at all.

Once the relevant constructions were identified, the results were downloaded, and then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet for further categorisation and analysis.

3.4.2.2 CoANZSE

The CoANZSE corpus provides a user-friendly search tool that allows queries using basic words, wildcards, or part-of-speech (POS) tags without requiring regular expressions. For example, entering a POS tag sequence like RBR JJR directly into the search box returns relevant results (see Figure 3.15). The interface displays both the left and right context of the target word or phrase, along with information on the construction type under the "lemma" category and the associated POS tags (e.g. RBR JJR). Users can click on any hit word to view the full sentence in which the construction appears. The corpus also links to a demographic file detailing speaker information such as country, city, and council area, complemented by a Google Map showing the council's location. Additionally, audio recordings of participants are available for playback, enriching the linguistic data with spoken examples.

Due to the distinct POS tagset used in CoANZSE, custom search patterns were necessary to retrieve the constructions of interest. Initial attempts using POS tag sequences yielded only a limited number of examples. Upon closer inspection, it became clear that some words, such as *nothing*, were tagged differently than expected (e.g. *nothing* is tagged as a noun, NN). In particular, inconsistencies in tagging complicated the reliable extraction of double negatives and similar constructions. These challenges affected the comprehensiveness of the data retrieved and are discussed further in the Limitations chapter.



Before hit	Hit	After hit	lemma	pos
State: NZ, Council: Porirua City Council, Video: Porirua City Council - Te Puna Kōrero 21 October 2021				
...wars by going to be	more more	and more difficult to traverse...	more more	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Waipa District Council, Video: Strategic Planning & Policy Committee Meeting - Workshops				
...between one and three percent	more more	for their for the rates...	more more	RBR JJR
...can solve philosophy um but	more more	than anything else and that...	more more	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Selwyn District Council, Video: Council meeting - 24 March 2021				
...problem a hundred years or	more more	in the making uh roston...	more more	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Wellington City Council, Video: Wellington City Council - Strategy and Policy Committee - 18 November 2020				
...access transport a little bit	more cheaper	or even possibly for free...	more cheap	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Thames-Coromandel District Council, Video: TCDC - Emergency Management Committee Meeting - 14 October 2020 - Part 2 of 2				
...project is going to sort	more bigger	issue out around clutter actual...	more big	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Otago Regional Council, Video: Strategy and Planning Committee - 12 November 2020				
...action on here except far	more broader	because it 's not just...	more broad	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Wellington City Council, Video: Wellington City Council Meeting 12.04.18				
...out because instead of being	more less	at right angles to the...	more less	RBR JJR
...see cycling made a lot	more safer	or a lot safer through...	more safe	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Christchurch City Council, Video: 31.03.22 - Item 7 - NPS-UD - Pre-notification engagement for Plan Changes 13, 14, and 15 - part 1				
...of the operations of the	more less	1 500 vacuum valves in...	more less	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Gisborne District Council, Video: Online Hui - Our Community Spaces and Facilities				
...little tots to the um	more elder	folk in our community uh...	more eld	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Selwyn District Council, Video: Webinar - Exercise and nutrition tips for older people during COVID-19				
...as I 've worked with	more older	adults over the last few...	more old	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Dunedin City Council, Video: Otago Peninsula Community Board - 24 March 2022				
...we have bigger and more	more stronger	storms and our drainage systems...	more strong	RBR JJR
State: NZ, Council: Rangitikei District Council, Video: Assets and Infrastructure Committee 14OCT 2021				
...that 's always based on	more more	information so what we 're...	more more	RBR JJR

Figure 3.15. Corpus hits in CoANZSE

3.4.2.3 ALVEO

The ALVEO corpus operates differently from most other corpora. Rather than providing direct search hits for linguistic terms, it generates a list of file names containing the queried keywords. Users can then access the corresponding plain text files (see Figure 3.16) and locate linguistic variables using a standard text search or magnifying glass tool. While downloads are available in plain text format, the corpus offers no advanced or automated search tools. As a result, most ALVEO variables required manual organisation and analysis before they could be systematically compared with data from other corpora.

Due to these limitations, all searches for double intensifier constructions were performed manually by reading through the plain texts. While this approach guaranteed the identification of known constructions, it may have constrained the discovery of unanticipated variants. Although the corpus could have been processed with tools such as AntConc, the manual method was chosen to ensure accurate identification of all target constructions and to account for formatting inconsistencies in the plain text files. While the ALVEO corpus contains lexical items such as negatives and comparatives, no instances of multiple-marking constructions were found in negation or comparison contexts; only double intensifier constructions were attested.

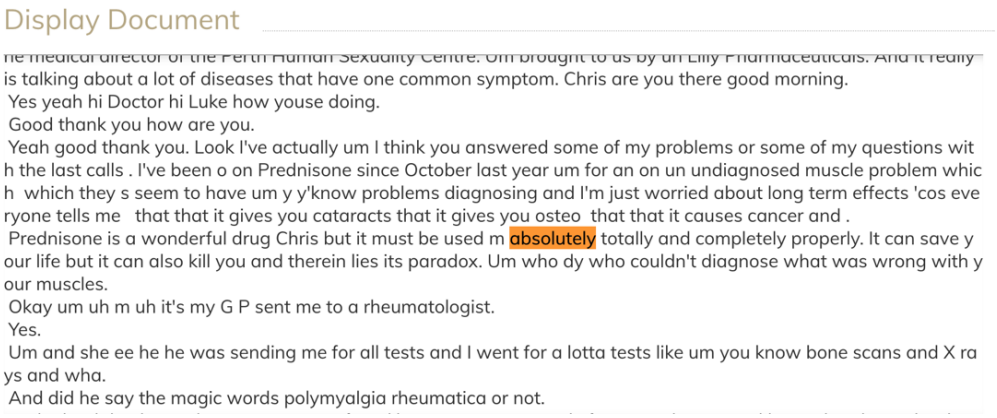


Figure 3.16. Screenshot of ALVEO's search results

3.4.2.4 QBCC

The QBCC corpus contains both written texts and video recordings in which participants emotionally recount their earthquake experiences. Each video is accompanied by a transcript of the spoken content from the interview. The texts are provided in plain format, allowing for straightforward examination of keywords and their surrounding contexts without the need for specialised concordancing software. Additionally, the corpus includes a separate file with detailed participant metadata, such as age, gender, ethnicity, languages spoken, education, and occupation. To comply with corpus regulations and protect participant anonymity, no images are included.

When searching for multiple-marking constructions in the Canterbury corpus using LaBB-CAT, the software's regex and wildcard capabilities proved insufficient for consistently locating all relevant examples. Attempts to apply generalised patterns or regular expressions to capture variable comparative, superlative, negative, or intensifier forms were largely unsuccessful. Consequently, searches were restricted to exact word forms entered individually. Although this method limited discovery to known forms, it ensured that all attested instances of the target constructions were reliably captured within the corpus.

3.4.2.5 WCSNZE

The WCSNZE corpus lacks an integrated online search platform; instead, the corpus consists of text files that are analysed using AntConc software.

In this study, queries were conducted directly in AntConc, which supports Perl-based regular expressions. The search process involved testing various query types – standard regex, regex

with POS tags, and exact word sequences – to locate relevant constructions. However, when working with POS-tagged data, AntConc's handling of regular expressions is limited, so searches were restricted to exact sequences of words paired with their POS tags separated by spaces (e.g. no DT nothing NN). This restriction reduced the flexibility of search patterns and required a more manual, tailored approach to data retrieval.

3.4.2.6 Demographic information

The WCSNZE and QBCC are the only corpora that offers a comprehensive overview of participants' backgrounds, including details on ethnicity, occupation, register and age. Given this, and since the other corpora either lack such information or provide very limited data, this thesis will not analyse any sociolinguistic variables.

3.4.3 Linguistic variables analysed in all corpora

The data derived from the corpus study are analysed for multiple negatives, comparatives and intensifiers. Examples of each multiple-marking construction from each variety of English is introduced below:

(2.10) *It is far **more huger** than what it was say ten years ago*
<WCSNZE# DGI157:0060:PK>

(3.21) *The 9am show is so much **more better** then the other Morning Shows*
< GloWbE # 3332826 # AuE>

(3.22) *You **won't** hear **nothing** on the tape* < WCSNZE# DPC082:0505:BB>

(3.23) *You **ain't** seen **nothing** yet* < GloWbE # 3315939 # AuE>

(3.24) *We realised that gas is actually **extremely absurdly** priced here*
< GloWbE # 1716487 # NZE>

(3.25) *The wireless safety measure is **very really** important to protect you*
< GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>

In terms of double intensifier constructions, this study examines both the types of intensifiers involved and how they are combined in NZE and AuE. Intensifiers were classified into amplifiers, emphasisers, and downtoners following Quirk et al. (1985)'s theoretical framework. Where an intensifier was not listed in their theory, its category was determined

based on contextual use in the corpus. The analysis focuses on identifying the most frequent pairings of intensifiers and determining whether certain types – such as amplifiers or emphasisers (Quirk et al. 1985) – are more predominant in each variety. Specifically, the study aims to understand how speakers of each variety use these constructions to meet their communicative intentions. Additionally, the analysis examines whether the intensifiers modify emotional or non-emotional adjectives (Tagliamonte 2008). This analysis, in turn, supports the investigation of correlations between slot fillers and multiple-marking constructions.

With respect to the double comparative construction, the project first studies what types of ADJs (i.e. regular or irregular) are most frequently used in multiple-marking constructional slots. As a second step, the analysis focuses on specific irregular ADJs which permit extra addition of suffixes *-er* and *-est* (such as *betterer*) or attract periphrastic forms (as in *more better*). Next, the semantics of the comparative adjectives used in the multiple-marking construction are also examined.

In relation to the double negation construction, this study examines variation in the linguistic elements occupying the constructional slots, focusing on which negative auxiliaries, pronouns, and adverbs (e.g. *don't, nobody, never*) occur most frequently. Along with the other constructional analyses, an attempt will also be made to identify contextual factors that may contribute to the use of double negatives. What is more, this project will analyse whether speakers make use of negative concord (NC) or logical double negation (LDN) (see Section 2.5.1.2.).

Aside from that, the pragmatic function of multiple-marking constructions will be explored. As it has been stated in the literature, a construction serves to convey not just the content, but also the speaker's communicative intention (Searle 1979). This will be represented in different categories or communicative purposes, such as seeking confirmation or agreement, expressing emotions, seeking empathy or evoking emotional reactions. The distribution across the corpora will then be analysed. To achieve this, the context in which multiple-marking constructions appear will be examined (see Findings Section).

Additionally, the grammatical context of multiple-marking constructions will be examined. This analysis aims to explore how these repeated linguistic elements function within syntax and whether a significant constructional pattern emerges that provides insight into their usage.

As a final step, the overall occurrence of multiple-marking constructions across PCEs will be examined. This analysis will help determine any distinctions between NZE and AuE, and identify whether a particular variety of English follows a conventionalised pattern.

3.4.4 Statistics

3.4.4.1 Collexeme Analysis

The collexeme analysis will be carried out to explore associations between constructional slots and specific words in multiple-marking constructions.

Gries and Stefanowitsch (2010: 73) developed "a family of collocational methods geared towards investigating the relationship between words and constructions, referred to as collostructional analysis". Collostructional analysis involves three statistical techniques: collexeme analysis, distinctive collexeme analysis, and covarying collexeme analysis.

This thesis will focus exclusively on collexeme analysis (CA) to determine which words are attracted to multiple-marking constructions. CA allows researchers to identify lexical items that are significantly associated with a construction by examining the co-occurrence patterns between constructional slots and words (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2003; 2010). In the present study, CA is applied separately to each multiple-marking construction in each variety (NZE and AuE). This method can be carried out in RStudio by using the following command: collex(x, corpsize =1e+08L, am="logl", reverse= FALSE, decimals=5, threshold=2, cxn.freq=NULL, str.dir=FALSE) (Flach 2015) (see RStudio commands).

Prior to performing this analysis in RStudio, a dataset must be created in a platform like Excel. This data should include the list of collexemes and their frequency in the construction under investigation. An additional column indicating the frequency of each collexeme in the corpus as a whole may also be included for reference, although it is not required for the collex() function. Moreover, the collostructions package must be installed before performing the collexeme analysis – which can be found either on Stefanowitsch or Flach's webpage. As well, the following command[20] collex(x, corpsize =1e+08L, am="logl", reverse= FALSE, decimals=5, threshold=2, cxn.freq=NULL, str.dir=FALSE) was used to perform the collexeme analysis. Such a command produces a table with various variables: COLLEX, CORP.FREQ, OBS, EXP, ASSOC, COLLSTRLOGL, SIGNIF (as it is illustrated in Table 4.11.).

[20] A minimum occurrence threshold of 2 was applied to focus on the most frequent collexemes

COLLEX refers to the collexemes, i.e. the words which are attracted (attrc) to or repelled (rep) by a specific construction. OBS and EXP refer to the observed and expected frequency values of the collexeme in the construction. While OBS indicates the number of times the linguistic item appears in the construction, the EXP value refers to the number of times the word would be expected to occur in the construction based on its overall frequency in the construction and corpus. ASSOC represents the association between the collexeme and the construction. It can be attrc (i.e. attracted) or rep (i.e. repelled). COLL.STR.LOGL. stands for collostructional strength in terms of likelihood. It indicates whether the association or attraction is positive or negative. Lastly, SIGNIF refers to the significance level. If the association is statistically significantly strong, the collostructional strength is interpreted as not due to random chance. The significant association is represented by an asterisk (*) and nonsignificant values are presented by *ns* (i.e. not significant). The levels of significance may vary. That is, the number of asterisks represents how high the significance is.

3.4.4.2 Statistical analysis tools

In addition to the collexeme analysis, various statistical plots will be generated to visualise and analyse the data. These visualisations will help address the questions outlined in the previous subsection, such as identifying the types of emotional adjectives present in the dataset, examining the frequency of multiple-marking constructions in both varieties, and exploring the pragmatic functions of these constructions, among other aspects.

3.4.5 Research data storage

To promote transparency and good research practice, the data files generated during this study – specifically the Excel sheets containing the data used for analysis and visualisation – have been prepared for secure archiving on the Open Science Framework (OSF) platform (https://osf.io/). A README file is also included to discuss the folder contents. The OSF is a free and widely used platform that provides a reliable, long-term solution for organising, preserving, and sharing research data and materials in line with open science principles. Access to these files have been provided to my first and second supervisors.

4 Findings

4.1 Initial observations

This subsection presents the initial observations based on the dataset, focusing on general patterns that emerged prior to the more detailed analyses in the following sections. Particular attention is given to the presence and distribution of multiple-marking constructions, which are central to this study. What follows is a summary of the methodological query (see Table 4.10.), detailing the number of tokens retrieved from each corpus. This quantitative overview provides an initial sense of how frequently multiple-marking constructions occur across the data. The findings presented here serve as a foundation for the more specific analyses that follow.

Table 4.10. Incidence of multiple-marking constructions in the dataset

Construction	NZE	AuE	Marginal row totals
Double negation	27 (WCSNZE) 39 (GloWbE) 4 (QBCC)	39 (GloWbE) 247 (CoANZSE)	356
Double comparison	15 (WCSNZE) 65 (GloWbE) 23 (QBCC) 114 (CoANZSE)	71 (GloWbE) 206 (CoANZSE)	494
Double intensifier	3 (WCSNZE) 8 (QBCC) 15 (GloWbE) 48 (CoANZSE)	5 (ALVEO) 14 (GloWbE) 46 (CoANZSE)	139
Totals	361	628	**989** (Grand total)

At first glance, the most frequent multiple-marking construction is that of double comparison. Another interesting finding is that overall multiple-marking is more predominant in AuE than NZE.

The following multiple-marking constructions have been identified in the corpora:

Double comparative construction

(4.26) [$MOST_{PERIPHRASTICFORM}$ ADJ_{EST} NP]

e.g. *most sweetest lady* <GloWbE # 3790558 # NZE>

(4.27) [$MORE_{PERIPHRASTICFORM}$ ADJ_{ER} NP]

e.g. *more higher rankings* <GloWbE # 1730767 # NZE>

(4.28) [$ADJ_{IRREGULAR+ER}$ NP]

e.g. *betterer idea* <WCSNZE# DPC130:1215:AM>

(4.29) [$ADJ_{IRREGULAR+EST}$ NP]

e.g. *bestest mate* <CoANZSE # gWW87g7L9rQ # AuE>

(4.30) [$MOST_{PERIPHRASTICFORM}$ $ADJ_{IRREGULAR}$ NP]

e.g. *most worst things* <WCSNZE# DGB014: 0790: Z5>

(4.31) [$MORE_{PERIPHRASTICFORM}$ $ADJ_{IRREGULAR}$ NP]

e.g. *more better investment returns* <GloWbE # 3782708 # NZE>

In the double comparison construction, the combination of periphrastic forms such as *more, most* followed by the comparative or superlative adjective already inflected for comparison can be found, as in *most sweetest* <GloWbE # 3790558 # NZE>.

Interestingly, irregular adjectives can also be inflected for comparison even though the root has already undergone the process of suppletion as Kortmann (2005:92) puts forward (e.g. *betterer*). This additional inflection is included for both superlative and comparatives forms of the adjectives (e.g. *betterer idea* <WCSNZE# DPC130:1215:AM>, *bestest mate* <CoANZSE # gWW87g7L9rQ # AuE>).

Double negative construction

(4.32) [SBJ AUX_{NEG} VB $OBJPRN_{NEG}$]

e.g. *you ain't seen nothing* <CoANZSE # Uy2a0kwJSA # AuE>

(4.33) [SBJ AUX_{CLITIC} ADV_{NEG} VB $OBJPRN_{NEG}$]

e.g. *you're not doing nothing* <GloWbE # 3307023 # AuE>

(4.34) [$THERE_{EXISTENTIAL}$ AUX_{NEG} $OBJPRN_{NEG}$ SBJ AUX VB]

e.g. *there ain't nothing I can do* <GloWbE # 1757415 # NZE>

(4.35) [SBJ AUX_{NEG} PRN_{NEG}]

e.g. *they ain't nothing* <GloWbE # 1716442 # NZE>

(4.36) [SBJ:PRN_{NEG} AUX_{NEG} VB]

e.g. *nobody don't know I even studied* <WCSNZE# DGB068:0825:Z3>

(4.37) [OBJPRN_{NEG} SBJ AUX_{NEG} VB]

e.g. *nothing I haven't seen* <GloWbE # 1732173 # NZE>

(4.38) [$ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ}$ AUX_{NEG} VB]

e.g. *but never wouldn't come out* <QBCC# EG140_KathrynInns_QB2.eaf>

(4.39) [AUX_{NEG} $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ}$ VB]

e.g. *wouldn't never move into a town*

<QBCC # QB463_VioletMayLouisaMagrs_QB2.eaf>

(4.40) [$THERE_{EXISTENTIAL}$ AUX_{CLITIC} ADV_{NEG} PRN_{NEG}]

e.g. *there's not nothing* <CoANZSE # r_EPC86aho # AuE>

(4.41) [$THERE_{EXISTENTIAL}$ AUX_{CLITIC} DET_{NEG} PRN_{NEG}]

e.g. *there's no nothing* <CoANZSE # uuz8yaNFixY AuE>

In the double negation construction, there is more variation when it comes to constructional slots. Several negative linguistic items can occupy these multiple-marking slots, e.g. *nobody, nothing, ain't.* It is observed that double negation or negative concord appear frequently in constructions where the negative auxiliary is followed by the verb and later by a negative pronoun (e.g. *you ain't seen nothing* <CoANZSE # Uy2a0kwJSA # AuE>). Sometimes the OBJ PRN may be fronted, as it is the case of *nothing I haven't seen* <GloWbE # 1732173 # NZE>. Interestingly, speakers often opt for the full form of the negative adverb *not* instead of the contracted form of the auxiliary or modal verb (e.g. *you're not doing nothing* <GloWbE # 3307023 # AuE>); although the collexeme analysis shows that this pattern is moderately common rather than dominant, ranking 7th in NZE and 5th in AuE.

Apart from that, no clear presence of logical double negation was detected in the corpora. The data show primarily instances of negative concord, where multiple negatives reinforce a single negation. A few utterances are somewhat ambiguous, but these are too rare to affect the overall analysis. In other words, the double negation constructions appear to be used solely to intensify the negation (Crystal 2019; Palacios Martínez 2003).

Double intensifier construction

(4.42) [VB ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} OBJ_{NP}]

e.g. he had really amazingly high coolness < WCSNZE #DPC043:0165:KV>

(4.43) [VB ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} ADV]

e.g. it seems to work flawlessly or absolutely dreadfully < GloWbE # 103538 # AuE>

(4.44) [$THERE_{EXISTENTIAL}$ VB ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} NP]

e.g. there is absolutely positively no way <GloWbE # 306871 # AuE>

(4.45) [ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} NP]

e.g. my mum's absolutely incredibly gorgeous new kitten <GloWbE # 3293938 # AuE>

(4.46) [ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} $ADJ_{PARTICIPIAL}$]

e.g. it should be totally totally vacationally oriented <ALVEO # S1A-065 # ICE-AUS>

(4.47) [$VB_{COPULAR}$ ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{DEGREE} $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL}$]

e.g. individuals are absolutely outrageously stunning <ALVEO# ABCE4 # ART>

In the double intensifier construction, intensifiers can typically be followed by NPs or ADJs (e.g. *my mum's absolutely incredibly gorgeous new kitten* <GloWbE # 3293938 # AuE>, *he had really amazingly high coolness* < WCSNZE #DPC043:0165:KV>, *individuals are absolutely outrageously stunning* <ALVEO# ABCE4 # ART>). To a lesser extent, intensifiers can modify a verb as in *work flawlessly or absolutely dreadfully* – intensifying the manner and/or quality of the action.

As mentioned earlier, various statistical analyses were conducted to address the research questions. The discussion begins with a description of the Collexeme Analysis[21]. This analytical method was used with the purpose of finding associations between constructional slots and specific words in multiple-marking constructions.

[21] All R Studio Commands for the Collexeme Analysis and subsequent plots can be found in Section 8, which serves as the appendix.

4.2 Collexeme Analysis

Table 4.11.Results of the collexeme analysis of double negation in NZE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	nothing	109019	53	0.1	attr	597.92805	*****
2	ain't	2380	11	0.0	attr	169.52407	*****
3	didn't	80665	8	0.1	attr	61.71835	*****
4	wasn't	43630	7	0.0	attr	60.64403	*****
5	haven't	67389	5	0.1	attr	35.58431	*****
6	never	162274	6	0.1	attr	34.51283	*****
7	not	1920603	13	1.5	attr	33.59958	*****
8	don't	372778	7	0.3	attr	31.10983	*****
9	nobody	17099	3	0.0	attr	26.43345	*****
10	couldn't	22768	3	0.0	attr	24.72417	*****
11	no	756681	7	0.6	attr	21.78290	*****
12	wouldn't	38790	3	0.0	attr	21.55226	*****
13	can't	118483	3	0.1	attr	14.97726	***
14	hasn't	22556	2	0.0	attr	14.89496	***

Table 4.12.Results of the collexeme analysis of double negation in AuE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	nothing	109019	217	0.2	attr	2628.66052	*****
2	never	162274	56	0.3	attr	463.18842	*****
3	ain't	2380	29	0.0	attr	445.14339	*****
4	no	756681	73	1.6	attr	422.11074	*****
5	not	1920603	62	4.1	attr	226.39224	*****
6	don't	372778	34	0.8	attr	190.44240	*****
7	nowhere	8253	12	0.0	attr	132.70509	*****
8	can't	118483	19	0.3	attr	126.99367	*****
9	didn't	80665	17	0.2	attr	122.75084	*****
10	haven't	67389	9	0.1	attr	56.75078	*****
11	isn't	44241	7	0.1	attr	46.45377	*****
12	wasn't	43630	6	0.1	attr	38.14828	*****
13	won't	50136	6	0.1	attr	36.50792	*****
14	couldn't	22768	4	0.0	attr	27.35084	*****
15	hasn't	22556	3	0.0	attr	18.86124	****
16	doesn't	81555	4	0.2	attr	17.39404	****

The collexeme analysis for the double negation construction in New Zealand English revealed fourteen collexemes that are significantly associated with this pattern. These include a range of negative lexical items such as *nothing*, *ain't*, *didn't*, *wasn't*, and *haven't*. High-frequency items like *not* and *don't* also show strong association, with observed frequencies exceeding expected values by a considerable margin. For example, *nothing* appears 53 times in the construction with a very high log-likelihood score indicating a strong attraction to the double negation pattern. The consistently high log-likelihood scores for collexemes such as *nothing*, *ain't*, and *didn't* in New Zealand English indicate that the double negation construction tends to occur with a limited set of strongly associated negative items. This pattern suggests that the construction is relatively stable and lexicalised around these specific words, rather than being widely distributed across a broader range of negatives.

In Australian English, sixteen collexemes were found to be significantly linked to the double negation construction, suggesting a slightly broader lexical range than in New Zealand English. Items such as *nothing*, *never*, *ain't*, *no*, and *not* occur frequently within the construction and have very strong association scores, with *nothing* observed 217 times and a log-likelihood value far exceeding that of New Zealand English, indicating an even stronger collocational attraction. Other negative auxiliaries and modals like *can't*, *didn't*, *haven't*, and *wasn't* are also strongly associated. The presence of a slightly higher number of significant collexemes in Australian English (16 compared to 14 in New Zealand English) suggests that this variety may allow for a somewhat wider set of negative expressions within the double negation construction. This may indicate a slightly greater variability in how the construction is used and lexicalised across different contexts in Australian English.

When comparing the two varieties, both share a core set of strongly associated negative collexemes including *nothing*, *not*, *ain't*, and several negative auxiliaries such as *didn't*, *wasn't*, and *haven't*. However, some collexemes appear uniquely in one variety but not the other. For example, New Zealand English features collexemes like *wouldn't* and *nobody* which do not reach significance in Australian English, while Australian English includes unique collexemes such as *nowhere*, *won't*, *isn't*, and *doesn't* that are absent or non-significant in New Zealand English. This suggests subtle dialectal differences in the lexical repertoire available for expressing double negation, with Australian English displaying a slightly more varied set of negative forms. Regarding association strength, most significant collexemes show very strong positive associations with the construction, indicated by high log-likelihood

values and significance levels. A few collexemes like *can't* and *hasn't* have relatively lower association scores compared to the most prominent ones but still reach statistical significance. The differences in log-likelihood values among the significant collexemes suggest that some negative items, such as *nothing* and *ain't*, are much more strongly attracted to the double negation construction than others like *hasn't* or *doesn't*. This points to a hierarchical pattern of lexical association, where certain items are more central to the construction's usage in both varieties.

Table 4.13.Results of the collexeme analysis of double comparison in NZE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	better	191101	55	0.2	attr	504.12438	*****
2	easier	30910	24	0.0	attr	263.47842	*****
3	higher	56695	25	0.1	attr	246.34207	*****
4	cheaper	11421	11	0.0	attr	124.77750	*****
5	betterer	7	4	0.0	attr	99.22512	*****
6	smaller	27305	7	0.0	attr	60.78018	*****
7	worser	46	3	0.0	attr	59.39490	*****
8	easiest	4386	5	0.0	attr	58.25552	*****
9	coolest	889	4	0.0	attr	57.57560	*****
10	scariest	287	3	0.0	attr	48.24187	*****
11	warmer	4853	4	0.0	attr	43.99259	*****
12	greater	49570	6	0.1	attr	43.12578	*****
13	richer	1823	3	0.0	attr	37.12660	*****
14	harshest	197	2	0.0	attr	32.03431	*****
15	older	28384	4	0.0	attr	29.91796	*****
16	cheapest	2630	2	0.0	attr	21.65537	*****
17	strongest	3044	2	0.0	attr	21.07143	*****
18	cleaner	3359	2	0.0	attr	20.67821	*****
19	happier	3374	2	0.0	attr	20.66042	*****
20	hardest	3834	2	0.0	attr	20.15018	*****
21	harder	14375	2	0.0	attr	14.88929	***
22	latest	25401	2	0.0	attr	12.63938	***
23	biggest	172449	2	0.2	attr	5.34369	*

Table 4.14.Results of the collexeme analysis of double comparison in AuE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	better	191101	58	0.2	attr	559.22770	*****
2	bestest	128	16	0.0	attr	346.12836	*****
3	easier	30910	24	0.0	attr	272.99338	*****
4	bigger	29941	15	0.0	attr	156.95792	*****
5	easiest	4386	10	0.0	attr	134.73882	*****
6	harder	14375	10	0.0	attr	111.00103	*****
7	brighter	1797	6	0.0	attr	85.33333	*****
8	higher	56695	10	0.1	attr	83.63467	*****
9	best	200840	13	0.2	attr	83.05533	*****
10	greater	49570	9	0.1	attr	75.75490	*****
11	warmer	4853	6	0.0	attr	73.40502	*****
12	worse	25762	7	0.0	attr	64.48687	*****
13	cleaner	3359	5	0.0	attr	63.00797	*****
14	greener	1149	4	0.0	attr	57.19290	*****
15	older	28384	6	0.0	attr	52.25085	*****
16	happier	3374	4	0.0	attr	48.57050	*****
17	younger	14647	5	0.0	attr	48.29881	*****
18	smaller	27305	5	0.0	attr	42.09491	*****
19	worser	46	2	0.0	attr	38.76089	*****
20	biggest	172449	7	0.2	attr	38.15868	*****
21	bravest	148	2	0.0	attr	34.02572	*****
22	healthiest	364	2	0.0	attr	30.41025	*****
23	furthest	662	2	0.0	attr	28.01344	*****
24	happiest	800	2	0.0	attr	27.25529	*****
25	toughest	1059	2	0.0	attr	26.13271	*****
26	hottest	1606	2	0.0	attr	24.46684	*****
27	hotter	1638	2	0.0	attr	24.38794	*****
28	largest	19238	3	0.0	attr	24.27612	*****
29	smallest	2840	2	0.0	attr	22.18802	*****
30	oldest	4864	2	0.0	attr	20.03928	*****
31	greatest	16532	2	0.0	attr	15.16848	****
32	highest	19298	2	0.0	attr	14.55521	***

The collexeme analysis for the double comparison construction in New Zealand English identified 23 collexemes with significant association, reduced from the original 86 tested. The most strongly associated collexemes include *better* (55 observations), *easier* (24), *higher* (25), *cheaper* (11), as well as uniquely New Zealand English irregular comparative forms such as *betterer* (4), which is a vernacular extension of standard comparatives.

Overall, these results illustrate a vernacular preference for the double comparison construction, where speakers combine both familiar comparative adjectives (e.g. *better, easier, higher*) with the nonstandard constructional pattern (e.g. *more better, more higher*). At the same time, speakers also use highly creative or irregular forms – such as *betterer* in New Zealand English or *bestest* in Australian English – highlighting how the double comparison construction is a site for both conventional lexical items and dialect-specific creativity.

Other significantly associated adjectives in NZE include *coolest*, *scariest*, and *harshest*, though these occur with lower frequencies. The non-standard form *worser* also appears, shared with Australian English but with a stronger presence in NZE.

Log-likelihood scores for the top collexemes are high; for example, *better* shows a score over 500, indicating a very strong attraction to the double comparison construction in New Zealand English.

In Australian English, the analysis yielded a broader set of 32 significant collexemes, also reduced from 86 tested, indicating a wider lexical range involved in the double comparison construction. Like NZE, *better* is the most frequent and strongly associated collexeme (58 observations), followed by items such as *bestest* (16), *easier* (24), *bigger* (15), *easiest* (10), and *harder* (10).

Australian English also features dialect-specific irregular forms such as *bestest* and a broader range of gradable adjectives including *brighter*, *worse*, *greener* and *younger*, many of which do not reach significance in New Zealand English.

Comparing the two varieties reveals both overlap and distinctiveness in their lexical profiles of the double comparison construction. Shared collexemes include *better*, *easier*, *higher*, *greater*, *warmer*, *older*, and *smaller*, reflecting common lexical preferences. However, New Zealand English uniquely includes nonstandard forms in the double comparison construction, such as the irregular comparative *betterer* and superlatives used in a nonstandard way, like *scariest*, *harshest*, and *coolest*, while Australian English shows a broader and more diverse set

of collexemes, including irregular forms like *bestest*, *brighter*, and *worse*, along with other adjectives not significantly associated in NZE.

This suggests that Australian English employs a more varied lexical repertoire in the double comparison construction, which may reflect sociolinguistic factors such as style, register, or language contact influences.

Overall, the log-likelihood scores and significance levels indicate that both varieties demonstrate strong, but somewhat different, word preferences within the double comparison pattern. New Zealand English shows a more concentrated set, including vernacular and dialect-specific forms, while Australian English displays broader lexical diversity, also including vernacular items but spread across a wider range of adjectives.

Table 4.15.Results of the collexeme analysis of double intensification in NZE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	absolutely	65544	31	0.1	attr	341.01938	*****
2	totally	32910	20	0.0	attr	228.16559	*****
3	really	639378	25	0.5	attr	149.84321	*****
4	positively	3724	8	0.0	attr	110.70438	*****
5	very	748136	16	0.6	attr	75.92969	*****
6	particularly	93894	6	0.1	attr	40.88362	*****
7	horribly	1021	2	0.0	attr	27.21566	*****
8	amazingly	2238	2	0.0	attr	24.07626	*****
9	fairly	29215	3	0.0	attr	23.19346	*****
10	fully	38763	3	0.0	attr	21.51174	*****
11	incredibly	16373	2	0.0	attr	16.13698	****
12	certainly	127653	3	0.1	attr	14.50076	***
13	completely	47043	2	0.0	attr	11.96385	***
14	definitely	50441	2	0.0	attr	11.69028	***

Table 4.16.Results of the collexeme analysis of double intensification in AuE

	COLLEX	CORP.FREQ	OBS	EXP	ASSOC	COLL.STR.LOGL	SIGNIF
1	absolutely	65544	30	0.0	attr	360.74464	*****
2	totally	32910	21	0.0	attr	264.68420	*****
3	really	639378	24	0.3	attr	167.61350	*****
4	particularly	93894	9	0.0	attr	78.42272	*****
5	very	748136	12	0.4	attr	62.49561	*****
6	amazingly	2238	4	0.0	attr	58.06353	*****
7	completely	47043	5	0.0	attr	44.42932	*****
8	positively	3724	3	0.0	attr	38.74034	*****
9	horribly	1021	2	0.0	attr	29.36558	*****
10	definitely	50441	3	0.0	attr	23.14505	*****
11	incredibly	16373	2	0.0	attr	18.27675	****

The collexeme analysis of the double intensifier construction in New Zealand English identified 14 intensifiers with significant association, out of the 26 tested. The most strongly associated items include *absolutely* (31 occurrences), *totally* (20), and *really* (25), followed by *positively* (8) and *very* (16). Other intensifiers such as *particularly*, *horribly*, *amazingly*, *fairly*, *fully*, and *incredibly* also reached significance, although with lower observed frequencies. The log-likelihood scores for the top intensifiers were notably high – for example, *absolutely* scored above 340 – indicating a strong preference for these emphatic adverbs within the double intensifier construction in New Zealand English.

In Australian English, 11 intensifiers were significantly associated with the construction, which is slightly fewer than in New Zealand English, though the overall pattern remains similar. The most frequent and strongly associated intensifiers largely overlap with those in New Zealand English, including *absolutely* (30 occurrences), *totally* (21), *really* (24), and *particularly* (9). Other notable collexemes are *very*, *amazingly*, *completely*, *positively*, and *horribly*, several of which also show high log-likelihood scores. *Absolutely* again had the highest score, exceeding 360, suggesting a strong lexical attraction to this construction in Australian English as well.

Both varieties display considerable overlap in the intensifiers used with the double intensifier construction, particularly in the frequent use of *absolutely*, *totally*, and *really*. However, New Zealand English includes a slightly broader range of intensifiers, such as *fairly*, *fully*, and *certainly*, which did not reach significance in Australian English. In contrast, Australian English shows a more focused set of core intensifiers, but these tend to have very strong associations with the construction.

In sum, both varieties show a strong tendency to use emphatic intensifiers within the double intensifier construction. New Zealand English appears to allow for slightly more variation in lexical choice, while Australian English relies more consistently on a smaller group of highly associated forms.

Summary of the collexeme analysis in multiple-marking constructions

In the double negation construction, both varieties exhibit strong lexical attraction to a core set of negative collexemes. NZE displays 14 significantly associated collexemes, including common negatives such as *nothing, ain't, didn't*, and *never*, while AuE shows a slightly more varied set with 16 collexemes, overlapping substantially with NZE but also including unique negatives like *nowhere* and *won't*. Both varieties demonstrate high association strengths, reflecting consistent use of negation markers in repeated negative constructions. A notable difference is how certain negators are treated: in AuE, collexemes such as *nobody* and *wouldn't* show non-significant association with the construction, while in NZE, *nowhere* and *won't* indicate infrequent or avoided usage in double negation contexts.

For the double comparison construction, each variety started with 86 collexemes, but the analysis highlighted a reduced set with strong significance – approximately 32 in AuE and 23 in NZE. Both varieties share prominent comparative forms like *better, easier*, and *higher*. NZE includes colloquial and irregular forms such as *betterer* and *worser*, highlighting informal and expressive uses of comparison, while AuE features emphatic comparatives like *bestest*. The lexical preferences reflect shared emphatic and informal comparative strategies, with minor regional variation.

In terms of double intensifiers, NZE and AuE reveal overlapping yet distinct sets of adverbs strongly associated with the construction. NZE has 14 significant intensifiers, including highly frequent items such as *absolutely, totally, really*, and *very*, as well as additional intensifiers like *fairly* and *fully*, which do not appear in AuE. AuE shows 11 significant intensifiers, closely mirroring NZE's core but diverging in these additional items. Both varieties demonstrate high collostructional strengths for the top intensifiers, reflecting their pragmatic role in conveying the speaker's communicative intentions.

These analyses demonstrate that while both varieties share central lexical tendencies, they also display distinct collexeme preferences and non-standard forms, pointing to regional variation, stylistic preferences, and pragmatic use. Despite their shared colonial history, the differences in collexeme associations highlight the distinctiveness of each variety, reflecting the developmental stage (Phase V of the DM) each has undergone and illustrating how they have evolved into unique varieties with their own identities and cultural features.

4.3 Communicative intentions

Before discussing the various communicative intentions associated with each multiple-marking construction, it is important to note that the nature of contextual information varied across the corpora. In some cases (e.g. WCSNZE), full textual context was accessed using the File View tool in AntConc, which allowed for examination of each construction in its surrounding discourse. For GloWbE, contextual examples could be viewed directly in the interface by selecting the relevant text file number. Activating "Show Tags" option made the complete text visible, enabling constructions to be examined within their broader textual context. Other corpora required manual inspection of individual text files (e.g. ALVEO). In the case of COANZSE, the context is limited to the sentence containing the construction, as the audio recordings, though available, do not provide additional relevant information beyond the text already supplied. For the QBCC corpus, full transcripts of participant audio were provided, allowing each construction to be examined within the complete spoken context. This variation in context availability was taken into account throughout the analysis.

What comes next is a description of the pragmatic functions of multiple-marking constructions.

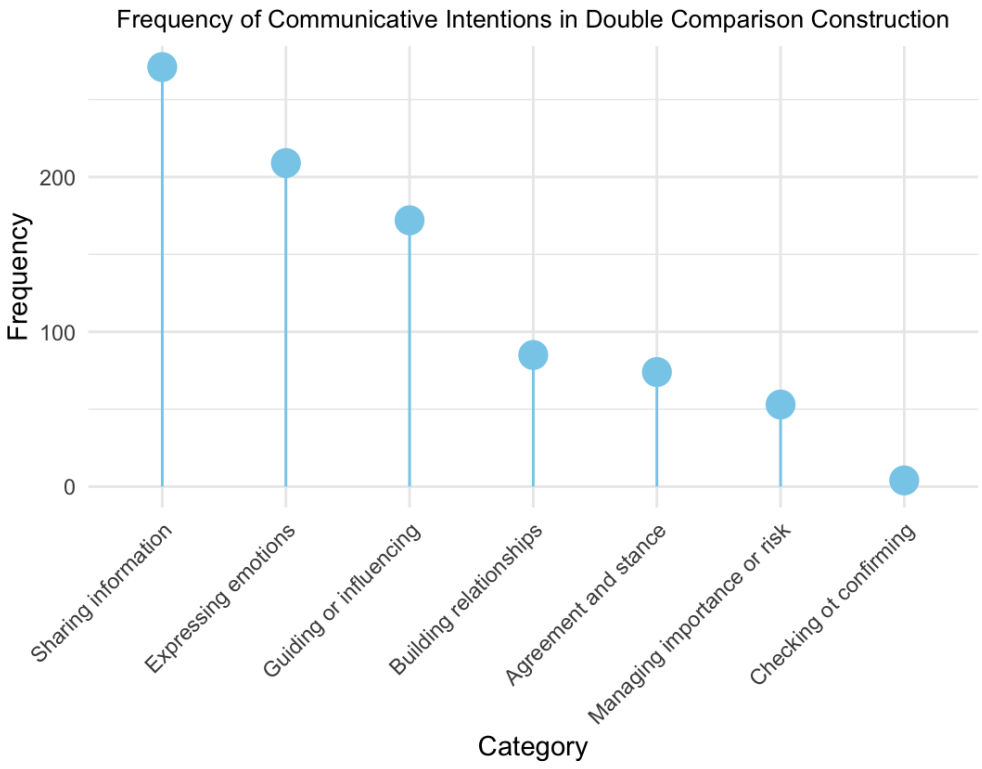


Figure 4.17. Incidence of types of communicative intentions in the double comparison construction in both varieties

This is a visual representation of the communicative intentions of the double comparison construction in the dataset. Contextual analysis was conducted using appropriate methods depending on the corpus. After examining the communicative context of each utterance, two Excel sheets were created: one containing examples of the constructions with their communicative intentions, and another summarising intention types and frequencies. The plot was generated using the ggplot command in R Studio (see R code in the appendix).

To facilitate the analysis of communicative intentions, a table was created in which specific intentions are organised under broader categories. This structure allows for clearer interpretation and comparison of the data, while maintaining the distinction between individual functions. Grouping the intentions in this way helps to reveal how speakers use multiple-marking constructions across different communicative contexts.

All example sentences with their respective communicative intention types are provided in the Excel files.

4.17. Categories of communicative intentions

Broad Category	**Specific Communicative Intentions**
Expressing Emotions	expressing frustration, expressing enthusiasm, expressing admiration, expressing appreciation, expressing satisfaction, expressing dissatisfaction, expressing hope, expressing regret, expressing commitment, expressing emotions, expressing reflection
Building Relationships	expressing empathy, seeking empathy, expressing respect, respecting choice, building rapport, building trust, validating, expressing awareness, encouraging, motivating, reassuring, supporting, expressing understanding
Agreement and Stance	agreeing, disagreeing, rejecting, criticising, complaining, downplaying
Guiding or Influencing	giving advice, recommending, suggesting, persuading, expressing goal
Sharing Information	informing, explaining, clarifying, justifying, evaluating

Managing Importance or Risk	highlighting concern, highlighting problem, highlighting importance, expressing caution, warning, hedging
Checking or Confirming	seeking confirmation

The distribution of communicative intention types associated with the use of double comparative constructions reveals clear patterns. The most frequent category is *sharing information*, with 271 instances, which includes informing, explaining, clarifying, evaluating, and stating opinions. This suggests that speakers commonly use double comparatives to emphasise or make their messages clearer and more persuasive. Interestingly, although it was initially expected that the most prominent function would be *expressing emotions*, the data show that this category, while still highly frequent with 209 occurrences, is secondary to information-sharing. This finding highlights the multifunctionality of the construction. Double comparatives are clearly used not only to intensify feelings but also to convey detailed or persuasive content. *Guiding or influencing* appears 172 times, indicating these constructions often serve to persuade or direct others. *Building relationships*, represented by 85 cases, reflects the use of double comparatives to strengthen social bonds and rapport. *Agreement and stance*, with 74 instances, shows that speakers use these forms to express agreement or disagreement. *Managing importance or risk* occurs 53 times, highlighting how double comparatives can underline caution or seriousness. *Checking or confirming* is rare, with only 4 examples, suggesting it is not a common function of double comparatives.

Overall, these results indicate that while sharing information is the most typical use of double comparative constructions, they also perform additional communicative functions such as guiding, building relationships, expressing stance, and managing importance or risk.

Representative examples illustrating these communicative intentions are provided below:

> (2.10) *the police are noticing you'll um um observe some of their statistical information which tells us that every year they're receiving an increase of um oh there's an increase of their need to attend domestic cases so i would personally i would say that it's that it's certainly out and in the open and being talked about largely and can*

give us the sense that there that it is on the increase that it's far ***more huger*** *than what it was say ten years ago um but then i think that it would cost us thousands and thousands of dollars to get a real accurate sort of recording of of the extent of family violence* <WCSNZE#DGI157:0060:PK>.

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings and making a complaint

The speaker uses double comparison here to express emotions. This indicates concern about the increase in domestic violence incidents. The speaker even compares the current situation to that of ten years ago. The redundancy of the comparative markers (e.g. *more huger*) serves an emotional purpose: to emphasise feelings of frustration or shock about how the situation is worsening. Consequently, it can be concluded that the speaker's communicative intention is to express emotions or make a complaint.

(2.5) <WCSNZE #DPC195:0560:QI>
well i can remember when we went to the sunbeds
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0565:BN>
i know they are pretty grubby
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0570:QI>
they did the job though
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0575:BN>
yeah i think i might do that again
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0600:QI>
are you gonna do it now or wait till the second half year when you've got more time
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0605:BN>
probably second half
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0710:BN>
but like compared to other people i wasn't brown
<WCSNZE #DPC195:0725:BN>

*i was just **more browner** than what I*

<WCSNZE #DPC195:0730:QI>

i understand

<WCSNZE #DPC195:0750:QI>

you'll do it for a longer period or each time session do longer sessions

<WCSNZE #DPC195:0755:BN>

longer periods of time

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + ADJ_{ER2}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: clarification

This is a conversation between two speakers discussing their experiences with sunbeds as they aim to get a tan. One speaker feels that the tan was insufficient, expressing this by saying, *but like compared to other people I wasn't brown, I was just more browner.* As a result, the speaker plans to extend the duration of the procedure. In this context, the double comparison construction is used to describe the specific shade of skin tone achieved. The pragmatic intention of this construction is to clarify the point and make the explanation more precise.

(4.48) *As a former adviser to Julia Gillard, Mr Koukoulas is obviously well placed to tell us about the benefits of the carbon tax. What is particularly interesting is his conclusion that most households will actually be better off! Fancy that – makes one wonder why it is unpopular! Also, it begs the question; if most households will be even **more better** off under a $50 per tonne tax? Or $500?*

< GloWbE # 102643 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: complaint; criticism; dissatisfaction

To fully grasp the meaning of this passage, it is essential to recognise the shared background knowledge between the speakers. They refer to figures such as Julia Gillard, a former Australian Prime Minister, and Mr. Koukoulas, one of the most prominent economists in the country. The speaker, who appears to have worked under Gillard, expresses their opinion on Mr. Koukoulas' endorsement of the carbon tax. By stating, *if most households will be even **more better** off under a $50 per tonne tax? Or $500?*, the speaker employs sarcasm, using an exaggerated double comparison to highlight their dissatisfaction. This rhetorical choice serves as a complaint, implying skepticism about the claim that households would benefit from the tax. The underlying criticism points to potential negative effects, particularly for low-income families, who may struggle with rising costs as a result of the policy.

(3.21) *Why does Stephen Quatermaine take the place of David Reyne, I think Stephen brought more to the show then David Reyne. Kim and Stepehen have a chemistry and the 9am show is so much **more better** then the other Morning Shows.*
< GloWbE # 3332826 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: complaint

This passage demonstrates that the speaker's communicative intention when using the double comparison construction *more better* is to express a complaint. The speaker conveys a preference for the TV host "Stephen" over "David" and emphasises that Stephen had strong chemistry with his co-host, making their show ***so much more better*** than other morning shows. Additionally, the use of the premodifier adverbs *so* and *much* further intensifies the complaint.

(4.49) *I lost about 60 percent of my body weight in a year, thanks to anorexia and bulimia. Since entering into recovery from my ED, I have regained about 60 pounds and am now classified as fat again. But physically, I am the most healthy I have ever been*

*and my relationships with food and body image are also the **most healthiest** they have ever been. I'd rather be fat and healthy than thin and unhealthy*
< GloWbE # 1723838 # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MOST_1$ + ADJ_{EST2}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: informing; expressing feelings; persuading

The speaker recounts their personal experience with eating disorders over the course of a year, highlighting the severe physical and mental impact it had on their body. By employing a double comparison construction – specifically, the use of double superlatives (e.g. [MOST][ADJ_{EST}] *most healthiest*) – the speaker intensifies the expression of their deepest emotions regarding the situation. This linguistic choice serves multiple pragmatic functions: first, to inform and share their journey of personal growth and improved well-being; second, to convey positive feelings of self-appreciation; and third, to encourage others to adopt a healthier lifestyle.

(4.50) *I was absolutely fabulous made all the **more better***
<CoANZSE # 6SNbYYpBn14 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: expression of feelings (positive self-assessment); irony

In this context, the speaker is sharing a personal experience. The use of the double comparative conveys a sense of improvement and reflects the speaker's positive self-assessment. However, since the speaker does not provide additional details about the subject being discussed (such as a specific outfit), this construction could also serve a pragmatic function of irony, especially if the speaker is using humour to describe a potentially awkward situation (e.g. having to wear an outfit they disliked).

(4.52) *How does your stndard of living in New Zealand compare with your previous country? Financially, we are far* ***more worse*** *off in NZ than we were in the UK. If you are lucky and come over with lots of GBP then it is much easier, but once you have to live on an NZ wage money can get pretty tight, especially if you have only one wage coming. Fuel, food and utilities are much more expensive in comparison that, though, as a family*
< GloWbE # 1750824 #NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison
PRAGMATICS: warning; informing

The speaker is comparing their living situation between New Zealand and the UK. Through the use of the double comparison *more worse*, the speaker strengthens their message. The pragmatic function of this double comparison is to warn and inform others about the challenges of living in New Zealand compared to the UK.

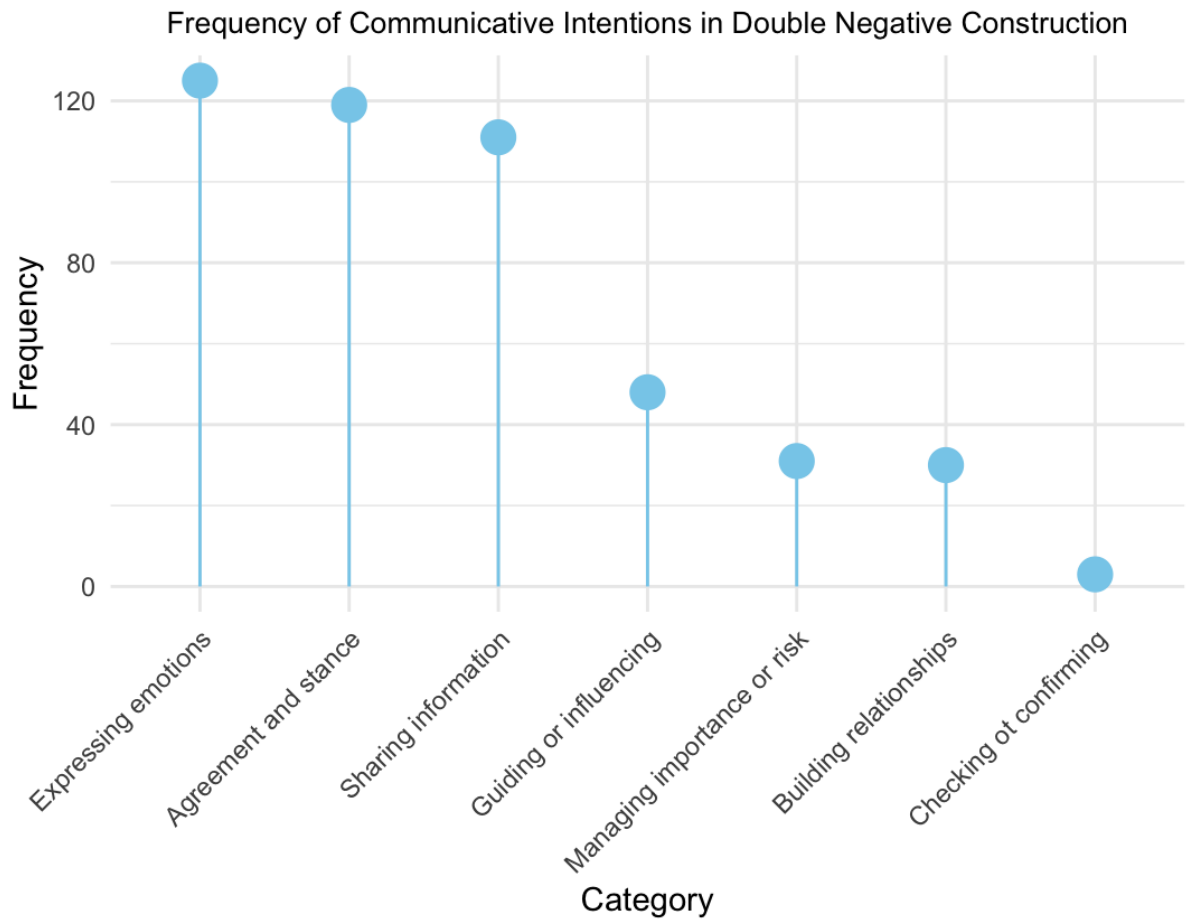


Figure 4.18. Count of communicative intention types in the double negation construction in both varieties

Similar to the process used for double comparatives, the method for generating the current ggplot for the double negation construction followed a comparable approach. Contextual analysis was conducted using appropriate methods depending on the corpus. After assessing the communicative context of each utterance, two Excel files were created: one containing examples of the double negation construction along with their corresponding communicative intentions, and another listing the frequencies of each intention type specifically within this construction. The plot was generated using the ggplot command in R Studio (see R code in the appendix).

The distribution of communicative intentions in the use of double negation across varieties of NZE and AuE reveals that speakers most frequently employ these constructions to *express emotions*, particularly frustration and dissatisfaction. This suggests that double negation serves as a strong device for conveying negative affect and reinforcing the speaker's stance.

The second most common category, *agreement and stance*, largely involves rejecting, disagreeing, or complaining, indicating that these constructions often function to express opposition rather than alignment. A significant number of occurrences also fall under the category of *sharing information*, where speakers use double negation to explain or clarify specific details. *Guiding or influencing* intentions, such as persuading, requesting, instructing, are also evident, highlighting the persuasive potential of this structure. *Building relationships* – through reassurance, appears less frequently but demonstrates the interpersonal value of the form. *Managing importance or risk*, including the expression of caution or concern, and *checking or confirming* appear less prominently. Overall, the findings suggest that double negation in NZE and AuE is primarily used to convey dissatisfaction or resistance, while also functioning as a flexible tool for managing information and social interaction.

To illustrate this point, consider the following examples:

(2.6) <WCSNZE #DPC077:0005:CY>
how hot
<WCSNZE #DPC077:0015:MK>
twenty five degrees
<WCSNZE #DPC077:0030:MK>
you can't regulate a microwave
<WCSNZE #DPC077:0035:CY>
well how can i tell what temperature it is if we ***haven't*** *got* ***nothing*** *to test it*

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

This dialogue involves two speakers discussing an unidentified object without sufficient information about what it is. However, they consider using a microwave to check its temperature. The conversation includes a debate about whether microwaves have a temperature-regulating function. Speaker MK asserts that a microwave cannot be regulated, prompting an emotional reaction from Speaker CY, who uses double negation as in *well how*

*can i tell what temperature it is if we **haven't** got **nothing** to test it.* This multiple-marking construction (i.e. ***haven't** got **nothing***) has the pragmatic function of expressing a complaint.

(4.53) <WCSNZE #DPC290:0860:MQ>
*don't mind me **nothing** I **haven't** seen before*
<WCSNZE #DPC290:0875:FR>
normally i knock before i come and visit people

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [PRN_{NEG1} + $SUBJ_2$ + AUX_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: mitigation

This dialogue takes place between two individuals, one of whom is in the process of getting dressed when the other enters the room without knocking. The person changing perceives this as an invasion of privacy or a form of trespassing. In response, the intruder tries to excuse their behaviour by casually stating, *nothing I haven't seen before*. Here, double negation is used as a way to downplay the intrusion. The communicative intention of this construction is to minimise the intrusion, dismiss the other person's discomfort, and present the act as insignificant rather than inappropriate.

(4.54) *In some cases, the best officer is a reduction in price on a new mac. The Consumer Guarantee Act should apply to all non-business purchases – 18 months cannot be considered a reasonable lifetime for a piece of equipment. I remember there was something on Fair Go about iPods. At work we even had Apple attempt to get out of accepting Applecare warranty claims because the original purchases had **not never** registered the Applecare. Needless to say, in the end, common sense prevailed. The exception to all this is when Apple decide that a problem is widespread (e.g. iBook motherboards), and then they can be fixed even out of warranty*
< GloWbE # 1731903 # NZ>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_1 + ADV_{NEG2} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ3}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings (dissatisfaction/frustration)

In this situation, the speaker appears to be complaining about Applecare service. They emphasise that the original buyers did not register Applecare, expressing their frustration with Apple's refusal to accept warranty claims. The double negation in *had not never registered* highlights the speaker's dissatisfaction and possible disbelief at Apple's attempt to avoid honouring the warranty.

(4.55) *By producing those minerals and energy products here in Australia, the supply of those minerals and energy products. That will be very important to the future of our relations with Asia, but it will continue to diversify. By the year 2030 there will be three billion middle class people in Asia. I think we have a sense that Asia is poor, but I can tell you there is fabulous wealth in Asia and we* ***ain't*** *seen* ***nothing*** *yet. When you've got three billion middle class customers you've got a massive market and that's the opportunity for Australia. We can go to our traditional strength, which has languished over the last 30 years – agriculture. Those three billion people will be demanding high quality premium foods. That is moving from the consumption of staples, which would be rice, wheat and those sorts of products, into high protein meat sources such as beef* < GloWbE # 3325113 #AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: persuasion

In this passage, the speaker talks about how important it is for Australia to produce minerals and energy products locally to strengthen its ties with Asia. They point out that Asia is growing wealthier, with three billion people expected to join the middle class by 2030, creating a huge market for Australia.The speaker's communicative intention is to emphasise the growing

opportunities for Australia in Asia due to the increasing wealth and middleclass population in the region. They want to persuade others that Australia should focus on producing and exporting more minerals, energy, and agricultural products to take advantage of this expanding market. Moreover, the double negation construction *we **ain't** seen **nothing** yet* is used to challenge the common perception of Asia being poor. The speakers are reinforcing that there is much more wealth in Asia than most people realise, and the potential is far greater than what has been seen so far.

(4.56) *But cracking a meal is **not never never** time wasted*
<CoANZSE # 2_QmpKPYQ40 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 X_2/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [ADV_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ\ 2}$ + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ3}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings; complaint

In this communicative situation, the speaker appears to be responding emotionally to a previous comment – perhaps one that downplayed the value of meals or suggested that spending time on them is unproductive. This is an example of negative concord, where repeated negative elements such as *not* and *never never* do not cancel each other out, but rather serve to intensify a single negative meaning. The pragmatic function of this construction is to make a complaint or convey strong emotions that the time spent on preparing or enjoying a meal is indeed valuable.

(4.57) *a conservative party into power then the government will be open to business. All kinds of restrictions will be scrapped, deals done, wars, quite possibly, started, mines opened, forests cleared, workplace wages and conditions substantially reduced. Big money for the corporations. And big money for the conservative politicians after they leave politics – seats on Boards, consultancies, media roles. War by other means. War to install conservative governments and reap the spoils of office. Got a feeling we **ain't** seen **nothing** yet*
< GloWbE # 3731597 # AUE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: warning; criticism

The speaker's intention in this passage is to criticise and express concern about the potential effects of a conservative political party coming into power. The speaker suggests that, under such a government, large corporations and/or conservative politicians would benefit greatly. This would likely come at the expense of workers' rights and/or society's overall well-being. By using the double negation *we ain't seen nothing yet*, the speaker implies that the actions of the conservative party would have harmful effects. In short, the speaker's intention is to warn the audience about the negative consequences of a conservative government.

Indeed, the ggplot above reveals that the most frequent communicative intention in double negation constructions is that of expressing feelings of frustration or dissatisfaction, closely followed by the category of agreement and stance (see R code in appendix). Other examples include *they ain't nothing but theories <GloWbE # 1716442 # NZE>, I don't know nothing about that computer crap <GloWbE # 708334 # AuE>, I wouldn't never move into a town or city not after the experience<QBCC # QB463_VioletMayLouisaMagrs_QB2.eaf>.*

This finding indicates a predominant use of affective language in the corpora, mainly through the repetition of negative linguistic items such as *ain't, nothing*. The frequent use of these double negation constructions, such as *I don't know nothing about that computer crap <GloWbE # 708334 # AuE>, I wouldn't never move into a town or city not after the experience<QBCC # QB463_VioletMayLouisaMagrs_QB2.eaf>* – reflects that double negation often serves to reinforce negative evaluations, make complaints, express disapproval, or reject ideas more emphatically.

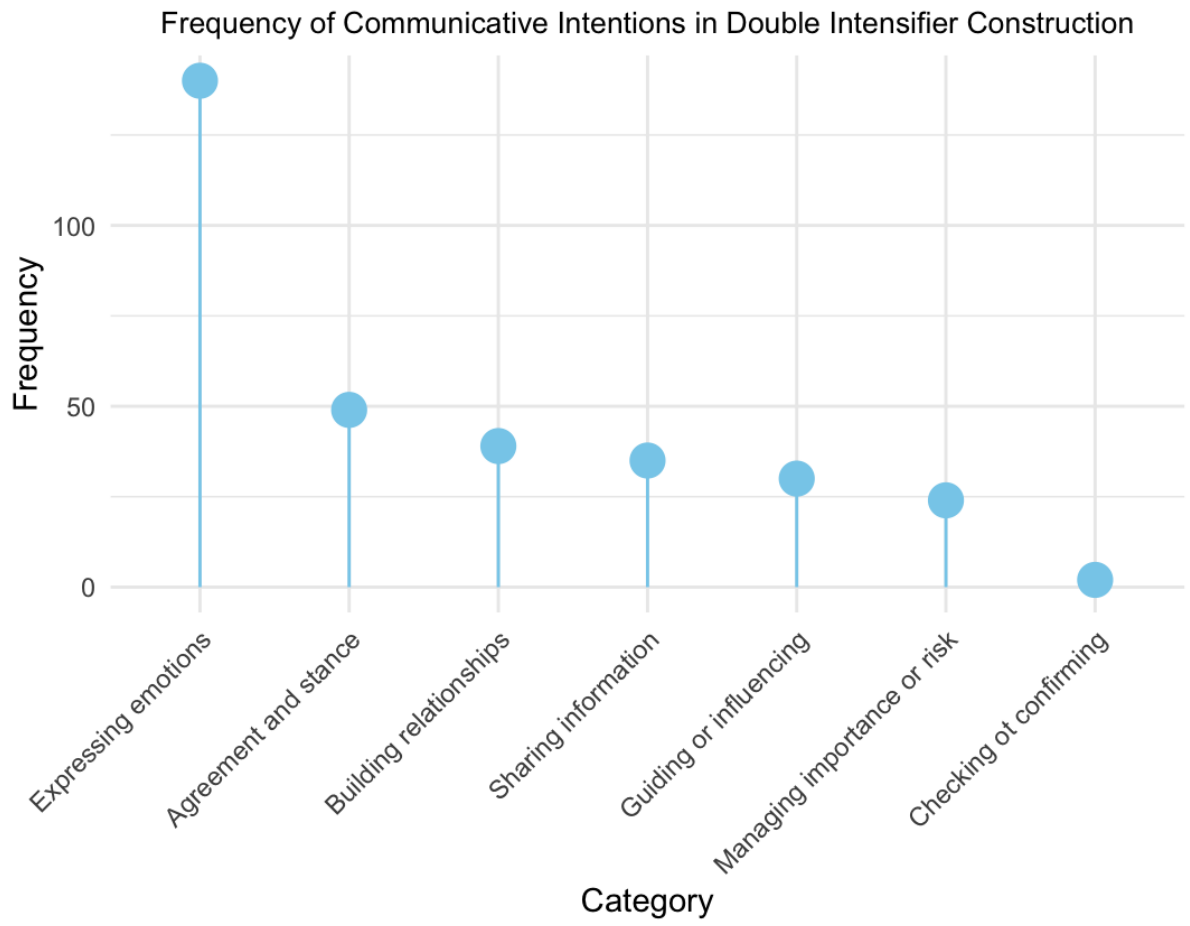


Figure 4.19. Distribution of communicative intentions in the double intensifier construction in both varieties

In line with the approach used for other multiple-marking constructions, the current method for analysing the double intensifier construction followed the same general steps. Contextual analysis was conducted using appropriate methods depending on the corpus. After assessing the communicative context of each utterance, two Excel files were created: one containing examples of the double intensifier construction along with their corresponding communicative intentions, and another listing the frequencies of each intention type specifically within this construction. The plot was generated using the ggplot command in R Studio (see R code in the appendix).

The distribution of communicative intentions in the use of double intensifiers across varieties of New Zealand English and Australian English reveals that speakers most frequently

employ these forms to *express emotions*. This dominant category encompasses a wide range of specific intentions such as expressing enthusiasm, admiration, frustration, and satisfaction. This strong presence of emotional expression suggests that double intensifiers serve as a powerful tool for amplifying affective meaning and heightening the emotional tone of their statements.

The second most frequent category, *agreement and stance*, includes intentions like agreeing, disagreeing, and rejecting, indicating that intensifiers often serve to mark a speaker's alignment or disalignment with others.

Other notable categories include *building relationships*, which covers intentions such as expressing appreciation, offering reassurance, and encouraging participation, reflecting the social function of intensifiers in maintaining rapport and showing support. The category *guiding or influencing* includes more directive or persuasive functions, such as recommending, warning, or expressing caution. These uses highlight how double intensifiers are employed to convey urgency or give guidance.

Sharing information, though less frequent, includes intentions like explaining and informing, showing that double intensifiers can also be used to assert credibility or emphasise the reliability of information. Less prominent are categories such as *managing importance or risk* and *checking or confirming*, which appear less frequently, likely due to their typically more neutral tone.

Overall, the findings suggest that speakers in both NZE and AuE varieties use double intensifiers to enhance emotional expressiveness, reinforce social alignment, and influence interlocutors. These constructions are pragmatically loaded, playing a significant role in how speakers communicate their feelings and ideas more clearly and effectively.

Examples are presented below:

(4.42) < WCSNZE #DPC043:0095:KV>

i was thinking of getting a ring for my hero well using the magic ring and um having my necromancer have a gobo necromancer so he can call them up and act as the controller and then er it like that's what i had with timbo except timbo's giants went aren't hurt by the skeletons

< WCSNZE #DPC043:0105:KV>

timbo smashed through them makes swooshing and then smashing noise full stop

< WCSNZE #DPC043:0110:PT>

yeah well the other thing the only way that he can you can um possibly defeat a giant in that circumstance is to get him to run away um fear

< WCSNZE #DPC043:0125:KV>

which was a bit of a problem since timbo cheated on the rolling and he had toughnesses of seven

< WCSNZE #DPC043:0165:KV>

*but also he had **really amazingly** high coolness as well a coolness of something like nine or ten*

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + NP]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expressing emotions (admiration)

This is a conversation between two individuals discussing a fantasy game they are playing. They mention a third person, "Timbo", who appears to have cheated in the game. However, despite Timbo's cheating, speaker KV acknowledges Timbo's impressive gaming skills, demonstrated by his use of the double intensifier construction, such as *he had **really amazingly** high coolness.* The speaker uses a multiple-marking construction to express emotions, in this case, admiration for the player.

(4.58) < WCSNZE #DPF057:0220:DG>

well her only boy

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0225:MT>

was five

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0230:DG>

turned five the day before i think it was

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0235:DG>

and um that was very pleasant night actually

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0245:MT>

oh what did you have to take him a present

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0250:DG>

yeah took him a present

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0255:MT>

what did you take

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0260:DG>

for the barbecue

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0270:MT>

What did you take for the kid

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0275:DG>

*um an **absolutely positively** wellington sweatshirt*

< WCSNZE #DPF057:0280:MT>

oh well that's a good idea

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER2}$ + NP]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expression of emotions (satisfaction)

In this interaction, the speakers are talking about a birthday gift for the five-year-old son of an acquaintance. One of the speakers was invited to the party and gave the boy a Wellington sweatshirt. The speaker uses a double intensifier construction (***absolutely positively*** *wellington sweatshirt*) to emphasise their positive feelings about the gift, suggesting that it was an excellent choice, particularly since the boy might be a fan of the Wellington football team. The communicative intention behind this construction is to express the speaker's emotions regarding the gift. The use of the double intensifier highlights the speaker's excitement and satisfaction, as they convey their belief that the gift was both thoughtful and fitting for the occasion.

(4.59) *it's great way that we can all show our commitment to our communities and to show off our **absolutely positively** Wellington spirit*

<CoANZSE # _7J8d3es4to # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$+ $INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER2}$+ NP_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings (enthusiasm); persuasion

The communicative situation in this example involves a speaker addressing a group with the aim of fostering community spirit and encouraging participation. The use of the double intensifier construction *absolutely positively* serves not only to emphasise enthusiasm but also to evoke a shared local identity, that of being Wellingtonians. This construction carries several pragmatic functions. First, it conveys strong positive emotions, reinforcing local identity and communal values. Second, it serves a persuasive function, motivating the audience to view their involvement as valuable.

(3.25) *Make sure that whenever you are looking for any kind of notebook computer, in which it is equipped utilizing protected access. The wireless safety measure is* ***very really*** *important to protect you actually from identity damage and make sure that your using the net purchases are always safe. Many people do not realize it, even so a great technique to get any great computer upon a great amount of money is to as a result of cheap refurbishedlaptops*

< GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER1}$+ $INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER2}$+ $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: warning; implied request

This passage appears to serve as a strong warning about potential risks associated with inexpensive refurbished laptops. The speaker conveys an implied request, urging the listener to carefully prioritise a “wireless safety measure” to ensure secure online purchases. Rather than explicitly stating this advice, the speaker subtly reminds them not to overlook the importance of obtaining this security feature. The communicative intention is reinforced

through the use of double intensifiers, [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}][$ADJ_{EMOTIONAL}$] such as ***very really***, which amplify the seriousness of the message. Additionally, the intensifiers are followed by an emotional adjective (e.g. *important*), further stressing the significance of security measures. This linguistic emphasis highlights the need for computer protection and discourages the purchase or use of unreliable refurbished laptops.

(4.60) *The whole reason I began this journey and to write this blog was to follow my purpose in life, to Inspire Your Success. I want you to succeed and do what you want to achieve.*
The heading is controversial and confronting in our culture.
But is ***absolutely completely*** *good news. It means there is a savior for all people everywhere.*
< GloWbE # 3314139 # AuE >

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + NP]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: expressing emotions (admiration)

This text discusses a speaker who is writing a blog focused on achieving success in life. They seem to be sharing personal experiences or motivational advice to help their followers reach success. The second comment on the blog features a double intensifier construction, such as [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPL\IFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + NP] ***absolutely completely***. Here, the commenter uses double intensifiers to convey their communicative intention – expressing strong emotions and a positive attitude toward the blog. This is further illustrated with the use of the emotional adjective *good*, which reinforces their admiration. Besides this, the commenter intensifies their feelings by describing the blog as a "savior for all people everywhere", suggesting that they view it as an invaluable source of inspiration.

(4.61) *The background scenery in this movie is also incredibly well done, as it is in most Anime films. Actually, this shows action sequences are amazingly well done. I mean,* ***incredibly amazingly*** *well* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + ADV]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expressing emotions (positive attitude)

This text presents a speaker discussing the impressive quality of the background scenery in an anime film. The speaker's communicative intention, namely the expression of emotions, is conveyed through the use of double intensifiers [ADV_{DEGREE}] [ADV_{DEGREE}] such as *incredibly amazingly.* This linguistic choice serves to reinforce their positive attitude and strong appreciation for the film's production. Unlike other instances, in this particular case, the intensifiers precede an adverb. The modify the adverb *well*, reinforcing the manner/way in which the film was produced.

(1.4) *My jeans were **absolutely horribly** brown with dirt*
< GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL3}$]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings; making complaint; seeking empathy with audience/interlocutor

The passage presents a communicative scenario in which the speaker employs the double intensifier construction *absolutely horribly* not only to express strong frustration and make a complaint but also to seek empathy from the listener. It seems as though the speaker wants the audience to imagine themselves in their position and understand their emotions. Apparently, the pair of jeans held sentimental value or were expensive, and getting them stained caused significant frustration or evoked negative emotions. Notably, the adjective *brown* carries an emotional and negative connotation in this context, signifying that the jeans are stained.

Overall, the analysis of the data reveals that the most significant type of communicative intention in the double intensifier construction is expressing emotions (see R

code in appendix). This linguistic feature is exemplified in expressions such as *my jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>, my mum's absolutely incredibly gorgeous new kitten <GloWbE # 3293938 # AuE>, But that being absolutely totally destroyed <QBCC # EG2021_NathanWilson_QB1.eaf>.* The frequent occurrence of emotional expressions, combined with the use of double intensifiers, may suggest that speakers put emphasis on personal feelings when engaging in a conversation.

Summary of communicative intentions in multiple-marking constructions

Multiple-marking constructions – such as double negatives, double comparatives, and double intensifiers – serve a variety of pragmatic purposes. Although they may seem emphatic or repetitive on the surface, closer analysis shows that these forms contribute to pragmatic effects across different contexts and speaker goals.

For example, double comparatives are most often used to share information, such as clarifying, explaining, or emphasising a point, while also expressing emotions and influencing others. Contrary to the expectation that emotional expression would dominate, the data revealed that information-sharing is the primary pragmatic function. This indicates that speakers may use multiple-marking not only to convey intensity but also to enhance clarity or persuasion.

Double intensifiers, on the other hand, are primarily used to express emotions, followed by signaling alignment, stance, and relationship-building. These patterns show that multiple-marking is not merely a stylistic or regional feature; it is also a tool for achieving specific communicative effects.

Overall, multiple-marking constructions are pragmatically meaningful. They help speakers shape meaning, navigate social interactions, and convey intentions with precision. While some constructions may serve a single communicative purpose – such as the double negative in (2.6) *we haven't got nothing to test it* <WCSNZE# DPC077:0035:CY>, used mainly to express a complaint – others can serve multiple functions simultaneously. For instance, in (4.52) *most healthiest* < GloWbE # 1723838 # NZE>, a double superlative can share personal growth, express self-appreciation, and encourage healthier behaviour.

The pragmatic functions of these constructions are influenced by both the speaker and context, reflecting how individual experiences shape language use (Tomasello 2014: 11).

4.4 Emotional adjectives

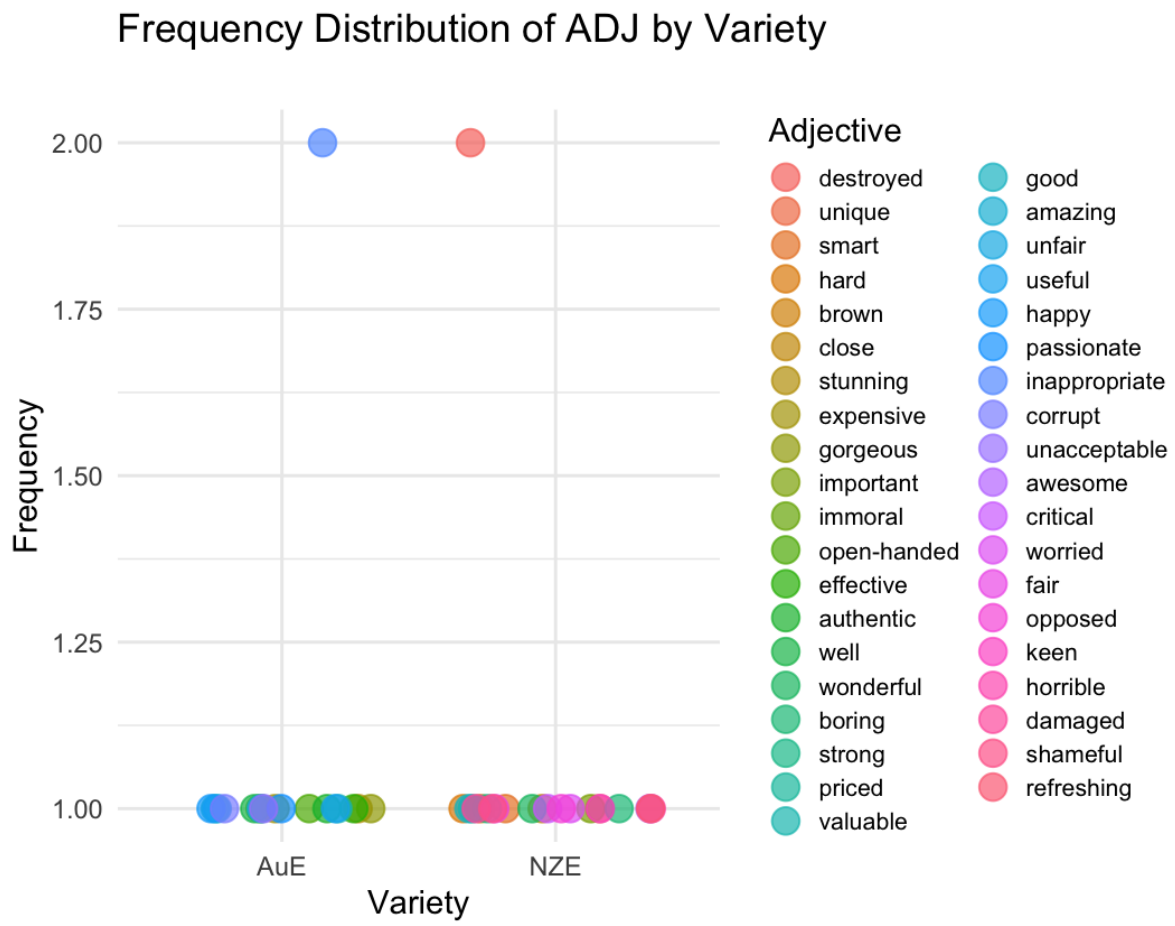


Figure 4.20. Emotional adjectives in double intensifier construction in both varieties

The jitter plot reveals the distribution and frequency of emotional adjectives in the double intensifier construction across New Zealand English and Australian English. Most adjectives occur only once in both varieties, with exceptions such as *destroyed* (frequency 2) in NZE and *inappropriate* (frequency 2) in AuE, which stand out as the most frequent. Colours indicate distinct adjectives, allowing easy comparison between varieties.

Originally, violin and line plots were used to visualise these data. The violin plot grouped frequencies but masked individual data points, and the line plot's connected lines sometimes obscured actual frequencies when multiple adjectives had similar counts. Because many adjectives appeared only once or twice, these plots led to overlapping points and visual clutter. To address this, a jitter plot was chosen, which plots each adjective's frequency

individually with slight horizontal displacement, providing a clearer and more interpretable view of the data (Chang 2013; see code in Appendix).

Emotional adjectives vary in connotation. For instance, *brown* is used negatively to mean "stained" (e.g. *my jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>,*), signaling complaint, while adjectives like *close* convey positive emotion (e.g. *we've felt ironically incredibly close <QBCC # BR940_AmeliaGilmore.eaf>*). Overall, the double intensifier construction is typically used with infrequent but emotionally salient adjectives, with *destroyed* and *inappropriate* emerging as the most prominent in NZE and AuE, respectively.

Further observations on emotional adjectives in the double intensifier construction

It is observed that emotional adjectives can occur in two different types of double intensifier construction: [ADV_{DEGREE}][ADV_{DEGREE}][$ADJ_{EMOTIONAL}$] or [ADV_{DEGREE}][ADV_{DEGREE}][NP: $ADJ_{EMOTIONAL}$ + N]. A minor proportion of instances also appear with verbs, which are discussed further in Section 5.6.

Apart from that, it has not been found one specific semantic field that is associated to the emotional adjectives used in the construction. Rather, there is flexibilty in the adjectival constructional slot. Adjectives denoting different emotions such as sadness, happiness, worry, and the like, have been used. Nevertheless, it can be noted that they convey different connotations, i.e. positive or negative connotations, depending on the communicative context in which they are used. Consider the following examples:

(4.62) *Wellington you've been **absolutely positively** awesome*
<CoANZSE # 0DHb4NrLeAQ # NZE>

(4.63) *we are **very really** worried* <CoANZSE # ugET2rRbdCo # NZE>

(4.64) *I am **totally totally** opposed* <CoANZSE # SUvme8i6cZo # NZE>

As demonstrated by the examples, these adjectives convey various emotions. In the first example, the place noun *Wellington* is personified, as the speaker appears to express gratitude towards the city for its contributions or benefits to its citizens. Additionally, two different intensifiers are used to strengthen the positive connotation of the adjective *awesome.* In contrast, the second and third examples carry a negative connotation, as the speakers seem to be expressing dissatisfaction with the topic of discussion. In the second

example, the speaker employs two distinct intensifiers, whereas, in the third example, they emphasise their viewpoint by repeating the intensifier *totally.*

4.5 Intensifiers

What follows is a description of the distribution of types of intensifiers (i.e. amplifiers and emphasisers) in NZE and AuE.

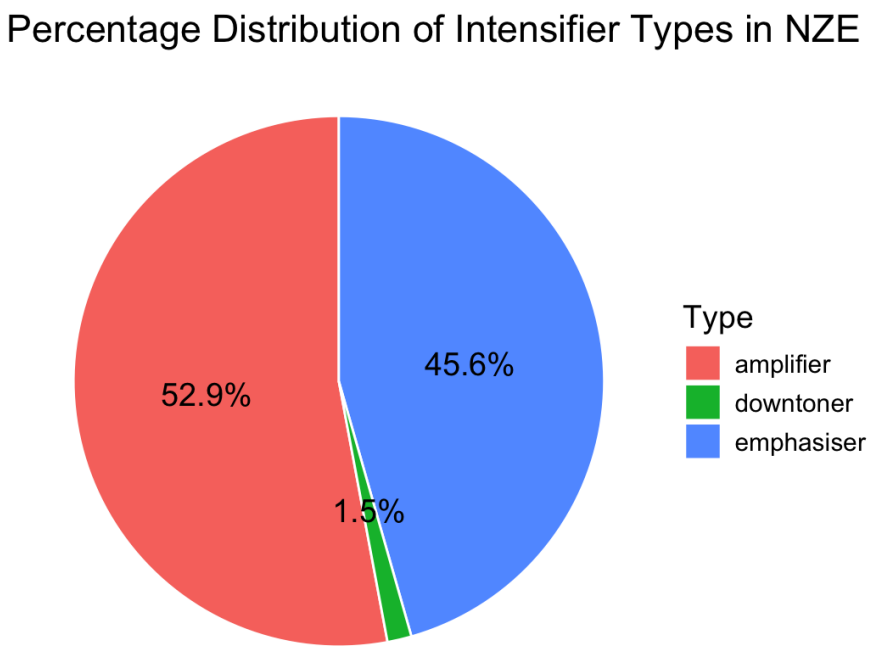


Figure 4.21. Amplifiers and emphasisers in NZE

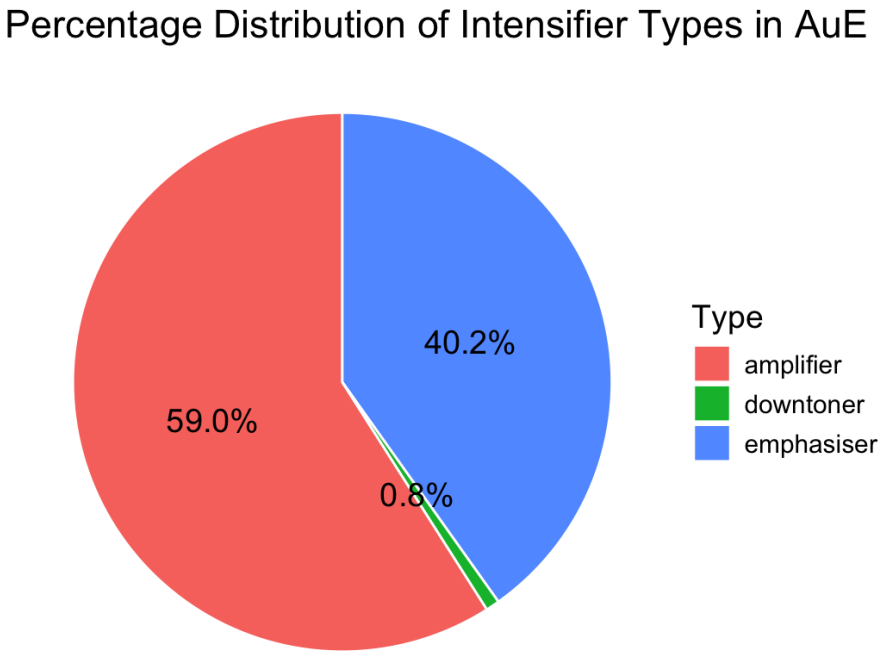


Figure 4.22. Amplifiers and emphasisers in AuE

To analyse the distribution of amplifiers and emphasisers in NZE and AuE, raw frequency data were first compiled in Excel, listing each intensifier type along with its count. These data were then imported into RStudio for processing and normalisation (see R command in Appendix). Using R, the total frequencies were calculated, and relative percentages were computed to obtain normalised frequencies. The normalised data were subsequently visualised using pie charts to illustrate the use of amplifiers and emphasisers in both NZE and AuE (see Figures 4.21 and 4.22).

Table 4.18. Frequency and normalised percentage of intensifier types in NZE

Normalized Frequencies of Intensifiers in NZE

Type of Intensifier	Frequency	Percentage (%)
amplifier	72	52.9
emphasiser	62	45.6
downtoner	2	1.5

Table 4.19. Frequency and normalised percentage of intensifier types in AuE

Normalized Frequencies of Intensifiers in AuE

Type of Intensifier	Frequency	Percentage (%)
amplifier	72	59.0
emphasiser	49	40.2
downtoner	1	0.8

The distribution of intensifier types in New Zealand English and Australian English provides insight into the patterns underlying double intensifier constructions in these varieties. In both varieties, amplifiers are the most frequently used intensifiers, comprising 52.9% in NZE and an even higher 59.0% in AuE. Emphasisers follow closely, accounting for 45.6% and 40.2% respectively, while downtoners remain marginal at 1.5% in NZE and 0.8% in AuE. Given that double intensifier constructions typically involve the combination of amplifiers and

emphasisers to heighten the degree of emphasis, the prominence of these two categories supports their central role in such constructions. The relatively balanced presence of amplifiers and emphasisers suggests that speakers in both varieties favour combining these intensifier types to create emphasis, reinforcing the intensification. Meanwhile, the near absence of downtoners indicates their limited participation in double intensifier formations, likely due to their function of softening or reducing intensity. Thus, these normalised frequencies not only reflect the overall preference for amplifiers and emphasisers in NZE and AuE but also align closely with the linguistic tendency to employ double intensifier constructions involving these two key intensifier types.

With respect to the literature, an amplifier is used to increase the strength or degree of quality, while an emphasiser serves to highlight a specific aspect or add focus to the word it modifies (Quirk et al 1985: 438-449).

The research indicates that various combinations of amplifiers and emphasisers can occur within the double intensifier construction. The dataset revealed the following intensifier pairings:

1.[INTENSIFIER$_{\text{EMPHASISER}}$][INTENSIFIER$_{\text{AMPLIFIER}}$] / [INTENSIFIER$_{\text{AMPLIFIER}}$][INTENSIFIER$_{\text{EMPHASISER}}$]

(4.42) *but also he had **really amazingly** high coolness as well a coolness of something like nine or ten* < WCSNZE #DPC043:0165:KV>

(4.58) *um an **absolutely positively** wellington sweatshirt*

<WCSNZE #DPF057:0275:DG>

2.[INTENSIFIER$_{\text{EMPHASISER}}$][INTENSIFIER$_{\text{EMPHASISER}}$]

(3.25) *The wireless safety measure is **very really** important to protect you actually from identity damage* < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>

3.[INTENSIFIER$_{\text{AMPLIFIER}}$][INTENSIFIER$_{\text{AMPLIFIER}}$]

(4.60) *But is **absolutely completely** good news. It means there is a savior for all people everywhere.*< GloWbE # 3314139 # AuE >

Although these combinations are present in the dataset, the most common one is [INTENSIFIER$_{AMPLIFIER}$][INTENSIFIER$_{AMPLIFIER}$], indicating the speaker's intent to enhance the intensity of their statements.

According to the pie charts, both varieties rely more on amplifiers than emphasisers when aiming to strengthen the intensity of their expressions. The percentages are quite similar in both varieties. This suggests that speakers prefer to increase the intensity of the subject being discussed.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the vast majority of multiple-marking constructions in the dataset function to emphasise the speaker's proposition and to convey the speaker's communicative intent. Only one combination of degree adverbs – *fairly fully* – exhibits hedging in three instances, softening or moderating the proposition, while one instance aligns with the intensifying function described by Quirk et al. (1985: 583). Despite these rare exceptions, the dominant function across all multiple-marking constructions remains the reinforcement of the speaker's utterance and the expression of broader communicative intents, as discussed in Section 2.2.1. Below is a description of these occurrences.

It is important to note that only one downtoner, *fairly*, appeared in the dataset, and its occurrences were rare. However, according to the literature, downtoners generally have a weakening effect (Quirk et al.1985: 438-449). This definition seems somewhat contradictory in this case since *fairly* is used alongside the amplifier *fully*, which strengthens meaning. Consider the following examples of the pattern [INTENSIFIER$_{DOWNTONER}$][INTENSIFIER$_{AMPLIFIER}$] below. Using *fairly* together with *fully* is likely a way to be polite or to make a statement sound less definite. *Fully* means something is complete, while *fairly* softens it, making the statement sound a bit less absolute. This combination allows for some flexibility in meaning and leaves room for uncertainty.

(4.65) *Big three and we have done our absolute best as a community to bring to you a proposal that is* ***fairly fully*** *formed* <CoANZSE # 1VWbxYKzSzk # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{DOWNTONER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: softening/hedging the assertion

(4.66) *Written material would have been **fairly fully** researched by now*

<WCSNZE# DGI109: 0185: IH>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{DOWNTONER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: softening/hedging the assertion

(4.67) *I think women are **fairly fully** exposed to modernity in many countries*

<GloWbE# 3878676 #NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{DOWNTONER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: softening/hedging the assertion

In the first example, the speaker is addressing a group, likely in a formal setting such as a meeting. The expression *fairly fully formed* is used to describe the state of a proposal, and it carries a pragmatic function of softening the speaker's claim. By using *fairly*, the speaker reduces the force of *fully formed*, suggesting that the proposal is almost complete but perhaps still open to feedback or improvement. This downtoning helps the speaker appear modest and reasonable, rather than overly confident or final, and creates space for continued discussion or revision.

The second example is likely part of an evaluative statement, perhaps in an academic or professional setting. Here, the speaker uses *fairly fully* to assess the expected progress of research. While *fully researched* would imply that the work is complete and thorough, adding *fairly* introduces a degree of uncertainty. It suggests that most of the research has likely been

done, but without total completion. In this context, *fairly* functions as a downtoner, allowing the speaker to make a cautious statement.

In the third example, the speaker offers a general observation about social change. The use of *I think* shows that the statement is based on personal judgement. While *fully exposed* would suggest complete involvement with modernity, the addition of *fairly* moderates this claim. It indicates that although women in many countries have significant exposure to modernity, there may still be variations depending on local contexts. Thus, *fairly* functions as a downtoner, helping the speaker avoid overgeneralisation.

This mix of words may seem contradictory at first, since amplifiers like *fully* strengthen meaning, while downtoners like *fairly* weaken it. However, the reason speakers combine these opposing effects might be related to politeness. As Benwell & Stokoe (2006: 273/275) explain, politeness strategies help maintain social harmony by showing respect and avoiding imposing on others. Using *fairly fully* allows speakers to express a strong idea while still leaving space for flexibility, making the statement sound less forceful. Further research is needed to fully understand this phenomenon.

It is important to highlight that several authors, including Nevalainen and Rissanen (2002) and Quirk et al (1985: 445), categorise the degree adverb *fairly* as a downtoner. Conversely, Quirk et al. (1985: 583) also argue that *fairly* functions as an emphasiser in the variety of British English.

In the dataset, there are four instances of the double intensifier construction involving *fairly*. Three of these examples, discussed previously, support its interpretation as a downtoner. However, one instance aligns with Quirk et al. (1985: 583)'s view of *fairly* as an emphasiser:

> (4.68) *Which gives a breakdown of rates relative to gdp for different industries uh agriculture seems to be um have been* ***fairly fully*** *rated up*
> <CoANZSE # R828-aDXj4Y # NZE>

In the sentence, the word *fairly* functions as an emphasiser rather than a downtoner. The phrase *fully rated up* suggests that something has been thoroughly assessed or evaluated, implying completeness. By adding *fairly*, the speaker is intensifying this notion, suggesting that agriculture has been extensively rated, making the evaluation seem more significant.

Unlike a downtoner, which would soften the claim, *fairly* in this case strengthens the assertion, helping to convey that the rating of agriculture is nearly complete.

This divergence raises the question of whether the use of *fairly* in NZE and AuE is more heavily influenced by British or American English norms. Given the limited scope of the corpus, further research should consider sociolinguistic variables to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how this intensifier pairing operates within these varieties.

What follows is a description of how intensifier pairs combine in the double intensifier construction.

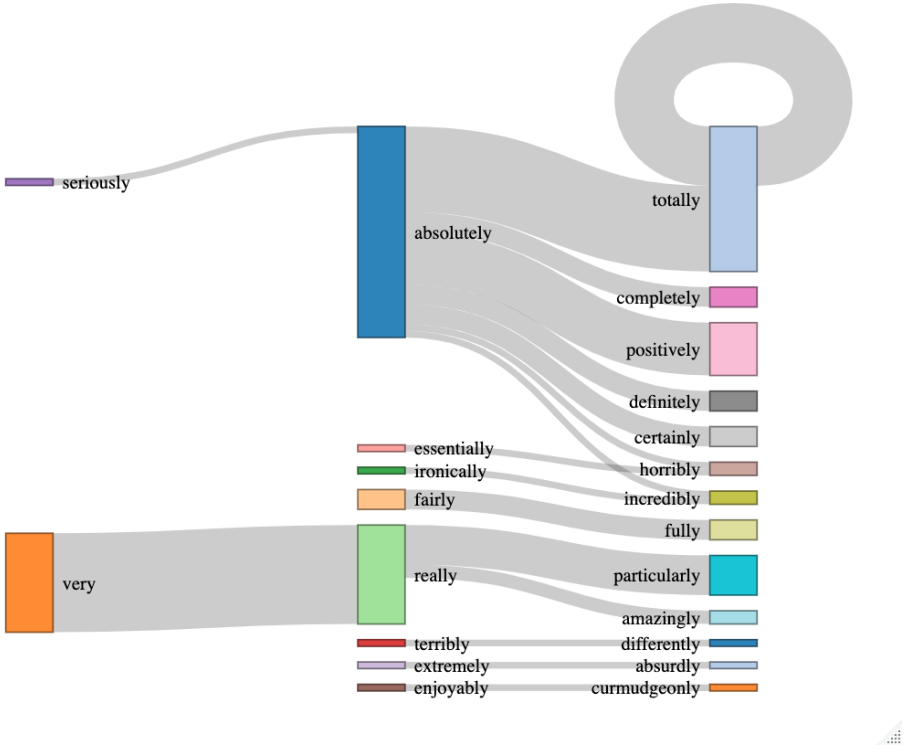


Figure 4.23. Sankey diagram illustrating intensifier flows in NZE, following the approach of Cirillo (2016: 103)

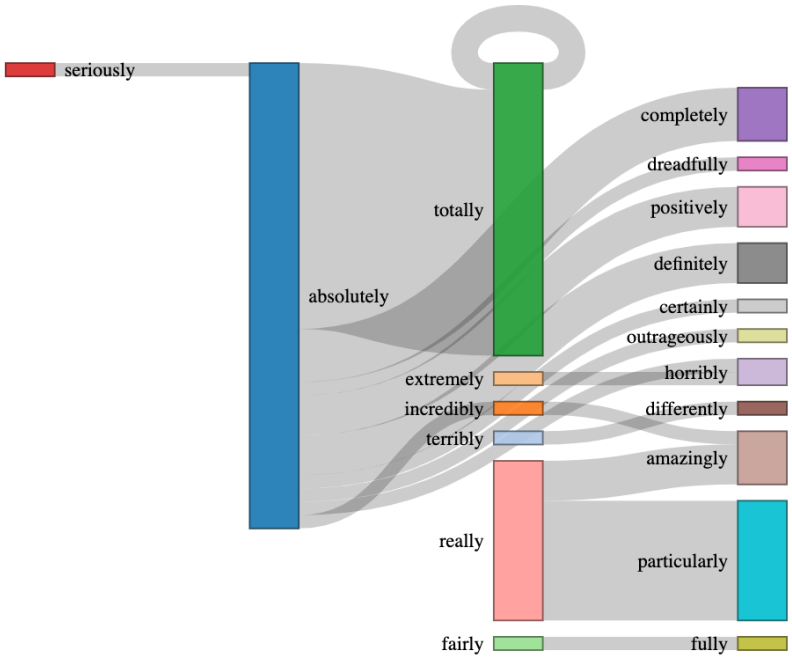


Figure 4.24. Sankey diagram illustrating intensifier flows in AuE, following the approach of Cirillo (2016: 103)

To better understand how intensifiers combine in double intensifier constructions, this study uses a Sankey diagram to visualise the most frequent pairings in NZE and AuE (see R command in Appendix). A Sankey diagram is a type of flow chart that shows connections between elements. Indeed, Cirillo (2016: 100-104) notes that Sankey diagrams are an effective tool for visualising data and illustrating the flow of information from its starting point to its conclusion. To create these diagrams in R, it is necessary to install and load the networkD3 package (Cirillo 2016: 100-104).

To this end, the data were prepared in Excel. Each row recorded a pair of intensifiers and their frequency.

An examination of the double intensifier constructions in New Zealand English and Australian English reveals several notable patterns in the pairing and repetition of intensifiers. In both varieties, the adverb *absolutely* emerges as the most frequent source intensifier, often co-occurring with a range of others such as *totally*, *completely*, *positively*, *definitely*, and *certainly*. Notably, AuE exhibits a slightly higher frequency of *absolutely + totally* (14 tokens) than NZE (11 tokens), while the *totally + totally* repetition is more frequent in NZE (9 tokens) than in AuE (7 tokens), suggesting a possible stylistic preference for emphatic repetition in New Zealand English. Other shared patterns include *very + really*, which appears more

frequently in NZE (16 tokens) compared to AuE (12 tokens), and *really + particularly*, which is found in both varieties but with higher frequency in AuE (9 vs. 6 tokens). Some unique combinations also appear in each variety, such as *essentially + horribly* and *enjoyably + curmudgeonly* in NZE, which may reflect idiosyncratic or creative uses. The presence of loops – especially the repetition of *totally* with itself – illustrates how speakers in both varieties sometimes intensify a construction through reduplication. Overall, while both varieties show considerable overlap in the range and structure of intensifier pairings, the frequencies and specific combinations suggest subtle variation in preference and usage between NZE and AuE. When comparing the Sankey diagram results with the collexeme analysis, both methods highlight a strong tendency across New Zealand English and Australian English to rely on a core set of emphatic adverbs in the double intensifier construction. In both varieties, *absolutely*, *totally*, and *really* emerged as dominant elements, with the Sankey diagrams confirming their frequent pairing – particularly the combination *absolutely + totally* and the repetition *totally + totally*, both of which are also supported by high log-likelihood scores in the collexeme analysis. Furthermore, pairings such as *really + particularly*, which appear in both Sankey diagrams, correspond with the set of significantly associated collexemes in both varieties. However, while the collexeme analysis provides a quantitative measure of lexical association strength, the Sankey diagrams offer insight into the structure and variety of co-occurring intensifier pairs. For instance, the diagrams reveal that NZE exhibits a broader range of unique combinations – such as *enjoyably + curmudgeonly* or *ironically + incredibly* – in line with its slightly wider range of significant collexemes noted in the statistical findings. Meanwhile, AuE presents a more compact set of high-frequency pairings, reinforcing the idea of a concentrated core of intensifiers. Taken together, these results indicate that while both varieties demonstrate parallel preferences for key intensifiers, NZE may display more variation in pairing patterns, reflecting a marginally more diverse use of lexical intensification. It is worth noting, however, that some intensifiers such as *fairly* and *fully*, which the collexeme analysis indicates are largely absent in AuE, appear in a few instances in the Sankey diagram. This suggests that while these items are extremely rare, the two methods capture slightly different aspects of usage, providing a more complete picture of intensifier patterns in each variety.

4.6 Frequency of multiple-marking constructions across NZE and AuE

What follows is a description of the frequency of multiple-marking constructions across NZE and AuE.

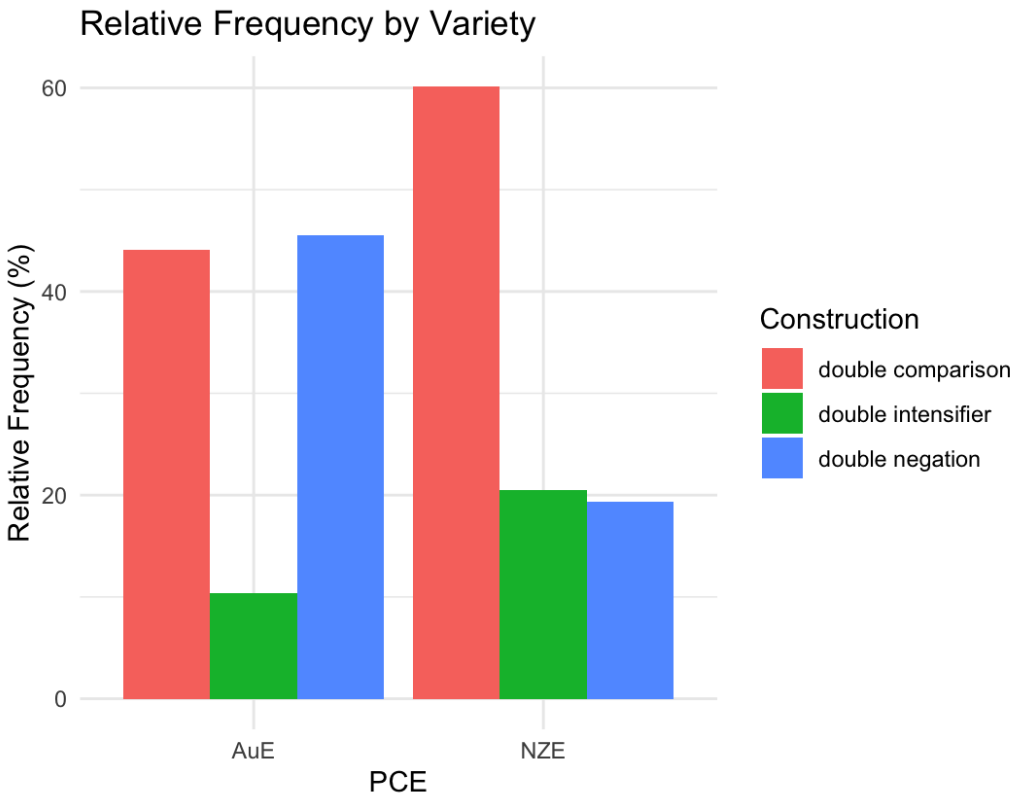


Figure 4.25. Frequency of multiple-marking constructions in NZE and AuE

Variety	Construction	Frequency per Million Words
AuE	double comparison	1.06
AuE	double intensifier	0.25
AuE	double negation	1.10
NZE	double comparison	1.30
NZE	double intensifier	0.44
NZE	double negation	0.42

Table 4.20. Normalised frequencies of multiple-marking constructions in NZE and AuE

To generate the bar plot above (Figure 4.25), a dataframe was first created with three key variables: the type of multiple-marking construction, the type of PCE, and the frequency of these constructions within each PCE. These data were then used to produce a bar plot, allowing for a visual representation and analysis of how multiple-marking constructions vary across the two PCEs.

The chart displays the frequency of multiple-marking constructions – double comparison, double intensifier, and double negation – in both AuE and NZE. The y-axis represents the number of occurrences for each construction.

In addition, the bar plot, using distinct colours for each construction type, visually presents the normalised frequencies of multiple-marking constructions per million words across Australian English and New Zealand English. Complementing this, the accompanying table provides detailed numerical values for these normalised frequencies. The data show that double negation is more frequent in AuE (1.10 per million words) than in NZE (0.42), while double comparison and double intensifiers occur more often in NZE (1.30 and 0.44, respectively) than in AuE (1.06 and 0.25). These findings show clear regional preferences in the use of multiple marking constructions. A chi-square test indicates that the distribution of constructions significantly differs between varieties ($p < 0.001$). Moreover, a Cramér's V value of 0.27 suggests a moderate association between variety and construction type, demonstrating that the variation in frequency is meaningfully linked to regional linguistic differences (Dytham 2009: 172; Levshina 2015: 200)(see R command in Appendix).

Together, the plot and table, supported by statistical analysis, illustrate that while NZE and AuE share grammatical frameworks for multiple-marking, they diverge in their lexical and frequency patterns of multiple-marking constructions.

5 Discussion

5.1 General findings and discussion

Before discussing the extent to which the hypotheses were supported, it is important to note that while the literature review presented a broader set of morphosyntactic features characteristic of NZE and AuE, this study specifically focused on those features relevant to multiple-marking constructions. This focus guided the analysis and interpretation of the findings.

Regarding the first hypothesis, the results largely support the hypothesis that New Zealand English and Australian English have similar slot productivity in multiple-marking constructions. Both varieties show comparable numbers of significant collexemes, indicating they use these constructions with a similar range of words. However, there are notable differences in which specific words are preferred in each variety. For example, NZE favours forms like *betterer* and *worser*, while AuE shows preferences for *bestest* and *brighter*. This means that although the overall ability to use multiplemarking is similar in both varieties, they differ somewhat in the exact words they use. Therefore, H1 is supported but with the recognition that lexical preferences vary between the two varieties. This pattern aligns with Phase V of Schneider (2007)'s Dynamic Model, which posits that the stage of evolution a variety has reached will shape its uniqueness as a distinct variety of English.

The second hypothesis is supported. The pragmatic function behind the use of multiple-marking constructions is to express the communicative intention of the speaker. The data reveal that the most frequent type of communicative intention is the expression of emotions or feelings, as seen in examples such as *But it is absolutely completely good news <GloWbE # 3314139 # AuE>*, *that's one of the most worst things that can happen to you <WCSNZE# DGB014: 0790: Z5>.* While other functions such as information sharing appear in certain constructions (e.g. double comparisons), the dominant pattern across double intensifiers and double negation is clearly emotional expression.

With respect to the third hypothesis, the assumption that there are strong associations between certain words and multiple-marking constructions is clearly confirmed. The collexeme analysis shows that specific words are strongly linked to these constructions in both NZE and AuE. For example, in double negation, words like *nothing* and *ain't* are highly associated. In double comparison, words such as *better* and *easier* stand out, while in double

intensifiers, words like *absolutely* and *totally* show strong ties. These findings demonstrate that multiple-marking constructions are closely connected to particular lexical items, indicating that they may function as conventionalised expressions in both varieties.

Furthermore, the collexeme analysis also shows that NZE and AuE have different word preferences within their multiple-marking constructions. In the double negation construction, both varieties share a core group of negative items like *nothing*, *ain't*, and *didn't*, which points to a common grammatical pattern. However, NZE uniquely uses negatives such as *wouldn't* and *nobody*, while AuE favours words like *nowhere* and *isn't*. These differences reveal subtle regional variation alongside an overall shared structure.

For the double comparison construction, the analysis highlights creative morphological patterns, including irregular forms such as *betterer* in NZE and *bestest* in AuE. Each variety also shows unique adjective choices: NZE tends to use words like *scariest* and *coolest*, while AuE prefers *greener* and *brighter*. This suggests that these adjectives may serve particular communicative or stylistic roles. Additionally, NZE includes irregular forms like *betterer* and *worser*, whereas AuE features forms such as *bestest*, *furthest*, and *worser*. The shared use of *worser* points to some common ground, but forms like *bestest*, *furthest*, and *betterer* might represent emergent innovations unique to each variety.

In the double intensifier construction, both varieties commonly use intensifiers such as *absolutely, totally*, and *really.* However, NZE sometimes uses specific intensifiers like *fairly, fully*, and *certainly* – these are absent in the collexeme analysis for AuE but appear in the Sankey diagram. This difference likely arises because the collexeme analysis captures only statistically significant associations, whereas the Sankey diagram visualises all observed pairings, including rare occurrences.

Overall, these results suggest that while NZE and AuE share a basic structural framework for multiple-marking constructions, their different lexical preferences highlight regional variation in how these complex grammatical forms are used. Future research should explore a wider range of constructions and look more closely at contextual factors.

Moreover, the different collexeme choices in the multiple-marking constructions of NZE and AuE reflect their respective stages of linguistic development. According to Schneider (2007), this represents differentiation. As distinct varieties of English, NZE and AuE each produce unique constructions that reflect their national and cultural identities, which sets them apart from other English varieties. However, as Schneider (2007) also points out, these

PCEs still show connections to their mother country. For example, eWave suggests that the structure of NZE and AuE traces back to British English (Kortmann et al 2020). In this context, NZE shares the double comparison feature with East Anglian English, while AuE shares the same feature with Southwest English. Schneider (2007) refers to these as settler features that have persisted over time.

Apart from that, with respect to the taxonomy of constructions, consider the Tables below.

Table 5.21. Constructional taxonomy of double negation in NZE and AuE

Level of taxonomy	Type	NZE & AuE examples	Form
micro	Specific constructions	*we ain't seen nothing yet* < GloWbE # 3325113 #AuE>	Fully specified constructions
meso	Productive patterns	*haven't got nothing* <WCSNZE #DPC077:0035:CY>	[AUX_{NEG}] [VB] [PRN_{NEG}]
macro	Abstract negation schema	*you haven't seen anything* *you haven't seen nothing*	[SUBJ] [AUX_{NEG}] [ADV_{FREQ}] [V] [PRN] [ADV_{PLACE}]

The analysis identifies patterns of form and meaning that differ across language varieties at the micro level, where speakers produce lexically specific constructions such as *we ain't seen nothing yet* <WCSNZE#DPC077:0035:CY>. At the meso level, more generalised and productive patterns emerge through schematisation, forming structures such as [AUX_{NEG}] [VB] [PRN_{NEG}], as illustrated by examples like *haven't got nothing* <WCSNZE#DPC077:0035:CY>. At the macro level, speakers recognise highly abstract structural patterns, represented by schemas such as

[SUBJ] [AUX_{NEG}] [ADV_{FREQ}] [V] [PRN] [ADV_{PLACE}], which encompass both standard and multiple-marking realisations (e.g. *you haven't seen anything* vs *you haven't seen nothing*).

Table 5.22. Constructional taxonomy of double comparison in NZE and AuE

Level of taxonomy	Type	NZE & AuE examples	Form
micro	Specific constructions	*it's far more huger than what it was ten years ago* <WCSNZE#DGI157:0060:PK>	Fully specified constructions
meso	Productive patterns	*more better* <CoANZSE # DKVA4oaGxGg # AuE>	[MORE] [ADJ_{IRREG}]
macro	Abstract comparison schema	*He's taller* *He's more taller*	[SUBJ] [BE][ADJ_{IRREG}/ ADJ_{ER} /MORE ADJ /ADJ_{EST} /MOST ADJ]

Building on the previous analysis, variations are observed in the double comparison construction among PCEs at the micro level. For example, *it's far more huger than what it was ten years ago* <WCSNZE#DGI157:0060:PK>. At the meso level, more schematic constructions emerge, such as [MORE] [ADJ_{IRREG}], exemplified by constructions like *more better* <CoANZSE#DKVA4oaGxGg # AuE>. At the macro level, speakers recognise highly abstract structural patterns, represented by schemas such as [SUBJ] [BE][ADJ_{IRREG}/ ADJ_{ER} /MORE ADJ /ADJ_{EST} /MOST ADJ], which encompass both standard and multiple-marking realisations (e.g. *He's taller vs He's more taller*).

Table 5.23. Constructional taxonomy of double intensifier in NZE and AuE

Level of taxonomy	Type	NZE & AuE examples	Form
micro	Specific constructions	*My jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>	Fully specified constructions
meso	Productive patterns	*very really* < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>	[ADV_{DEGREE}][ADV_{DEGREE}]
macro	Abstract intensification schema	*The place is absolutely gorgeous* *The place is absolutely totally gorgeous*	[SUBJ][BE][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ]

Similarly, for the double intensifier construction, differences in constructional slots across PCEs are evident at the micro level. An example of these include *My jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt* < GloWbE # 3313711 # AuE>*.*

At the meso level, more schematic structures like [ADV_{DEGREE}][ADV_{DEGREE}] are noticed, as in *very really* < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>*.*

Finally, at the macro level, speakers recognise highly abstract structural patterns, represented by schemas such as [SUBJ][BE][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ], which encompass both standard and multiple-marking realisations (e.g. *The place is absolutely gorgeous vs The place is absolutely totally gorgeous*).

While Hoffmann's constructional taxonomy (micro-, meso-, macro-) provides a useful framework for understanding multiple-marking constructions, this study does not analyse constructions at these levels in depth; rather, the taxonomy is used as a theoretical and cognitive basis for the emergence and formation of multiple-marking constructions.

In line with Hoffmann (2021) and Diessel (2013; 2019), it can be argued that the mind contains a network of interrelated linguistic constructions. Moreover, the organisation of these constructions is unique to each individual, shaped by personal communicative experiences. This individuality is evident in the use of multiple-marking constructions, where different constructions – such as double negation, double comparison, and double intensifier – convey distinct pragmatic meanings. Since no two speakers have identical intentions when communicating, the same construction can serve different functions. For example, some individuals use double comparison to express a complaint, while others use it to describe or clarify a situation (see Findings Section). Similarly, double negation can be employed to voice strong complaints or to express deep emotions of worry, sadness, or trauma, such as those related to earthquake experiences in New Zealand (see Findings Section). As Tomasello (2014:11) notes, speakers come from diverse backgrounds, and their linguistic experiences evolve accordingly, influencing how they communicate with others.

Regarding the distinct linguistic features in each variety, such as the downtoner following an amplifier in NZE for the double intensifier construction, or the use of negative adverb *never* and the negative determiner *no* in AuE's double negation construction, suggest that each speech community may have developed a unique mental template or schema for producing certain multiple-marking constructions. As noted by Clark (2004) and Tomasello (2006), individual perception shapes how the world is understood, and this influences the linguistic constructions that are used. Over time, the [$\text{INTENSIFIER}_{\text{DOWNTONER}}$] + [$\text{INTENSIFIER}_{\text{AMPLIFIER}}$] schema (e.g. *failry fully*) may be specific to NZE, reflecting its linguistic evolution. Similarly, the [$\text{SUBJ}_{\text{NOTIONAL/DUMMY}}$][V][$\text{DET}_{\text{NEG}}$:$\text{N}_1$][$\text{DET}_{\text{NEG}}$:$\text{N}_2$][$\text{DET}_{\text{NEG}}$:$\text{PRN}_{\text{NEG}}$] (e.g. *no pain no ink no nothing*) may be unique to the constructicon of AuE speakers. These constructions are discussed in more detail in the subsections that follow.

While this study did not test the predictions of the Four Space Model (Fauconnier & Turner 2003), its tentative application to multiple-marking constructions might offer a possible cognitive mechanism behind their formation. Conceptual Blending Theory provides a useful framework for understanding these constructions: the speaker blends at least two

input spaces – one containing the basic grammatical or lexical form (e.g. *better*, *not*), and another containing an additional marker of emphasis or polarity. The generic space holds a shared abstract structure (such as comparison, negation, or intensification), and the blended space yields a new, enriched meaning that aligns with the speaker's communicative intention – usually to reinforce a particular stance. Thus, it is hypothesised that conceptual blending may help explain why such constructions, though often nonstandard, can support speakers in conveying their communicative intentions in real-time interactions. Further empirical work would be needed to support this interpretation.

Other than that, the question of why some constructions are accepted (e.g. *more better*, *more greener*, *most scariest*) while others are not (*more bluer*, *most cleverest*) remains unresolved. One possible explanation is frequency. If a construction is not consistently used within the speaker's communicative environment, it may not become entrenched and thus unlikely to become conventionalised. Another factor could be familiarity. The adjectives used in these multiple-marking constructions might reflect the specific communicative context of the speaker. For example, *more greener* might be common in AuE due to widespread efforts focused on environmental conservation[22], as the word *green* is typically associated with nature and ecological concerns. Similarly, *most scariest* is frequently used in NZE, partly because the dataset includes many speakers who have experienced the trauma of devastating earthquakes (Walsh et al 2013:21). In this case, context plays a key role in the selection of lexical items (Crystal 2019: 304; 2017: 127). Another possible reason could be analogy, in which speakers create certain linguistic constructions by drawing on smilarities to preexisting patterns (Bybee 2010). Finally, a further explanation might be angloversals, as described by Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2008). These are linguistic features that emerge and spread across different varieties of English – driven by factors like language contact, social identity, and language evolution – and which can play a part in how a variety makes linguistic choices (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008).

In conclusion, it is observed that certain constructions such as *fairly fully, very really, no nothing* could be treated as potential emerging innovations in NZE and AuE. However, as

[22] The importance of words like *green* can be seen, for instance, in the Australian Government's efforts to protect national biodiversity and improve climate change:
https://www.dcceew.gov.au/environment/biodiversity/conservation/strategy;
https://www.dcceew.gov.au/climate-change/strategies

Bamgbose (1998:3-4) pointed out, for a construction to be formally recognised as an innovation, it must be both codified and accepted. Future research on multiple-marking constructions should take this into consideration. Some of these potential innovations are already discussed in earlier sections, while others will be revisited in the detailed subsections that follow.

Finally, this study has encountered some limitations, primarily due to the absence of sociolinguistic factors that could have provided deeper insight into the reasons why speakers use multiple linguistic elements in the same construction. Future research should aim to explore how these constructions vary across different registers and sociolinguistic groups, as well as examine whether regional identities influence the productivity of these constructions.

The following subsections offer a detailed examination of each multiple-marking construction.

5.2 Contributions to the Field

This study offers important contributions to the field of English linguistics, particularly within the context of Post-colonial Englishes.

First, it shows how speakers of New Zealand English and Australian English strategically use features often labelled nonstandard – such as double intensifiers, double comparisons, and double negation – within otherwise standard discourse to fulfill communicative intentions (Searle 1979; Tomasello 2014; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Rather than treating these forms as marginal, the analysis demonstrates that they are part of speakers' available grammatical resources and can serve pragmatic, stylistic, or emphatic functions.

Second, it addresses a notable gap in the literature: the lack of focused research on the use of double or multiple intensifiers in Post-colonial Englishes. Corpus data from this study suggest that such forms are particularly prominent in NZE.

Finally, this study introduces and defines the term *multiple-marking constructions* as an umbrella category for repeated or redundant lexical items used to achieve pragmatic functions in language. To date, there appears to be no widely adopted terminology to describe this phenomenon. This conceptual framing thus provides a foundation for further comparative research across English varieties.

5.3 Double intensifier construction

The results from the Sankey diagrams and the collexeme analysis present a broader picture of how double intensifier constructions work in NZE and AuE.

Both the collexeme analysis and the Sankey diagrams emphasise key intensifiers within double intensifier constructions, notably *absolutely* and *totally,* which stand out in both AuE and NZE. For example, *absolutely* shows the strongest collexeme association in both varieties and frequently acts as a primary source node in various Sankey pairings (such as *absolutely totally, absolutely completely, absolutely positively*). Similarly, *really* is prominent in both Sankey diagrams, consistent with its strong collexeme association. However, these two methods highlight different facets of usage: collexeme analysis captures the overall strength of an intensifier's attraction to the construction, whereas Sankey diagrams reveal specific co-occurrence patterns between intensifiers. For instance, pairs like *fairly fully* and *ironically incredibly* appear in the NZE Sankey diagram but rank lower in the collexeme analysis, indicating less frequent but noteworthy combinations. In contrast, intensifiers such as *very* and *particularly* have higher collexeme strength but are less evident in Sankey transitions. Notably, AuE displays unique pairings in its Sankey diagram – including *absolutely dreadfully, absolutely outrageously,* and *seriously absolutely* – which are absent in NZE, pointing to regional variation in intensifier use. Overall, these methods complement one another: collexeme analysis reveals statistically significant association patterns, while Sankey diagrams showcase the diversity and flow of intensifier pairings, together providing a comprehensive understanding of intensifier combinations in both varieties.

In line with these observations, the collexeme analysis shows that the most frequently used intensifiers in NZE are *totally*, *absolutely*, *positively*, and *really*, whereas in AuE they are *absolutely*, *totally*, *really*, and *particularly*. As well, findings reveal that amplifiers are the primary elements occupying the slot in double intensifier constructions. According to Quirk et al. (1985), these amplifiers represent the highest degree on the scale of intensification. Speakers thus appear to select intensifiers to make their utterances as strong and convincing as possible. Another key observation is that *absolutely* and *totally* are the most commonly used intensifiers in both NZE and AuE. In the data, these intensifiers frequently co-occur with copular verbs such as *be* and *get* ('to become'), as in *The centre of Christchurch got absolutely totally destroyed* <QBCC#EG2021_NathanWilson_QB1.eaf> or *My jeans were absolutely horribly brown with dirt* <GloWbE#3313711#AuE>. This pattern suggests that the main

pragmatic function of double intensifier constructions is to express strong emotional reactions, as illustrated in Figure 4.19.

Additionally, and as indicated by the literature (Tagliamonte 2008), the results show that intensifiers are followed by emotional adjectives such as *stunning*, *gorgeous*, *wonderful*. With reference to the syntactic structure, these adjectives can be part of a NP (such as *my mum's absolutely incredibly gorgeous new kitten <GloWbE # 3293938 # AuE>)* or just immediately following the intensifier without a noun (e.g. *It's one of those uh one of those situations where um whilst nothing's like extremely horribly expensive <ALVEO # COMNE7 # ART>).*

What is more, the most common double intensifier construction observed in the dataset follows the pattern [BE][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADV_{DEGREE}][ADJ]. Both the intensifier and adjective positions exhibit significant lexical variation. Common intensifiers include *absolutely*, *totally*, while the adjectival slot is frequently occupied by emotionally expressive adjectives such as *passionate*, *valuable*, *worried*, *awesome*, *corrupt*, *destroyed*, among others.

Furthermore, research has shown that double intensifiers are used to achieve greater impact and expressiveness in communication (Nuñez & Palacios-Martínez 2014: 19, 22).
This is particularly evident when speakers use amplifiers to emphasise their intentions, as seen in combinations like [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER}$][$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER}$] (e.g. *absolutely totally valuable*). However, there were also a few rare cases where the downtoner *fairly* appeared alongside the amplifier *fully*, as in *I think women are fairly fully exposed to modernity in many countries <GloWbE# 3878676 #NZE>.*
It is suggested that this combination [$INTENSIFIER_{DOWNTONER}$][$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER}$] might serve as a politeness strategy, helping to soften statements. Future research could further investigate the specific contexts in which these intensified expressions occur, including cultural influences on communication styles.

In the Findings Section, the study discusses the combination of *very really*. This is illustrated in the sentence: *The wireless safety measure is very really important to protect you actually from identity damage < GloWbE # 3735263 # AuE>.* What stands out in this example is that, although both emphasisers can appear together, they usually occur in a different order. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 588), emphasisers are generally "not modified or are unlikely to be modified." If this view is accurate, then the phrase *very really* would be considered ungrammatical. However, *very* shows a strong association with the double

intensifier construction in the collexeme analysis. This suggests an emerging linguistic innovation in both PCEs.

Finally, the normalised frequency data indicate that the double intensifier construction is more commonly used by NZE speakers. Given the existing literature – specifically, the absence of geographical distribution data for this construction in eWave – this suggests that this particular form of multiple-marking may be an emerging linguistic feature of NZE. In other words, it could represent a new linguistic trend developing in New Zealand. However, the underlying reasons for this linguistic choice still need to be explored through sociolinguistic factors that may influence its usage.

5.4 Double comparison construction

Interestingly, in both varieties, the double comparison construction exclusively involves mono- or disyllabic adjectives. Crystal (2019: 211) explains that disyllabic adjectives allow for both inflectional and periphrastic forms (e.g. *quieter*, *more quiet*). This explains why speakers combine periphrastic forms with -er/-est inflections, as in *most easiest* or *more easier*. The frequent occurrence of emotional expressions combined with the use of double comparatives indicates a tendency towards the use of intensification in communication. When speakers convey sentiments, the use of double comparatives enhances the impact of their messages. Further investigations could examine sociocultural factors influencing this linguistic choice so as to offer a better understanding of how speakers strengthen their expressions.

What is more, the collexeme analysis revealed that adjectives *good, easy, warm* were not only strongly attracted by the double comparison construction but also all of them are used in both varieties of English. In terms of semantic properties, *good, easy, warm* are all adjectives describing postive qualities. Even though they belong to different semantic domains (i.e. qualitative values, nondifficulty, temperature/closeness), they generally have positive connotations. *Good* implies approval or desirability, *easy* alludes to comfort or lack of effort and *warm*, depending on the context, conveys comfortable weather or emotional closeness.

Additionally, a number of irregular adjectives show high levels of association in both varieties, indicating their active use within the construction. However, differences in preferences emerge between the varieties. NZE features irregular forms such as *betterer* and *worser*, while Australian English includes *bestest, furthest, and worser*. The presence of

worser in both varieties suggests some shared usage, but the occurrence of *bestest, furthest, and betterer* may reflect emerging, variety-specific innovations. These patterns point to dynamic and evolving usage of irregular adjectives in double comparison constructions unique to each variety.

With respect to the grammatical context, irregular adjectives that have been further modified into comparative or superlative forms (as in *worser, betterer, bestest*) normally serve as premodifiers to noun phrases, at least based on the data analysed in the study. These forms are often used to describe nouns in phrases like *worser bay*, *worser situation*, *betterer laughs*, *betterer ideas*, *bestest mate*, and *bestest days*. The examples below illustrate how these adjectives function in actual speech:

(4.28) *that wasn't part of my **betterer** idea* <WCSNZE# DPC130:1255:AM>

(5.69) *it's **betterer and betterer** laughs* < WCSNZE # DPC130:1260:TM>

(5.70) *i went into **worser** bay and i met some lovely girls*
<WCSNZE # DPC060:0640:VV>

(5.71) *it doesn't place whitlow road in any **worser** situation than um than other roads*
<CoANZSE # HLrIQuO1_7g # AuE>

(4.29) *russell fry now passed away who started our medical aid project was my **bestest** mate* <CoANZSE # gWW87g7L9rQ # AuE>

(5.72) *to learn about culture history and whatever else might enrich their lives to learn about the **bestest** days* <CoANZSE # H9aNI8oOXrY # AuE>

The nonstandard use of forms like *betterer*, *worser*, and *bestest* shows that although these adjectives do not follow traditional grammar rules, they still perform the typical grammatical function of modifying noun phrases. Despite the limited number of occurrences in the dataset, it is believed that these forms reflect speakers' creative use of language. As Gonzalez-Diaz (2004) points out, double comparatives are often used to emphasise or intensify comparisons. However, it is still uncertain whether these forms are more common among particular social or regional groups, or if factors like age and gender influence their use. Further studies are needed to investigate these possibilities.

An especially notable, though relatively rare, feature observed in the dataset is the combination of Māori nouns with double comparative constructions (see examples below).

These constructions typically appear in contexts that reference cultural or geographic concepts. The Māori terms used – such as *whānau*, *Tauranga* (misspelled as *taoronga*) and *Waikato* – carry deeper cultural significance. *Whānau* refers to "extended family," emphasising relational and communal values; *Tauranga*, while used here as a place name, derives from a term meaning "resting place" or "anchorage"; and *Waikato* denotes both the river and the surrounding region, with a meaning rooted in "the pull of the water" (Manatu Taonga – Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2024; Moorfield 2005).

(5.73) *can actually do pretty pretty good and uh i'd say it'll bring the* ***whanau*** *up to a bit* ***more happier*** <CoANZSE # PzVU0dyGiAc # NZE>

(5.74) *other centres like wellington auckland will have a lot* ***more higher*** *skilled migrants places like* ***taoronga*** <CoANZSE # kFfjuwYL8ik # NZE>

(5.75) *to live north and I know that's a variation but trying to find somewhere in the* ***Waikato*** *that is* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # c4D2KPfIn_M # NZE>

What is most striking about this finding is that, within multiple-marking constructions, Māori nouns in the dataset appear alongside double comparative constructions, but not with other forms such as double intensification or double negation. While firm conclusions cannot be drawn from such limited data, several plausible explanations may account for this distribution. Double comparatives – such as *a bit more happier* – convey meanings that are scalar rather than absolute (Quirk et al. 1985), which may align more naturally with the cultural and emotional meanings often associated with Māori lexical items like *whānau*. In contrast, double intensifiers and negations tend to express more polarised meanings (e.g. *fairly*, *extremely*, *never*), which may be too strong or less appropriate when referring to communal or emotional concepts.

Furthermore, syntactic and pragmatic constraints may play a role. For instance, the comparative structure *a bit more X* provides a flexible slot that allows code-switching between English and Māori. In contrast, constructions involving intensifiers or negation impose stricter syntactic requirements, making them less conducive to inserting a NP. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical **absolutely the whānau happy*, compared with the grammatical *absolutely happy* (Quirk et al. 1985).

As Macalister (1999; 2000; 2009) observes, the increasing presence of Māori vocabulary in NZE reflects a broader trend of lexical borrowing and cultural integration. This trend appears to interact with syntactic preferences that influence where and how such borrowings occur in everyday language use. The blending of indigenous Māori concepts with informal or nonstandard grammatical constructions, such as the double comparative construction, further suggests a dynamic linguistic space in which speakers negotiate cultural identity through evolving patterns of language. These examples of double comparative constructions with Māori nouns not only highlight the influence of te reo Māori on NZE, but also suggest that certain grammatical structures may help support the integration of Māori lexical items into both spoken and written discourse.

5.5 Double negation construction

An important consideration is the use of double negation to reinforce the speaker's emotions (Crystal 2019; Palacios Martinez 2003), as demonstrated in the Findings Section. Future work could provide deeper insights in studying contextual factors, such as sociolinguistic factors, which can influence the use of double negatives.

Moreover, the use of the negator *no* in AuE functions as a negative DET within a NP. This is aligned with Jespersen (1966: 79, 80)'s theory on the cumulative construction *no nothing* – which explains that *no nothing* is used as part of a list of different items and placed at the end of this list to place emphasis on the negation. Consider the following examples taken from CoANZSE corpus:

(5.76) *There's* ***no tracks no nothing*** <CoANZSE # Gc3xCrbxCGE # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 A_1 Z_3 /
MORPHOSYNTAX: [DET_{NEG1} + N_2 + DET_{NEG1} + PRN_3]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

(5.77) *They have* ***no pain no ink no nothing*** <CoANZSE # FUIjDI4aYWs # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 A_1 Z_3 A_1 O_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [DET_{NEG1} + N_2 + DET_{NEG1} + N_3 + DET_{NEG1} + PRN_{NEG4}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: complaint

As it can be seen from the examples, there is a repeated pattern of *no* closely followed by nouns or the negative pronoun *nothing.* The constructional template for this construction seems to be [$SUBJ_{notional/dummy}$][V][DET_{NEG}:N_1][DET_{NEG}:N_2][DET_{NEG}:PRN_{NEG}]. Regarding *no* as a negative determiner, Quirk et al. (1985: 256) note that it can be followed by singular count nouns, plural count nouns, and uncountable nouns. Moreover, the subject can be notional or dummy (e.g. existential *there*). There seems to be a redundancy of the NP pattern as in *no_ no_* before the cumulative construction *no nothing.* Interestingly, this redundancy of the negative determiner plus the noun or pronoun is used to emphasise not only the negation of a proposition but also to convey the speaker's communicative intention, often in the form of a complaint expressing negative emotions. Typically postulated to indicate the absence of something. This finding also aligns with Figure 4.18 which informs that the most frequent pragmatic function connected to the double negation construction is that of expressing emotions.

Furthermore, there seems to be a strong link between the double negative construction *no nothing* [DET_{NEG}:PRN_{NEG}] and Tomasello's (2003: 114-115) concept of pivot schemas. According to his theory, pivot schemas consist of a fixed substantive slot (in this case, the negative determiner *no*), while the other slot remains flexible, allowing for greater lexical variation. This means different nouns or pronouns can occupy that position, as seen in examples like *no pain, no ink, no nothing*. Thus, it can be suggested that the double negation construction *no nothing* functions as a negative pivot schema, with the noun or pronoun filling the variable slot. Additionally, Tomasello (2008: 72-73) argues that an essential stage in early language acquisition involves infants recognising the communicative intent behind an adult's speech. This suggests that despite its origins in early language development, the negative pivot schema *no_* remains a persistent formulaic linguistic structure that conveys significant pragmatic information in later language development.

To sum up, the construction *no nothing* represents a case of negative concord, where multiple negative elements appear together in a clause but do not cancel each other out;

instead, they reinforce the overall negation (Jespersen 1966). Morphosyntactically, this involves the co-occurrence of negative markers such as the negative determiner *no* with negative PRN *nothing*. Although this construction deviates from standard prescriptive grammar, it frequently appears in enumerative contexts, as in *we have no apples, no oranges, no nothing,* where the final phrase intensifies the scope of the negation. In addition to this use, *no nothing* also occurs in clausal contexts. For example, *I'm not driving no nothing,* which means "I'm not driving anything" or "I'm not driving at all". In this construction, the speaker emphasises total refusal or non-participation in driving. The repetition and emphasis create a strong sense of total negation.

In addition to this, as it can be seen in the examples below, *no nothing* appears in a variety of syntactic contexts as a form of negative concord, where multiple negative elements co-occur to reinforce negation. In *There's no nothing in here*, *no nothing* occurs in an existential construction, reinforcing the complete absence of any entity in a given location. In *You can see no editing, no nothing, just the live phone*, the phrase appears at the end of a list, creating a cumulative effect (Jespersen 1966). Finally, in *We've had no nothing in the report*, *no nothing* functions as the direct object, marking the complete lack of content. Across all these cases, *no nothing* consistently serves a pragmatic function of strong denial or lack of something, achieved through morphosyntactic repetition.

(5.78) *I'm **not** driving **no nothing*** <CoANZSE # 78Qrewp34oU# AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 O_4/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [ADV_{NEG1} + V_2 + DET_{NEG3} + PRN_{NEG4}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: total refusal

(5.79) *There's **no nothing** in here* <CoANZSE # dITtngdXyv0 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 O_4/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$THERE_{EX1}$ + V_2 + DET_{NEG3} + PRN_{NEG4}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaining about complete absence

(5.80) *You can see no editing **no nothing** just the live phone*
<CoANZSE # u9jz8E4QhPk # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 A_1 Z_3 /
MORPHOSYNTAX: [DET_{NEG1} + NP_2 + DET_{NEG1} + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

(5.81) *We've had **no nothing** in the report* <CoANZSE # Lm6_0CMvISg # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 /
MORPHOSYNTAX: [V_1 + DET_{NEG2} + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaining about complete absence; explaining

From a Construction Grammar point of view, the expression *no nothing* can be seen as a stored construction, a form-meaning pairing that speakers learn and use as a unit. As Goldberg (1995;2006) argues, constructions carry pragmatic information. The construction *no nothing* serves the pragmatic function of total refusal or the negative absence of something. This supports the usage-based approach to language that constructions are learnt through social interaction and are associated with speakers' intentions (Tomasello 2003;2008).

Interestingly, it was observed that in the double negative construction, AuE tends to favour the negative indefinite pronouns *nothing* and *nowhere* over *nobody*. In contrast, NZE shows a preference for *nothing* and *nobody* rather than *nowhere*. This pattern partly aligns with earlier findings: as Blanchette (2017) noted, negative concord typically occurs with object positions, which accounts for the preference for *nothing* and *nobody*, while the use of locative negative adverbs like *nowhere* in AuE suggests additional variation beyond standard object-position patterns.

So far, it has been established that while LDN refers to the process by which two negatives cancel each other out, thereby making the sentence affirmative, NC, in contrast,

serves to strengthen the negation through the use of double or multiple negatives. The findings show a strong tendency towards NC, although a small number of examples are ambiguous. Consider the following examples:

(2.6) *well how can i tell what temperature it is if we **haven't** got **nothing** to test it*
<WCSNZE#DPC077:0035:CY>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

The example above clearly demonstrates negative concord NC, with the use of double negative markers (e.g. *haven't, don't, nothing*) reinforcing the negation. In this instance, it emphasises the total lack of utensils available for the speakers to test the microwave's temperature . Additionally, NC is observed in object positions, as shown by the use of the negative indefinite pronoun *nothing*. This syntactic feature is supported by existing literature, which suggests that NC sentences are more likely to occur in object positions, particularly with pronouns like *nothing* (Blanchette 2017).

(5.82) <WCSNZE#DPC330:1565:BN>
what's karu up to
< WCSNZE #DPC330:1570:AY>
um he's got some work over at radio new zealand for the week
< WCSNZE #DPC330:1575:BN>
has he
< WCSNZE #DPC330:1580:AY>
yeah some sort of play he's doing
< WCSNZE #DPC330:1585:BN>
when's this thing coming up
< WCSNZE #DPC330:1595:AY>
oh it's was supposed to come out in june eh

<WCSNZE #DPC330:1615:AY>

they probably shelved it

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1620:BN>

what's it called

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1625:AY>

oh i forget it's but it's a series of maori plays about four of them

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1640:BN>

and they shelved them?

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1645:AY>

Looks like

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1650:AY>

*It **ain't** seen **nothing** in it*

< WCSNZE #DPC330:1655:AY>

oh they they could be delaying it

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: informing; emphasising

The example above also demonstrates the use of negative concord (NC) in the dataset. The speakers are discussing a third person, presumably named Karu, who appears to be involved in some form of play or film production. One speaker informs the other that the production has been postponed, to which the second speaker replies, *It **ain't** seen **nothing** it they could be delaying it.* In this sentence, NC is used to reinforce the negation, highlighting the speaker's view that there are no apparent reasons to justify the delay. The use of multiple negatives (e.g. *ain't* and *nothing)* strengthens the negation, emphasising the speaker's belief that nothing visible or significant about the production warrants the postponement. Additionally, NC is realised through the negative auxiliary verb *ain't* and the negative indefinite pronoun *nothing*. As in the previous example, *nothing* occurs in object position, a syntactic feature that aligns with patterns identified in the literature, which suggests that NC is often found in object positions (Blanchette 2017).

As well, the negative adverb *never* demonstrated high association with the double negation construction in the collexeme analysis. While in NZE it ranked sixth on the list of key negative collexemes, it ranked second in AuE. This shows a stylistic preference choice in Australian speakers when it comes to using the double negation construction.

In terms of the constructional template [SUBJ][AUX_{NEG}]/[AUX][ADV_{NEG}]][ADV_{NEG}], *never* comes just after the negative adverb *not. Not* here can be in its full form or contracted (i.e. *n't*). And *never* normally comes just before the main verb. Examples include:

(5.83) *We may **not never** please all the people all the time*
<CoANZSE # 36i6aMw2124 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [ADV_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ2}$ + V_3]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: expressing feelings (impossibility of satisfying everyone); acknowledging

(5.84) *I **didn't never** want it* <CoANZSE # Ce0_Oa3R-9c # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}FREQ2}$ + V_3]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

Willoughby and Manns (2020) propose that in AuE, *never* functions as a negative auxiliary verb in the past tense. This is evident in the data through examples like *I didn't never want it*. Furthermore, since *never* also occurs outside of past tense contexts, it is suggested that *never* acts as a pragmatic device, helping speakers convey their intended communicative goals. Additionally, Burridge (2010) points out that the use of words like *never* and *nothing* are typical examples of double negation in vernacular AuE. According to the linguist, one possible reason for this could be the influence of American English on younger Australians (Burridge 2010). Beyond that, it is questioned why this phenomenon of Americanisation is occurring

among young Australians. Bauer (1994) observes American influence in NZE, particularly in the adoption of the verb *gotten*, but not in the repetition of elements like *never* or *nothing* in double negation constructions. What does this suggest? As noted earlier, double negation is indeed present in American English (Hickey 2004), but the central question remains: why are younger Australians shifting their linguistic preferences? Why American English specifically, rather than British or NZE? It would be worthwhile to explore this further and investigate whether these shifts are primarily driven by media exposure, or if they stem from peer imitation and a desire to fit in. Moreover, is this trend limited to a specific region or occurring across Australia as a whole? Future work could explore this further.

In a similar vein, the negative adverb of place *nowhere* proved to be a distinctive collexeme for the variety of AuE in the double negation construction. Its presence can come after the negative adverb *not* or after a main verb. As in:

(5.85) *It's **not nowhere** near* <CoANZSE # 9JLhRGpRuOJ # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 /
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}PLACE2}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

(5.86) *You **can't** get **nowhere** unless you get a vision*
<CoANZSE # CYhsaSSLxuM # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + $ADV_{NEG\text{-}PLACE3}$]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: persuasion

In addition to this, the negative pronoun *nothing* was strongly attracted by the double negation construction in both varieties. It is observed that this pronoun typically comes after the verb. But this verb can be an auxiliary verb or a main verb. Consider the following examples:

(5.87) *Because I **don't** have **nothing** in the garden* <CoANZSE # 6a3e-138IFV # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: complaint

(5.88) *there **ain't nothing** can harm him* < GloWbE # 1717467 # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + PRN_{NEG2}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: reassurance

Likewise, *ain't* was another strong collexeme for the double negation construction in both varieties of English. *Ain't* is typically used as a replacement of the contracted form of the negation of the verb *be* or *have/has* (Quirk et. al. 1985). In NZE and AuE, this special kind of auxiliary is used mainly with the negative pronoun *nothing* to reinforce the negation or express a complaint over something being said. Consider the following examples:

(5.89) *They **ain't nothing** like the way I am* <CoANZSE # aC4SUE04-FY # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + PRN_{NEG2}]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation

PRAGMATICS: complaint

In sum, all these collexemes of the double negation construction show that speakers can have versatile communicative intentions in mind when using double negation. Sometimes they may use double negation for the sake of making complaints, other times the use of negative concord may simply carry a different pragmatic function. For example, the speaker may use

negative concord to express emotions, reassure something, or persuade someone to do something (see Findings Section).

As previously discussed, the findings reveal that the double negation constructions in the dataset primarily exhibit features of negative concord, aligning with the description of NC as a characteristic of nonstandard English (Blanchette 2017; Quirk et al. 1985). A few utterances are somewhat ambiguous, but these are too rare to affect the overall pattern.

Given the fact that this study lacks sociolinguistic data about the speakers' backgrounds, it is difficult to definitively categorise the language use as purely nonstandard. It is possible that the examples in the dataset represent a mixture of registers, potentially involving both nonstandard and standard varieties. This suggests that negative concord may occur in a variety of contexts, influenced by different registers, but further sociolinguistic analysis would be necessary to determine the specific social factors at play. It would be wise to further investigate which speakers are more likely to use negative concord or double logical negation, as well as examine the reasons behind their usage, and how they relate to the communicative intention of the speaker.

5.6 Grammatical context of multiple-marking constructions

In addition, the findings highlight significant aspects of the grammatical contexts in which multiple-marking constructions occur. Although the primary focus of this study is morphosyntactic, certain observations in the data require brief reference to theoretical concepts or literature not covered in the main body of the thesis. These references are included solely to aid interpretation and are not intended to shift the main focus of the analysis.

Consider the table below, which illustrates the relevant patterns observed in the data.

Table 5.24. Grammatical context of multiple-marking constructions

Construction	Tense	Voice	Position	Comments
Double negation	Mainly Present	Mainly Active	Verb phrase	More commonly used with primary auxiliary verbs than modals
Double comparison	Mainly Present	Mainly Active	Mainly subject complement (after copular verbs like *be, feel, get, become*)	Also occurs as premodifier in NPs (e.g. *a more better solution*); less often as part of verb phrase (e.g. *make it more better*); only a small proportion featured premodifying intensifiers (e.g. *much more better*)
Double intensifier	Mainly Present	Mainly Active	Mainly subject complement (after copular verbs like *be, feel, get, become*)	Strongly associated with emotional adjectives (e.g. *absolutely totally*

				destroyed); less often as part of verb phrase (e.g. *work flawlessly or absolutely dreadfully*)

From the table above, it can be concluded that most multiple-marking constructions are used in the present tense, as in:

(5.90) *these days there are a lot* ***more better*** *improvements*
<CoANZSE # xScyYg2jJg4 # NZE>

(5.91) *they're* ***not nowhere*** *near the ground* <CoANZSE # 1KbwznIP4GQ # AuE>

(4.43) *the product seems to work* ***flawlessly*** *or* ***absolutely dreadfully***
< GloWbE # 103538 # AuE>

This use of present tense often reflects spoken, immediate, and performative discourse (Quirk et al 1985: 180, 181).

With regard to the double negation, it tends to occur more with primary verbs like *do, be, have* than modals like *might, can,* among others – suggesting a pattern of emphasis rather than modality.

As well, the double intensifier construction is mainly used with emotional adjectives, indicating an emotional pragmatic function.

With respect to the double comparison, interestingly, it is noted that in some few cases the construction is used in verb phrases with verbs like *make, use* – suggesting evolving creative syntactic uses. Consider the following examples:

(5.92) *and also to look at the settlement pattern for Portuguese we're organizing minivans so this will make it much* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # MNMImtEEwOU # NZE>

(5.93) *only two percent this is a substantial investment that's before us this evening it could be made all the* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # t9uyfHGpIz8 # NZE>

(5.94) *if it's you know a few a few minutes more walking but they know that it makes it much* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # t3200pSakDI # NZE>

(5.95) *of money in terms of the development we are always trying to improve the website to make it more accessible* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # XXCyKhK-mRo # NZE>

(5.96) *I'm interested in where we can use that space* ***more better***
<CoANZSE # xkdGtZWJoiI# AuE>

According to Quirk et al (1985: 1195, 1196), a complex transitive verb is described as a transitive verb which is followed by an object and an object complement. As well, the object complement can have the form of an adjectival phrase. This type of construction can have a "resulting" effect. What is more, they also note that one of the main verbs which are used in this resultative sense is that of *make* (Quirk et al 1985: 1196). Concerning the lexical verb *use*, they mention that *use* is used in this complex transitive manner when it is followed by a prepositional object complement as in *use as*. This prompts a reflection on whether the examples above can be regarded as creative uses of the complex transitive verb pattern.
Consider the following analysis:

(5.92) *and also to look at the settlement pattern for Portuguese we're organizing minivans so this will make it much* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # MNMImtEEwOU # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: result(ative)
PRAGMATICS: persuasion

This linguistic scenario is showing the communicative interaction between speakers about a certain project likely within a business meeting. They use the double comparative construction *more easier* to persuade their audience about how they can make the event or business plan less difficult. The pragmatic function of this double comparison is that of persuasion, persuading the public of their skills to solve a problem. As well, they are using the

double comparative construction as part of another constructional template that of [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]. It seems to align with Quirk et al (1985)'s complex transitive verb pattern. Indeed, there is a resultative effect; especially, because the construction can be paraphrased with *become* to show how the plan changes its state (e.g. *this will cause it to become much more easier*) – which highlights the transformation or outcome resulting from the proposed action.

(5.93) *only two percent this is a substantial investment that's before us this evening it could be made all the* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # t9uyfHGpIz8 # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: result(ative)
PRAGMATICS: persuasion

Similar to the previous example, this linguistic instance reflects a communicative exchange likely situated in a formal setting such as a business meeting, where financial decisions are being discussed. The sentence *it could be made all the more easier* features the nonstandard double comparative form *more easier*, echoing the construction observed in the earlier example. The use of the double comparative construction serves a persuasive pragmatic function. That is, by using this construction, the speaker is promoting confidence in their plan and reinforcing the idea that the investment, though substantial, can be made more manageable.

As in the previous case, the construction functions within the [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]] template, which aligns with the complex transitive verb pattern described by Quirk et al. (1985). This syntactic structure contributes to a resultative meaning, suggesting a change of state. Paraphrasing with *become* – as in *it could be made to become all the more easier* – further highlights the change in state.

(5.94) *if it's you know a few a few minutes more walking but they know that it makes it much* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # t3200pSakDI # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: result(ative)
PRAGMATICS: reassurance; persuasion

Like in the previous examples, this sentence demonstrates a situation where the speaker addresses a minor inconvenience, that of a few extra minutes of walking. However, at the same time, the speaker emphasises the ease or benefit it brings. The phrase *it makes it much more easier* uses the double comparative *more easier*, similar to the structure seen earlier. The purpose of the double comparative in this case is to reduce the perceived difficulty of the additional walking by highlighting the overall ease it brings. By using *more easier,* the speaker aims to assure the audience that the extra effort is minimal compared to the greater benefit, persuading them that the outcome justifies the slight inconvenience.

As with the earlier examples, this structure follows the [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]] pattern, aligning with the complex transitive verb construction described by Quirk et al. (1985). This structure also implies a result, indicating a change in the situation. Again, paraphrasing with *become* – for example, *it makes it become much more easier* – clarifies the transformation into something simpler, reinforcing the speaker's communicative intention.

(5.95) *of money in terms of the development we are always trying to improve the website to make it more accessible* ***more easier*** <CoANZSE # XXCyKhK-mRo # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: result(ative)
PRAGMATICS: reassurance; implicit persuasion; expressing commitment

In this example, the speaker is discussing the ongoing efforts to enhance a website, specifically focusing on its accessibility. The phrase *to make it more accessible more easier* includes the nonstandard double comparative *more easier*, which resembles the constructions observed in the previous examples.

The use of the double comparative here also serves a persuasive pragmatic function, aiming to emphasise how the website's accessibility can be improved with minimal effort or cost. The speaker is trying to reassure the audience that these improvements will simplify the user experience, making it easier to navigate.

This construction follows the [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]] pattern, aligning with the complex transitive verb framework discussed by Quirk et al. (1985). The double comparative suggests a resultative effect, indicating that the website's accessibility will change as a result of the improvements. If paraphrased with *become* – such as in *to make it become more accessible more easier* – the transformation is even clearer, reinforcing the idea that the website will be easier to use.

(5.96) *I'm interested in where we can use that space* ***more better***
<CoANZSE # xkdGtZWJoiI# AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [USE_1 OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: result(ative)
PRAGMATICS: implicit request

In this example, the speaker is expressing interest in finding ways to optimise the use of a particular space, with the phrase *more better* featuring a nonstandard double comparative. This construction is similar to the ones discussed in the previous examples, where a comparative form is used in a nonstandard way to emphasise a desired improvement.

The use of *more better* serves again a persuasive pragmatic function, suggesting that the speaker is aiming to highlight the possibility of improving the use of space beyond its current state. The double comparative *more better* is employed here to reinforce the idea of making a space more efficient or useful. As well, the speaker is attempting to convey that there is

room for improvement and that this improvement will result in a space that is significantly better.

Unlike earlier examples, the speaker here chooses a different lexical verb: *use*. Although *use* pragmatically suggests an improvement or change to the state of the space (i.e. if paraphrased, the sentence would be *he can use the space to make it more better/to improve it*), it does not syntactically behave like a true resultative verb. In particular, inserting *become* after *space* is not possible, unlike the earlier case with *make*, which supports a complex resultative structure. This observation ultimately raises the question of whether this instance might represent a creative use of a complex construction, similar to Goldberg (1995)'s discussion of *sneeze* constructions, in that both illustrate how speakers creatively extend conventional argument-structure patterns to achieve communicative effects.

In conclusion, this analysis has shown that the double comparative construction serves a specific pragmatic persuasive function when found within Quirk et al. (1985)'s complex transitive verb pattern. It can be hypothesised that, within this particular pattern, this pragmatic function is fixed in the speaker's mind. This hypothesis aligns with the usage-based language models discussed in the literature section of this thesis, supporting Goldberg (1995), Herbst & Hoffmann (2024) and Tomasello (2000)'s view that constructions reflect creative language patterns. It also reinforces the ideas of Bybee (2010), Clark (2004) and Tomasello (2006) who argue that the more frequently a construction is heard, used, and experienced, the more it becomes ingrained in the speaker's mind and stored in long-term memory for future use. However, this conclusion should be interpreted cautiously due to the limited scope of the corpus study. Despite this, it presents an intriguing insight for the study of grammatical constructions in World Englishes.

In addition to all that, it has also been found that the double comparative construction can be use as part of a NP, functioning as a premodifier to a noun.

Below is a table featuring a list of nouns (i.e. countable plural nouns, countable singular nouns, uncountable nouns) that can be used with the double comparison construction.

Table 5.25. Nouns used with the double comparison construction

Countable plural Ns	Countable singular Ns	Uncountable Ns
laughs	*service*	*whisky*
breeds	*competition*	*time*
products	*area*	*advice*
improvements	*version*	*stuff*
developments	*picture*	*weather*
resources	*requirement*	*emphasis*
decisions	*day*	*access*
names	*investment*	*clarity*
rates	*engagement*	*information*
numbers	*way*	*approval*
situations	*council*	*support*
secrets	*colour*	*material*
migrants	*situation*	*use*
streets	*position*	
plans	*price*	
checks	*recipe*	
opportunities	*density*	
techniques	*chance*	
services	*tool*	
costings	*lady*	
stores	*collaboration*	
people	*communication*	
things	*product*	
storms	*cost*	
apartments	*colour*	
days	*thing*	
citizens	*application*	
outcomes	*environment*	
priorities	*safety*	

members	*idea*	
	percentage	

It is primarily observed that the double comparison construction appears more frequently with countable nouns when they function as premodifiers to a noun (see Table above). Count nouns allude to "individual, countable entities, such as *books, eggs*, and *horses*. Noncount nouns refer to an undifferentiated mass or notion, such as *butter, music,* and *advice*" (Crystal 2019: 221). Furthermore, Crystal (2019: 221) notes that both count and noncount nouns "can be further divided into concrete and abstract types. Concrete nouns refer to entities which can be observed and measured, such as *book, car, elephant, butter*. Abstract nouns refer to unobservable notions, such as *difficulty, idea, remark*." Based on Crystal's theory of countability, abstract count nouns are those that are not directly observable or measurable. It is observed then that most countable nouns used with the double comparison construction refer to abstract notions, as it is the case of *improvement, development, requirement*, among others. Although this thesis will not delve deeply into the distinctions between countability and uncountability, these theoretical concepts are discussed in relation to the multiple-marking construction. One plausible explanation for the frequent use of the double comparison construction with abstract count nouns may lie in the variety of adjectives that can be applied in varying degrees of intensity to describe these abstract concepts. For instance, with a countable abstract noun like *idea*, one could use comparative constructions such as a *more better, more clearer, more stronger idea*. In contrast, when referring to a concrete countable noun, such as *book*, a speaker could describe its size by using comparative constructions like a *more bigger, more smaller book* – in line with Crystal's theory that concrete nouns are observable and measurable.

The following presents an analysis of pragmatic function of the double comparison construction when used as part of a NP.

(5.97) *three **most best** senior members* <CoANZSE # u7jsCZVQ9RU # AuE >

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 $X_2Z_3Y_4S_5$/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [NP: DET_1 + $MOST_2$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR3}$ + ADJ_4 + N_5]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: expression of feelings (praise)

(5.98) *we need to have a little bit* ***more better*** *costings*

<CoANZSE # CkWXfibi6J4 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3Y_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [DO:NP: $QUANTIFIER_1$ + $MORE_2$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR3}$ + N_4]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: request

(5.99) *so it would be great to get a* ***more higher*** *percentage*

<CoANZSE # _ZielIWTdQmU # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3Y_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [DO:NP: DET_1 + $MORE_2$ + ADJ_{ER3} + N_4]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: request

(5.100) *you were supporting* ***more better*** *resources and more support*

<CoANZSE # 3IYV3-KqjDA # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [DO:NP: $MORE_1$ + $ADJ_{IRREGULAR2}$ + N_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: request; acknowledging

Based on these examples, it is hypothesised that when a double comparison construction is used to modify a noun (such as *more better resources*), the speaker may be trying to convey strong emotions about the subject being discussed. The multiplication of comparative

elements seems to signal an emotional or evaluative undertone, indicating that the current state of the noun (e.g. resources) is insufficient and needs to be improved in either quality or quantity.

It is also hypothesised that using a double comparison in premodifying noun phrases reveals an interesting linguistic pattern where speakers combine multiple comparative markers to elevate the noun's quality. This use of multiple comparative elements seems to be a way to emphasise the noun or make the point stronger, even though it is redundant.

A final observation is made regarding the premodification of comparative adjectives. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 472), comparative adjectives are commonly premodified by amplifiers such as *much* and *very much*. Also, they note that other intensifiers, including *somehwat, rather, a lot, lots, far, so very*, can premodify comparative adjectives (Quirk et al. 1985: 473). In relation to the dataset, premodifiers appear only in a small proportion of double comparison constructions. This suggests that premodifiers are relatively rare in double comparisons, with most constructions occurring without additional intensification. This could indicate that double comparison constructions inherently carry a marked or emphatic quality, making further intensification unnecessary. Additionally, when premodifiers are used, they might reinforce the speaker's communicative intention. This may be particularly true with the amplifier *much* – as discussed earlier, amplifiers serve to elevate the degree of what is being expressed (Quirk et al 1985: 566-601).

However, given the limited size of the dataset, this conclusion should be approached cautiously. Therefore, further research is recommended to explore the distribution of premodifiers across different comparative adjectives, as this could highlight specific preferences for certain intensifiers in double comparison constructions.

With respect to double superlatives, it has been observed that they often function as SUBJ COMPL to the copular verb BE. In addition to this, they are typically premodified by the central DET *the* as in *the most easiest*. Occasionally, however, they may also be premodified by the indefinite PRN *one* followed by the partitive *of*-construction as in *one of the* (Quirk et al 1985:380). Consider the following examples:

(5.101) *bad it's the fact that the club has been so successful and attracting teams it's one of the* ***most biggest*** <CoANZSE # TL6ufAuhrhW # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 S_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$V_{COPULAR1}$+ $PRN_{INDEFNITE2}$+ [*OF*-construction$_3$: OF + DET + MOST + ADJ_{EST}] + NP_4]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: expression of feelings; enthusiasm

(5.102) *I see Zoey and the way that she's with her clients and honestly she is like one of the* ***most warmest*** <CoANZSE # 3bwuQoY3gnQ # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 S_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$V_{COPULAR1}$+ $PRN_{INDEFNITE2}$+ [*OF*-construction$_3$: OF + DET + MOST + ADJ_{EST}] + NP_4]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: expression of feelings; praising

(5.103) *I am one of the* ***most easiest*** *people on the planet to connect with* <GloWbE # 1783154 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3 S_4/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$V_{COPULAR1}$+ $PRN_{INDEFNITE2}$+ [*OF*-construction$_3$: OF + DET + MOST + ADJ_{EST}] + NP_4]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: comparison

PRAGMATICS: persuasion

As far as the pragmatic function is concerned, first, the double superlative *most biggest* serves primarily to express enthusiasm. The speaker emphasises the impressive status of the club by intensifying the adjective, even though it is already in its superlative form. This form of exaggeration is emotionally charged and likely aims to share excitement with the listener. In contrast, the construction *most warmest* functions to express admiration. Here, the speaker is likely describing someone with strong positive emotions and uses this construction to signal deep personal respect or appreciation for the warmth the individual shows to others. Lastly, *most easiest* has a slightly different function – it is primarily persuasive or informative. The

speaker uses this construction to convince the listener of their personal openness. By overstating how easy it is to connect with them, the speaker tries to appear likable, possibly to establish trust in a social interaction. In this case, the pragmatic goal is not only to express a personal trait but to influence how the listener perceives the speaker.

Moreover, it was observed that most multiple-marking constructions are used in the present tense. Quirk et al. (1985: 180) introduce the concept of the "instantaneous present" to describe a verb form that denotes an action which begins and ends at the very moment of speaking. This type of present tense is often associated with performative verbs, as it encapsulates a speech act (i.e. an action accomplished by the act of speaking). Because the action has little or no duration, it is considered immediate. Furthermore, Quirk et al. (1985: 181) highlight the "dramatic" and expressive nature of this usage, emphasising its function in enacting rather than merely describing an event.

This theoretical framework may offer a way of interpreting a potential link between the use of the instantaneous present and pragmatic force.

Additionally, it was observed that the double negation construction occurs more frequently with primary auxiliaries than with modal auxiliaries. Several explanations could account for this finding.

Firstly, primary auxiliaries are more commonly used to form questions, negatives and emphatic constructions (Quirk et al. 1985: 130-134). In contrast, modals typically express necessity, ability, permission, or possibility, and thus often appear in different types of constructions where double negation may not be as relevant (Quirk et al. 1985: 129, 135-148).

From a semantic perspective, primary auxiliaries generally serve a more grammatical role, signaling tense, aspect, and voice, whereas modals convey specific meanings related to modality, such as possibility or necessity (Quirk et al. 1985: 129).

Pragmatically, another distinction is important. As shown in Morin & Coats (2023)'s study, the use of double modals was primarily a politeness strategy, while double negation in this study was more often used to express strong emotions or to make complaints.

A further hypothesis is that primary auxiliaries are more prevalent in everyday communication and are thus more likely to appear in negative constructions, creating more opportunities for double negation to occur.

Moreover, since the double negation construction appears within the verb phrase, the lexical verbs occupying the constructional slots were analysed in terms of their semantics[23]. It is important to note that this thesis will not explore the concept of "semantic fields" in depth, as that is not its focus. It will only examine it briefly to better understand the context in which double negation constructions are used. Consider the table below:

Table 5.26. Semantic fields of verbs within the double negation construction[24]

Domain	Verb
Movement	*Go, get back, come back, go away, move into, step out, go into, get*
Possession	*Have*
Perception	*Know, believe, think, remember, notice, mean, understand, see, hear*
Communication	*Say, mention, prove*
Emotion	*Please, hurt, feel, affect, harm, want, help, split*
(Lack of) Utility	*Fit, work, waste, restrict, measure,make*
Reduction	*Lessen*
Change	*Start, convert, include, remove, progress*
State of being	*Be, happen*
Value	*Worth, waste, prove*
Administration	*Organise, register*
Transfer	*Give, offer, provide, tell, show, mention, prove, pay, buy*

[23] Note that the verb domains presented in the table are approximations, intended to provide a broad overview of the semantic tendencies of the verbs occurring in double negation constructions. Some verbs could arguably fit into more than one domain, and the assignments should be seen as showing general patterns rather than exact categories.

[24] Crystal (2019: 147, 167) defines a semantic field as "whole sets of lexemes belonging to a particular area of meaning (…) a named area of meaning in which lexemes interrelate and define each other in specific ways."

The distribution of verbs across a wide range of semantic domains within the double negative construction highlights semantic flexibility in the constructional slots. Rather than being confined to a narrow set of contexts, double negatives appear productively across domains such as motion (*go*, *come back*), perception (*know*, *believe*), emotion (*hurt*, *want*), transfer (*give*, *provide*), communication (*say*, *tell*) – among others. This suggests that double negation can convey various pragmatic effects depending on the semantic domain involved. Some examples are analysed below:

(5.104) *I **can't** go **nowhere** without any of the children*
<CoANZSE # 8w5kHOa2X68 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + ADV_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint

In this linguistic context, the speaker conveys a sense of constraint, emphasising her inability to travel or move freely due to her children's dependence on her. The use of double negation serves a pragmatic purpose, reinforcing the speaker's emotional stance and expressing a clear complaint about her situation. The verb *go*, belonging to the semantic field of movement, plays a central role in articulating this restriction – its negation underscores her lack of freedom and highlights the burden imposed by her responsibilities.

(5.105) *we're **not** gonna organise **nothing*** <WCSNZE # DPP005:2105:HN>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 O_3 Z_4/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [ADV_{NEG1} + AUX_2 + V_3 + PRN_{NEG4}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: refusal

In this interaction, the speakers express a clear refusal to take on the task of planning an event. The use of double negation strengthens the pragmatic function of the utterance by

emphasising their unwillingness and reinforcing their rejection of responsibility. The lexical verb *organise*, which belongs to the semantic field of administration or structure, supports this meaning by highlighting the kind of activity being dismissed. Its use underscores the speakers' attitude – that no effort will be made to bring order to the event, simply because they do not want to engage in it.

(5.106) ***doesn't*** *lessen* ***nothing*** <CoANZSE # X28VNM7tqVk # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /A_1 X_2 Z_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [AUX_{NEG1} + V_2 + PRN_{NEG3}]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: negation
PRAGMATICS: complaint; dissatisfaction

In this instance, the speaker expresses his/her dissatisfaction with a problem and points out that a suggested solution fails to reduce the severity of the problem. The double negation serves the pragmatic function of a complaint, showing the speaker's belief that the listener's actions are not helping the situation. The verb *lessen*, which belongs to the semantic field of reduction or decrease, contributes to this meaning by highlighting the speaker's perception that the problem remains unresolved.

Taken together, these cases show that verbs in double negation constructions occur across a variety of semantic domains. The choice of verb helps shape the pragmatic effect of the construction, whether it conveys a complaint, refusal, or dissatisfaction. While these domains provide a useful way to understand patterns in usage, they are intended as a broad guide rather than a strict classification.

Additionally, when part of the VP, the double intensifier construction usually takes place with verbs expressing opinions, such as *agree, disagree, oppose, support,* and *respect* (as shown in the examples below). This aligns with the theoretical framework, as Quirk et al. (1985) note that intensifiers can be combined with verbs like *agree* (Quirk et al. 1985: 593).

(5.107) *What what do you take up against it what people using to get it towards it so I've* ***absolutely totally*** *disagree with the premise* <CoANZSE # xz3AGQRXM # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: rejection

In this example, the speaker is clearly rejecting an argument presented by someone else. The interaction likely takes place in a debate. The use of the double intensifier *absolutely totally* adds strong emotional force to the act of disagreeing. It emphasises that the speaker is not just offering a mild objection but is fundamentally opposed to the idea. The verb of opinion *disagree* typically signals contrast in opinion, but when paired with amplifiers, it reflects a firm rejection, leaving no room for ambiguity.

(5.108) *Bunch of options that also includes perhaps other uses there isn't necessarily a skate park as you know I* ***very really*** *disagree* <CoANZSE # gwkVEGJAa58 # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{EMPHASISER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: rejection

Here, the speaker is expressing a strong negative opinion, possibly in response to a local decision or proposal. The combination of *very* and *really* intensify the speaker's emotional reaction to the issue. By using the verb *disagree*, the speaker indicates a deep personal objection. The intensifiers emphasise this opposition, suggesting that the speaker feels strongly and possibly frustrated about the matter being discussed.

(5.109) *Got to get tot he source of where it's coming from otherwise it's always gonna be yeah I* ***totally totally*** *agree* <CoANZSE # YpTP1hJVLds # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: alignment/affirmation

The double use of *totally* serves to emphasise complete and enthusiastic agreement. The verb of opinion *agree* usually signals acceptance. But, in this case, the speaker is not only stating that they share the same opinion but is also highlighting their shared commitment or values.

(5.110) *Doing is making up data because there is none and delaying the whole building of those houses so I am* ***totally totally*** *opposed* <CoANZSE # SUvme8i6cZo # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: rejection; protest

In this example, the speaker expresses strong objection to a decision. The interaction involves a clear stance of resistance or protest. The repeated intensifier *totally totally* serves to magnify the speaker's opposition. The verb *opposed* already carries a strong negative meaning, but in combination with the double intensifier, it becomes more emphatic and emotionally charged.

(5.111) *recent times it might be worth revisiting that but look if people are sick we'll have family crisis yes* ***absolutely totally*** *agree* <CoANZSE # 3Cpb3bho-14 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: alignment/affirmation; building rapport

The speaker is expressing support in relation to a personal or sensitive matter, such as illness or family crisis. The double intensifier *absolutely totally* functions to express full emotional alignment with the other speaker. It reflects not only agreement in thought but also a shared emotional response. The opinion verb *agree* here plays an important social role. It confirms that the speaker understands the perspective being shared. The intensifiers strengthen the sense of empathy and solidarity, indicating that the speaker is emotionally involved.

(5.112) *all together and particularly working with our neighbours around central Queensland so that should help answer that question yeah no* ***absolutely totally*** *agree with you* <CoANZSE # -jMyb8PX35 # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: alignment/affirmation; building rapport

One speaker directly supports another individual's statement. The double intensifier *absolutely totally* reinforces the speaker's commitment to the shared position. In this context, the verb *agree* goes beyond expressing a common opinion; it becomes a way of affirming trust and possibly shared political or community goals.

(5.113) *the public another so a lot of reasons she lot the public holiday I understand that small business have concerns* ***absolutely totally*** *respect that*
<CoANZSE # EHD26wohw3M # AuE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/
MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]
MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification
PRAGMATICS: rapport

In this case, the speaker is acknowledging a viewpoint they may not share, such as concerns from small business owners. The opinion verb *respect* is used to signal acknowledgment

without necessarily implying agreement. When intensified, it expresses a strong sense of consideration. The speaker uses this combination to show that the other side's concerns are being taken seriously and/or treated with dignity.

(5.114) *A lot of people been in our community for forever or for many many years and um so I* ***totally totally*** *support this* <CoANZSE # 57OSoG-p5pl # NZE>

FORM: PHONOLOGY: /C_1 J_2 O_3/

MORPHOSYNTAX: [$INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER1}$ + $INTENSIFIER_{AMPLIFIER2}$ + V_3]

MEANING: SEMANTICS: intensification

PRAGMATICS: endorsement; expressing commitment

The repetition of *totally* functions to intensify the speaker's approval. Moreover, the verb *support* signals alignment or encouragement, but the addition of the double intensifier strengthens the speaker's commitment. It suggests that the support is emotional.

It is proposed that one potential explanation for the co-occurrence of intensifiers with verbs of opinion lies in the personal and subjective nature of opinions. Such verbs typically convey individual attitudes or evaluations, prompting speakers to signal the strength or intensity of their stance toward a given proposition. Intensifiers thus serve to amplify or clarify the degree of commitment or emotional engagement. Nonetheless, this hypothesis calls for further empirical investigation to be more fully substantiated.

In general, when considering the grammatical context in which multiple-marking constructions occur, it can be observed that the present tense and active voice indicate these constructions may be linked to subjective evaluations made in the present moment (Quirk et al. 1985). This aligns with Quirk et al. (1985)'s concept of the 'instantaneous present,' a verb form often associated with performative or immediate actions (Quirk et al. 1985: 180-181). The present study suggests that most multiple-marking constructions occur in the present tense, indicating a potential connection between tense choice and the speaker's communicative intention.

Moreover, regarding constructions involving double comparison or double intensifiers, their frequent use after copular verbs and their appearance in subject complements point to an evaluative function. In these cases, speakers are actively engaged in judging, responding, or

emphasising something. Therefore, it can be argued that these constructions serve as tools for expressing real-time evaluations or intensifications, highlighting the speaker's engagement with their immediate thoughts, feelings, or perceptions.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary of findings

In this study, I aimed to deepen the understanding of multiple-marking constructions in Post-colonial Englishes (PCEs) and to highlight the continued presence of nonstandard linguistic features in standard varieties of English. Additionally, I examined the use of multiple-marking constructions in two Phase-V Post-colonial English varieties from the Dynamic Model – New Zealand English (NZE) and Australian English (AuE).

The research sought to address three key questions: whether there is a relationship between the phase of evolution of postcolonial Englishes and the productivity of multiple-marking constructions; what pragmatic functions these constructions serve; and whether there is any link between specific lexical items and the constructional slots within multiple-marking constructions.

Findings suggest that each variety has developed in a way that reflects its stage in the evolution of postcolonial English, particularly through differentiation (Schneider 2007). The linguistic choices in each variety reflect its unique language and national identity. Indeed, the findings reveal that some constructions are more common in particular varieties. For example, the normalised frequencies show that double comparison and double intensifier constructions are more frequent in NZE, while double negation is more prevalent in AuE.

Furthermore, the study demonstrates that speakers of NZE and AuE use multiple-marking constructions for different communicative purposes. This suggests that linguistic choices depend on both the type of speaker and the communicative situation (Tomasello 2003; 2008; 2014).

The study of multiple-marking constructions reveals important distinctions across New Zealand and Australian English. With respect to double negation, both varieties rely on a shared core of negative collexemes but also display some unique lexical preferences that reflect regional variation. In the case of double comparison, both varieties share common collexemes, such as *better, easier, higher, greater, warmer, older,* and *smaller*, but they also show distinctive patterns: NZE includes nonstandard and irregular forms like *betterer* and vernacular superlatives (*scariest, harshest, coolest*), while AuE exhibits a broader and more diverse set of collexemes, including items like *bestest, brighter,* and *worse*, along with

adjectives not significantly associated in NZE. For double intensifiers, both varieties use largely the same intensifiers, with only minor variations.

The results also show strong associations between certain words and multiple-marking constructions, reflecting the tendencies highlighted in the collexeme analysis. For instance, *absolutely* is strongly associated with the double intensifier construction, *better* with double comparison, and *nothing* with double negation, illustrating how each variety fills constructional slots with preferred lexical items.

Additionally, findings indicate that double intensifiers often appear before emotional adjectives like *stunning*, *gorgeous*, and *wonderful* (Tagliamonte 2008). Another significant observation is that the intensifiers *absolutely* and *totally* are the most common in both NZE and AuE. These amplifiers represent the highest level of intensification as described by Quirk et al. (1985). Interestingly, there were instances where the downtoner *fairly* was used alongside the amplifier *fully*, as in *I think women are fairly fully exposed to modernity in many countries.* It is proposed that this sequence of a downtoner followed by an amplifier may act as a strategy to soften or moderate the strength of a statement. Moreover, the absence of the double intensifier construction in the eWave database hints that this kind of multiple intensification may be a developing feature unique to NZE, potentially signaling an emerging linguistic trend.

In addition, when appearing within a verb phrase, double intensifier constructions commonly occur with verbs that convey personal attitudes or judgments, such as *agree*, *disagree*, *oppose*, *support*, and *respect* (Quirk et al. 1985: 593).

Furthermore, in AuE, the phrase *no nothing* is used in various syntactic environments to express strong negation through negative concord, where multiple negative elements reinforce the negation. It can appear in existential constructions (e.g. *There's no nothing in here*) and as a premodifier in lists (e.g. *no apples, no oranges, no nothing*). This aligns with Jespersen's (1966) theory regarding cumulative negatives. In all such uses, *no nothing* serves a clear pragmatic purpose of expressing and emphasising total absence.

Moreover, Willoughby and Manns (2020) suggest that in AuE, *never* operates as a negative auxiliary verb in the past tense. However, in the dataset, *never* is also found in non-past contexts, implying that it functions pragmatically, helping speakers to communicate specific intentions.

Aside from that, in both NZE and AuE, double comparative constructions tend to involve adjectives with one or two syllables. This may explain the tendency to combine periphrastic forms with traditional inflectional endings, as in *most easiest* or *more easier*. Another noteworthy discovery is a new kind of double comparison tied to a resultative meaning. This structure follows the [$MAKE_1$ OBJ_2 [OBJ $COMPL_3$: MORE ADJ_{ER}]] template, consistent with Quirk et al. (1985)'s complex transitive verb pattern. Here, the double comparative implies a change in state. Such constructions highlight speakers' creative use of grammar (Goldberg 1995; 2006).

As well, it was also found that these multiple-marking constructions typically appear in the present tense. This aligns with Quirk et al. (1985: 180)'s instantaneous present – a tense associated with performative verbs. This theoretical perspective is especially relevant to the current research, as it highlights the connection between the use of the instantaneous present and the speaker's communicative purpose.

Consistent with the views of Hoffmann (2021) and Diessel (2013), it can be argued that individual speakers bring unique intentions to their interactions, meaning that the same construction can fulfill several pragmatic functions. For instance, some people use double comparison to convey dissatisfaction, while others use it to explain or clarify. Likewise, double negation may be used to express strong objections or to convey intense emotions such as grief or trauma. As Tomasello (2014: 11) points out, people's linguistic habits are shaped by their diverse backgrounds and life experiences, which influence how they engage in communication.

In addition, the use of the Four Space Model in this study suggests a possible cognitive foundation for understanding multiple-marking constructions (Fauconnier & Turner 2003). This perspective provides a valuable framework for explaining how such patterns emerge.

Lastly, the acceptability of certain constructions may be due to factors like frequency and familiarity. For example, double comparatives or superlatives often reflect the specific communicative situations of speakers. For instance, the use of *most scariest* in NZE may be influenced by the trauma experienced during major earthquakes (Walsh et al. 2013), showing how context strongly influences word choice (Crystal 2017; 2019). Another potential explanation involves angloversals, as defined by Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2008) – universal linguistic features that arise across English varieties due to language contact, identity, and evolution, influencing how varieties develop distinct grammatical features.

6.2 Limitations

It is important to approach these findings with caution, as several limitations affected the scope and depth of this study. First, sociolinguistic factors could not be analysed due to limited participant demographic data. Future research should explore whether external variables such as ethnicity, social class, gender, and age influence the frequency and productivity of multiple-marking constructions.

Each corpus presented unique challenges related to data retrieval and search functionality, which impacted the comprehensiveness of the dataset.

CoANZSE

The search query in the CoANZSE corpus proved particularly challenging for several reasons. First, the corpus employs a POS tagset quite different from those found in other corpora, complicating efforts to extract consistent patterns. Second, identifying double negatives was especially difficult because the contraction *not* (i.e. *n't*) was inconsistently tagged – as coordinating conjunctions (CC), nouns (NN), or other categories. This made developing a reliable search pattern difficult.

By contrast, searching for double comparatives and intensifiers was somewhat easier. Although the POS tags differ from other corpora, the RB tag – typically associated with adverbs like *not* or *never* – was also used for comparative adjectives in some cases. This allowed patterns such as RB RB to be applied with relative consistency, even when constructions involved adjectives rather than adverbs.

GloWbE

This research acknowledges that the queries used in GloWbE may not have captured every instance of the target constructions due to inconsistencies in POS-tagging. As a result, manual inspection using the CQPweb "show tags" feature was occasionally required to refine query patterns.

QBCC

Limitations in the LaBB-CAT search tool's regex and wildcard functionality meant that searches for multiple-marking constructions had to be conducted using exact word or phrase matches. Generalised patterns were ineffective, so exact comparative, superlative, or

intensifier forms were entered directly. While this ensured reliable retrieval of known constructions, it may have limited identification of new or unexpected variants.

ALVEO

As the ALVEO corpus contains only plain text files and lacks built-in or external search interfaces, all searches were conducted manually. Identification of double intensifier constructions was therefore limited to examples that could be directly observed during close reading. While this ensured accurate confirmation of known patterns, it is possible that some additional relevant examples were not discovered.

WCSNZE

The WCSNZE corpus had to be queried through AntConc, which restricts the combination of regex with POS-tagged data to fixed sequences separated by spaces (e.g. *no DT nothing NN*). This limitation reduced search flexibility and necessitated a manual, targeted approach, potentially leading to undetected patterns and increased manual validation effort.

All corpora

Across all corpora, tagging inconsistencies and corpus-specific search limitations posed ongoing challenges, affecting the comprehensiveness of the dataset and potentially limiting the generalisability of findings. To assist interpretation, explanatory comments have been included in selected cells within the Excel data sheets. These notes clarify specific search methods, highlight corpus-specific limitations, or justify certain pattern choices, providing context for the methodological challenges faced.

6.3 Future Research

Despite limitations, results raise important questions for future research:

- Can multiple-marking constructions be seen as social markers? As discussed in the literature, Gonzalez-Diaz (2008) suggests that double comparison constructions were once considered markers of social class in the 18th century. Since sociolinguistic variables were not examined here, further research could explore whether certain

social groups, not well represented in this study, show a preference for these constructions.

- Will multiple-marking constructions become standard features in the English spoken in New Zealand and Australia? If these constructions become frequent enough, they may not only become conventionalised in everyday speech in NZE and AuE but may also influence others immersed in their cultural environments. As noted by Schreier (2012) and Hundt (1998), emerging linguistic standards are often adopted by other speakers. Specifically, NZE and AuE could serve as linguistic models for international students, potentially incorporating these dialectal features into their speech.
- Does the combination of [INTENSIFIER$_{DOWNTONER}$][INTENSIFIER$_{AMPLIFIER}$] serve as a politeness strategy? Which downtoners and amplifiers are more likely to fill the constructional slots of this double intensifier construction? In which contexts (e.g. academic, everyday, etc.) are these constructions more common? Are younger individuals more inclined to use them, and do they occur more frequently in speech by men or women?
- How do sociolinguistic factors influence the choice and ordering of intensifier pairs in the double intensifier constructions in NZE and AuE? Findings reveal distinct patterns in the use of intensifier pairs in NZE and AuE, with some combinations appearing frequently while others are rare or ordered differently. These patterns indicate that speakers may use intensifier pairs deliberately to convey specific meanings. However, it remains unclear how factors such as age, gender, social setting, and regional variation shape these choices. Future research should investigate the role of these sociolinguistic variables in influencing which intensifier pairs are used and how they are structured, providing deeper insight into the pragmatic functions of multiple-marking constructions in both varieties.
- Is the double comparative construction [MORE/MOST][IRREGULAR ADJ$_{ER/EST}$] indicative of age and gender? Does this emerging comparative form function as a distinctive morphosyntactic feature associated with a specific regional or social group?
- How can participant-based methods be used to investigate how speakers produce multiplemarking constructions (e.g. double comparison, double negation, double intensifier) to convey specific pragmatic intentions?

6.4 Final insights into multiple-marking constructions

In conclusion, multiple-marking constructions can be understood as form-meaning pairings. Based on the findings of this study, I argue that the multiplying of linguistic elements in these constructions is employed by speakers to convey their communicative intentions. As discussed in the literature review, Austin (1962), Crystal (2017;2019), Searle (1979) and Tomasello (2003;2008;2014) have highlighted the performative nature of language – when people speak, they are not merely transmitting information, but performing social actions.

Crucially, the pragmatic function of multiple-marking constructions is highly context-dependent, shaped by the speaker's intentions and the communicative situation. For example, a double negation construction may be used to express a complaint or convey emotions. This variability holds true for the other multiple-marking constructions examined in this thesis as well.

Moreover, the results of this research offer valuable insights into the varieties of English analysed, particularly NZE and AuE. The data suggest that certain multiple-marking constructions may represent emerging linguistic trends. Their future acceptance and integration into usage will largely depend on whether they gain widespread acceptance and regular use within the speech communities (Bamgbose 1998).

In addition, it is concluded that nonstandard language forms will continue to evolve and spread across English varieties worldwide, eventually becoming conventionalised in different speech communities. Social and emotional factors, such as the inclination to imitate peer language, contribute to the dissemination of vernaculars. Furthermore, geographical isolation also plays a role in shaping the uniqueness of a variety (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2008). As a variety develops its own identity, the relationship between language and identity becomes increasingly significant (Schneider 2007). Language not only reflects cultural background but also allows speakers to distinguish themselves from other English speakers worldwide.

To further support this perspective, theoretical frameworks employed – Construction Grammar (CxG), Dynamic Model (DM), construction taxonomies (Diessel 2013, 2019; Goldberg 1995, 2003, 2006; Hoffmann 2021; Schneider 2007) – have greatly enriched the analysis by shedding light on how constructions are acquired, entrenched, and used by speakers. These frameworks also help understand the cognitive processes by which speakers draw on the constructicon to build utterances and convey meaning.

As Crystal (2019:506) observes, language is “inexhaustible.” New forms will continue to emerge – some of which may initially appear nonstandard or ungrammatical – reflecting the ever-evolving nature of language shaped by usage, context, and community norms. This study contributes to the understanding of that ongoing linguistic evolution.

7 References

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8 Appendix

Rstudio commands

8.1 Collexeme analysis

8.1.1 Double Negation Collexeme analysis AuE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data1 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_neg_AuE.xlsx")
View(Data1)
library(collostructions)
collex(Data1, 260882404, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold =2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)
class(Data1)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data1, "data.frame")) {Data1 <- as.list(Data1) }
result <- collex(Data1, 260882404, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold =2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)
print(result)
View(result)
```

8.1.2 Double Negation Collexeme analysis NZE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data2 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_neg_NZE.xlsx")
View(Data2)
Data2 <- Data2[-c(21:24), ]
View(Data2)
library(collostructions)
collex(Data2, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold =2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)
class(Data2)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data2, "data.frame")) {Data2 <- as.list(Data2) }
```

```
result <- collex(Data2, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)
print(result)
View(result)
```

8.1.3 Double Comparison Collexeme analysis NZE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data3 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_comp_NZE.xlsx")
View(Data3)
library(dbplyr)
library(magrittr)
Data3 <- Data3 %>% dplyr::select(-4)
print(Data3)
library(collostructions)
collex(Data3, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)
class(Data3)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data3, "data.frame")) {Data3 <- as.list(Data3) }
result <- collex(Data3, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)
print(result)
View(result)
```

8.1.4 Double Comparison Collexeme analysis AuE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data4 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_comp_AuE.xlsx")
View(Data4)
library(dbplyr)
library(magrittr)
```

```
Data4 <- Data4 %>% dplyr::select(-4)


library(collostructions)

collex(Data4, 260882404, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)

class(Data4)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data4, "data.frame")) {Data4 <- as.list(Data4) }

result <- collex(Data4,  260882404, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)

print(result)
View(result)
```

8.1.5 Double Intensifier Collexeme analysis AuE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data5 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_int_AuE.xlsx")
Data5 <- Data5[-c(27:31), ]
View(Data5)
library(dbplyr)no
library(magrittr)no
Data5 <- Data5 %>% dplyr::select(-4)no
Data5 <- Data5[, 1:3]
View(Data5)
library(collostructions)
collex(Data5, 260882404, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)
class(Data5)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data5, "data.frame")) {Data5 <- as.list(Data5) }
```

```
result <- collex(Data5, 260882404, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)
print(result)
View(result)
```

8.1.6 Double Intensifier Collexeme analysis NZE (Section 4.2.)

```
library(readxl)
Data6 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/collexeme_int_NZE.xlsx")
View(Data6)
Data6 <- Data6[-c(27:31), ]
Data6 <- Data6[, 1:3]
View(Data6)
library(collostructions)
collex(Data6, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse = FALSE,
     decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL, str.dir =
     FALSE)
class(Data6)
[1] "tbl_df"     "tbl"        "data.frame"
if (inherits(Data6, "data.frame")) {Data6 <- as.list(Data6) }
result <- collex(Data6, 167375539, am = "logl", reverse =
     FALSE, decimals = 5, threshold = 2, cxn.freq = NULL,
     str.dir = FALSE)
print(result)
View(result)
```

8.2 Plots

8.2.1 Communicative Intentions Double Comparison (Section 4.3.)

```
library(readxl)
library(ggplot2)
intentions1 <-
read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/intentions_comparison.xlsx")
View(intentions1)
```

```
intentions1 <- intentions1[-c(8:11), ]
print(intentions1)
colnames(intentions1) <- c("category", "frequency")
ggplot(intentions1, aes(x = reorder(category, -frequency), y =
frequency)) +
  geom_point(color = "skyblue", size = 5) +
  geom_segment(aes(x = category, xend = category, y = 0, yend
= frequency), color = "skyblue") +
  labs(
    title = "Frequency of Communicative Intentions in Double
Comparison Construction",
    x = "Category",
    y = "Frequency"
  ) +
  theme_minimal() +
  theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1),
        plot.title = element_text(hjust = 0.5, size = 14))
```

8.2.2 Communicative Intentions Double Negation (Section 4.3.)

```
library(readxl)
library(ggplot2)
intentions2 <-
read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/intentions_negation.xlsx")
View(intentions2)
intentions2 <- intentions2[-c(8:9), ]
print(intentions2)
colnames(intentions2) <- c("category", "frequency")
ggplot(intentions2, aes(x = reorder(category, -frequency), y =
frequency)) +
+     geom_point(color = "skyblue", size = 5) +
+     geom_segment(aes(x = category, xend = category, y = 0,
yend = frequency), color = "skyblue") +
+     labs(
```

```
+         title = "Frequency of Communicative Intentions in
Double Negative Construction",
+         x = "Category",
+         y = "Frequency"
+     ) +
+     theme_minimal() +
+     theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1))
```

8.2.3 Communicative Intentions Double Intensifier (Section 4.3.)

```
library(readxl)
library(ggplot2)
intentions3 <-
read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/intentions_intensifiers.xlsx")
View(intentions3)
print(intentions3)
colnames(intentions3) <- c("category", "frequency")
ggplot(intentions3, aes(x = reorder(category, -frequency), y =
frequency)) +
+     geom_point(color = "skyblue", size = 5) +
+     geom_segment(aes(x = category, xend = category, y = 0,
yend = frequency), color = "skyblue") +
+     labs(
+         title = "Frequency of Communicative Intentions in
Double Intensifier Construction",
+         x = "Category",
+         y = "Frequency"
+     ) +
+     theme_minimal() +
+     theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1))
```

8.3 Frequency by Variety (Section 4.6.)

```
#plot raw frequencies
```

```
library(readxl)
Data7 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/frequency.xlsx")
View(Data7)
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(Data7, aes(x = PCE, y = Frequency, fill =
Construction)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = "dodge") +
  theme_minimal() +
  labs(title = "Frequency by Variety", x = "PCE", y =
"Frequency")
colnames(Data7)
[1] "Multiple-marking construction" "PCE"
[3] "Frequency"
ggplot(Data7, aes(x = PCE, y = Frequency, fill = `Multiple-
marking construction`)) +
+     geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = "dodge") +
+     theme_minimal() +
+     labs(title = "Frequency by Variety", x = "PCE", y =
"Frequency")

#plot normalised frequencies
library(dplyr)
Data7_norm <- Data7 %>%
  mutate(TotalWords = case_when(
    PCE == "NZE" ~ 167375539,
    PCE == "AuE" ~ 260882404
  )) %>%
  mutate(Norm_Frequency = Frequency / TotalWords * 1e6)
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(Data7_norm, aes(x = PCE, y = Norm_Frequency, fill =
`Multiple-marking construction`)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", position = "dodge") +
  theme_minimal() +
  labs(
```

```
    title = "Normalised Frequency of Multiple Marking
Constructions",
    x = "Variety",
    y = "Frequency per Million Words"
  )
#normalised table
library(dplyr)
library(knitr)
library(kableExtra)
install.packages("kableExtra")
library(kableExtra)

Data7_norm %>%
+     select(PCE, `Multiple-marking construction`,
Norm_Frequency) %>%
+     arrange(PCE, `Multiple-marking construction`) %>%
+     mutate(Norm_Frequency = round(Norm_Frequency, 2)) %>%
+     kbl(
+         col.names = c("Variety", "Construction", "Frequency
per Million Words"),
+         format = "html"
+     ) %>%
+     kable_styling(bootstrap_options = c("striped", "hover",
"condensed"), full_width = FALSE)
```

8.4 Normalised data for chisquare test (Section 4.6.)

```
head(Data7)
table_chi <- xtabs(Frequency ~ PCE + `Multiple-marking
construction`, data = Data7)
print(table_chi)
```

```
   Multiple-marking construction
PCE   double comparison double intensifier double negation
  AuE               277                 65             286
  NZE               217                 74              70
chisq.test(table_chi)
Pearson's Chi-squared test

data:  table_chi
X-squared = 72.099, df = 2, p-value < 2.2e-16
```

8.5 Cramer's V effect size to see if the association between PCE and cxn is strong or not (Section 4.6.)

```
install.packages("vcd")
library(vcd)
chi_table <- xtabs(Frequency ~ PCE + `Multiple-marking
construction`, data = Data7)
cramer_v <- assocstats(chi_table)$cramer
print(paste("Cramér's V: ", cramer_v))

[1] "Cramér's V:  0.270002287539166"

cat("Cramér's V:", cramer_v, "\n")

Cramér's V: 0.2700023
Pearson's Chi-squared test

data:  table_chi
X-squared = 72.099, df = 2, p-value < 2.2e-16

Cramér's V: 0.2700023
```

8.6 Frequency Distribution of ADJ by Variety and Frequency Trend by Variety (Section 4.4.)

```
library(readxl)
library(ggplot2)

df <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/emotionalADJ.xlsx")
colnames(df) <- c("Variety", "ADJ", "Freq")
adj_order <- c("destroyed", "unique", "smart", "hard",
"brown", "close", "stunning","expensive", "gorgeous",
"important", "immoral", "open-handed","effective",
"authentic", "well", "wonderful", "boring", "strong","priced",
"valuable", "good", "amazing", "unfair", "useful", "happy",
"passionate", "inappropriate", "corrupt", "unacceptable",
"awesome","critical", "worried", "good", "fair", "opposed",
"keen", "horrible","damaged", "shameful", "refreshing")
df$ADJ <- factor(df$ADJ, levels = adj_order)

ggplot(df, aes(x = Variety, y = Freq, color = ADJ)) +
  geom_jitter(width = 0.2, height = 0, size = 3) +
  labs(title = "Frequency Distribution of ADJ by Variety",
  x = "Variety", y = "Frequency",color = "Adjective") +
  theme_minimal() +
  theme(
    plot.title = element_text(margin = margin(b = 20)),
    plot.margin = margin(t = 30, r = 20, b = 10, l = 10),
    legend.position = "right",
    legend.text = element_text(size = 8),
    legend.key.size = unit(0.4, "cm")
  )

ggplot(df, aes(x = Variety, y = Freq, color = ADJ)) +
+     geom_jitter(width = 0.35, height = 0, size = 4, alpha =
0.7) +
```

```
+     labs(+title = "Frequency Distribution of ADJ by
Variety",+ x = "Variety",
+         y = "Frequency",
+         color = "Adjective"
+     ) +
+     theme_minimal() +
+     theme(
+         plot.title = element_text(margin = margin(b = 20)),
+         legend.position = "right",
+         legend.text = element_text(size = 8),
+         legend.key.size = unit(0.4, "cm")
+     )
```

8.7 Types of intensifiers (Section 4.5.)

8.7.1 NZE (Section 4.5.)

```
# percentages
library(readxl)
library(dplyr)
Data11 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/ampli_emph_NZE.xlsx")
View(Data11)
Data11 <- Data11[-c(4:31), ]
library(magrittr)
Data11 <- Data11 %>% dplyr::select(-4)
Data11 <- Data11 %>% dplyr::select(-3)
View(Data11)
intensifiers_NZE <- data.frame(
  Type = c("amplifier", "emphasiser", "downtoner"),
  Freq = c(72, 62, 2)
)
total <- sum(intensifiers_NZE$Freq)
intensifiers_NZE <- intensifiers_NZE %>%
  mutate(Percentage = (Freq / total) * 100)
print(intensifiers_NZE)
```

```
     Type Freq Percentage
1  amplifier   72  52.941176
2 emphasiser   62  45.588235
3  downtoner    2   1.470588

#plot pie cart
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(intensifiers_NZE, aes(x = "", y = Percentage, fill =
Type)) + geom_col(width = 1, color = "white") +
coord_polar(theta = "y") + geom_text(aes(label =
sprintf("%.1f%%", Percentage)), position =
position_stack(vjust = 0.5), size = 5) + labs(title =
"Percentage Distribution of Intensifier Types in NZE", fill =
"Type") + theme_void() + theme(legend.position = "right", text
= element_text(size = 14))

# table
library(kableExtra)

intensifiers_NZE %>%
  mutate(Percentage = round(Percentage, 1)) %>%
  kable(col.names = c("Type of Intensifier", "Frequency",
"Percentage (%)"),
        caption = "Normalized Frequencies of Intensifiers in
NZE") %>%
  kable_styling(bootstrap_options = c("striped", "hover",
"condensed"), full_width = FALSE)
```

8.7.2 AuE (Section 4.5.)

```
#percentages
library(readxl)
library(dplyr)
```

```
Data12 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/amp_emp_AuE.xlsx")
View(Data12)
Data12 <- Data12[-c(4:31), ]
library(magrittr)
Data12 <- Data12 %>% dplyr::select(-4)
Data12 <- Data12 %>% dplyr::select(-3)
View(Data12)
intensifiers_AuE <- data.frame(
  Type = c("amplifier", "emphasiser", "downtoner"),
  Freq = c(72, 49, 1)
)
total<- sum(intensifiers_AuE$Freq)
intensifiers_AuE <- intensifiers_AuE %>%
  mutate(Percentage = (Freq / total) * 100)
print(intensifiers_AuE)
        Type Freq Percentage
1  amplifier   72 59.0163934
2 emphasiser   49 40.1639344
3  downtoner    1  0.8196721

#plot pie cart
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(intensifiers_AuE, aes(x = "", y = Percentage, fill =
     Type)) + geom_col(width = 1, color = "white") +
     coord_polar(theta = "y") + geom_text(aes(label =
     sprintf("%.1f%%", Percentage)),  position =
     position_stack(vjust = 0.5), size = 5) + labs(title =
     "Percentage Distribution of Intensifier Types in AuE",
     fill = "Type") + theme_void() + theme(legend.position =
     "right", text = element_text(size = 14))

# table
library(kableExtra)
intensifiers_AuE %>%
```

```
  mutate(Percentage = round(Percentage, 1)) %>%
  kable(col.names = c("Type of Intensifier", "Frequency",
"Percentage (%)"),
        caption = "Normalized Frequencies of Intensifiers in
AuE") %>%
  kable_styling(bootstrap_options = c("striped", "hover",
"condensed"), full_width = FALSE)
```

8.8 Sankey diagram (Section 4.5.)

8.8.1 NZE (Section 4.5)

```
library(readxl)
Data13 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/sankey_NZE.xlsx")
View(Data13)
install.packages("networkD3")
library(networkD3)
Data13 <- data.frame(
  source = c("absolutely", "absolutely", "totally",
"absolutely", "absolutely", "absolutely", "absolutely",
"absolutely",
             "very", "fairly", "ironically", "really",
"really", "terribly", "essentially", "seriously", "extremely",
"enjoyably","really"),
  target = c("horribly", "totally", "totally", "completely",
"positively", "definitely", "certainly", "incredibly",
             "really", "fully", "incredibly", "particularly",
"amazingly", "differently", "horribly", "absolutely",
"absurdly", "curmudgeonly","quite"),
  value  = c(1, 11, 9, 4, 8, 3, 3, 1, 16, 3, 1, 6, 2, 1, 1, 1,
1, 1, 1)
)
nodes <- data.frame(name = unique(c(Data13$source,
Data13$target)))
Data13$IDsource <- match(Data13$source, nodes$name) - 1
```

```
Data13$IDtarget <- match(Data13$target, nodes$name) - 1
sankeyNetwork(Links = Data13, Nodes = nodes,
              Source = "IDsource", Target = "IDtarget",
              Value = "value", NodeID = "name",
              fontSize = 12, nodeWidth = 30)
```

8.8.2 AuE (Section 4.5.)

```
library(readxl)
Data14 <- read_excel("~/Desktop/stats/sankey_AuE.xlsx")
View(Data14)
install.packages("networkD3")
library(networkD3)
Data14 <- data.frame(
  source = c("absolutely", "absolutely", "absolutely",
"absolutely", "terribly", "incredibly",
             "absolutely", "absolutely", "extremely",
"absolutely", "absolutely", "totally",
             "fairly", "absolutely", "seriously", "really",
"really","very"),
  target = c("totally", "completely", "horribly",
"incredibly", "differently", "amazingly",
             "dreadfully", "positively", "horribly",
"definitely", "certainly", "totally",
             "fully", "outrageously", "absolutely",
"particularly", "amazingly","really"),
  value  = c(14, 4, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 3, 1, 3, 1, 7, 1, 1, 1, 9,
3,12)
)
nodes <- data.frame(name = unique(c(Data14$source,
Data14$target)))
Data14$IDsource <- match(Data14$source, nodes$name) - 1
Data14$IDtarget <- match(Data14$target, nodes$name) - 1
sankeyNetwork(Links = Data14, Nodes = nodes,
```

```
Source = "IDsource", Target = "IDtarget",
Value = "value", NodeID = "name",
fontSize = 12, nodeWidth = 30)
```