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| KEYWORDS                                                                                                                                                | ABSTRACT                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
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| Intensifiers, Pakistani English, British English, Corpus linguistics, GloWbE corpus, Variational pragmatics, Collocational analysis, Language variation | Intensifiers play an important role in expressing degree, emphasis, and attitude in the English language. Their usage varies across the varieties of the English language due to underlying pragmatic and cultural differences. This paper examines the use of nine intensifiers: 'very', 'so', 'really', 'rather', 'pretty', 'quite', 'fairly', 'totally', and 'absolutely' in Pakistani and British English. Explicitly, the study compares their frequency, collocational behavior, semantic prosody, and pragmatic tendencies. The researcher utilizes the Global Web-Based English Corpus (GloWbE) and the analysis draws on variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron, 2008), which is supported by usage-based constructional views and corpus-semantic approaches to evaluation. The findings highlight that Pakistani and British users differ in their preferences and understanding of the nine intensifiers. British English has a balanced and rational use of intensifiers, whereas Pakistani speakers tend to use strong and emphatic intensifiers. The differences indicate a functional shift and the evolving indigeneness of the Pakistani English variety. |
| <b>ARTICLE HISTORY</b><br>Date of Submission:<br>19-07-2026<br>Date of Acceptance:<br>25-08-2026<br>Date of Publication:<br>03-08-2026                  |  <b>2026 Journal of Social Research Development</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
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| DOI                                                                                                                                                     | <a href="https://doi.org/10.53664/jsrd.v7i6.492">https://doi.org/10.53664/jsrd.v7i6.492</a>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

## Introduction

The expression of emphasis and emotional strength through intensifiers has been an interesting area of linguistic study. Intensifiers are degree words that modify adjectives, adverbs, and even verbs. They reinforce the meaning of the words they accompany. They help to adjust the strength of an evaluation or description in real language use. They allow their users to adjust the level of emphasis. They also reflect users' attitudes. They are also known as degree adverbs. In the expressions "very important", "so helpful", and "absolutely not" or "absolutely certain", the intensifiers "very", "so",

and “absolutely” set the level of emphasis, reflect attitude, and express the degrees of emotion and evaluative force. In descriptions of English grammar, intensifiers are treated as part of the broader system of degree modification. This system includes boosters, maximizers, and other devices that scale meaning in relation to an assumed or general norm (Quirk et al., 1985). From a corpus linguistic perspective, intensifiers are significant for empirical analysis. Their recurrent patterns of frequency and co-occurrence can be observed and measured in large collections of naturally occurring texts.

Intensifiers have been extensively studied in the inner-circle varieties of English. It is now recognized that patterns of their use vary across global Englishes. In the context of World Englishes, English develops localized norms in settings where it is used as an institutionalized second language and shaped by multilingual environments (Kachru, 1990). Pakistani variety of English is one of them. Pakistani English has a long history of use in administration, education, media, and digital communication (Baumgardner, 1993; Rehman, 1990). In the multilingual setting, Pakistani English coexists with Urdu and many other regional languages (Shahid, Anwar, El-Dakhs & Younas, 2026). In this way, Pakistani linguistic ecology is likely to influence the way emphasis and degree are expressed (Anwar, 2012; Anwar & Maryam, 2017). Instead of following inner-circle norms, the Pakistani ways of marking degrees may reflect local linguistic habits and influence (Shahid, Anwar & Amin, 2025). For instance, in Urdu, intensification is very common. It is often produced through strong and repeated degree markers. This fact may influence the choice of intensifiers made by Pakistani English users. Despite this, there are few corpus-based systematic studies of intensifiers in the Pakistani variety of English. Particularly, no scholarly work compares the use of intensifiers in Pakistani and British English.

Existing corpus-based scholarly works accentuate that the choice of intensifiers depends on various factors, including typical environment, register, evaluation, and habitual co-selection with specific words. Kennedy (2003), in his corpus-based study of amplifier collocations in BNC, finds that degree adverbs tend to pair with specific adjectives and participles. Research on collocation and semantic prosody reveals that the meaning and pragmatic effect of intensifiers emerge from their typical contexts; they do not derive from dictionary definitions alone (Partington, 2004). A key reference for the current study is Su's 2017 research, which compares four intensifiers: quite, pretty, rather, and fairly. The study uses the British National Corpus, the Written English Corpus of Chinese Learners, and the Chinese Learner English Corpus to compare the practical use and the semantic prosody of the four aforementioned intensifiers. The study finds that native speakers and English learners differ in their understanding and preference for these four intensifiers. And, according to Davies (2013), the growth of large and comparable corpora like the Corpus of Global Web-Based English has made it easier to compare national varieties. This facilitates the researchers to examine lexical variation across national Englishes with stronger empirical grounding.

In this context, the present study aims to conduct a corpus-based comparative analysis of intensifiers in Pakistani and British English. Intensification in Pakistani English is compared with that of British. Explicitly, the study focuses on the nine frequently used intensifiers: ‘very’, ‘so’,

‘really’, ‘rather’, ‘pretty’, ‘quite’, ‘fairly’, ‘totally’, and ‘absolutely’. The current study fills the descriptive gap. It investigates whether the use of intensifiers differs in frequency counts, collocational tendencies, and contextual use in Pakistani and British varieties of English. Explicitly, this research paper seeks to compare the relative frequencies of the above-mentioned nine intensifiers in Pakistani and British varieties of English. It also seeks to identify their collocational patterns and semantic prosody in both the varieties. And finally, the study intends to determine what these differences suggest about degree, tone, and the pragmatic roles of intensification in Pakistani English, and to examine whether Pakistani users of English overuse, underuse, or use the intensification in a different way as compared to the British users of English.

### **Research Questions**

1. What are the relative frequencies of the nine intensifiers ‘very’, ‘so’, ‘really’, ‘rather’, ‘pretty’, ‘quite’, ‘fairly’, ‘totally’, and ‘absolutely’ in Pakistani and British English, and what patterns of overuse or underuse emerge from this comparison?
2. How do Pakistani and British English differ in the collocational patterns and semantic prosody of the intensifiers, and what do these differences reveal about degree, tone, and the pragmatic functions of intensification in both varieties?

### **Literature Review**

#### **Intensifiers and Degree Modification**

The intensifiers are treated as degree adverbs or degree modifiers (Su, 2017). These terms are also used interchangeably. The intensifiers adjust the strength of adverbs, adjectives, occasionally of verbs, and similar structures. They modify the intensity of qualities. They do not add new meanings. They work along a scale. They either strengthen or soften the force of the word they modify. Traditional grammarians describe them as ‘degree modifiers’ (Bolinger, 1972; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). They reflect users’ personal involvement and evaluative stance in their discourse or narrative. According to Quirk et al. (1985), intensifiers are the “linguistic devices that boost the meaning of a property upwards from an assumed norm”. Their framework classifies degree items. It distinguishes between the maximizing and strong boosting forms for moderate-degree items. Corpus-based studies deal with intensifiers in relation to register. Biber et al (1999) qualify the use of emotionally marked and evaluative intensifiers in informal settings. Moderate intensifiers tend to be used in formal settings. The given accounts are significant. They identify two dimensions. Intensifiers are used in a semantic space that is structured between strong and moderate. The choice of intensifiers is determined by context and conventional usage. Their choice is not random; it is patterned.

#### **Intensifiers, Amplifiers, and Downtoners**

‘Intensifier’ is a general or umbrella term. It is used as a label for words or adverbs that adjust the degree of meaning or modify adjectives, adverbs, or verbs. It refers to a broad group of ‘degree

modifiers' that includes both strong and moderate forms. (Quirk et al., 1985). Strong forms may include, for example, totally, absolutely, so, really, and very. Moderate items may include, for instance, rather and pretty. Early studies focused on semantic, not context and usage-based, categorization of intensifiers. The research scholars distinguished between amplifiers and downtoners. Amplifiers increase intensity and downtoners reduce it (Bolinger, 1972). Very and extremely are prototypical examples of amplifiers. Downtoners, or moderating devices, include the classic examples of fairly and rather. These differences treat intensifiers as context-independent and static. They ignored variation across varieties of English.

### **Collocation and Semantic Prosody: Corpus Studies of Intensifiers**

Some previous studies argue that intensifiers are better understood through their collocational environments. Kennedy (2003) studied amplifier collocations in the British National Corpus. It shows the tendency of degree adverbs to come or pair with specific participles and adjectives. It concludes that association statistics can measure these preferences. It suggests that the meanings and functions of intensifiers do not depend solely on dictionary definitions. They grow out of repeated patterns. Partington's (2004) study advances previous ideas in the context of semantic prosody and semantic preference. This work highlights that repeated lexical environments give intensifiers their pragmatic and evaluative degrees. In brief, these works analyze and support the analysis of intensifiers through frequency patterns and collocational behaviors. Also, they advocate analyzing semantic prosody, which can help interpret their evaluative tendencies in combinations.

### **Diachronic Corpus-Based Study of Intensifiers and their Subjection to Change**

Some diachronic corpus-based studies show that intensifiers are subject to change (Backlund, 1973). Their usage changes quickly over time. The existing studies report recurring cycles in which intensifiers lose their expressive strength. It happens through semantic bleaching. When it happens, new intensifiers or intensifying forms begin to appear (Lorenz, 1999). These studies make it evident that intensifiers are unstable.

### **Dynamic Nature of Intensifiers**

Research on variationist and sociolinguistic corpora argues that intensifiers are dynamic and flexible. They are subjected to context and social factors. According to Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), intensifier use varies across generations and social groups. It is interesting to note that these old and new forms coexist. They do not actually replace one another. Tagliamonte (2008) also conducted a quantitative study of Toronto English that also suggests ongoing change. She traced shifts in the use of 'very' and an increase in the use of 'really'. She further highlighted the growing use of 'so' and 'pretty'. These studies are very significant for research on varieties of English and ongoing trends. These studies suggest that the choice and use of intensifiers depend on the variety of English as well as on the ongoing trends.

### **The Study of Intensifiers in World Englishes**

A key reference for the current study is Su's (2017) corpus-based comparison of four intensifiers across English varieties. He compares quite, pretty, rather, and fairly. The study uses the British National Corpus, the Written English Corpus of Chinese Learners, and the Chinese Learner English Corpus. The study compares the practical use and the semantic prosody of the intensifiers. The study finds that native speakers and English learners differ in their preference and understanding of the four intensifiers. Su also shows that the four intensifiers differ in their collocational patterns. It also implies that variation is not an issue of correctness. It should be viewed as a variation due to register, norms, and pragmatic expectations (Arshad, Shahid & Anwar, 2025; Shahid, Anwar & Shaffaqat, 2025).

### **Recent Corpus-Based Research on Intensifiers and World Englishes**

Recent corpus-based studies have shown a growing interest in intensifiers. They treat intensifiers as pragmatically sensitive elements of language and not only as simple degree markers. These recent studies accentuate that intensifiers differ across the varieties of English in their distribution and collocational patterns. They have studied their roles in stance, evaluation, and socio-pragmatic positioning within specific speech communities (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 2021; Romer & Callies, 2022). According to Schneider (2020) outer-circle varieties including Pakistani English develop their own pragmatic patterns. The speakers of outer-circle varieties of English rely on a small set of boosters and make less use of moderate intensifiers (Mukherjee & Hoffmann, 2020; Sharma, 2021).

In the context of intensifiers, collocations, and semantic prosody have become central in recent research. Su (2021) argues that intensifiers (very, really, and quite) show different semantic prosodies across different varieties. The findings of this study align with Gries and Stefanowitsch's (2022) claim that MI-based strength of collocates reflects stable and common usage patterns. These patterns show that words take on special functions in different datasets.

### **Intensification in South Asian Englishes**

Research on intensification in the South Asian context remains limited. Funke (2022) compares intensifying and downtoning patterns in Indian, Sri Lankan, and British spoken English varieties. The researcher utilizes the ICE corpora. The study concludes that the speaker characteristics and context influence degree marking in these varieties of English.

Recent studies on Asian Englishes suggest that pragmatic economy is very important in shaping the distribution of intensifiers. Yao and Collin (2023) argue that, in institutional and academic settings, the speakers avoid wide scalar variation. They rely on a small group of boosters that have stable evaluative meanings. This pattern is linked with educational norms of second L2 teaching. In the context of second language teaching practices, intensifiers are usually presented as direct equivalents without taking into account the pragmatic complexities (Gilquin & Paquot, 2022).

## **Research Gap**

In Pakistan, English operates as an institutionalized variety. It is shaped by multilingual conditions. According to Baumgardner (1993) and Rehman (1990), it has a long history of use in administration, education, media, and digital communication. Although English has a well-established sociolinguistic background in Pakistan, intensification in the Pakistani variety of English has not yet been studied and compared in detail with British English.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Design**

The current study conducts a corpus-based quantitative comparison, which is followed by a qualitative interpretation. In the quantitative analysis, the researcher examines the frequency and collocations of the nine intensifiers in Pakistani and British English. The qualitative analysis helps to interpret the pattern found in the data. It focused on repeated collocations and their context-based and pragmatic roles. This mixed-methods approach is useful for studies where frequency alone cannot capture functional variation across language varieties (Partington, 2004).

### **Theoretical Framework**

The current study examines intensification as a pragmatic resource shaped by the actual use of language. Its form, frequency, and function differ in various national varieties of English. The study's analysis mainly draws on variational pragmatics. It is, further, supported by usage-based constructional views and corpus-semantic approaches to evaluation. Variational pragmatics deals with intensifiers as markers of interpersonal meaning (Noor & Anwar, 2021). The use and function of intensifiers reflect local norms of interaction and stance (Schneider & Barron, 2008). Differences between Pakistani English and British English are variety-specific pragmatic preferences; they are not deviations from an external standard (Schneider, 2007). This approach is suitable for intensifiers. They play a central role in managing degree, tone, and involvement. A usage-based constructional approach strengthens this framework. It treats intensifiers as part of recurring phrase patterns, not as isolated single words. Frequent collocational patterns including 'quite a + NP', 'really + stance expression', and 'absolutely + negative evaluation' are viewed as fixed form-function pairings which are shaped by repeated use (Bybee, 2010; Goldberg, 2006). Collocational profiles of intensifiers show their pragmatic use in each variety. The study also incorporates the corpus semantics and the idea of semantic prosody to analyze collocational patterns. When intensifiers recurrently appear with positive, negative, or stance-marked words, they reflect certain evaluative shades. According to Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (2001), this helps to explain differences in tone and pragmatic force across varieties. This study utilizes MI-based collocates to identify strong associations and qualitative analysis links those patterns to their pragmatic functions. This integrated framework is suitable for studying the nine intensifiers, their degrees, stances, and evaluations in Pakistani and British English. The framework is also helpful to link frequency differences to functional variation.

### The Selection of Corpus and Data Retrieval

The Corpus of Global Web-Based English is utilized to extract the required data. This corpus GloWbE is well-designed for cross-varietal comparison. For the study's purpose, two subcorpora are used. GloWbE-PK is used for Pakistani English and GloWbE-GB is used for the British variety of English. GloWbE Pakistan has 51,367,152 words. GloWbE-GB contains 387,615,074 words. There is a difference in the sizes of the two corpora. Therefore, the frequencies are normalized for comparison.

The raw frequencies of all nine intensifiers are retrieved from GloWbE. It has built-in search tools. No external software is used. Data is collected separately from each corpus. The raw frequencies are normalized per 100,000 words.

### Ambiguity Treatment

The intensifiers under study include 'very', 'so', 'really', 'rather', 'pretty', 'quite', 'fairly', 'totally', and 'absolutely'. These items can serve functions beyond intensification. To address this issue, the confusing or ambiguous items are checked using concordance lines. Only degree-modifying items are selected.

### Analysis and Results

This section of the current study deals with the results and their analysis in line with the research questions. This section is divided into two major parts. The first part compares the frequencies of the nine intensifiers in Pakistani and British varieties of English. The second part deals with the collocational profiles of the intensifiers. It also analyses the semantic prosody of the intensifiers. In addition, this section highlights patterns of their overuse and underuse.

### Relative Frequencies of Intensifiers across Pakistani and British Varieties of English

To address the first research question, the current study compares the relative frequencies of the nine intensifiers in Pakistani and British English. The researcher uses the GloWbE corpus. Raw counts are normalized per 100000 words. Concordance checks are used to filter degree-modifying uses of 'very', 'so', 'really', 'rather', 'pretty', 'quite', 'fairly', 'totally', and 'absolutely'. Table 1 shows the ranking and relative frequencies of the intensifiers across British and Pakistani English.

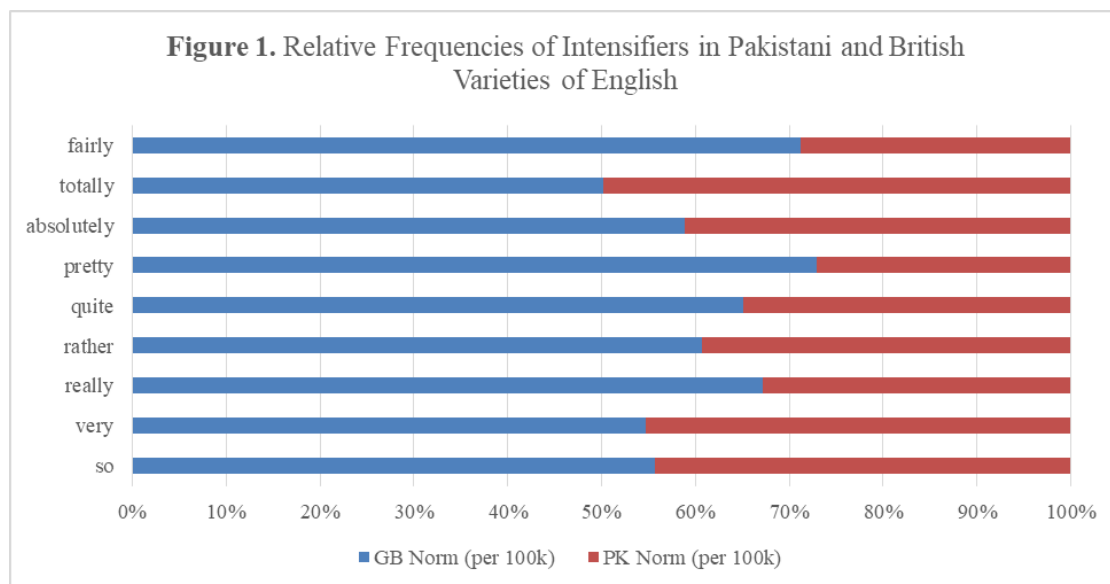
**Table 1. Ranking and Relative Frequencies of the Intensifiers across Pakistani and British Varieties of English**

| Intensifier | GB Raw    | GB Norm (per 100k) | PK Raw  | PK Norm (per 100k) |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
| So          | 1,178,595 | 304.07             | 124,277 | 241.88             |
| Very        | 531,860   | 137.2              | 58,326  | 113.55             |
| Really      | 367,268   | 94.73              | 23,744  | 46.24              |

|            |         |       |        |       |
|------------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| Rather     | 164,334 | 42.38 | 14,074 | 27.4  |
| Quite      | 145,772 | 37.6  | 10,370 | 20.19 |
| Pretty     | 82,175  | 21.2  | 4,045  | 7.88  |
| Absolutely | 39,957  | 10.31 | 3,691  | 7.19  |
| Totally    | 32,981  | 8.51  | 4,345  | 8.46  |
| Fairly     | 23,708  | 6.12  | 1,274  | 2.48  |

The results qualify 'so' and 'very' as the highest frequency intensifiers. They appear in both varieties of English: Pakistani and British. It suggests their role as general boosters in recent English. Moreover, the British English variety has a higher density of intensifier use. British variety has higher relative rates of 'really', 'rather', 'pretty', 'quite', and 'fairly'. These are often moderate intensifiers. In other words, they are context-sensitive intensifiers. They are low-frequency in the Pakistani variety. It suggests less reliance on moderation. The difference or gap between Pakistani and British English is large for 'pretty' and 'fairly'. They are very uncommon in Pakistani English. The intensifier 'totally' has almost the same frequency in both varieties. It suggests a shared role and seems to be a strong emphatic marker. 'Absolutely' is slightly more common in the British variety. In this context, it marks certainty and agreement. In brief, Pakistani English has intensification in a small set of strong boosters. It suggests that Pakistani people are more expressive and emotional. On the other hand, British intensification includes both moderate and strong forms. Figure 1 presents the relative frequencies of the nine intensifiers in Pakistani and British varieties of English. It also complements Table 1.

**Figure 1: Frequencies of the Nine Intensifiers in Pakistani and British Varieties of English**



### **Collocational Patterns of Intensifiers**

In order to address the second research question, the current study analyses the collocational patterns of the nine intensifiers. It focuses on the pattern: intensifier + adjective, adverb, or even verb. Collocates are ranked with an association measure (MI). Concordance lines are checked to confirm the patterns in Pakistani English and British English. Tables A1-A9 in the appendix show the full collocational patterns for all nine intensifiers.

### **Collocational Profiles of High Frequency General Boosters: 'So', 'Very', and 'Really'**

This section of the study deals with the collocational profiles of the three high-frequency general boosters 'so', 'very', and 'really' in Pakistani English and British English. A consolidated set of statistically significant collocates is selected with a minimum MI score of 3.0. Table 2 presents the representative collocates. The complete lists appear in the appendix. The results show that 'so', 'very', and 'really' are the most frequent intensifiers in both of the varieties. Their collocational range is wide. Their MI score is moderate. It qualifies them as general boosters. They are not the items with narrow semantic restrictions. They act as common and broad intensifiers. However, they differ in the meanings they amplify, the grammatical classes they prefer, and the pragmatic areas they activate in the two varieties (Anwar, Ajmal & Keezhatta, 2020).

The intensifier 'so' shows a strong tendency to collocate with items expressing affective evaluation and judgment. It, particularly, collocates with adjectives and evaluative adverbs. It frequent associates with 'glad' that highlights its role in strengthening positive emotion. This pattern is found in both varieties, with slightly higher frequency in GB. It also co-occurs with adverbs, including 'deservedly' and 'properly', and strengthens judgments about correctness, and justification. It also strengthens judgements about the suitability. The collocational patterns indicate that 'so' is not only a scalar booster, but it is also a marker that is used to emphasize an evaluative attitude. In Pakistani English, 'so' is used with a restraint. It is used more selectively. In British variety of English, 'so' is used with affective and informal adjectives.

The collocational patterns of 'very' are stable in both of the varieties. The word 'very' mostly comes with scalar adjectives. Scalar adjectives indicate quality, intensity, and evaluation. This reveals shared norms of usage in both the varieties: Pakistani English and British English. Its frequent collocation with 'important' qualifies it as a general booster that intensifies the perceived significance of 'important'. The collocate 'expensive' indicates its extension into economic evaluation. The affective collocate 'proud' suggests that 'very' operates across both cognitive and emotional domains. In behaviour, the intensifier 'really' is between 'very' and 'so'. It reflects the widest functional range among the three boosters. It comes with evaluative adjectives and affect-related predicates like 'enjoy', 'excited', and 'annoyed'. It suggests that it often reflects the speaker's attitude. Its adjective collocates, such as 'cool', indicate an informal, positive stance. The verb collocates like 'piss' and 'irk' signal negative evaluation with clear register contrasts.

The coexistence of its colloquial and formal collocates suggests that 'really' is sensitive to context and register. British English has more dense collocational patterns of 'really'. Pakistani English has

its lower frequencies. In Pakistani variety, ‘really’ often has similar meanings. Overall, ‘really’ holds pragmatic flexibility. In brief, these three intensifiers are central to both varieties. They have established usage. The collocational profiles of ‘so’, ‘very’, and ‘really’ are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: Collocational Profiles of High Frequency General Boosters**

| Intensifier | Collocate  | Word class                    | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | Evaluative/pragmatic function |
|-------------|------------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|------|-------------------------------|
| so          | Glad       | Adj (evaluative)              | 2,936   | 619     | 3.22 | positive affect               |
| so          | deservedly | Adv (evaluative)              | 115     | 6       | 3.85 | evaluative judgment           |
| so          | properly   | Adv (evaluative)              | 16      | 2       | 3.26 | evaluative stance             |
| very        | important  | Adj (evaluative)              | 10,394  | 895     | 3.08 | high degree of significance   |
| very        | useful     | Adj (evaluative)              | 3,360   | 400     | 3.25 | functional evaluation         |
| very        | proud      | Adj (affective)               | 705     | 114     | 3.33 | positive emotion              |
| very        | expensive  | Adj (evaluative)              | 601     | 181     | 3.05 | cost evaluation               |
| really      | enjoy      | verb (affect)                 | 5,550   | 196     | 3.01 | strong positive involvement   |
| really      | matter     | verb (evaluation)             | 2,870   | 184     | 3.86 | emphasis on importance        |
| really      | cool       | Adj (evaluative)              | 1,353   | 91      | 3.08 | informal positive stance      |
| really      | piss       | verb (evaluation, colloquial) | 293     | 12      | 3.41 | strong informal negativity    |
| really      | irk        | verb (affect)                 | 42      | 6       | 3.77 | irritation, formal register   |

### Collocational Profiles of Moderators and Downtoners: ‘Rather’, ‘Quite’, ‘Fairly’, and ‘Pretty’

Moderate intensifiers reveal a clear contrast between Pakistani and British English. These intensifiers show stronger collocational specialization. Table 3 presents a functionally representative subset of collocates with a minimum MI score of 3.0. These collocates are selected to capture the core pragmatic role of the intensifiers. ‘Rather’ often comes with evaluative adjectives that carry a mild corrective or negative tone. ‘Rather difficult’ and ‘rather odd’ are classic examples in this context. British variety is found to use ‘rather’ more widely for the purpose of subtle evaluation. Pakistani English uses it less often. ‘Quite’ has strong dependence on constructional patterns. It is used for pragmatic moderation, tone management, and hedging in British English. In Pakistani English, its use is narrower. ‘Fairly’ is linked with technical and neutral evaluation. It often comes with the adjectives: easy, simple, common, standard, accurate, and consistent. The profile of ‘fairly’ is found to be less effective than that of ‘quite’ and ‘pretty’. ‘Fairly’ is used as a downtoner in both varieties. British English has a wider usage range of it in descriptive and academic contexts. In Pakistani English, it is often used in informal contexts. ‘Pretty’ is often used with subjective and informal evaluation. Its collocates are affective and positive adjectives. Examples include pretty good, pretty cool, pretty amazing, and pretty funny. It also has a conversational tone. Pakistani

variety uses this intensifier far less often. Its collocational range is also smaller in Pakistani usage. It suggests limited integration in formal registers. In brief, the analysis of these four intensifiers reveals that Pakistani English shows a more restrained pattern and a narrower range of collocational behavior. On the other hand, British English uses moderate intensification more widely and with a greater pragmatic flexibility.

**Table 3: Collocational Profiles of Moderators and Downtoners**

| Intensifier | Collocate   | Word class                         | GB<br>freq | PK<br>freq | MI   | Evaluative/pragmatic<br>function       |
|-------------|-------------|------------------------------------|------------|------------|------|----------------------------------------|
| Rather      | Odd         | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 352        | 9          | 3.65 | mildly negative, distancing            |
| Rather      | Vague       | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 118        | 5          | 3.9  | negative evaluation,<br>hedging        |
| Rather      | Bland       | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 50         | 13         | 4.51 | strong negative evaluation             |
| Quite       | Frankly     | adverb (stance)                    | 1,707      | 37         | 6.24 | explicit stance, writer<br>positioning |
| Quite       | Literally   | adverb (stance)                    | 957        | 30         | 4.25 | emphatic, often informal<br>stance     |
| Quite       | Impressive  | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 288        | 33         | 3.14 | positive assessment                    |
| Quite       | Challenging | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 147        | 27         | 3.26 | difficulty evaluation                  |
| Quite       | Relieved    | Adj (affective)                    | 51         | 7          | 4.22 | affective stance                       |
| Fairly      | Easy        | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 550        | 69         | 4.05 | mild positive evaluation               |
| Fairly      | Certain     | Adj (epistemic)                    | 276        | 13         | 3.16 | moderated certainty                    |
| Fairly      | Treated     | participle<br>(reporting<br>frame) | 295        | 14         | 4.91 | reporting frame                        |
| Fairly      | Accurately  | Adv (manner)                       | 63         | 3          | 4.87 | precision framing                      |
| Fairly      | Predictable | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 54         | 3          | 5.01 | mild negative evaluation               |
| Pretty      | Good        | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 6,118      | 259        | 3.44 | general positive evaluation            |
| Pretty      | Clear       | Adj (evidential)                   | 854        | 52         | 3.19 | evidential clarity                     |
| Pretty      | Excited     | Adj (affective)                    | 156        | 15         | 3.71 | affective stance                       |
| Pretty      | Lame        | Adj<br>(evaluative)                | 72         | 9          | 4.58 | informal negative<br>evaluation        |

### Collocational Profiles of Maximizers and Emphasizers: 'Totally', and 'Absolutely'

The intensifiers 'totally' and 'absolutely' are found to be maximizers. They show the strongest collocational focus. They have the highest MI scores and the clearest semantic grouping. 'Totally' is associated with categorical judgment and rejection. It collocates with evaluative adjectives which express disagreement, negation, and extremity. The examples include 'totally unacceptable', 'totally wrong', and 'totally irrelevant'. British English has more extensive use of 'totally'. This variety also has a wider semantic range. Whereas Pakistani English has a narrower use of it. Pakistani users use it in the context of emphatic disagreement. 'Absolutely' collocates in three groups: categorical negation, adjectives of obligation or necessity, and adjectives that express strong evaluation or affect. The categorical negation includes examples like 'absolutely no' and 'absolutely nothing'. The second group includes examples like 'absolutely necessary', 'absolutely essential', 'absolutely crucial', and 'absolutely imperative'. The examples of the third group include 'absolutely delighted', 'absolutely thrilled', 'absolutely disgusting', and 'absolutely devastating'. Pakistani English uses 'absolutely' in negation and necessity-based structures. Whereas British English uses it more broadly, with affective and evaluative adjectives.

**Table 4: Collocational Profiles of Maximizers and Emphasizers**

| Intensifier | Collocate    | Word class / Type                | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | Evaluative/pragmatic function |
|-------------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|---------|------|-------------------------------|
| Totally     | agree        | stance verb                      | 2,642   | 52      | 5.64 | categorical commitment        |
| Totally     | unacceptable | adjective (evaluative)           | 300     | 34      | 6.34 | categorical negative judgment |
| Totally     | irrelevant   | adjective (evaluative)           | 192     | 6       | 5.17 | categorical dismissal         |
| Totally     | unprepared   | adjective (state)                | 55      | 4       | 6.65 | categorical lack of readiness |
| Totally     | destroyed    | participle (result state)        | 124     | 23      | 3.81 | emphatic result state         |
| Totally     | clueless     | adjective (evaluative, informal) | 35      | 1       | 5.23 | categorical negative judgment |
| absolutely  | no           | construction                     | 5,167   | 607     | 3.27 | categorical negation          |
| absolutely  | whatsoever   | construction                     | 171     | 7       | 4.68 | strengthened negation         |
| absolutely  | essential    | adjective (evaluative)           | 406     | 52      | 4.37 | absolute importance           |
| absolutely  | correct      | adjective (evaluative)           | 386     | 53      | 4.02 | categorical correctness       |
| absolutely  | fantastic    | adjective (evaluative)           | 528     | 12      | 4.49 | strong positive evaluation    |

|            |            |                           |     |    |      |                        |          |
|------------|------------|---------------------------|-----|----|------|------------------------|----------|
| absolutely | disgusting | adjective<br>(evaluative) | 137 | 13 | 5.13 | strong<br>evaluation   | negative |
| absolutely | adore      | stance verb               | 152 | 6  | 6.53 | strong positive stance |          |

The analysis of the collocational behavior of all nine intensifiers reveals that British English exhibits a wide range of collocational variety. It has both moderate and high degree intensifiers. Pakistani English shows less dispersion. It has a more conservative pairing. Pakistani variety has a tendency towards necessity-based uses. These contracts reflect varietal preferences. The analysis shows that intensification differs in both the varieties in degree and pragmatic range.

## Discussion

This section addresses the interpretation of the corpus analysis results. Explicitly, this section explains that the frequency patterns and collocational profiles accentuate the difference in intensification between Pakistani and British English. It focuses on the discussion of degree, tone, pragmatic function, and functional distribution.

### Patterns of Intensifier Use in Pakistani and British English

The findings of the study show that Pakistani English and British English both rely on the same core intensifiers: 'very' and 'so'. They appear in both of the varieties frequently. It suggests that their role is qualified as general degree markers in the English language, in general. In contrast, there is a difference in the use of moderate items between the two varieties. British English uses a larger set of intensifiers across the degree scale. British English has regular use of moderate intensifiers. It is moderately intensified using 'quite', 'rather', and 'fairly'. On the other hand, Pakistani English has narrow patterns. It relies heavily on high-impact intensifiers like very, so, really, absolutely, and totally. It seems to be selective, not random. Pakistani speakers seem to choose intensifiers that reflect clear and emphatic strength. They do not use items that require fine adjustment of degree. They also avoid items having subtle pragmatic shading. This process of selection aligns with World Englishes. World Englishes recognizes and emphasizes that institutionalized varieties, such as Pakistani English, tend to adopt and typically develop language patterns that facilitate clear communication.

### The Degree and Tone of Intensifiers in Both the Varieties of English: Moderation vs Emphasis

In the context of intensifiers' degree and tone, there are significant differences between Pakistani English and British English. The expressive intensifiers are more frequently used by Pakistani speakers of English. They tend to make emphasis with strong intensifiers. There is a solid presence of 'very' and 'really'. They also use 'totally' and 'absolutely' in their daily lives. It reflects the preference for explicit reinforcement over moderation. It does not indicate exaggeration. It indicates direct and clear use of degree marking. It signals towards the expressive culture of Pakistan. On the other hand, British speakers use moderate intensifiers like 'quite', 'rather', and 'fairly'. The moderate items help the speakers to soften a claim and to mitigate an evaluation. They reflect measured and

calculated talk. This indicates that British speakers are less expressive as compared to Pakistani speakers. British people speak in a measured way. In brief, the findings suggest that the pragmatic norms drive tone and degree in Pakistani English. They value clarity and explicitness. British English favors the delicate use of intensifiers. British variety includes understatement and fine adjustments of evaluative strength.

### **Pragmatic Functions of the Intensifiers in British and Pakistani English**

Along with the differences in tone and degree, there are pragmatic differences too between Pakistani and British English varieties of English. They differ in their pragmatic functions. In British English, intensifiers belong to stance-marking patterns. They help to manage interpersonal relations. They evoke a sense of politeness. The intensifier 'quite' appears often in formulaic expressions. It indicates caution and partial agreement. It also suggests a measured evaluation. 'Rather' suggests mild criticism. It also indicates an ironic assessment. Pakistani English intensifiers are markers of commitment. They strengthen the speakers' position. The collocational structure of 'really' suggests its role as an emotional booster. 'Absolutely' and 'totally' come with categorical agreement, strong rejection, or firm approval. This contrast between the two varieties highlights a shift in their pragmatic use (Shaheen & Anwar, 2026).

### **Overuse, Underuse, and Functional Shift in Pakistani English**

In Pakistani English, the use of intensifiers such as very, so, really, absolutely, and totally is relatively high. This may be qualified as selective overuse for the purpose of clarity in communication. Meanwhile, some other intensifiers, such as quite, rather, and fairly, fall in the category of underused items. These patterns of use are understood as signs of functional use rather than deviation from the language norms. It can be due to the Pakistani context and culture. Pakistani culture is expressive and demands clarity in communication. The speakers here only use the most communicative and expressive intensifiers. They avoid moderate and delicate expressions that may confuse clarity. In this way, the overuse and underuse of intensifiers is justified in the Pakistani setting. The studies that use labels such as underuse and overuse do not take the full picture into account. They ignore the Pakistani context and the ongoing notarization process.

### **Conclusion**

The current study investigated intensification in Pakistani and British English. The study compared both varieties through corpus-based analysis. Explicitly, the study examined relative frequencies of the nine intensifiers, their collocational patterns, and their pragmatic roles. The researcher utilized the GloWbE corpus, particularly GloWbE-GB and GloWbE-PK. The study's analysis drew on variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron, 2008), supported by usage-based constructional views and corpus-semantic approaches to evaluation. The findings of the study accentuate that intensification is both a marker of degree and a pragmatic resource. The use of intensifiers is influenced by norms in each variety of English.

The findings of this study point out that Pakistani English and British English share a common set of frequent intensifiers: 'very' and 'so'. Their use remains stable across varieties. With this similarity, there is also a difference between the two varieties. British users deploy an even distribution of the intensifiers. They make regular use of moderate intensifiers. Pakistani users utilize a small number of intensifiers. They use emphatic intensifiers more. These differences in the varieties of English cannot be treated as simple over- or underuse. There are factors at play that underlie the choices of intensifiers. Collocational patterns of intensifiers in Pakistani English show that their selection depends on contextual norms. For example, 'really' is used in the Pakistani variety with evaluative and affective items. 'Totally' and 'absolutely' express certainty, complete rejection, and firm agreement. The Pakistani users use strong intensifiers including 'very', 'so', 'really', 'absolutely', and 'totally'. It could be due to the Urdu intensifiers 'bohat' and 'zyada', and to Pakistani culture being expressive as well. On the other hand, the British users use moderate intensifiers: 'pretty', 'quite', 'rather', and 'fairly'. British use of English intensifiers is more moderate and balanced. In a nutshell, these differences may not be treated as deviations from the language norms. They indicate a functional shift and the evolving indigeneness of the Pakistani English variety.

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## Appendix A. Supplementary Collocational Tables

This appendix presents the complete collocational tables for all nine intensifiers which are analysed in the study. These tables are provided to support transparency and to allow replication. The main text deals only with the most relevant patterns.

**Table A1: Collocational Profile of ‘So’**

| Collocate  | Word class | GB freq | PK freq | MI score | Evaluative tendency    |
|------------|------------|---------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| Glad       | adj        | 2,936   | 619     | 3.22     | positive affect        |
| Excited    | adj        | 1,730   | 410     | 3.28     | positive affect        |
| Relieved   | adj        | 158     | 18      | 3.29     | positive affect        |
| Thrilled   | adj        | 74      | 12      | 3.6      | strong positive affect |
| Deservedly | adv        | 115     | 6       | 3.85     | evaluative judgment    |
| Rightly    | adv        | 1,373   | 53      | 3.1      | evaluative stance      |
| Properly   | adv        | 16      | 2       | 3.26     | evaluative stance      |
| Damned     | adj/part   | 90      | 9       | 3.39     | negative emphasis      |

**Table A2: Collocational Profile of ‘Very’**

| Collocate   | Type           | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals             |
|-------------|----------------|---------|---------|------|-----------------------------|
| Important   | evaluative adj | 10,394  | 895     | 3.08 | high degree of significance |
| Difficult   | evaluative adj | 2,311   | 825     | 3.57 | intensity of difficulty     |
| interesting | evaluative adj | 6,385   | 472     | 3.28 | evaluative emphasis         |

|           |                |       |     |      |                       |
|-----------|----------------|-------|-----|------|-----------------------|
| Nice      | evaluative adj | 467   | 345 | 3.08 | positive affect       |
| Useful    | evaluative adj | 3,360 | 400 | 3.25 | functional evaluation |
| Helpful   | evaluative adj | 2,917 | 428 | 3.88 | support and utility   |
| Proud     | affective adj  | 705   | 114 | 3.33 | positive emotion      |
| Sad       | affective adj  | 551   | 134 | 3.26 | negative affect       |
| Expensive | evaluative adj | 601   | 181 | 3.05 | cost evaluation       |
| Careful   | evaluative adj | 506   | 174 | 3.55 | degree of caution     |

Table A3: Collocational Profile of 'Really'

| Collocate  | Type              | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals              |
|------------|-------------------|---------|---------|------|------------------------------|
| Enjoy      | verb (affect)     | 5,550   | 196     | 3.01 | strong positive involvement  |
| Care       | verb (stance)     | 3,110   | 233     | 3.26 | emotional / moral concern    |
| Matter     | verb (evaluation) | 2,870   | 184     | 3.86 | emphasis on importance       |
| Appreciate | verb (stance)     | 2,115   | 239     | 3.58 | interpersonal evaluation     |
| Cool       | evaluative adj    | 1,353   | 91      | 3.08 | informal positive stance     |
| Excited    | affective adj     | 798     | 26      | 3.04 | emotional intensity          |
| Annoying   | evaluative adj    | 427     | 17      | 3.08 | negative evaluation          |
| Annoy      | verb (affect)     | 440     | 8       | 3.47 | irritation, affective stance |
| Piss       | colloquial verb   | 293     | 12      | 3.41 | strong informal negativity   |
| Bug        | colloquial verb   | 118     | 7       | 3.41 | mild irritation              |
| Irk        | verb (affect)     | 42      | 6       | 3.77 | irritation, formal register  |
| Chuffed    | colloquial adj    | 37      | 0       | 3.32 | BrE-specific positive affect |
| Keen       | stance adj        | 5       | 0       | 3.04 | engagement, willingness      |
| Subpar     | evaluative adj    | 0       | 0       | 3.26 | negative assessment          |
| Hot        | evaluative adj    | 12      | 0       | 3.78 | intensity, informality       |
| Sucky      | colloquial adj    | 4       | 0       | 3.02 | informal negative judgment   |

Table A4: Collocational Profile of 'Rather'

| Collocate | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | Evaluative tendency          |
|-----------|---------|---------|------|------------------------------|
| Odd       | 352     | 9       | 3.65 | mildly negative / distancing |
| Strange   | 316     | 23      | 3.12 | mildly negative / distancing |
| Silly     | 215     | 8       | 3.3  | negative evaluation          |

|               |     |    |      |                                   |
|---------------|-----|----|------|-----------------------------------|
| Dull          | 186 | 12 | 4.25 | negative evaluation               |
| Boring        | 157 | 14 | 3.4  | negative evaluation               |
| Unusual       | 136 | 21 | 3.17 | marked, often neutral-to-negative |
| Pointless     | 121 | 4  | 3.94 | negative evaluation               |
| depressing    | 120 | 7  | 4.06 | negative evaluation               |
| Vague         | 118 | 5  | 3.9  | negative evaluation / hedging     |
| Bizarre       | 116 | 2  | 3.54 | strong negative evaluation        |
| disappointing | 90  | 16 | 3.47 | negative evaluation               |
| unfortunate   | 80  | 8  | 3.43 | negative evaluation               |
| Ironic        | 75  | 4  | 3.84 | evaluative stance                 |
| Peculiar      | 51  | 3  | 3.43 | mild negative / distancing        |
| Bland         | 50  | 13 | 4.51 | negative evaluation               |

Table A5: Collocational Profile of 'Quite'

| Collocate   | Type           | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals                     |
|-------------|----------------|---------|---------|------|-------------------------------------|
| Frankly     | stance adverb  | 1,707   | 37      | 6.24 | explicit stance, writer positioning |
| Possibly    | stance adverb  | 1,355   | 89      | 3.95 | hedging, epistemic caution          |
| Literally   | stance adverb  | 957     | 30      | 4.25 | emphasis, often informal stance     |
| Nicely      | evaluative adv | 345     | 7       | 4.42 | positive evaluation in narration    |
| impressive  | evaluative adj | 288     | 33      | 3.14 | positive assessment                 |
| remarkable  | evaluative adj | 335     | 15      | 3.27 | positive assessment                 |
| challenging | evaluative adj | 147     | 27      | 3.26 | difficulty, evaluation              |
| Evident     | evidential adj | 102     | 28      | 3.09 | evidential certainty                |
| Shocking    | evaluative adj | 203     | 11      | 3.28 | strong evaluation                   |
| Tricky      | evaluative adj | 182     | 6       | 3.22 | difficulty, mild evaluation         |
| prepared    | state adj      | 168     | 3       | 4.08 | readiness, state description        |
| upsetting   | evaluative adj | 56      | 2       | 4.1  | negative affect                     |
| relieved    | affect adj     | 51      | 7       | 4.22 | affective stance                    |
| daunting    | evaluative adj | 128     | 7       | 3.92 | difficulty, negative shading        |
| stressful   | evaluative adj | 98      | 6       | 3.09 | negative evaluation                 |
| depressing  | evaluative adj | 99      | 2       | 3.2  | negative evaluation                 |

Table A6: Collocational Profile of 'Pretty'

| Collocate | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | Typical function with pretty      |
|-----------|---------|---------|------|-----------------------------------|
| Good      | 6,118   | 259     | 3.44 | general positive evaluation       |
| Sure      | 3,732   | 204     | 4.23 | epistemic certainty               |
| Clear     | 854     | 52      | 3.19 | evidential clarity                |
| Cool      | 838     | 35      | 4.91 | informal positive evaluation      |
| Decent    | 514     | 38      | 4.39 | moderate positive evaluation      |
| awesome   | 334     | 19      | 4.19 | informal positive evaluation      |
| obvious   | 780     | 42      | 4.04 | evidential clarity                |
| Close     | 453     | 15      | 3.15 | degree on proximity/approximation |
| excited   | 156     | 15      | 3.71 | affective stance                  |
| confident | 298     | 26      | 3.65 | stance/attitude                   |
| Funny     | 230     | 8       | 3.24 | evaluative stance                 |
| Scary     | 157     | 5       | 3.94 | negative evaluation               |
| accurate  | 182     | 10      | 3.01 | evidential assessment             |
| Awful     | 252     | 4       | 3.74 | strong negative evaluation        |
| Boring    | 174     | 4       | 3.65 | negative evaluation               |
| Rough     | 103     | 3       | 3.37 | negative evaluation               |
| Lame      | 72      | 9       | 4.58 | informal negative evaluation      |
| pathetic  | 79      | 10      | 3.58 | negative evaluation               |

Table A7: Collocational Profile of 'Absolutely'

| Collocate  | Type           | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals                              |
|------------|----------------|---------|---------|------|----------------------------------------------|
| No         | Construction   | 5,167   | 607     | 3.27 | absolutely no + NP. categorical negation     |
| nothing    | Construction   | 2,402   | 219     | 4.63 | absolutely nothing. emphatic denial          |
| whatsoever | Construction   | 171     | 7       | 4.68 | absolutely whatsoever. strengthened negation |
| necessary  | evaluative adj | 581     | 132     | 4.22 | absolutely necessary. strong necessity       |
| essential  | evaluative adj | 406     | 52      | 4.37 | absolute importance                          |
| crucial    | evaluative adj | 207     | 10      | 3.67 | high importance                              |
| Vital      | evaluative adj | 255     | 12      | 3.76 | high importance                              |

|               |                       |     |    |      |                            |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----|----|------|----------------------------|
| imperative    | evaluative adj        | 39  | 8  | 4.12 | strong obligation          |
| correct       | evaluative adj        | 386 | 53 | 4.02 | categorical correctness    |
| convinced     | stance/mental adj     | 127 | 13 | 3.57 | epistemic certainty        |
| delighted     | affect adj            | 306 | 5  | 5.04 | strong positive affect     |
| thrilled      | affect adj            | 122 | 3  | 5.13 | strong positive affect     |
| stunning      | evaluative adj        | 290 | 10 | 5.35 | strong positive evaluation |
| gorgeous      | evaluative adj        | 216 | 5  | 5.32 | strong positive evaluation |
| fantastic     | evaluative adj        | 528 | 12 | 4.49 | strong positive evaluation |
| brilliant     | evaluative adj        | 601 | 19 | 4.76 | strong positive evaluation |
| disgusting    | evaluative adj        | 137 | 13 | 5.13 | strong negative evaluation |
| terrified     | affect adj            | 113 | 5  | 5.06 | strong negative affect     |
| devastated    | affect adj/participle | 106 | 2  | 4.95 | extreme negative affect    |
| appalling     | evaluative adj        | 92  | 2  | 4.54 | strong negative evaluation |
| breath-taking | evaluative adj        | 32  | 5  | 4.61 | strong positive evaluation |
| adorable      | evaluative adj        | 23  | 2  | 4.64 | strong positive evaluation |
| Adore         | stance verb           | 152 | 6  | 6.53 | strong positive stance     |
| Adored        | Participle            | 51  | 1  | 5.69 | strong positive stance     |

Table A8: Collocational Profile of 'Totally'

| Collocate     | Type           | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals                       |
|---------------|----------------|---------|---------|------|---------------------------------------|
| Agree         | stance verb    | 2,642   | 52      | 5.64 | strong commitment. "totally agree"    |
| disagree      | stance verb    | 180     | 18      | 4.43 | explicit opposition                   |
| unacceptable  | evaluative adj | 300     | 34      | 6.34 | categorical negative judgment         |
| unrelated     | evaluative adj | 85      | 6       | 6.36 | categorical disconnection             |
| irrelevant    | evaluative adj | 192     | 6       | 5.17 | categorical dismissal                 |
| unaware       | state adj      | 128     | 11      | 5.4  | categorical lack of awareness         |
| unprepared    | state adj      | 55      | 4       | 6.65 | categorical lack of readiness         |
| oblivious     | state adj      | 63      | 4       | 6.11 | categorical lack of notice            |
| unrealistic   | evaluative adj | 65      | 1       | 4.98 | categorical negative assessment       |
| useless       | evaluative adj | 187     | 12      | 4.64 | categorical negative assessment       |
| unnecessary   | evaluative adj | 143     | 9       | 4.67 | categorical redundancy                |
| inappropriate | evaluative adj | 93      | 5       | 4.33 | categorical inappropriateness         |
| ridiculous    | evaluative adj | 90      | 1       | 3.27 | strong negative evaluation (informal) |

|           |                |     |    |      |                                           |
|-----------|----------------|-----|----|------|-------------------------------------------|
| confused  | state adj      | 93  | 2  | 3.66 | categorical confusion                     |
| honest    | stance adj     | 231 | 4  | 3.28 | discourse stance, “totally honest”        |
| awesome   | evaluative adj | 95  | 4  | 3.68 | strong positive evaluation (informal)     |
| destroyed | participle     | 124 | 23 | 3.81 | emphatic result state                     |
| exhausted | state adj      | 36  | 4  | 4.09 | emphatic affect/state                     |
| clueless  | evaluative adj | 35  | 1  | 5.23 | categorical negative judgement (informal) |
| devoid    | participle/adj | 41  | 4  | 5.07 | categorical absence                       |

Table A9: Collocational Profile of ‘Fairly’

| Collocate       | Type                   | GB freq | PK freq | MI   | What it signals                                     |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------|---------|------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| easy            | evaluative adj         | 550     | 69      | 4.05 | mild positive evaluation                            |
| simple          | evaluative adj         | 461     | 34      | 3.91 | mild positive evaluation                            |
| quickly         | manner adv             | 408     | 18      | 4.35 | pace/time, common frame                             |
| obvious         | evaluative adj         | 433     | 11      | 4.61 | moderated certainty                                 |
| certain         | epistemic adj          | 276     | 13      | 3.16 | moderated certainty                                 |
| straightforward | evaluative adj         | 245     | 14      | 6.81 | strong constructional tie, “fairly straightforward” |
| treated         | participle (reporting) | 295     | 14      | 4.91 | reporting frame, “fairly treated”                   |
| evenly          | manner adv             | 59      | 3       | 6.09 | distribution frame                                  |
| accurately      | manner adv             | 63      | 3       | 4.87 | precision frame                                     |
| priced          | participle (commerce)  | 49      | 6       | 4.88 | consumer/product talk                               |
| predictable     | evaluative adj         | 54      | 3       | 5.01 | mild negative evaluation                            |
| stable          | evaluative adj         | 82      | 8       | 4.49 | moderated assessment                                |
| decent          | evaluative adj         | 169     | 5       | 4.29 | mild positive evaluation                            |
| confident       | stance adj             | 179     | 5       | 4.36 | moderated stance                                    |
| accurate        | evaluative adj         | 94      | 9       | 4.17 | moderated correctness                               |
| consistent      | evaluative adj         | 106     | 11      | 4.08 | moderated regularity                                |
| typical         | evaluative adj         | 140     | 4       | 4    | normalizing evaluation                              |
| distributed     | participle (reporting) | 72      | 4       | 4.17 | reporting/technical register                        |
| inexpensive     | evaluative adj         | 27      | 25      | 5.17 | value judgement, notable PK weight                  |
| compensated     | participle (reporting) | 19      | 22      | 5.82 | reporting frame, notable PK weight                  |