

The Change of English Intensifiers: A Corpus-based Analysis on *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother*

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Lee, Jeeyoun. 2014. The Change of English Intensifiers: A Corpus-based Analysis on *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother*. SNU Working Papers in English Linguistics and Language 12, 70-91. Amplifiers are considered one of the most interesting grammatical features to study for their versatility and tendency to change quickly. Amplifiers are also often linked with colloquial usage and female speakers. The purpose of this study is to investigate the competition of different English amplifiers in American TV sitcoms in the past decade, the current standings of the selected amplifiers, and whether the TV sitcoms reflect the actual amplifier use in contemporary American English. This study also aims to explore the types of adjectives and verbs collocated with the selected amplifiers, and the sociolinguistic correlation between the amplifier use and gender. (Seoul National University)

Keywords: intensifiers, corpus, delexicalization, colloquial English, collocates

1. Introduction

Intensifiers are adverbs that maximize or boost meaning, as in (1):

- (1) a. Oh, Janine, the *really* hot dancer girl. [Monica, *Friends*]
- b. I am *very, very* sorry. [Ross, *Friends*]
- c. They're *totally* onto us. [Lily, *How I Met Your Mother*]
- d. That's *exactly* what happened. [Robin, *How I Met Your Mother*]

The terminology referring to these types of adverbs is not entirely uniform among scholars. Stoffel (1901) calls them “intensive adverbs,” Bolinger (1972:18) refers to them as “degree words,” and for Quirk et

al. (1985:567) they are called “amplifiers.” The present study will simply refer to them as “intensifiers.”

Intensifiers are the most rapidly and constantly changing developments in the English language (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:257). Throughout history, intensifiers have been reflecting a particular form of a process called grammaticalization, or “delexicalization.” Delexicalization is defined as “the reduction of the independent lexical content of a word, or group of words, so that it comes to fulfill a particular function.” (Partington 1993:183) Old intensifiers become extinct and new intensifiers are born through constant delexicalization. In other words, when a particular intensifier is repeatedly used for an extensive period of time and its original intensifying strength weakens, it is replaced or used in parallel with a new intensifier in order to maximize the notion previously conveyed with the old one. For example, *very*, which originally meant ‘true’ or ‘real’, now serves as one of the most common intensifiers through delexicalization. However, since *very* has been used for so long and is gradually losing its intensifying power, words such as *extremely* or *completely* are becoming “the next generation” intensifiers and being used to put emphasis more and more often than to deliver their original lexical meanings.

Intensifiers are also usually associated with colloquial usage and younger generations (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:260). Since it is natural to view intensifiers as the most up-to-date part of spoken language, it might be granted to speculate that any innovative change they go through would sufficiently be reflected in media. Among many different forms of mass media, a component where the trendiest, hippest language is applied would be TV shows, especially those in the contemporary genre.

2. Literature Review

Based on the premise that intensifiers are one of the most interesting linguistic features, there have been a number of studies on intensifiers and their characteristics. Intensifiers are usually discussed as versatile and colorful devices which decorate a person's speech style and as "spoken" language which has capacity for a rapid and constant change. For example, Partington (1993:178) described intensifiers as "impressing, praising, persuading, insulting, and generally influencing the listener's reception of the message," and Stoffel (1901:2) stated that "new words are in constant requisition, because the old ones are felt to be inadequate." Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) also highlights "vulgar" tendency and speediness by mentioning in their study that intensifiers have been largely associated with spoken English and going through continuous change since as early as the 12th century. The fact that intensifiers tend to represent a certain group identity, teenagers for example, has been previously studied by many scholars (Macaulay 2006; Partington 1993:180) as well.

Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) specifically studied intensifiers from the popular TV show *Friends*, in order to analyze them based on frequency, distribution, gender and other factors and also to compare them with the norm of the time period. Their data obtained from unofficial transcripts of *Friends*, "one of the most influential cultural phenomena (Kim 1995: 108)", exhibited almost the same overall rate of intensification as contemporary British English. They collected all adjectival tokens from the scripts, and excluded any that remained bare, which left them 8,611 adjectives. Out of those 8,611 adjectives, *Friends* had 22% rate of intensification, while the overall rate of intensification in British English was 24%. The most frequently used intensifiers were also partially overlapped, with *so*, *really*, *very*, *pretty*, and *totally* from the show and *very*, *really*, *so*, *absolutely* and *pretty* from the British norm. Moreover, the once most popularly used intensifiers in America, *really*, was overtaken by *so*, according to *Friends*. *So*, which was used more frequently especially by female characters, was preferred far more

often than other intensifiers in the show. According to the statement in Labov's Principle II (1990, 210-13), which mentions that "women are most often the innovators," the study concluded that *so* is being "innovated" by females and replacing former *very*. Overall, their findings suggest not only media language reflect linguistic change but even pave the road for innovation.

The present paper aims to reaffirm the conclusion of Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) with a few modifications and improvements. They were successful at proving that media language is a surrogate for the contemporary linguistic norm, they failed, however, to compare their data from *Friends* with any other data set from a different time period to solidify their claim. They also made a mistake of using the British norm for the analysis of *Friends*, an American TV show. The present paper adopted an additional American TV show from a more recent time period to make a clearer chronological comparison, and also employed an American corpus for an accurate analysis.

3. Research Questions

The research questions for the present paper are as follows:

1. During the past decade, has there been any linguistic change in English intensifiers used in media?
2. Does intensifier use in the media reflect contemporary American English of respective time periods?

4. Data and Methods

Under the assumption that the changes intensifiers go through would be visible even in a decade and they would be reflected in contemporary

TV shows, two very popular American situational comedies, *Friends*, which ran from 1994 to 2004 on NBC, and *How I Met Your Mother*, which has been airing from 2005 until present on CBS, were chosen for comparison. Both are world-widely viewed shows which mirror mundane lives of typical Caucasian, upper-middle class, well-educated young Americans in their late 20's to early 30's, living in New York. Since there is a slight overlap between the two shows, only the seasons from 2000 to 2003 were used for *Friends*, and the seasons from 2010 to 2013 were used for *How I Met Your Mother* (referred to as *HIMYM* hereafter). There are six characters in *Friends*, three males and three females, Ross, Chandler, Joey, Monica, Rachel, and Phoebe, respectively. Although there are only five characters in *HIMYM*, three males Ted, Marshall, Barney and two females Lily and Robin, characters from *HIMYM* are generally much wordier than those from *Friends*.

Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) was used as the contemporary American norm, and only the spoken portion of the corpus was taken into data for more accurate comparison. Among the top most popular intensifiers used in American spoken English (*so, really, very, absolutely, completely, totally, exactly, seriously, obviously*), only four (*really, very, totally, exactly*) were selected for data analysis. *So* was discarded due to analytical difficulty resulted from its excessive frequency, and the others were neglected as they showed less statistical significance, if not none, with very few tokens in a pilot study conducted.

Exclusively for the present study, a new corpus was created with the unofficial scripts easily accessible from the internet for both shows, and the data were analyzed with the AntConc program. Each show yield similar word counts, at about 200,000 for each, and the aforementioned four intensifiers were analyzed for frequency and concordance. Any of the four adverbs that were independently uttered were excluded from

the analysis.¹

5. Results and discussion

5.1 Distributional Analysis

As can be seen in Table 1 below, both *Friends* and *HIMYM* had closely similar word counts at 200,208 and 208,200 respectively. In both shows, *really* is by far the most frequently used intensifier, followed by *very*, *totally*, and *exactly*. Table 2 shows the data from the COCA, the comparable norm. Different from Table 1, the most popular intensifier actually used in contemporary spoken English was *very*, both in 2000-2004 and in 2010-2012, followed by *really*, *exactly*, and *totally*.

Table 1. Intensifier frequency in *Friends* and *HIMYM* (word count)

	Friends (200,208)		HIMYM (208,200)
	2000-2003		2010-2013
really	490	-17%	406
very	169	-49%	87
totally	44	80%	79
exactly	26	85%	48
TOTAL	729	-15%	620

¹ For example, intensifying adverbs such as “No, she’s *really* asking (Robin, *HIMYM*),” was included for analysis, but independent utterances such as “*Really?*” or “*Completely!*” were excluded.

Table 2. Intensifier frequency in COCA (per million)

COCA	2000-2004		2010-2012
really	342.85	24%	423.85
very	533.32	-5.5%	504.23
totally	13.86	29%	17.88
exactly	56.75	24%	70.18
TOTAL	946.78	7%	1016.14

*See Appendix A for visual representations of Table 1 and 2 for better understanding and further evidence.

Given that *Friends* and *HIMYM* are shows about Americans in their 20's and 30's, the data from the two shows can be said to represent American English used among younger generations. Based on such assumption, *really* is found to be used more popularly by young Americans and therefore is a more modern intensifier than *very*. Also, the 5.5% drop in the growth of *very* from the COCA serves as proof for its deteriorating state in American English, while *really* recorded a positive growth rate of 24%, along with other intensifiers. This result is in contrast with that of Tagliamonte and Roberts', which claimed the older *really* is being usurped by the newer *so*. However, the present study did not take *so* into account and correlations and differences between *really*, *very* and *so* should be discussed in further studies. Between *totally* and *exactly*, *totally* seems to be the younger intensifier for that it shows about twice as many instances than *exactly* from Table 1, while *exactly* has much higher frequency in Table 2. Therefore, the current chronological order of the intensifiers from old to young would be *very*, *really*, *exactly*, and *totally* respectively.

Another interesting phenomenon is the differences between the growth rates of intensifiers. In Table 2, the total number of all four intensifiers went up 7% from 946.78 million to over 1 billion. That indicates the use of intensifiers has become more popular and common in the past decade. Also, all the intensifiers are showing pretty similar growth rates

at 24-29% except for *very* with its negative 5.5%. Combined with the findings from the previous paragraph, it is safe to claim that *very* is truly aging quickly and even to assume that it began its extinction. Table 1, on the other hand, indicates results a lot different from the norm. The first point worth noticing is the decrease in the total number of intensifiers from the shows over the past decade, which would be discussed more in depth in the subsequent paragraph. Secondly, while *totally* and *exactly* increased dramatically in frequency, with 80% and 85% of growth rate respectively, *really*, contrary to the data from the COCA, displayed negative growth and *very* appeared almost half less frequent in *HIMYM* than *Friends*. Such figures suggest that older intensifiers, *really* and *very*, are not preferred among younger generations and are in the gradual replacement or substitution process due to their weakened emphasizing function. In reverse, intensifiers relatively newer in the delexicalization process, *totally* and *exactly*, are overtaking *really* and *very*.

Briefly mentioned in the previous paragraph, the unnatural, retrogressing decrease in the total number of intensifiers in Table 1, from 729 in *Friends* to 620 in *HIMYM*, can be accounted for a couple of reasons. First, the current data only examines four intensifiers. If the current data is reorganized including the intensifiers originally excluded from the present study, *completely*, *absolutely*, *seriously*, and *obviously*, then the difference between the two totals in Table 1 is reduced by half, from -15% growth to -7% (See Appendix B). Moreover, there exist intensifiers that were not on the top ten most common intensifiers list from the previous section of the present paper, for example, *pretty*, *dead*, *perfectly*, *right*, *etc.* If all the existing intensifiers are taken into consideration, the total number of intensifiers in Table 1 probably would go in line with the increased norm in Table 2. Second, the idiosyncrasy and fictitiousness of the characters from each show also needs to be considered. Although the eleven characters from the two shows share certain characteristics in common, such as age,

place of residence, etc., it is impossible to control or predict their language use preference. Media language does reflect contemporary linguistic norm; however, expecting TV characters to behave and speak in the exact same manner as predicted by the norm is quite nonsense.

5.2 Collocational Analysis

The data obtained was also analyzed by concordance via the AntConc program. As seen in Table 3, the intensifiers in *Friends* were mostly collocated with non-adjectival phrases except for *very*, and even more so in *HIMYM*. Although non-adjectival phrases recorded higher in number for the current data, general notion with the intensifiers is that they modify adjectives; as one of the studies previously conducted discovered that the vast majority of intensifiers, 72%, were used with adjectival heads (Backlund 1973:279). Also, non-adjectival phrases include verbal, prepositional, relative phrases and they are grammatically much more complex to analyze and generalize than single-word adjectival phrases. The present study restricted its collocational analysis to adjectival heads to simplify the procedure and leave more complicated, in-depth analysis on non-adjectival concordance for further studies.

Table 3. The ratio of adjectival and non-adjectival concordance with the intensifiers

	<i>Friends</i>			<i>HIMYM</i>		
	Adjectival	Non-adjectival	TOTAL	Adjectival	Non-adjectival	TOTAL
really	211 (43%)	279 (57%)	490	130 (32%)	276 (68%)	406
very	158 (93%)	11 (7%)	169	60 (69%)	27 (31%)	87
totally	16 (36%)	28 (64%)	44	19 (24%)	60 (76%)	79
exactly	1 (4%)	25 (96%)	26	0 (0%)	48 (100%)	48

Based on the pre-study research done with the COCA, the two older intensifiers, *really* and *very*, shared fairly common adjectives as

collocates, such as *good*, *important*, *hard*, *interesting*, *nice*, etc. On the other hand, the two newer intensifiers, *totally* and *exactly*, seemed to have more original collocates. The general tendencies of the four intensifiers are summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4. General categorization of adjectival collocates for *really*, *very*, *totally*, and *exactly* (COCA)

	Adjectives	
really	emotional	funny, interested, happy, great, etc.
very	common	hard, nice, difficult, interesting, etc.
	spatial/dimensional	close, small, big, long, etc.
totally	negative	wrong, false, ridiculous, etc.
	affixed	unacceptable, inappropriate, irresponsible, etc.
exactly	value/judgmental	right, correct, accurate, legal, fair, equal, etc.

The four intensifiers in the two TV shows were also examined for such tendencies, if there exists any, and the results were organized in Table 5 and Table 6. Adjectives of four or fewer instances were omitted (See Appendix C for complete data).

Table 5. Adjectival collocates for the four intensifiers in *Friends*

<i>Friends</i>						
	really		very		totally	exactly
27	good	25	good	6	different	
16	great	15	nice			
14	nice	9	funny			
9	sorry	9	sorry			
7	bad					
7	hard					
6	sweet					
5	big					
5	weird					

Table 6. Adjectival collocates for the four intensifiers in *HIMYM*

<i>HIMYM</i>							
	really		very		totally		exactly
11	good	5	important				
9	nice	3	clear				
8	hard	3	good				
5	happy	3	special				
5	hot						
5	sorry						

According to Table 5, *really* was collocated with *good*, *great* and *nice*, which are among the top most frequent collocates for *really* from the COCA (See Appendix D), for 57 instances out of the total of 221. *Bad* and *big* are also overlapped with the collocate list from the COCA. The reason for *sorry*, *sweet* and *weird* appearing quite often can be traced back to the personality of the show *Friends*. Since the show’s main theme is ‘friendship,’ it is natural for any disputes or disagreements to be reconciled with proper apologies. Also, *Friends* is a situational comedy which depicts interpersonal and romantic relationships of young people. Word describing people’s feelings towards a certain activity or characters would of course be heard frequently in conversations, as in (2).

- (2) a. It’s a *really hard* word to say. (Monica, *Friends*)
- b. You seem to be acting *really weird* around me. (Janine, *Friends*)

Similar results were acquired for *very* as well. The most frequently collocated adjectives were *good* and *nice*, for 40 instances out of 158, overlapping once again with the COCA list. It is easy to assume that *sorry* and *funny* topped the *very* list for the same reason with *really*. An interesting point was, however, that *very* was collocated almost exclusively with positive adjectives (*beautiful*, *attractive*, *generous*,

mature, etc.) while there were many adjectives with negative notions on the COCA list (*difficult, concerned, etc.*). Also, as already shown in Table 4, *very* is usually collocated with dimensional adjectives, describing length, size, or distance. No such tendency was found from the *Friends* collocate list.

Totally was most frequently collocated with different, which is the identical result from the COCA list, for 6 instances out of 16. Exactly had no dominant collocates, indicating that it is collocated more frequently with non-adjectival phrases than adjectival phrases. *Totally* and *exactly* will be discussed more in a separate paragraph at the end of the section.

The results were not much different for the *HIMYM* collocate list in Table 6. All of the adjectives shown in Table 6 were also shown on the COCA list, except for *hot, sorry* and *special*. *Sorry* is already discussed; *hot* and *special* could be related to the personality of the show. *HIMYM* has three young male characters, one of whom is a womanizer who always chases women for a fling. Since they're constantly making jokes related to how attractive a woman is, most of the instances for *hot* were uttered by the male characters, as in (3).

- (3) a. She was *really hot*, okay? (Ted, HIMYM)
 b. ...if I have like a Hefner thing going on with some *really hot* twins. (Barney, HIMYM)

The rationale behind absence of adjectival collocates for *totally* and *exactly* is explainable from two different perspectives. First, it partially conforms to Partington's theory (1993), which argues that there is a direct correlation between delexicalization and collocational behavior: The more delexicalized an intensifier is, the more widely it collocates. For example, *really* and *very* are collocated with a broad range of phrases, including most common adjectives, verbal phrases, and noun phrases, thus are more advanced in terms of delexicalization. On the

other hand, *totally* and *exactly* have gone less far along the process and are highly collocated with a small set of non-adjectival phrases. In fact, a certain pattern seems to be present with *exactly*, at least in the more recent time period. *Exactly* was collocated very frequently (14 out of 48 instances) with relative clauses in HIMYM, beginning with interrogatives, as in (4).

- (4) a. And in that race, everyone found *exactly* what they needed. (Ted, HIMYM)
b. Well, you're not *exactly* who I thought I'd be spending Thanksgiving with, either. (Zoey, HIMYM)
c. I know *exactly* where it is, and I can go get it whenever I want. (Robin, HIMYM)
d. That attitude is *exactly* why I won't be in your video. (Marshall, HIMYM)

Second point returns to the limitations of the TV shows yet again, reminding the impossibility of representing every aspect of human lives. According to Table 4 and the COCA collocate list, *totally* prefers negative or affixed adjectives and *exactly* easily collocates with adjectives related to values or judgment. In a light comedy about lives of the young people, it is highly unlikely for the characters to use negative or judgmental adjectives. Additional research on the matter is definitely necessary, though.

6. Conclusion

Intensifiers absolutely have undergone linguistic change during the past decade, and such linguistic change in the norm was reflected in media language as well as general intensifier use. As older intensifiers, *really* and *very*, begin the slow process of fading away, newer intensifiers,

totally and *exactly*, started overtaking the former two. Although layered with the newer intensifiers, especially *very* recorded a faster and greater degree of decrease, showing that *very* is aging more quickly than *really*. Also, *totally* and *exactly* were more frequently used among younger people, which proves that younger generation does lead the linguistic change. Since *really* and *very* are further along with the delexicalization process, they were widely collocated with a variety of adjectives, displaying certain tendency. *Totally* and *exactly* showed no commonly collocated adjectives from the media data, indicating either (1) they are collocated more often with non-adjectival phrases than adjectival phrases, or (2) their intensifying use in contemporary English is not completely reflected on TV.

7. Further studies

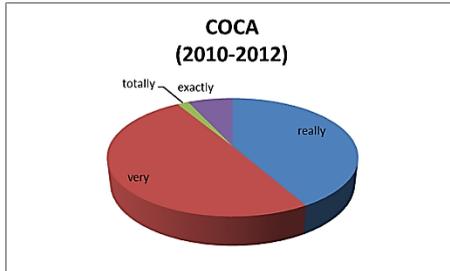
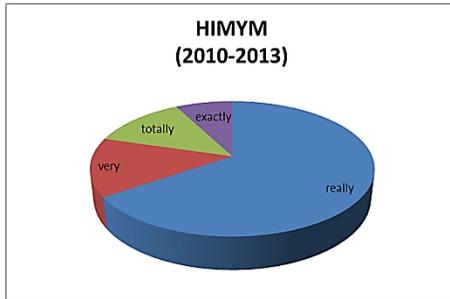
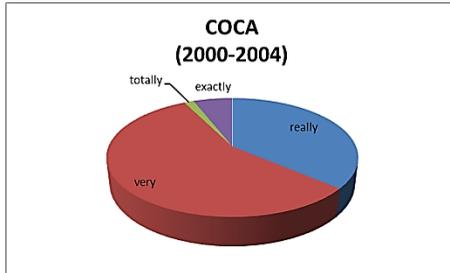
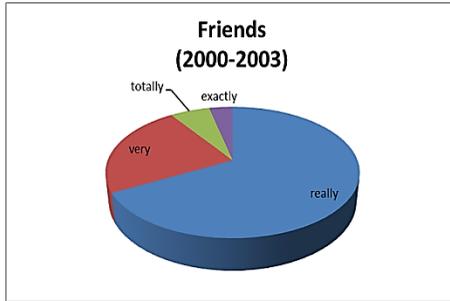
For a better structured research in the future, the limitations of the present study must be taken into consideration. First, the genres of TV shows can be varied for a more meticulous analysis of contemporary English. Comedy has its limitations with only a small set of particular words or expressions being used repeatedly in similar settings. Second, intensifiers other than the four studied in the present study should be examined. *So*, being the most frequently used intensifier, probably would have a certain impact on the intensifier use as a whole, and other intensifiers should also be studied for any statistical or linguistic significance. Lastly, future studies need to investigate non-adjectival collocates. The present study discovered that some intensifiers do not usually take adjectival collocates, as contrary to the common belief. Non-adjectival collocates must be properly categorized and analyzed, as well as looking at adjectival collocates in more detail.

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APPENDIX A

Intensifier distribution in early 2000's and in 2010's



Appendix B

Intensifier frequency in *Friends* and *HIMYM*
(including the omitted intensifiers from the research)

	Friends (200,208)		HIMYM (208,200)
	(2000-2003)		(2010-2013)
really	490	-17%	406
very	169	-49%	87
completely	11	109%	23
absolutely	6	167%	16
totally	44	80%	79
exactly	26	85%	48
obviously	11	55%	17
seriously	11	200%	33
TOTAL	768	-7%	709

Appendix C

<i>Friends</i>							
	really (211)	very (158)	totally (16)	exactly (1)			
27	good	25	good	6	different	1	ethical
16	great	15	nice	1	alone		
14	nice	9	funny	1	cool		
9	sorry	9	sorry	1	drunk		
7	bad	4	beautiful	1	empty		
7	hard	3	attractive	1	freaked		
6	sweet	3	happy	1	gay		
5	big	3	important	1	normal		
5	weird	3	lucky	1	perfect		
4	cute	3	pretty	1	ready		
4	fun	3	sweet	1	right		
4	hot	2	bad				
3	drunk	2	bendy				
3	funny	2	busy				
3	important	2	different				
3	long	2	generous				
3	nervous	2	interesting				
3	sad	2	long				
3	sick	2	mature				
2	beautiful	2	okay				
2	cool	2	old				
2	disappointed	2	practical				
2	excited	2	sad				
2	expensive	2	serious				
2	glad	2	upset				
2	strong	1	big				
2	tight	1	careful				
2	tough	1	clear				
2	upset	1	close				
2	white	1	close				
1	amazing	1	comfortable				
1	awkward	1	common				
1	boring	1	cute				
1	brave	1	dramatic				
1	bright	1	drunk				
1	burgundy	1	easy				
1	close	1	effective				
1	complicated	1	excited				
1	confused	1	expensive				
1	dead	1	far				
1	depressed	1	flattered				
1	embarrassing	1	flattering				
1	emotional	1	fond				
1	exciting	1	formal				
1	fancy	1	funny				
1	far	1	gentle				
1	fast	1	glad				
1	fat	1	heavy				
1	fit	1	helpful				
1	flattered	1	impressive				
1	gorgeous	1	insecure				
1	guilty	1	loud				
1	happy	1	noticeable				
1	heavy	1	offensive				
1	high	1	productive				
1	incredible	1	protective				
1	loud	1	quiet				
1	mad	1	rich				
1	mean	1	romantic				

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1 okay	1 scary				
1 old	1 secluded				
1 overweight	1 smart				
1 pregnant	1 soft				
1 pretty	1 special				
1 red	1 specific				
1 relieved	1 successful				
1 rich	1 talented				
1 right	1 tender				
1 romantic	1 thorough				
1 round	1 tiny				
1 serious	1 tired				
1 sharp	1 weird				
1 shy	1 wide				
1 silly	1 wise				
1 slow	1 young				
1 small					
1 smart					
1 specific					
1 steamy					
1 stuck					
1 supportive					
1 talented					
1 tender					
1 tiny					
1 tired					
1 uncomfortable					
1 violent					
1 wonderful					
1 worried					
1 young					

<i>HIMYM</i>					
	really (130)	very (60)	totally (19)	exactly (0)	
11	good	5 important	2 fine		
9	nice	3 clear	1 affectionate		
8	hard	3 good	1 awesome		
5	happy	3 special	1 cool		
5	hot	2 bad	1 crazy		
5	sorry	2 expensive	1 disgusting		
3	bad	2 long	1 even		
3	fast	2 neat	1 honest		
3	fun	2 popular	1 hot		
3	great	2 safe	1 normal		
3	scary	2 simple	1 okay		
3	slippery	2 small	1 patriotic		
3	sweet	2 sorry	1 random		
3	weird	1 attractive	1 ridiculous		
2	boring	1 big	1 right		
2	cool	1 chaing	1 safe		
2	crazy	1 close	1 sweet		
2	creepy	1 convincing	1 understandable		
2	high	1 dear			
2	important	1 drunk			
2	okay	1 excited			
2	pretty	1 famous			
2	rich	1 far			

2 sad	1 flattered				
2 scared	1 fun				
2 short	1 gentle				
2 special	1 hard				
1 annoying	1 interested				
1 awesome	1 interesting				
1 big	1 intimate				
1 bummed	1 large				
1 busy	1 nostalgic				
1 clever	1 open				
1 clingy	1 persuasive				
1 comfortable	1 pretty				
1 convincing	1 reasonable				
1 cute	1 serious				
1 dark	1 thin				
1 dead	1 tiny				
1 easy	1 tough				
1 emotional	1 un-funky				
1 excited					
1 exciting					
1 funny					
1 glad					
1 handsome					
1 helpful					
1 honest					
1 hungover					
1 large					
1 late					
1 light-skinned					
1 lonely					
1 memorable					
1 obvious					
1 personal					
1 quiet					
1 relevant					
1 rough					
1 serious					
1 simple					
1 smart					
1 stupid					
1 worried					

APPENDIX D

Adjectival collocate list from the COCA

1	REALLY GOOD	VERY GOOD	TOTALLY DIFFERENT	EXACTLY RIGHT
2	REALLY IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	TOTALLY WRONG	EXACTLY SURE
3	REALLY HARD	VERY DIFFICULT	TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE	EXACTLY TRUE
4	REALLY INTERESTING	VERY DIFFERENT	TOTALLY FALSE	EXACTLY CORRECT
5	REALLY GREAT	VERY INTERESTING	TOTALLY NEW	EXACTLY CLEAR
6	REALLY BAD	VERY HARD	TOTALLY INAPPROPRIATE	EXACTLY WRONG
7	REALLY NICE	VERY CLEAR	TOTALLY INNOCENT	EXACTLY OPPOSITE
8	REALLY BIG	VERY STRONG	TOTALLY UNTRUE	EXACTLY WHAT
9	REALLY TOUGH	VERY CLOSE	TOTALLY HONEST	EXACTLY NEW
10	REALLY FUN	VERY SERIOUS	TOTALLY DEPENDENT	EXACTLY ALIKE
11	REALLY HAPPY	VERY NICE	TOTALLY UNEXPECTED	EXACTLY CERTAIN
12	REALLY COOL	VERY HAPPY	TOTALLY SEPARATE	EXACTLY ACCURATE
13	REALLY DIFFICULT	VERY HIGH	TOTALLY UNRELATED	EXACTLY LEGAL
14	REALLY SERIOUS	VERY TOUGH	TOTALLY CONVINCED	EXACTLY HAPPY
15	REALLY SURE	VERY SMALL	TOTALLY RIDICULOUS	EXACTLY FAIR
16	REALLY CONCERNED	VERY BIG	TOTALLY UNNECESSARY	EXACTLY APPROPRIATE
17	REALLY INTERESTED	VERY LONG	TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE	EXACTLY EQUAL

18	REALLY FUNNY	VERY CONCERNED	TOTALLY UNFAIR	EXACTLY HARD
19	REALLY STRONG	VERY CAREFUL	TOTALLY FREE	EXACTLY OPTIMISTIC
20	REALLY TRUE	VERY SIMPLE	TOTALLY SAFE	EXACTLY IDEAL