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'BLOOD-HOT', 'STONE-GOOD': a preliminary report on adjective-specific intensifiers in Dutch

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In the languages with which I am familiar, exaggeration is a normal part of everyday speech. Someone who 'hasn't seen you for ages' might be 'thrilled to death to see you', even though he would 'never' have thought of you 'in a million years', if he had not run into you. If you dislike this article, you may be 'bored stiff', or 'silly', or 'to tears' or, God forbid, 'to death', yet it is unlikely that you actually manifest any of these physical or emotional states. As habitual hyperbole devalues expressive innovations into clichés, language users create new - and exaggerated - ways of reinforcing an idea and asserting its truth.

One traditional area for variety and inventiveness has been adverbial intensifiers. Immediately one thinks of the universal but colorless very, originally 'truly', now simply 'to a relatively high degree'. But so neutral is very that most speakers use it much less frequently than one realizes, employing in its stead such alternative intensifiers as awfully, terribly, frightfully, dreadfully, exorbitantly and such on the gruesome side, and pretty, fairly, really, extremely, entirely and the like on the positive side. As a sidetrack from my primary topic, I have compiled a list of such widely used adverbial intensifiers in Dutch (List I below). Although it contains over sixty items, it is really only the start of such a list. I cannot discuss these adverbial intensifiers at length here; however, I should point out that some have strong semantic and lexical restrictions on their use. Nevertheless, many can modify virtually any adjective.

Three adverbial intensifiers are quite common and neutral in flavor: zeer, heel and erg. Zeer seems restricted to Flemish and formal or academic speech; heel, erg, and the combination heel erg are all current in the Netherlands. In emphatic popular speech, they often pick up the -e from an inflected adjective, something which adverbs are not supposed to do, for example:
Another type of intensifier which is very widespread in European languages, the 'proverbial comparison', forms the bridge to my primary topic. Such English similes as: as thin as a rail, as smart as a fox, as ugly as sin, as honest as the day is long, as quick as a wink, as neat as a pin, and so on, ad nauseam, are regularly used by speakers who have not been intimidated by their English teachers' condemnation of all that smacks of cliché. In fact, many such proverbial comparisons are veritable masterpieces of folk art, saved from the clutches of triteness by strings of innovative embellishments, cf. Preston 1975\(^2\). Dutch has its share of standardized similes, such as: zo slank als een den 'as slender as a fir-tree', zo slim als een vos 'as crafty as a fox', zo vrij als een vogeltje in de lucht 'as free as a bird in the air', zo gezond als een vis 'as healthy as a fish'. As all-purpose comparator for negative concepts, similar to English hell, Dutch uses de pest 'the plague': zo lelijk als de pest 'as ugly as the plague', zo ziek als de pest 'as sick as the plague', etc. Incidentally, these similes with the plague fit into a very large set of curses and other expressions with contagious diseases, a phenomenon on which I am currently gathering data\(^3\).

In the Germanic languages, such proverbial similes can be collapsed into compound adjectives. For example, one can say either as hard as a rock or rock-hard. Such collapsed comparisons seem to be the prototype for what I call - for lack of a better term - adjective-specific intensifiers. Here are a few English examples: stone-deaf, wide awake, sound asleep, stark naked, stark raving mad, brand(spanking)-new, and the very productive dead-group: dead tired, dead right, dead wrong, dead ripe, dead drunk etc. In all of these cases, the first element is an intensifier: it merely conveys the idea 'very', 'extremely' or even 'absolutely', without altering the basic meaning of the adjective. The intensifiers are adjective-specific in that each combines with only one, or at most a few adjectives. Such adjective-specific intensifiers are attested in all the modern Germanic languages:

- Danish: blikstille 'look' 'quiet'
- Dutch: bloedheet 'blood' 'hot'
- English: ramrod straight
German: nagelneu 'nail' 'new'
Icelandic: døðrækkinn 'death' 'drunk'
Norwegian: doggfrikk 'dew' 'fresh'
Swedish: gravallivarlig 'grave (noun)' 'serious'

This phenomenon is not widely known in the Romance languages. A Montreal informant supplied the following examples from Canadian French: soûl-mort, ivre-mort 'drunk' 'dead'; raide-maigre 'stiff' 'slender'; fou-braque 'crazy' 'crazy'; only one, ivre-mort was familiar to European French informants. These may not be entirely comparable to the Germanic type as they seem to behave like adjective plus adjective rather than adjective plus intensifier. In the one case where inflection causes an audible difference in both elements, they both receive feminine endings: soûl-mort (masc.) vs. soûle-morts (fem.). The extent of this type of intensification in French (and perhaps other Romance languages) deserves further investigation.

Dutch is thus not alone in having adjective-specific intensifiers; it is however unique in several aspects of their formation and use. Particularly striking to me is their pervasiveness in the language. For many adjectives, the specific intensifier is used almost exclusively, so that, idiomatically speaking, heel or erg are virtually wrong. For example, I recall one incident in which I was recounting something to a native speaker of Dutch; as I told my story, he was echoing me, unconsciously adapting my wordings into a more normal variety of Dutch. Adjectives which I intensi-fied with heel or erg frequently emerged with specific intensifiers in his version; for instance, erg duur 'very expensive' he echoed with peperduur 'pepper-expensive'.

Some indication of the number of intensifier-adjective compounds is provided by List II below. This working list counts nearly 500 entries gathered through personal observation, elicitation and questionnaires from informants, and browsing in dictionaries; a complete listing of all such combinations known to speakers of Dutch in the Netherlands and Belgium would be well over twice as long, disregarding formations with the productive intensifiers. The formidable size of this potential list indicates the vitality of this type of intensification.

Moreover, several of these intensifiers are productive: one can form new compounds with them at will. Obviously, when a given intensifier can combine with numerous adjectives, the label
adjective-specific lacks strict accuracy; unfortunately, no entirely satisfactory alternative designation suggests itself. Some intensifiers have reached fad status. For example, hartstikke, literally 'heart stab', was transferred from dood 'dead' to combine as an intensifier with virtually any adjective. In the late sixties and early seventies, hartstikke reigned as an all purpose slang intensifier in the Netherlands. Another fad intensifier of recent years is super\(^4\), which also can combine with almost any adjective, but perhaps never was abused as much as hartstikke. One could thus say hartstikke donker, hartstikke vol, literally 'heart-stab' 'dark' and 'heart-stab' 'full', hartstikke leuk 'heart-stab' 'nice, cute', hartstikke laat 'heart-stab' 'late', hartstikke stom 'heart-stab' 'stupid' etc.; on the crest of another fad, one could also say superdonker 'super' 'dark', supervol 'super' 'full', superleuk 'super' 'nice, cute', superlaat 'super' 'late', superstom 'super' 'stupid'. Incidentally, most of these adjectives traditionally take other adjective-specific intensifiers as well.

One final argument for the vitality and the importance of adjective-specific intensification in Dutch is the observation that, with many common intensifier-adjective compounds, the adjective can be deleted; the intensifier then carries both the basic meaning of the adjective and the intensification thereof. I have heard sentences such as:

\begin{align*}
\text{Het ijs is nog kei. (\text{< keihard})} & \quad \text{'The ice cream is still rock (-hard).'} \\
\text{Je bent helemaal knetter vandaag. (\text{< knettergek})} & \quad \text{'You're absolutely crackle(-crazy) today'.} \\
\text{Deze appels zijn echt kers, mevrouw. (\text{< kersvers})} & \quad \text{'These apples are really cherry(-fresh) ma'am'.}
\end{align*}

In List II, all items in which the adjective can be deleted ready have been starred, roughly one quarter of the list; in many other cases, however, deletion would be possible under special circumstances.

Dutch may not be alone in allowing adjective-deletion. In English we can say I am dead, Germans claim ich bin tot, just as the Dutch can exaggerate ik ben dood. One could argue that in all of these languages, the word for 'tired' has been deleted in dead-tired, todmüde and doodmoe respectively; alternatively, it can be explained as hyperbole. German also has several expressions meaning roughly 'I don't care, it's all the same to me': es ist mir schnurz, es ist mir schnuppe, es ist mir wurst, in which the ad-
jective egal seems to have been deleted from schnursegal 'nonsense word' 'equal'; schnuppegal 'wick end' 'equal'; wurste gal 'sausage' 'equal'. In one unusual German example, Theodor Fontane uses pisk, shortened from piskfein, and even adds the -er comparative ending to it. Notwithstanding these isolated German examples, Dutch is the only language I know in which adjective deletion after adjective-specific intensifiers is a widespread and productive process.

Deletion is subject to certain restrictions and tendencies. Normally it occurs only when the adjective is in predicate position, perhaps because the intensifier could not take the inflectional endings often required in attributive position. The intensifier is often used alone when the adjective has already been mentioned; it often is accompanied by an adverbial intensifier. Both of these tendencies are exemplified in :

Jee, wat was ik nat, echt helemaal klets!

'Boy, was I wet, really absolutely soaking (literally, onomatopoeia for wet sound) !'

Still, some intensifiers are used virtually as often without adjective as with, e.g. stapel for stapelgek 'cricket' 'crazy' or stapelverliefd 'cricket' 'in love', and reuse for reusesfijn 'giant' 'lovely, nice', reuseleuk 'giant' 'nice, cute', or reusegoed 'giant' 'good'.

These examples corroborate my claim that adjective-specific intensifiers are an integral part of the modern Dutch language, not marginal as in English. As such, they deserve study and description, and should be taught to foreigners learning Dutch. Although not exclusively a Dutch phenomenon, of all modern Germanic languages, Dutch does appear to make the fullest use of such intensifiers.

Most intensifier-adjective combinations follow a few main schemes. The prototype seems to be noun plus adjective in what I have called a collapsed comparison. From a sentence such as :

Deze koffer is loodbew. 'This suitcase is lead-heavy',

one can reconstruct the simile :

Deze koffer is zo zwaar als lood. 'This suitcase is as heavy as lead'.

From such reconstructions one can abstract the general structure :

x is/zijn y z e x is/zijn zo y als (een) z.

The vast majority of the items in List II - perhaps 80% - are of this type. Some representative examples are: ijzersterk, 'iron' 'strong'; beestertk 'bear' 'strong'; vlijmscherp 'lancet' 'sharp'.
kurd'roog 'cork' 'dry'; glashelder 'glass' 'clear'; grasgroen 'grass' 'green'; gitzwart 'jet' 'black'; broodnodig 'bread' 'necessary'. Of course, not all noun-adjective compounds are cases of intensifier based on similes. For example, vogelvrij, literally 'bird' 'free', means 'outlawed' and has nothing to do with being as free as a bird.

In some cases the implicit simile can refer to a different meaning of the adjective than the one being used. For example, keihard, literally 'rock' 'hard', can also be used in the other acceptances of hard, viz. 'loud' and 'fast'. Kiplekker has become totally estranged from the meaning of its implicit simile: Van Dale gives the expression zo lekker als kip 'as tasty as chicken' but kiplekker is now used as an intensification meaning 'healthy' or 'well' - rather like fit as a fiddle - to the exclusion of the original meaning 'tasty'. In such cases, the intensifier simply reinforces the adjective and is totally independent of the original comparison which gave rise to it. Such independence is the first step toward becoming a productive intensifier, a class to be discussed below.

The second most common type is verb stem plus adjective. In the sentence: Daar heb je hem met zo'n fokkelnieuwe fiets. 'There he is with his sparkling new bike', one could paraphrase the intensifier-adjective compound s'n fiets, die zo nieuw is dat hij fokkelt. 'his bike which is so new that it sparkles'.

This gives the abstract structure:

\[ x \text{ is/ziijn} \ y \ z \leftarrow x \text{ is/ziijn} \ zo \ y \text{ dat } hij / \text{ne}j/het (=x) \ (\text{bijna}) \ y-t-er \]

Several adjectives of this type are: knalrood 'bang' 'red'; piepjong 'chirp, peep' 'young'; kakelbont 'clash' 'colorful'; drifjnat 'float' 'wet'; laaiend enthousiast 'flaming' 'enthusiastic'; kraakhelder 'creak' 'clean'; kotsmoezelijk 'puke' 'nauseated'; piantijdig 'piss' 'angry'.

One minor variation on this pattern is that not \( x \) but the speaker (or his sources of information) is the subject of \( y \) in the that-clause:

Het was een snikhete dag. 'It was a gasp-hot day'.

Obviously those who experienced it, not the day itself were left as it were gasping for air. A general formula for this type would be:

\[ x \text{ is/ziijn} \ y \ z \leftarrow x \text{ is/ziijn} \ zo \ z \text{ dat de spreker (bijna) y-t}. \]

The comparison-based intensifiers just discussed form the most ex-
tensive group by far. The secondary types represented by a few items each certainly are as interesting. Some noun-adjective combinations are not simple similes at the base. For example, *kernegezond* 'core' 'healthy' is best paraphrase 'healthy to the core', that is, with the intensifier *y* introduced by a preposition. In *straatarm* 'street-poor', *y* is introduced by a preposition embedded in a simile: 'so poor that *x* practically lives in the street'. Other intensifiers are also best analyzed with a preposition in the paraphrase.

At least three bound morphemes appear as intensifiers: *aarts-* 'arch', e.g. *aartsdom* 'arch' 'stupid'; *oer-* 'ancient, primordial', e.g. *oeroud* 'primordial' 'old'; and *super-* e.g. *superlilm* 'super' 'smart'. In -, by profession a preposition, is a very productive intensifier, as in *invit* 'in' 'pale' and *ingierig* 'in' 'stingy'.

At times an adjective - or adverb if you wish, since Dutch adjectives and adverbs are usually interchangeable - such as *dot* and *laaiend* can intensify the adjective, e.g. *dolbij* 'fond' 'happy' and *laaiend* *kwaad* 'flaming' 'angry'. As a final treasure from this grab-bag I offer you *morsdood*, a concatenation of the Latin for 'death' and the Dutch for 'dead'.

Parallel to English old saws such as *right as rain, fit as fiddle* and *sure as shooting*, I expected to find in Dutch intensifiers which combine with adjectives on the basis of alliteration alone, or possible rhyme - think of *as snug as a bug in a rug*. I found no cases of alliterating or rhyming intensifiers which are devoid of any semantic motivation, save perhaps *pimpelpaars* 'titmouse; guzzle' 'purple'. Nevertheless, there are quite a few alliterating intensifier-adjective combinations, which would lend credence to the speculation that alliteration helped them to become standard and to be remembered. While everyone knows that *gras* is *groen*, how many moderns know that one kind of *gif* 'poison' - namely *verdigris* - is? Surely alliteration helped the second one survive as well. In *vliegensvlug* 'flying' 'fast' and *oeroud* 'primordial' 'old', both elements convey a similar meaning; the alliteration ties them together. *Stok-* 'stick-' is just made for *stijf* 'stiff' and *stil* 'still' both semantically and phonologically. In one case, a second intensifier is added which alliterates with the first but not with the adjective: *spikaplint* 'spick (as in spick and span)' *spinter* 'new'. *Huizehoog* 'house' 'high', *kant en klaar* 'aside and done' are other clear-cut cases of alliteration. A probable case is also the following: while as a productive
intensifier super- can combine with virtually any adjective, it does have a marked penchant for those with initial /s-/?; all the 'traditional' combinations with it in List II alliterate, such as supersim 'super' 'smart' and supersnel 'super' 'swift'.

Rhyme is poorly attested, yet I doubt that it is gratuitous that the Dutch say kersver 'cherry' 'fresh' or the Flemings bolvol 'bulging' 'full'. Rhyme in assonance, either perfect, as in English quick as a wink, or imperfect, as in neat as a pin, may be more common; see for example stomdronken 'mote; stupid'9 'drunk'.

So far my examples have been drawn from traditional, as it were lexicalized intensifier-adjective compounds, most of which would ring bells with any native speaker of Dutch. There is also a group of productive intensifiers which can combine readily with most adjectives; the resulting compounds, while not likely to produce native speaker tintinnabulation, would be understood immediately as an intensification of the basic meaning of the adjective. The most familiar and widespread productive intensifiers are: bloed- 'blood', dood- 'dead', door 'through' (Flemish), hartstikke 'heart-stab', in- 'in', oer- 'primordial', over- 'over', reuse- 'giant', super- 'super'. As mentioned above some, such as hartstikke 'heart-stab' and super- 'super', have held fad status in recent years. Others, such as in- 'in', oer-10 'primordial' and reuse 'giant' seem to have a long standing as productive intensifiers without a recent history of abuse. One — over- 'over', an Indo-European cognate of the other intensifiers super- (Latin) and hyper- (Greek) — is often used to mean 'extremely' rather than the literal 'overly, too much'. Bloed- 'blood' and dood- 'dead' seem to have limited productivity which I have not yet investigated in depth.

In all cases where an intensifier is productive, there exist several examples in which the intensifier-adjective combination is semantically motivated. Of course, semantic motivation is not essential; the intensifiers retain at most a vestige of their literal meaning for the language users. One indication of this is that my Dutch wife uses words in intensifying compounds which she never would use alone, such as pijnijdig, a compound which suggests that one is so angry that one runs the risk of losing control over one's urethral sphincter. Here are some series which compare semantically motivated compounds with those in which the intensifier bears little relation to the adjective. For example, steen- 'stone' can
combine with -koud 'cold' and -hard 'hard', where the associations are apparent. In combination with -goed 'good' and -rijk 'rich', the semantic affinity is not evident; this parallels the use of stone as an all-round intensifier in English, e.g. stone-broke. Stok- 'stick', whose cognate is well attested as an all-purpose intensifier in earlier English and is especially productive in modern German, has obvious associations with -stijf 'stiff', -stil 'still' and even -doof 'deaf', but in -oud 'old' it is apparently degraded to a mere intensifier.

Dood- 'dead' intensifies many adjectives whose metaphoric associations with death seem self-evident, although I may be misled by my intuition as a native speaker of English, which shares many of these comparisons. Dood- 'dead' combines with -siek 'sick', -moe 'tired', -bang11 'afraid' and -bleek 'pale' on the literal level, but also has become associated with a group of adjectives in which it reinforces the idea 'simply, naturally, matter-of-factly', such as -gewoon 'ordinary, usual', -onzelfdilig 'innocent', -enkel 'occasional', -kalm 'calm', -tevallig 'coincidental', and perhaps -arm 'poor'. With the strict meaning 'very, absolutely' it combines with -goed 'good, kind'. Finally, blood- 'blood' appears transparently next to -rood 'red', -warm12 'warm, hot', and -lauw 'luke-warm', the latter two being more modifiers than simply intensifiers, but it is a productive intensifier in connection with -heet 'hot', -nervens 'nervous', and -serieu 'serious'.

While the productive intensifiers just discussed combine with numerous semantically unrelated adjectives, a minor group can intensify several virtual synonyms. For example, stapelgek 'cricket',13 'crazy' is most familiar, but the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (=WNT, comparable to the OED) also lists: stapeldol, stapel- -krankjorem, stapelmesjogge, stapelseot, all meaning 'absolutely mad'. Since one can also be gek op 'crazy about' a person, stapel-intensifies verliefd 'in love' as well. A highly emotional word like gek not only spawns many synonyms, it also attracts numerous intensifiers: aarts- 'arch', knetter- 'crackle', knuts- 'club, cudgel'14, reuse- 'giant', stapel- 'cricket'. List III, which presents intensifiers arranged according to the adjectives they modify, gives a good impression of which adjectives are 'productive' in that they combine with various intensifiers.

This article is not so much a finished product as a progress report intended to stimulate discussion. My lists and understanding of
adjective-specific intensifiers in Dutch are expanding as I continue to receive completed questionnaires from informants in the Netherlands and Belgium. I am also becoming increasingly aware of the need to study this phenomenon within its greater Germanic context. There has been a great deal of trade in intensifier compounds back and forth between Dutch and German; English borrowed such expressions heavily from Dutch in the period of intensive trade with Flanders; it also assimilated a few Scandinavian items during the Viking occupation; while the Hanseatic League flourished, the Scandinavian languages in turn enriched their stock of adjective-specific intensifiers from Low German. The sporadic attestations of such compounds in the earliest sources and the complex borrowing patterns frequently make it difficult to pinpoint the origin of a given expression. Reinterpretation of intensifiers can further serve to obscure the birthplace and original meaning of a given compound.

One case in which popular reinterpretation seems to have played a role is *piékfijn* 'very fine, elegant'. To the average Dutchman, *piékfijn* seems a logically motivated compound of *piék* 'peak, summit' and *fijn* 'fine'. In reality this compound is a borrowing from German *piékfein*, in which the first element is in turn borrowed from Dutch. Middle Dutch *puuc*, *puyc*, etymologically related to English *pick*, designated the select quality of Dutch cloth, the pick of the lot. With the product the word came into the Middle Low German of the Hansa. The modern Dutch diphthongization changed /puûk/ into /pûük/, which still exists as noun *het puük* 'the best'. adjective *puük* 'top-quality' and even intensifier - *puükbest* 'very best'. In Low German the word remained /pû:k/ and surfaces in 1739 as *pûık* 15, a conscious imitation of the older Dutch spelling. In the 1860's the German *piékfein* makes its way into print; it soon appears in Dutch as well. It apparently lacked tradition and had the dubious prognosis of most slang toward the end of the 19th century, for neither Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* nor the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* mentions it. The facetious counterfeit-Italian loan translation *picobello* - which most speakers accept as legal tender 16 - is an embellishment current in both languages which is doubtlessly of German origin.

Etymologists like Kluge and De Vries explain the /i:/ succintly as unrounding of /ü:/, a phenomenon so widespread in German dialects that further explanation seemed to them superfluous. I suggest that it needs not stem from a dialect which unrounds front vowels
all the way. It can just as well be explained by folk etymology: the isolated word /pük/ could have been reinterpreted as /pi:k(e)/, meaning 'spear, lance, point', as designation of the Spitztenklasse. Some support for this view comes from the older German spelling piksein, against modern piek--, identical to that of the words of French origin meaning point.

The productive intensifier bloed- 'blood' also presents difficulties in interpretation; it may ultimately derive from several sources. The WNT suggests that it was borrowed intact as intensifier from German, where it once was very productive. This explanation is quite plausible: blutarm 'blood' 'poor' is attested in Middle High German, but Dutch bloedarm does not appear until the 18th century. Kluge and others reject Blut 'blood' as the source of this intensifier in favor of Low and Upper German blutt 'bare, mere'. Against this view Grimm argues that only the long vowel of the former, never the short vowel of the latter is heard in the intensifier; his late Middle High German blutarm is however ambiguous: it could represent either monophthongized /u:/ (for earlier /ua/) or /u/. Be that as it may, blutt fits arm rather well semantically, as it also does -naakt 'naked', -geizig 'stingy' and others. Blutjung (Dutch bloedjong) 'blood' 'young' could however well be derived from junger Blut 'young blood, i.e. people', that is from Blut rather than blutt; that blutjung and Dutch bloedjong are restricted to humans would seem to support this derivation. Finally, Dutch bloedheet 'blood' 'hot' seems to be a reinterpretation of bloedwarm 'blood' 'warm', originally 37.5° C, but attested in the 19th century in the meaning 'very hot'. The modern Dutch intensifier bloed- could thus represent the fusion of two German intensifiers, the reinterpretation of a Dutch modifier as intensifier, and finally an intensifier which is still productive in Dutch! Many intensifiers which combine with several adjectives present a similarly confusing picture.

These Dutch and German examples demonstrate both the caution one must exercise in interpreting a given intensifier-adjective compound and the tidbits of cultural history one discovers in the process.

As I put the finishing touches on this preliminary report on my research, I can indicate some areas which I intend to investigate more thoroughly in the years to come. I have begun to complete lists of German and English adjective-specific intensifiers for
ultimate comparison with my Dutch corpus. More interesting however than a complete listing of all intensifier-adjective compounds would be one which gave those in daily use, along with information on the syntactic and stylistic restrictions on their use - for example, only adverbial, only predicate adjective, only in colloquial speech - and on the semantic modifications and restrictions - such as kiplekker only in the meaning 'fit', not 'tasty'. The history of such compounds in Germanic needs clarification. The types of combinations of intensifiers deserve attention: spik-splinternieuws 'spick' 'splinter' 'new', paddemoedernaakt 'toad' 'mother' 'naked'. The author would welcome reactions to this report which can further clarify the complex phenomenon of adjectival-specific intensifiers in Dutch and the other Germanic languages.

FOOTNOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented in November 1978 at the conference of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies in Windsor, Ont. I hereby wish to thank all whose comments on the paper and responses to the questionnaire have proved extremely valuable: the shortcomings in this report are of course my own responsibility. My special gratitude is due my Amsterdam-born wife Joyce Reynhoudt who as my principal informant was driven almost stapelgk 'cricket' 'crazy' by my incessant questions. 'Dutch' is used throughout to mean the Dutch of the Netherlands; that Flemish usage is largely ignored stems from my lack of familiarity with it.

2. Examples from Preston 1975, with embellishments in ( ) :
   quick as (greased) lightning
   nervous as a cat (with a long tail in a room full of rocking chairs)
   fine as a frog’s hair (split down the middle)
   quiet as a mouse (pissing on cotton)

3. Native speakers of Dutch willing to respond to a questionnaire on curses with contagious diseases are requested to contact the author.

4. Super- as a productive intensifier may be a borrowing from (American) English. superfijn 'super' 'fine', probably based on French surfin and attested in the 18th century, is the only compound with it listed in older dictionaries.

5. "Die waren immer pick ... und je pieker sie werden, desto mehr Prinzen kommen hinein". Fontane, Stechlin, quoted in Götze et al., emphasis mine.

6. One informant suggested that in- is shortened from intens 'intensely'; cf. also the Flemish productive intensifier door- 'through'< door en door 'throughout and through, thoroughly'.

7. Through the centuries, paars 'purple' ('M. Lat. persus 'peach-colored') has designated a wide range of colors from brown and yellow through greenish blue to purple. For clarification a qualifier was usually added; pimpel en paars is the earliest expression in which pimpel appears next to paars. In modern Dutch, the morph pimpel appears also in pimpelen. 'to guzzle, drink to excess' and in pimpelmees 'titmouse'. De Vries derives pimpelpaars from the verb, as a
reference to the drunkard's vivid complexion. WNT associates it
with the blue-headed titmouse. I offer two alternate explanations:
*pimpernelpaars 'pimpernel purple' - some varieties of pimpernel
are indeed purple - has the same stress pattern as pimpel en paars
and is but a metathesis and an assimilation away from it; pimpel
could also derive from purper 'purple', cf. dialect purpel and
pil(le)pur.

9. The spik of spikspinternieuw, spikspeldernieuw is compared by the
WNT to that of English spick and span (now); in turn, the OED does
not gloss spick but compares it to Dutch spik. I suggest that it
is identical to Norwegian spikk 'wood chip, splinter', so that
both the Dutch and the English examples are tautological, with
the meaning 'as new as a splinter and a wood chip'.

9. Stom, which originally meant 'mute', has been in use for 'stupid'
since at least the 18th century; this latter meaning seems to under-
lie the intensifier in stomvervelond 'stupid' 'annoying', but
probably not in stomverbaasd 'dumbfounded' or stromdronken 'mute'
'drunk'.

10. Oer-, listed in WNT only as a 'Germanism' for oor-, may have been
borrowed as an intensifier as well as prefix meaning 'primordial',
cf. German uralt, urkomisch = Dutch oeroud, oerkomisch.

11. WNT construes the -s- in doodsbang, -benaawd and -bleek to indicate
that they are derived from the noun dood 'death' rather than from
the adjective, although this linking -s may be phonologically con-
ditioned (but see doodbedaard, without it). The OED also lists
some intensifier-adjective compounds with death rather than dead;
cf. also Icelandic dauðadravkinn and footnote 31 below.

12. Bloedwarm 'blood' 'warm', listed in Van Dale in the meaning of the
temperature of blood, i.e. 37.5 °C, appears in the 19th century
with bloed- reinterpreted as intensifier in the meaning 'very hot'
; this has since been replaced by bloedheet, and bloedwarm seems ob-
solete in either meaning.

13. WNT and de Vries derive the intensifier from obsolete and regional
stapel 'cricket, grasshopper', rather than from the more familiar homo-
phone meaning 'stack, pile'. Explanations given of the semantic
motivation are the unpredictable movements of the grasshopper and
the incessant chirping of the cricket, both of which can conjure
up images of madness. As an alternate explanation cp. German
Grille 'cricket, grasshopper; whim; caprice': Kluge explains the
second set of meanings from the first by an old superstition ac-
cording to which a demon of illness appeared in the form of the
insect.

14. WNT gives also the meaning 'funny little man', which would be a
more likely source for the intensifier.

15. Lasch (1928:207) quotes the Wöchentliche Berliner Nachrichten of 9
February 1739 : 'extra puyk neuen Pontac von der letzten Weilse'.

16. Even Klappenbach and Steinitz 1967-1977 indicate that picobello
is Italian! However, the Italian word meaning 'peak, point' is
picco, and such compounding is extremely rare in Romance.

17. The absolute comparative is restricted to a few adjectives, e.g.
Hij gaat voor langere tijd weg. 'He's leaving for a rather long
time'.

18. The absolute superlative, at times intensified even further by
aller- 'of all' or upper- 'upper', is restricted to certain ad-
jectives, e.g. Zij is een alleraardigst kind. 'She's an extremely
nice girl'. Dat weet je opperbest. 'You know that extremely well'.

18. bar - usually for negative concepts, e.g. bar slecht 'very bad',
or ironically, e.g. bar mooi 'very nice' (iron.).
20. eindeloos - cp. expression het einde zijn 'to be fabulous (lit. the end)'.
21. erg, heel, zeer - most neutral intensifiers.
22. hoogst - written together with adjective modified.
23. bloedarm - homograph meaning anaemic has different stress pattern: bloödārm 'very poor' vs. bloëdārm 'anaemic'.
24. bloedjong refers only to human beings, with overtones of ingenuousness and naïveté.
25. botermals, boterzacht - perhaps more common in simile form: zo mals/zacht als boter.
26. dolprettig cf. dolle pret 'great fun'.
27. doodalleen - cf. in z'n dooie eentje 'all alone'.
28. doodernstig - Van Dale notes 'especially when not expected (i.e. the seriousness)'.
29. doodgemakkelijk - cf. also op z'n dooie gemak 'taking his own sweet time'.
30. doodoed - used only of persons, 'as good as gold', 'kind'.
31. doodsbang - cf. also als de dood zijn voor iets 'to be deathly (afraid) of something'.
32. doodervervelend - cf. ik verveel me dood 'I am bored to death (lit. dead)'.
33. haarscherp - especially 'clearly focused'.
34. hemelsbreed - only used in expressions such as hemelsbreed verschil 'a world of difference'.
35. kaarsrecht - only in the sense of 'ramrod straight' i.e. stiffly erect.
36. kotsmisselijk - dat is om van te kotsen 'that is revolting, is enough to make one puke'.
37. levensgroot - only in few expressions, e.g. levensgroot probleem 'life-large problem'.
38. moedernaakt admits a second intensifier, which rhymes in assonance with the first: bloemdoedernaakt.
39. oliedom derives perhaps from *olijkdom 'stupid, foolish, naive' 'stupid' or from the regional use of olijk as a free intensifier; cf. also regional traandom 'fish oil' 'stupid', a probable humorous variation on oliedom.
40. rasecht - only used to modify nouns of origin - rasechte Fransman 'dyed-in-the-wool Frenchman' - and negative characteristics - rasechte leugenaar 'dyed-in-the-wool liar'.
41. De Vries explains spier- in spiernaakt as a productive intensifier after analogy to spierdun and spierwit. Perhaps it is a reinterpretation of piernaakt 'worm' 'naked'.
42. cf. also spotprijzen 'mock' 'prices', i.e. absurdly low prices.
43. tjokvol is phonologically and graphemically integrated from English chockfull.
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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

. separates intensifier-adjective compounds conventionally written together (List II).
† items unknown to my main Dutch informant.
* items in which the adjective can be deleted.
- indicates intensifiers conventionally written together with adjectives (List III).
α adverb only, with or without intensifier.
β adverb only with intensifier; without it, adjective as well
γ as adjective, used exclusively in predicate position, with or without intensifier.
δ as adjective, used exclusively in predicate position with intensifier; also used attributively without intensifier.
coll. colloquial.
estp. especially.
fig. figurative meaning only.
Flem. Van Dale's indication, or from Flemish informant and unknown to my main Dutch informant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial and other free intensifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>absolute</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aardig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afgriselijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afschuwelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behoorlijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belachelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bepaald(e)lijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beslist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijzonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buitengewoon</td>
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<tr>
<td>crimineel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donders</td>
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<tr>
<td>doodsgewoon</td>
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<tr>
<td>door en door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duivels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eindeloos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enigszins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geheel en al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geweldig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gewoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gewoonweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heel²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heel erg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helemaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoogst²²</td>
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<tr>
<td>ietwat</td>
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<tr>
<td>innig</td>
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<tr>
<td>intens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekker</td>
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<tr>
<td>mieters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ongeloofigelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ongemeen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List II: Intensifiers plus adjectives, alphabetic order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aarde.donkerš</td>
<td>'earth' 'dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarts.dom</td>
<td>'arch' 'dumb, stupid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarts.gekt</td>
<td>'arch' 'crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarts.gierig</td>
<td>'arch' 'stingy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarts.lelijk</td>
<td>'arch' 'ugly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ape.trots</td>
<td>'ape' 'proud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ape.zat</td>
<td>'ape' 'drunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as.grauw</td>
<td>'ash' 'gray, pale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beeld.schoon</td>
<td>'picture' 'beautiful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>been.dor†</td>
<td>'bone' 'dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>been.droog†</td>
<td>'bone' 'dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>been.mager</td>
<td>'bone' 'lean, slender'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere.goed</td>
<td>'bear' 'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere.koud</td>
<td>'bear' 'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere.lang</td>
<td>'bear' 'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere.sterk</td>
<td>'bear' 'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikkel.hard</td>
<td>'sheep's knuckle' 'hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter.koud</td>
<td>'bitter' 'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter.weinigé</td>
<td>'bitter' 'little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blad.stil</td>
<td>'leaf' 'quiet, still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bliksem.snel</td>
<td>'lightning' 'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.arm†</td>
<td>'blood' 'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.gierig</td>
<td>'blood' 'stingy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.heet12</td>
<td>'blood' 'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.jong24</td>
<td>'blood' 'young'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.lauw†</td>
<td>'blood' 'lukewarm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.link</td>
<td>'blood' 'dangerous, risky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.naakt†</td>
<td>'blood' 'naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.nervens</td>
<td>'blood' 'nervous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.rood</td>
<td>'blood' 'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.serieux</td>
<td>'blood' 'serious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloed.warm†</td>
<td>'blood' 'warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bloem.zoet</td>
<td>'flower' 'sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol.rond</td>
<td>'bulging; sphere' 'round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol.vol</td>
<td>'bulging' 'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bom.vol</td>
<td>'bomb' 'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boom.still†</td>
<td>'tree' 'quiet, still' (Flem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boorde.vol</td>
<td>'prim.' 'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boter.mals25</td>
<td>'butter' 'tender (of meat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boter.zacht25</td>
<td>'butter' 'soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brand.nieuw</td>
<td>'fire' 'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brand.schoon</td>
<td>'fire' 'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brood.mager</td>
<td>'bread' 'lean, slender'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brood.nodig</td>
<td>'bread' 'necessary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brood.nuchter</td>
<td>'bread' 'sober' (fig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brood.vers</td>
<td>'bread' 'fresh' (Flem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crineneel.zat</td>
<td>'drunk' 'drunk' (Flem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.blijk</td>
<td>'crazy' 'happy, cheerful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.gelukkig</td>
<td>'crazy' 'happy, fortunate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.gezeelig</td>
<td>'crazy' 'cozy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.graagō</td>
<td>'crazy' 'gladly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.prettigš 26</td>
<td>'crazy' 'nice, pleasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol.verliefd</td>
<td>'crazy' 'in love'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.african</td>
<td>'dead' 'tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.alleen727</td>
<td>'dead' 'alone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.angstig</td>
<td>'dead' 'anxious, afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.arm</td>
<td>'dead' 'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.bedoarding</td>
<td>'dead' 'calm, controlled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dood.eenvoudig</td>
<td>'dead' 'simple'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dood.eerlijk
dood.ellendig
dood.eng
dood.enkel
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dood.familiaar
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doods.bleek
dood.stil
dood.suf
dood.toevallig
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dood.ziek
dood.zielig
dood.zonde7
dood.zuinig
dood.zwak
door.braaf†
door.eerlijk†
door.geluiklig†
door.goed†
door.koud†
door.nat†
door.slecht†
door.sterk†
door.still†
door.streng†
drijf.nat*
druip.nat
ei.vol
enkel.en.alleenx
flinter.dun
flitsend snel
'dead' 'honest'
'dead' 'misereable'
'dead' 'creepy'
'dead' 'occasional'
'dead' 'serious'
'dead' 'familiar, informal'
'dead' 'easy'
'dead' 'unconcerned, matter-of-factly'
'dead' 'ordinary, usual'
'dead' 'kind'
'dead' 'pity'
'dead' 'calm, relaxed'
'dead' 'cold'
'dead' 'cute, witty'
'dead' 'dangerous, risky'
'dead' 'lean, slender'
'dead' 'tired'
'dead' 'natural'
'dead' 'normal'
'dead' 'sober, straight-forward'
'dead' 'innocent' (iron.)
'dead' 'unhappy'
'dead' 'innocent, simple-minded'
'dead' 'used-up, tired'
'dead' 'ripe' (Flem.)
'dead' 'calm, quiet'
'dead' 'dull (boring)'
'deathly' 'afraid'
'deathly' 'scared'
'deathly' 'pale'
'dead' 'quiet'
'dead' 'dull, groggy'
'dead' 'coincidentally'
'dead' 'bashful'
'dead' 'tiring'
'dead' 'worn' (Flem.)
'dead' 'boring'
'dead' 'drunk'
'dead' 'nervous'
'dead' 'sick'
'dead' 'pitiful'
'dead' 'wasteful'
'dead' 'thristy'
'dead' 'weak'
'through' 'well-behaved' (Flem.)
'through' 'honest' (Flem.)
'through' 'happy' (Flem.)
'through' 'good' (Flem.)
'through' 'cold' (Flem.)
'through' 'wet' (Flem.)
'through' 'bad' (Flem.)
'through' 'strong' (Flem.)
'through' 'quiet, still' (Flem.)
'through' 'severe' (Flem.)
'float' 'wet'
'drip' 'wet'
'egg' 'full'
'only and only'
'tatter' 'thin'
'flashing, zipping' 'fast'
foei.lelijk
fonkel.nieuw

gif.groen  'cry of disgust' 'ugly'
'poison' 'green'
'jet' 'black'
'glass' 'clear'
'glow' 'new'
'glowing' 'hot'
'glowing' 'angry' (Flem.)
'god' 'entire'
'god' 'miserable'
'god' 'impossible'
'gold' 'honest'
'grave' 'quiet'
'grass' 'green'

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hemel.rein†
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hemel.schoon†
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honds.gemeen
honds.moe7
honing.zoet
hoog.paars
hopeloos verliefd
huize.hoog
hyper.modern
hyper.nervens

'idiot' 'large'
'idiot' 'small'
'idiot' 'short'
'idiot' 'long'
'idiot' 'much'
'idiot' 'little (amount)'
'ice' 'cold'
'iron' 'hard' (Flem.)
'iron' 'strong'
'in' 'bitter, embittered'
'in' 'blue'
'in' 'pale'
'in' 'happy, glad'
'in' 'angry'
'in' 'well-behaved'
'in' 'sad'
'in' 'dry'
'in' 'fine, elegant'
'in' 'happy, content'
in.gemeen
in.gierig
in.goed
in.groen
in.heet
in.koud
inkt.zwart
in.schoon
in.slecht
in.tevreden
in.wit
in.zoet
in.zuur
in.zwak
in.zwart
kaars.recht*35
kakel.bont
kanarie.geel
kant.en.klaary
kei.hard*
kern.gezond
kers.vers*
keurig.net(jes)?
kil.koud†
kip.lekker
klaar.wakker
kledder.nat*
kleets.nat*
klopper.net†
knal.geel
knal.rood
knetter.gek*
knots.gek*14
kogel.rond
kokend.heet
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kots.moe
kraak.helder
kraak.net†
kraak.schoon
kraak.zindelijkt
krijt.wit
kristal.helder
kristal.klart†
kurk.droog*
laaïend.enthousiast
laaiend.kwaad*
ladder.zat
levens.groot37
lijk.bleek*
lijn.rechtβ
loei.hard
loei.vervelend
lood.zwaar*
loof.stil†
luister.stil†
mier.zoet*
mijlen.verø
modder.vet
moeder.naakt†38

'in' 'mean'
in 'niggardly'
in 'good'
in 'green'
in 'hot'
in 'cold'
in 'black'
in 'clean'
in 'bad'
in 'satisfied'
in 'white'
in 'sweet'
in 'sour'
in 'weak'
in 'black'
candle 'straight'
clash 'colorful'
canary 'yellow'
done and ready
'rock' 'hard, loud, fast'
core 'healthy'
cherry 'fresh'
tidy 'heat'
chilly 'cold' (Flem.)
chicken 'fit, healthy'
clear, ready 'awake'
wet sound (onom.) 'wet'
'smack (onom.)' 'wet'
'blob' 'wet' (Flem.)
'bang' 'yellow'
'bang' 'red'
crackle (onom.) 'crazy'
cudgel 'crazy'
'bullet' 'round'
boiling 'hot'
'coal' 'black'
puke 'nauseated'
puke 'tired, fed up' (Flem.)
creak 'clean'
creak 'heat' (Flem.)
creak 'clean'
creak 'clean' (Flem.)
'chalk' 'white'
crystal 'clear'
crystal 'clear' (Flem.)
cork 'dry'
flaming 'enthusiastic'
flaming 'angry'
ladder 'drunk'
'life' 'large'
corpse 'pale'
line 'straight, direct'
roar, scream 'loud, fast'
roar, scream 'annoying, boring'
'lead' 'heavy'
'leaf' 'quiet, still' (Flem.)
'listen' 'quiet, still' (Flem.)
ant 'sweet'
mile 'far'
mud 'greasy, fat'
'mother' 'naked'
moederziel alleen
moer.vast
moors.doed
mud.vol
muis.stil
muur.vast
naald.scherp
nagel.vast
nok.vol
oer.degelijk
oer.dom
oer.donker
oer.gezellig
oer.komisch
oer.oud
oer.slecht
oer.sterk
oer.stom
oer.vervelend
o.i.e.dom
over.aangenaam
over.aardig
over.beschadigd
over.bots
over.braaf
over.ernstig
over.fijn†
over.fors†
over.fraai
over.gelukkig
over.graag
over.groot†
over.gul
over.heerlijk
over.koel
over.kort†
over.koud
over.krachtig
over.krom†
over.lang†
over.langzaam
over.lekker
over.lenig
over.levendig
over.listig
over.loomp
over.luid
over.nat†
over.nauwkeurig
over.net
over.oud†
over.rijk†
over.smal
over.sterk
over.stijf
over.stil
over.streng
over.teder
over.trots
over.verfijnd
over.verstandig
over.vlug

'mother soul' 'alone'
'nut (i.e. for bolt)' 'tight'
'death (Latin)' 'dead'
'unit of volume measure' 'full'
'mouse' 'quiet'
'(stone) wall' 'solid'

'needle' 'sharp' (Flem.)
'nail' 'solid, tight' (Flem.)
'roof-ridge' 'full'

'primordial' 'upright, substantial'
'primordial' 'stupid'
'primordial' 'dark'
'primordial' 'cozy'
'primordial' 'funny'
'primordial' 'old'
'primordial' 'bad'
'primordial' 'strong'
'primordial' 'stupid'
'primordial' 'boring; annoying'
'oil' 39 'stupid'
'over' 'pleasant'
'over' 'nice, friendly'
'over' 'cultured'
'over' 'dull, blunt'
'over' 'well-behaved'
'over' 'serious'
'over' 'fine'
'over' 'robust, vigorous'
'over' 'pretty, highly decorated'
'over' 'happy'
'over' 'eagerly, gladly'
'over' 'large'
'over' 'generous'
'over' 'delicious'
'over' 'cool'
'over' 'short'
'over' 'cold'
'over' 'powerful'
'over' 'crooked'
'over' 'long'
'over' 'slow'
'over' 'tasty'
'over' 'limber'
'over' 'lively'
'over' 'crafty'
'over' 'rude'
'over' 'loud'
'over' 'wet'
'over' 'precise'
'over' 'neat'
'over' 'old'
'over' 'rich'
'over' 'narrow'
'over' 'strong'
'over' 'stiff'
'over' 'quiet'
'over' 'severe'
'over' 'tender, affectionate'
'over' 'proud'
'over' 'refined'
'over' 'reasonable'
'over' 'quick (esp. mentally)'
over.vol 'full'
over.warm 'warm, hot'
over.wijd† 'wide, large (of clothing)'
over.zedig 'demure, modest'
over.zindelijk 'tidy'
over.zoet 'sweet'
over.zuinig 'thrifty'
over.zwaar 'heavy'
paal.recht† 'pole' 'straight, direct'
padde.moeder.naakt† 'toad' 'mother' 'naked'
peper.droog† 'pepper' 'dry' (Flem.)
peper.duur 'pepper' 'expensive'
piek.fijn 'top quality' 'fine'
piep.jong 'chirp, peep' 'young'
piep.klein 'chirp, peep' 'small'
pier.naakt† 'worm' 'naked' (Flem.)
pijl.smel 'arrow' 'fast'
pijl.vlug† 'arrow' 'fast' (Flem.)
pik.donker 'pitch' 'dark'
pik.duister† 'pitch' 'dark'
pik.het† 'pitch' 'hot'
pik.vers† 'pitch' 'fresh' (reg.)
pik.zwart 'pitch' 'black'
pimpel.paars 'titmouse; guzzle' 'purple'
pioen.rood 'peony' 'red'
pis.nijdig 'piss' 'angry'
poedel.naakt 'poodle' 'naked'
poeier.droog† 'powder' 'dry' (Flem.)
poepl.bruin 'poo' (faeces) 'brown'
poepl.goed 'poo' (faeces) 'good'
poepl.zat 'poo' (faeces) 'fed up'
poes.lief 'pussy-cat' 'affectionate, friendly (iron.
poes.mooi 'pussy-cat' 'beautiful'(iron.)
pot.dicht 'pot' 'closed'
pot.dood† 'pot' 'dead'
pot.dood† 'pot' 'dead'
propens.vol† 'to stuff' 'full' (Flem.)
prop.vol 'stopper' 'full'
puik.best 'top quality' 'best'
punt.gaaf 'dot, detail' 'sound, whole'
ras.echt 'race' 'genuine'
rave.zwart 'raven' 'black'
rarend.kwaad 'furious' 'angry'
rarend.snel 'racing' 'fast'
reet.goed 'arse' 'good'
regel.recht8 'line, rule' 'straight, direct'
reuze.aardig* 'giant' 'nice'
reuze.blij 'giant' 'happy'
reuze.fijn* 'giant' 'lovely, nice'
reuze.gek 'giant' 'crazy'
reuze.gezellig* 'giant' 'cozy'
reuze.goed* 'giant' 'good'
reuze.groot 'giant' 'large'
reuze.leuk* 'giant' 'nice, cute, witty'
roet.zwart 'soot' 'black'
room.vers† 'cream' 'fresh' (Flem.)
rooster.vers† 'grill' 'fresh' (Flem.)
rots.vast 'rock' 'solid'
rot.vervelend 'rotten' 'annoying'
rot.ziek 'rotten' 'sick'
schat.rijk
sintel.zwart
slokker.vet
smoor.dronken
smoor.heet
smoor.verliefd
smoor.volt
sneeuw.wit
snik.heet
spieg.el.glad
spieg.el.klaar
spieg.el.nieuw
spieg.el.vlak
spier.dun
spier.naakt
spier.wit
spik.spelder.nieuw
spik.spinter.nieuw
spilner.nieuw
spoorloos verweven
spot.goedkoop
spring.livend
spuug.zat
staal.hard
stemp.vol
stapel.gek
stapel.verliefd
stapel.zot
steen.dom
steen.dood
steen.goed
steen.hard
steen.koud
steen.rood
steen.rijk
steke.blind
stier.vervelend
stik.donker
stik.heet
stik.vol
stinkend brutaal
stinkend rijk
stinkend smerig
stinkend vervelend
or: stinkvervelend
stinkend vuil
stok.blind
stok.dood
stok.doof
stok.oud
stok.stijf
stok.stil
stom.dronken
stom.lazarus
stom.toevoeging
stom.verbaasd
stom.vervelend
stom.wonderd
stom.zat
straal.bezopen
straat.arm
stront.bruijn
stront.eigenwijs
stront.nat
'treasure' 'rich'
'cinder' 'black'
'glutton' 'fat' (Flem.)
'suffocate, simmer' 'drunk'
'suffocate, simmer' 'hot'
'simmer, suffocate' 'in love'
'suffocate' 'full' (Flem.)
'snow' 'white'
'gasp, sob' 'hot'
'mirror' 'smooth; icy'
'mirror' 'clear' (Flem.)
'mirror' 'new' (Flem.)
'mirror' 'flat' (Flem.)
'blad of grass' 'thing'
'muscle' 'naked'
'white-meat (poultry)' 'white'
'spick' 'wood chip' 'new'
'spick' 'spinter' 'new'
'spinter' 'new'
'traceless' 'disappeared'
'mor-k' 'cheap'
'jump' 'alive'
'puke' 'fed up'
'steel' 'hard' (Flem.)
'to stamp' 'full'
'cricket' '13' 'crazy'
'cricket' '13' 'in love'
'cricket' 'crazy'
'stone' 'stupid'
'stone' 'dead' (Flem.)
'stone' 'good'
'stone' 'hard'
'stone' 'cold'
'stone' 'red'
'stone' 'rich'
'stab' 'blind'
'bull' 'annoying'
'suffocate' 'dark'
'suffocate' 'hot'
'suffocate' 'full'
'stinking' 'rude,bold'
'stinking' 'rich'
'stinking' 'dirty'
'stinking' 'annoying'
'sticking' 'dirty'
'stick' 'blind' (reg.)
'stick' 'dead' (Flem.)
'stick' 'deaf'
'stick' 'old'
'stick' 'stiff'
'stick' 'still'
'mute;stupid' 'drunk'
'mute;stupid' 'drunk'
'mute;stupid' 'coincidentally'
'mute;stupid' 'amazed'
'mute;stupid' 'annoying,boring'
'mute;stupid' 'surprised'
'mute;stupid' 'drunk'
'steam' 'drunk'
'street' 'poor'
'shit' 'brown' (Flem.)
'shit' 'headstrong,stubborn'
'shit' 'wet' (Flem.)
stront.vervelend
stront.zat
stront.ziekô
suiker.zoet
super.fijn
super.schoon
super.slank
super.slim
super.snel
super.stom
tjok.vol
tom.rond†
toren.hoog
tralie.dicht†
veder.licht
vliegens.vlug
vlijm.scherp*
vogel.vlug†
wagenwijd.openß
was.bleek
wild.enthousiast
wild.vreemd
wit.heet
wonder.mooi
wonder.schoon
zeem.zoet†
zeik.nat*
ziedend.heet†
ziels.bedroefd
ziels.bemind†
ziels.blij
ziels.geliefd†
ziels.gelukkig
ziels.goed
ziels.graagû
ziels.lief
ziels.veelß
zilver.schoon†
zuurstokken.rose
'shit' 'annoying, boring'
'shit' 'fed-up; drunk'
'shit' 'sick, fed-up'
'sugar' 'sweet'
'super' 'fine (quality)'
'super' 'clean, fastidious'
'super' 'slender'
'super' 'slender'
'super' 'fast'
'super' 'dumb, stupid'
'chock' 'full'
'barrel' 'round' (Flem.)
'tower' 'high'
'iron bar' 'closed' (Flem.)
'feather' 'light'
'flying' 'fast'
'lancet' 'sharp'
'bird' 'fast' (Flem.)
'cart-wide' 'open'
'wax' 'pale'
'wild' 'enthusiastic'
'wild' 'strange, unfamiliar'
'white' 'hot'
'wonder' 'beautiful'
'wonder' 'beautiful'
'honey' 'sweet' (Flem.)
'piss, soak' 'wet'
'boiling' 'hot' (Flem.)
'soul' 'sad'
'soul' 'beloved'
'soul' 'happy, cheerful'
'soul' 'beloved'
'soul' 'happy, fortunate'
'soul' 'good'
'soul' 'gladly'
'soul' 'dear'
'soul' 'much'
'silver' 'beautiful' (Flem.)
'candy stick' 'pink'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List III : Intensifiers listed by adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aangenaam over- bruin eigenwijs stront-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>af   dood- roep- stron- ellendig streng-</td>
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<tr>
<td>alleen enkel en- brutaal honds- zeer-</td>
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<tr>
<td>doord- moederziel stinkend- dood- enkel-</td>
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<tr>
<td>angstig doood- deegelijk oer- dood- Eng-</td>
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<tr>
<td>arm   bloed- dicht pot- dood- enthousiast</td>
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<tr>
<td>dood- tralie- laaiend wild- arm-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straat- dom ernstig dood- over-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bang  doods- aarts- familair dood-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doods- bedaard oer- dood- fijn 'detailed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedroefd aarde- haai- doed- fijn 'exquisite'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ziels- helle- in-         in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>bemind oer- over-         over-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ziels- pik- piek-         over-</td>
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<tr>
<td>benauwd stik(ke)-         super-         piek-</td>
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<tr>
<td>doods- hartstikke fors     Forg-         reuze-</td>
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<tr>
<td>beschaafd mors- over-      over-          super-</td>
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<tr>
<td>best  pot- fijn 'detailed' over-         super-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puik- steen- fijn 'detailed' over-       super-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bezenpen stok- fijn 'detailed' over-     super-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straal- hartstikke gaaf    doods-         pot-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank hartstikke pot-      gans-          stok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank hagel- dor           gans-          stok-</td>
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<tr>
<td>blauw been- geel           stok-          been-</td>
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<tr>
<td>hard- droevig gegal         been-          droevig</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-  in- hard-             in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleek  dronken knars-      in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>doods- strook- stapel-      in-            in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-  bek- Stapel-          in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>lijk- snoer- geliefd        in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>was- stoom- gelukkig        in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>blind droog knet-          doods-         doods-</td>
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<tr>
<td>steke- been-               gemakkelijk    over-</td>
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<tr>
<td>stap- in-                  dood-           over-</td>
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<tr>
<td>blij  reuze-               gemeen         over-</td>
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<tr>
<td>dool- poeier-              in-            in-</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-  reuze-                ons-            ons-</td>
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<tr>
<td>reuze- duister             poeier-        poeier-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziels- pik-               duister         duister</td>
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<tr>
<td>bitter dun               ech-            ech-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-   flinter-             ras-           ras-</td>
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<tr>
<td>bont  spier-              samen          samen</td>
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<tr>
<td>kakel- duur               gemeen         gemeen</td>
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<tr>
<td>boos  peper-              gemakkelijk    gemakkelijk</td>
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<tr>
<td>bot  peper-               dood-          dood-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over-  ras-               dood-          dood-</td>
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<tr>
<td>braaf eenvoudig             dood-        lid-</td>
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<tr>
<td>door- eerlijk              dood-          door-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in- door-                  dood-          door-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over- goud-                dood-          goud-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gezellig, dol-, oer-, reuze-
gezond, kern-, gierig-
aarts-, bloed-
in-
glad, spiegel-
goed, bere-
dood-
wer-
poep-
reet-
reuze-
steen-
ziels-
goedkoop, spot-
graag, dol-
over-
ziels-
groen, gif-
gras-
hard-
in-
groot, idioot-
levens-
over-
reuze-
gul
over-
hard 'hard; loud; fast'
kei-
loe-
hard 'hard' only
bikkel-
ijzer-
staal-
steen-
heerlijk
over-
heet
bloed-
gloeiend
in-
kokend
pik-
smoor-
spik-
wit-
ziedend-
helder 'clean'
krak-
helder 'clear'
glas-
kristal-
hoog
hemel-
huize-
toren-
jammer
dood-
jammerlijk
gods-
jong
bloed-
piep-
kalm
dood-
klar
kant en
kristal-
spiegel-
klein
idioot-
piep-
kole
over-
komisch
oer-
kort
idioot-
over-
koud
bere-
bitter-
dood-
door-
ijs-
in-
kil-
over-
steen-
krachtig
over-
krom
over-
kwaad
laaiend
gloeiend
razend
lang
bere-
idoot-
over-
langzaam
over-
lauw
bloed-
lazarus
stom-
lelijk
aarts-
foei-
lekker
kip-
over-
lenig
over-
leuk
dood-
reuze-
levend
spring-
levendig
over-
lucht
veder-
lief
poes-
ziels-
link
bloed-
dood-
lomp
over-
luid
over-
mager
been-
brood-
dood-
mals
boter-
misselijk
kots-
modern
hyper-
moed
dood-
honds-
kots-
mooi
poes-
wonder-
nak
bloed-
moeder-
paddemoeder-
poezel-
pier-
spier-
nat
door-
drijf-
druip-
kleder-
klets-
over-
stront-
zeik-
natuurlijk
dood-
nauweurig
over-
nerveus
bloed-
hyper-
net
kraak-
over-
netjes
keurig
nieuw
brand-
fonkel-
gloed-
hagel-
spiegel-
spikspelder-
spiksplinter-
spinter-
nijdig
pis-
nodig
brood-
normaal
doed-
nuchter
brood-
doed-
ongelukkig
doed-
onmogelijk
gods-
onnozel
doed-
onschuldig
doed-
op
doed-
open
wagenwijd
oud
oer-
over-
stok-
overtuigd
heilig
paars
hoog-
pimpel-
prettig
dol-
recht
kaars-
lijn-
apal-
regel-
rein
hemel-
rijk
over-
schat-
steen-
.stinkend

rijp
dood-
rond
bol-
kogel-
ton-
rood
bloed-
hard-
knal-
pioen-
steen-
rose
zuurstokken
rustig
doed-
saai
doed-
scherp
haar-
aal-
vlijm-
schoon 'beautiful'
beeld-
hemel-
in-
wonder-
zilver-
schoon 'clean'
brand-
in-
krak-
super-
serieu-
slank
super-
slecht
door-
in-
oer-
slim
super-
smaal
over-
smerig
stinkend
snel
bliksem-
flitsend
pijl-
razend-
super-
sterk
bere-
doer-
iijzer-
oer-
over-
over-
over-
suif
doed-
teder
over-
tevreden
in-
toevallig
doed-
stom-
trots
ape-
over-
vast
moer-
muur-
nagel-
rots-
veel
idioot-
ziels-
ver
mijlen-
verbaasd
stom-
verdwenen
spoorloos
verfijn
over-
verlegen
doed-
verliefd
doel-
hopeloos
smoor-
stepel-
vermoed
door-
vermoeidend
doed-
vers
brood-
kakel-
kers-
pik-
room-
rooster-
verstandig
over-
versleten
dood-
vervelend
dood-
loed-
oer-
rot-
stom-
stier-
stink(end)
stront-
verwonderd
stom-
vet
modder-
slokker-
vlaak
spiegel-
vlug
over-
pijl-
vliegens-
vogel-
vol
bol-
bom-
boorde-
ei-
hartstikke-
mud-
nok-
over-
prop-
propens-
smoor-
stamp-
stik-
vreemd
wild-
vuil
stinkend
wakker
klaar-
warm
bloed-
over-
weinig
bitter-
idioot-
wijd
over-
wit
hagel-
in-
krijt-
sneeuw-
spier-
acht
boter-