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"I'm gonna get totally and utterly X-ed." Constructing drunkenness

Abstract: The English language is famous for its large number of drunkonyms, i.e. words that can be used to refer to the state of drunkenness – from *blind* and *hammered* to *pissed*, *smashed* and *wasted*. Various lists of words have been compiled in the past (e.g. Levine 1981). However, most of the terms seem to be relatively infrequent, and they also appear to fall out of use relatively quickly. In view of Michael McIntyre's (2009) claim that it is possible to use any word to mean 'drunk' in English, this contribution therefore approaches the issue from a constructionist perspective. In a corpus-based study, we tested whether it is possible to model the expression of drunkenness in English as a more or less schematic (set of) construction(s). Our study shows that while corpus evidence for truly creative uses is scarce, we can nonetheless identify constructional and collostructional properties shared by certain patterns that are used to express drunkenness in English. For instance, the pattern *be/get* + ADV + drunkonym is strongly associated with premodifying (and often strongly intensifying) adverbs such as *completely*, *totally* and *absolutely*. A manual analysis of a large wordlist of English drunkonyms reveals further interesting patterns that can be modelled constructionally.

> "Obviously, Americans, like many other peoples of the world, have taken being drunk very seriously."
> Harry Gene Levine (1981)

1 Introduction

The English language is notoriously rich in colourful expressions designating the state of being drunk – i.e. 'unable to speak or act in the usual way because of

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having had too much alcohol' (*Cambridge English Dictionary*). Common examples of what Shavladze (2023: 1) calls *drunkonyms*[1] are the lexical items *pissed*, *hammered*, *trashed*, *wasted* or *trousered*.

This is not a recent phenomenon: if we use the advanced search in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED)[2] to retrieve adjectives containing the words *drunk* or *intoxicated* in their definition and sort these by date, we find that *merry* was already used around 1382 with the meaning 'Boisterous or cheerful due to alcohol; slightly drunk, tipsy' (OED).[3] Another word used very early with the meaning 'drunk', but without being a derivative of the word, is *blind*, with an attestation from 1630:

(1)   For though he be as **drunke** as any Rat, He hath but catcht a Foxe, or Whipt the Cat. Or some say hee's **bewicht**, or **scratcht**, or **blinde**, Which are the fittest tearmes that I can finde.

This metalinguistic quotation from the OED already contains a large number of colourful synonyms, and many more were added to the word-stock of English in the following centuries.

It also appears that the manifold synonyms for *drunk* raised the interest of word lovers relatively soon: the earliest texts mentioned in the literature assembling this type of expression are John Ray's collection of proverbs (1678) and Benjamin Franklin's *Drinker's Dictionary* (1737), which contains 228 words and phrases denoting drunkenness, followed by Thomas Norwood's list of 80 epithets for drunkenness in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1770 (cf. Crystal 2014: 30; Levine 1981: 1038; Measham 2010: 122). According to Levine (1981: 1038), the 1975 edition of the *Dictionary of American Slang* listed over 353 synonyms for *drunk*, making this the concept with the largest number of synonyms according to the editors of the dictionary (cf. also Wentworth and Flexner 1967: xii). In the *American Thesaurus of Slang*, Levine (1981: 1038) found approximately 900 terms with

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1 In her very brief article, which mainly consists of a discussion of early vocabulary lists.
2 https://www.oed.com (accessed 27 October 2023)
3 Since the OED results list is sorted based on the date of the headwords, but not of the meanings of the subentries, we checked these for the date of the first attestation with the meaning 'drunk'. For a list with early synonyms of *drunk* (which does not claim completeness), also see Crystal (2014). Interestingly, it was not possible to retrieve Crystal's (2014) earliest morphologically unrelated term *cup-shotten* (first attested around 1330) from the OED with the method described above – only the variant *cup-shot* (with a first attestation from before 1593), as *cup-shotten*'s entry merely consists of a cross-reference to *cup-shot* and thus does not contain the words *drunk* or *intoxicated*. However, our example *merry* antedates the next items on Crystal's list (which contains further early synonyms, such as *overseen*).

this meaning – i.e. more than twice as many. The number of synonyms seems to have been on the increase (cf. also Levine 1981: 1050), with the largest figure to be found in a BBC Culture article (Dent 2017) stating that there are "3,000 words English currently holds for the state of being drunk (including 'ramsquaddled', 'obfusticated', 'tight as a tick', and the curious 'been too free with Sir Richard')". While the author provides no supportive evidence for her claim in the form of a word list or a link to a reference work, the figure has been quoted elsewhere and even made it into the game show *Funny you should ask*.[4] One may observe that this bears a certain similarity to the inflated numbers reported for snow in "Eskimo" languages – see Pullum (1989) for a discussion.

In view of the prevalence and general interest of the topic (for instance, the audience of BBC One's *Booze* programme collected a glossary of 141 euphemisms for being drunk; cf. BBC Booze Programme 2002), it is highly surprising that drunkonyms are still under-researched from a linguistic perspective. Besides the aforementioned (quasi-)lexicographical treatments of the topic, only few studies are concerned with synonyms for *drunk*. Furthermore, these limit themselves to short lists of synonyms produced by groups of researchers or staff working in the field of alcohol treatment (Cameron et al. 2000; Levitt et al. 2009), with the aim of providing more accurate ways of talking about degrees of and attitudes towards drunkenness in English and other languages. Crystal (2014: 30) provides a semantic analysis of the word field, suggesting that the colourful words for *drunk* seem to refer to aspects such as the appearance of the drunk person (e.g. *pie-eyed*), their erratic or lacking movements (e.g. *looped*, *stiff*) or their mental state (e.g. *fuddled*), but it only comprises a comparatively small number of items.

This contribution thus fills a gap in linguistic research by providing a detailed investigation of the linguistic means that present-day English uses to talk about drunkenness. While the state of drunkenness and alcohol consumption in general are linked to many risks and problems (cf. e.g. World Health Organisation 2023), they seem to have played and do still play an important role in various societies or cultures, with a certain degree of acceptance and more positive attitudes towards heavy drinking in the cultural and historical context of certain festivities (cf. Measham 2010). The mere number of synonyms for *drunk* in the English language testifies to the cultural significance of this concept in English-speaking societies (cf. Measham 2010: 122 and Barr 1995; again, this is a parallel to the debates about words for snow). We therefore agree with Levine (1981: 1050) that the "ever-increasing number of expressions and terms about drunkenness [...] deserve to be

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4 https://www.facebook.com/TheClubhouseSaloon/videos/3000-words-for-drunk-funny-you-should-ask/2301157953350133/ (accessed 27 October 2023)

considered seriously" and will investigate the linguistic means employed in the context of the ideally "nonpathological drunkenness" of "celebrations, of beginnings and endings" (Levine 1981: 1038). We definitely do not wish to promote the state of drunkenness in view of its manifold negative consequences but approach the issue from an exclusively linguistic perspective.

As a starting point for our research, we compiled a list of synonyms for the adjective *drunk*, which combines material extracted from fairly recent user-generated word lists (BBC and Wiktionary) with material from a thesaurus by a dictionary publisher (Collins) and items extracted from the largest dictionary of the English language (OED), using the following resources:

– the results of the aforementioned OED searches for adjectives whose definition contains *drunk* or *intoxicated* (30th October, 2023). These were manually checked for semantic compatibility with alcohol-related intoxication.[5]
– the list collected by the audience of BBC One's *Booze* programme (2002) referred to above
– a list of British English synonyms for *drunk* from Collins Dictionary's thesaurus (4th May, 2023)
– a list of synonyms for *drunk* from Wiktionary's thesaurus (4th May, 2023).

We excluded synonyms including *drunk* as a base (e.g. *drunky* or *martin-drunk*) as well as phrases like *Mozart and Liszt* or *worse for drunk*. We then used Excel to automatically delete repeated items. The resulting list of 546 synonyms for *drunk* can be found in Appendix 1.[6]

A very light-hearted and entertaining argument why English has so many words referring to drunkenness is suggested by British stand-up comedian Michael McIntyre. In one of his famous comedy routines (2)[7], he claims that "posh people" can use any word in the English language to mean 'drunk':

(2) Getting **drunk**. Or as posh people – posh people have a variety of words for "drunk". You can have ah… you can be **"wellied"**, or **"trousered"**, or

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5 It should be noted that these items come from different varieties of English and that a considerable number of these are labelled *obsolete* in the OED.
6 A few items in the list are spelling variants of each other (e.g. *shitfaced* and *shit-faced*; or *whiskeyfied*, *whiskified* and *whiskyfied*). These were retained deliberately. The number of lemmas in a strict sense is thus slightly lower than the number reported here, but not substantially different.
7 The official video used for the transcript was published by McIntyre on Facebook in 2019, but an animated sequence with the same routine had already been uploaded to YouTube in 2009. Masque101 (2009) provides additional evidence that McIntyre first performed this routine on his 2009 tour.

"**arseholed**". "I was **rat-arsed**." (laugh) You can actually use any word in the English language and substitute it to mean "drunk" as a posh person. It works. "Did you have a drink last night?" – "You joking? I was utterly **gazeboed**." (laugh) It fits. "Are you planning on having a drink?" – "Are you joking? I'm going to get totally and utterly **carparked**!" You can say anything, I mean (laugh). You can play this in your own time. "Last night, should have seen me … fucking **pyjamaed**!" (laugh) [our transcript]

In a variation of his standup routine (McIntyre 2011), Michael McIntyre uses slightly different examples and points out that "it still sounds acceptable". He adds *trolleyed* to the list of colourful synonyms for *drunk* and begins with the example "I got utterly gazeboed", followed by "Angus, you're driving, I'm carparked" and "Slow down, chap, I'm pyjamaed".

Only few of the convincing examples provided by McIntyre are attested in the Oxford English Dictionary (*trousered*, *arseholed*, *rat-arsed*, *trolleyed*). This would suggest that the humour of the passage derives to a large extent from McIntyre's own, more or less spontaneous innovative word formations, whose bases additionally come from very disparate domains; e.g. *wellied*, *gazeboed*, *carparked* and *pyjamaed*. Interestingly, however, it is possible to find Urban Dictionary entries for all of these items, which date from 2006 (*wellied*[8]), 2008 (*Gazeboed*[9]) and 2009 (*carparked*[10] and *Pyjamad*[11]), respectively. This means that these terms were already in use either shortly before or around the time of McIntyre's tour, which was recorded in October 2009 to be published as a DVD[12]. Still, the strong reactions of McIntyre's audience, who respond with much laughter and clapping, seem to imply that these words are unfamiliar to a large proportion of the listeners. Their understanding of the words' meaning would thus rely on the previous context, in which the colourful synonyms of *drunk* were presented.

If McIntyre's hypothesis were right that any English word can be used to mean 'drunk',[13] and if a language user wanted to apply this principle, it would be necessary to ensure the listeners' understanding of the innovative use of the word either through contextual clues or other linguistic means. Based on the examples

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8 https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=wellied (accessed 27 Oct 2023)

9 https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Gazeboed (accessed 27 Oct 2023)

10 https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=carparked (accessed 27 Oct 2023)

11 https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Pyjamad (accessed 27 Oct 2023)

12 https://www.comedy.co.uk/tv/michael_mcintyre_hello_wembley/ (accessed 27 Oct 2023)

13 In the following study, we will make no restrictions regarding the "poshness" or class of the language users, in the awareness that some speakers might be more likely than others to use innovative synonyms for *drunk*.

that McIntyre provides, we can provisionally narrow down the claim on formal grounds to linguistic items that constitute a single chain of letters (with the possible insertion of a hyphen) and which end in an -*ed* suffix. This restriction can be justified by the fact that 312 of our 546 drunkonyms in Appendix 1 contain an -*ed* suffix, either at the end of the word (e.g. *plaster**ed***) or inside in those cases where it ends with a particle (e.g. *tank**ed** up*). This affix corresponds to the suffix -*ed²* described in the OED, which can be added to any noun in order to form an adjective (without the need to have an intervening verb for past participle formation, as with the OED suffix -*ed¹*). The resulting adjective usually has the meaning 'possessing, provided with or characterized by NOUN', but the OED also mentions adjectives like *dogged* 'obstinate' or *crabbed* 'cross-tempered', where the meaning of the suffix is vaguer. Even in these cases, though, it would seem that there is usually at least some metaphorical or metonymic motivation for the use of the base (e.g. by relating the unusual sideways gait of crabs to contrariety). This is also the case in the linguistic accounts attempting a semantic subcategorization of drunkonyms.[14] By contrast, it is highly difficult if not impossible to establish any semantic relation between the nouns forming the base of McIntyre's humorous terms for *drunk* and the meaning 'drunk', and to determine in what way intoxication is like a gazebo. One may even venture to claim that the more distant and less obvious the relation between the base and the meaning 'drunk', the better the word fulfils its humorous goal; possibly because this discrepancy reflects the disorderly state of drunkenness.

As a consequence, linguistic means might need to play a more important role to secure understanding in this context than in other instances of word formation. What is striking in McIntyre's examples is that he very frequently uses intensifying premodifying adverbs before the humorous adjectives referring to drunkenness: ***utterly*** *gazeboed* (twice), ***totally and utterly*** *carparked* and ***fucking*** *pyjamaed*. This is in line with Crystal's (2014: 30–31) observation that drinkers use certain terms to "exaggerate their state during or after a drinking session, usually by suggesting the thoroughness of their achievement" and by expressing that some maximum has been reached, which results in a state of "being 'completely filled'" (Crystal 2014: 31).

As for the types of verb used in McIntyre's examples representing fictional dialogues, we overwhelmingly find instances of BE, followed by some uses of GET. All example sentences use the first person and follow a predicative

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14 See above. For example, Levine (1981: 1038–39) notes that many of the American synonyms of *drunk* "suggest some kind of power, force or violence, often used to describe good times" by making use of metaphors, e.g. *crashed*, *paralyzed* or *screwed*.

pattern. The tense is either past or present, and McIntyre also uses one *going to* future. Interestingly, all references to the past[15] comprise a premodifying adverb (see above), whereas all references to a present state of drunkenness do without it:

(3)   **Angus, you're driving**, I'm carparked.
(4)   **Slow down, chap**, I'm pyjamaed.

One may argue that the extra-linguistic context of the sentences referring to the present in the first person singular will already provide clues about the speaker's state of drunkenness to the listener. Additionally, both (3) and (4) begin with an introductory part providing further hints (highlighted in the examples). Where this is not the case, by contrast, adverbial premodifiers seem to constitute an important aspect of talking about drunkenness in colourful words. All this seems to suggest that the pattern "I BE/GET ADV X-ed", or more specifically "I BE/GET utterly X-ed" is most prototypical when talking about drunkenness in a humorous way.

    In order to determine whether this observation can be generalised or whether this is an idiosyncratic use in a comedy routine, we are going explore both established and less established ways of expressing drunkenness in corpora and in lexical resources such as dictionaries and thesauri in the remainder of this paper. We will introduce and discuss the results of an empirical study and propose a constructionist treatment of drunkenness, which has been sorely missing from Construction Grammar theory so far.[16]

2   Theoretical questions

If McIntyre is right that "any word in the English language" can be used in a predicative sentence structure to mean 'drunk', this would suggest that the semantic component of drunkenness is not stored as a property of the respective word itself, very similarly to the situation described by Goldberg (1995, 2006) for the ditransitive construction. Goldberg shows that even when novel verbs are used within the construction, the notion of transfer is still activated and

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15 With the exception of the first one, *I was rat-arsed*, which is presented in the same breath as the individual items *wellied*, *trousered* and *arseholed*.

16 Filling such gaps in constructionist modelling to create a comprehensive description of language is particularly timely in 2023, considering that this year marks the celebration of Thomas Herbst's 70th birthday.

thus needs to be contributed by the Argument Structure Construction (ASC). Example (5) illustrates how the clausal configuration carries the meaning of 'transfer' when *crutch* (which usually occurs as a noun) is used in the verb slot of an ASC.

(5)   She crutched him the ball. (Goldberg 2006: 115)

Accordingly, we would expect to find a larger construction in contexts where language users talk about drunkenness, which allows us to interpret whichever word occurs within it as expressing the state of being drunk.

   Such a constructionist treatment is supported by various observations:

a)   The number of word types that can be used to mean 'drunk' is extremely large: thus Larson quotes from Benjamin Franklin, who, in his 1737 article listing numerous synonyms, does "not doubt but that there are many more in use" (cf. Larson 1937: 92), and Wentworth and Flexner (1967: 716) find that "slang synonyms for *drunk* continue to appear with amazing frequency".

b)   At the same time, many of the terms "are represented by just a single citation" (Crystal 2014: 30), and they fall out of use relatively quickly. Thus Levitt et al. (2009: 448) note that "some of the terms Levine offered as current in 1981 (e.g., 'bagged' and 'twisted') are anachronistic today".

If the situation is similar to that of the ditransitive construction and many other constructions, then we would also expect to find a skewed distribution of the items occurring in the construction. For instance, the verb *give* amounts for roughly half of the occurrences of the ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003), and its semantics matches the meaning of the construction as a whole. According to Goldberg (2006: 75–85), this "skewed input" helps in the acquisition of the construction. Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009) show similar "Zipfian" distributions for a range of their Verb-Argument-Constructions, e.g. for *go* in Verb-Location or for *put* in Verb-Object-Location, where many established and certainly all novel and creative uses account for only a small fraction of the overall occurrences of the construction. For a potential drunkenness construction, we would therefore expect either *drunk* or its most frequent humorous synonym to act as the most frequent and semantically most compatible element, dominating the competition in its slot.

   Since the structures with *be* and *get* mentioned in the previous section are semantically different, this raises the question whether we should expect to find a smaller construction that is used in both common patterns, or whether there are at least two drunkenness constructions, one with *be* and one with *get*.

The theoretical questions we would like to address in this contribution can thus be summed up as follows:

1. Can really any word be used to express the notion of drunkenness in English?
    a. If so, what are the conditions under which that is possible?
    b. If not, what restrictions are there?
2. Is it helpful to model such euphemistic uses constructionally...
    a. ... in the form of a schematic drunkenness construction and/or
    b. ... in the form of multiple, less abstract drunkenness constructions?

To answer these questions, we carried out an empirical corpus study, which will be described in the following.

3 Material and method of the corpus study

If we assume that any word can be used to mean 'drunk', this poses a methodological problem for corpus research, because there are no specific word(s) to query. Most of McIntyre's examples occur in structures with the lemmas *be* and *get*, but these are two of the most frequent verbs of the English language, with frequencies of over 4 million (*be*) and over 200,000 (*get*) respectively in the 100-million-word 1994 British National Corpus (BNC). Our approach was therefore to first search for these two lemmas followed by optional elements (to allow for adjuncts but also for premodifiers) and then by the prototypical known word(s), e.g. *drunk*. This enabled us to identify relevant patterns that we could then use in a second step to query the corpus without the known word(s).

More specifically, we used BNCweb (Hoffmann/Evert 2006) to search the BNC for the patterns

> drunk_{A}<<5<<{be}
> drunk_{A}<<5<<{get}

i.e. for the form *drunk* tagged as an adjective following the respective lemmas *be* and *get* with a maximum of 5 intervening words. Since we expected the pattern to occur particularly frequently in spoken conversation, we also searched the 11.4-million-word Spoken BNC 2014 (Love et al. 2017) using the same queries as above in CQPweb (Hardie 2012). Results were sorted by the element to the left of *drunk* and then downloaded for further analysis in a spreadsheet.[17]

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17 We also searched for *become, seem* and *appear* in the verb slot, which resulted in 17 hits (0.17 pmw), 2 hits and 1 hit, respectively. These low numbers confirm that the most relevant patterns are those with *be* and *get*. The low-frequency patterns were therefore not studied further.

Our search retrieved the target structures, as in (6) and (7), but also instances of erroneous part-of-speech tagging, as in (8), where *drunk* is used as a noun rather than an adjective, or examples like (9), in which the verb *be* does not relate to the adjective *drunk*. Similarly, example (10) is a false hit for *be* (but was also correctly retrieved for *get*).

(6)   No wonder that Rab **was drunk**. (BNC 3020)[18]
(7)   They always **got drunk** at the Commercial Hotel when their shift was over. (C86 3194)
(8)   He **was** a **drunk** and he treated my mother very poorly. (CEK 6621)
(9)   Charlotte gazes at him without speaking/then smiles and attempts to tell him/that the doctors **are** trying to make her **drunk** (H9T 445–447)
(10) You and I **are** going to get filthily **drunk**, Prentice [...] (G0A 2586)

Within the BNC, we expected to find the target structures more frequently in spoken conversation (i.e. the spoken demographically-sampled portion) than in more formal spoken texts such as radio interviews and lectures (i.e. the spoken context-governed portion). Accordingly, we queried both of these spoken subcorpora and the written subcorpus separately.

In the next step, all premodifiers of *drunk* were extracted manually to find patterns that would help us identify novel uses. We ignored duplicates and only considered items that undoubtedly premodified *drunk*, thereby excluding adverbs such as *already*, *always* or *actually*, e.g. in (11):

(11) By the time we came to eat it was evident that Edward was already drunk. (H82 2038)[19]

To allow for a more automated analysis of the data, more restricted queries were used for a collostructional analysis, specifically for simple collexeme analysis in the sense of Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003). We ran two queries on both corpora (BNC 1994 and Spoken BNC 2014) and joined the concordances of both corpora: the first query was for *be* or *get* as lemma, followed by an adverb, followed by an adjective. With this query, we captured established adjectives like *drunk*. However, rare or novel forms like *shitfaced* or *plastered* are often erroneously tagged as verbs of various types (e.g. past tense forms or past participles) and would thus have been impossible to retrieve in this way. We therefore used a

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18 All examples followed by an identifier in brackets are from the BNC.
19 The adverb *already* in (12) modifies the whole sentence rather than the adjective *drunk*. It could therefore also be moved to the beginning of the sentence or to the position before *evident*.

Table 1: Contingency table for the adverb *really* before the adjective *drunk* in the pattern {be}/ {get} ADV ADJ in the combined BNC and Spoken BNC 2014

	drunk	¬ drunk	row totals
really	39	12,692	12,731
¬ really	319	333,802	334,121
column totals	358	346,494	346,852

second query for *be* or *get* as lemma, followed by an adverb, followed by a form ending in the orthographic string of characters <ed> to capture more innovative items. The results of both queries were reduced to 2-grams consisting of the premodifying adverb and the adjective (346,852 hits) or *-ed* form (145,133 hits). For the calculations, we used these raw frequencies as the number of all constructions, following Proisl (2019). All other fields in the contingency table were filled as described by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003) and as is common in collocation research (see Evert 2005 for details). Table 1 illustrates this with the example of the combination *really drunk*, which occurs 39 times in our sample. The premodifier *really* on its own occurs 12,731 times in total, and thus 12,692 times without *drunk*. The adjective *drunk* occurs 358 times, i.e. 319 times without *really*. We then applied Fisher's exact test to this table to determine whether *really* and *drunk* occur more frequently together than expected (which they do – see Section 4).

For the simple collexeme analysis of the set of *-ed* drunkonyms, we followed the same protocol as for individual items but pooled all drunkonyms together, so that the contingency table contains frequencies for all drunkonyms with a given premodifier instead of just one specific one, as in Table 1.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Corpus analysis

In the 1994 BNC, the queries result in 673 hits (6.85 per million words/pmw) for *be* and 320 hits (3.25 pmw) for *get*. As expected, the frequencies of the pattern are considerably higher in the Spoken BNC 2014, with 358 hits (31.34 pmw) for *be* and 213 (18.65 pmw) hits for *get*. Thus, the pattern with *be* is about twice as frequent as the pattern with *get*. As can be seen in Table 2, the occurrences of *drunk* within 5 words to the right of the lemma *be* or *get* are not evenly distributed across the corpus in the 1994 BNC, and the frequencies vary considerably.

Table 2: {Be/get} to the left of *drunk_ADJ* (span = 5) in different corpora: relative frequencies in words per million (absolute number of hits in brackets)

	BNC written	BNC spoken context-governed	BNC spoken-demographic	BNC Spoken 2014
{be} drunk	6.72 (591)	3.24 (20)	14.64 (62)	31.34 (358)
{get} drunk	3.19 (280)	1.62 (10)	7.09 (30)	18.65 (213)

In the written part of the corpus, which amounts to roughly 90% of the content, the relative frequency is slightly lower than in the spoken part overall, but the simple mode distinction is still too coarse-grained to capture where we find the pattern most frequently. In the written part, the patterns occur most frequently in imaginative prose (22 pmw for *be* and 8.85 pmw for *get*), and in the spoken part they occur most frequently in the demographically-sampled subcorpus (14.64 pmw for *be* and 7.09 pmw for *get*), i.e. in spoken conversation. Interestingly, the frequencies are significantly higher in the Spoken BNC 2014, with a slightly increased proportion of *get*. While this might be explained by language change to a certain extent, we mainly attribute the difference to distinct recording situations for the two corpora: for the 1994 BNC, people carried round tape recorders all day, so that conversations in settings such as the workplace, club meetings, educational settings and the like were often recorded. By contrast, the data collection for the Spoken BNC 2014 did not typically include such more formal settings. Instead, "[t]he conversations were recorded in informal settings (typically at home) and took place among friends and family members" (BNC 2014 website[20]). The more common occurrence of alcohol intoxication and discourse about drunkenness in informal settings can therefore explain the higher frequency of *be/get ... drunk* in the Spoken BNC 2014.

With regard to the premodifiers occurring in our search patterns, we observe a considerable degree of variation, even for *drunk* alone, as summarized in Table 3. Note that out of the 1,564 hits obtained in the queries, only 393 were counted as true hits with a premodifier in our manual analysis.

The two most frequent items in the table, *too* and *so*, occur predominantly as part of a discontinuous modifier construction with a post-*drunk* correlative clause, a *to*-infinitive in the case of *too* and a *(that)*-clause in the case of *so*. Both structures are illustrated in examples (12) and (13):

(12) Seth led Joey to the van, but the teenager, seeing that Seth was **too drunk** to drive, took the wheel himself. (ABS 1290)

(13) Sometimes they were **so drunk** they fell asleep where they were [...]. (A0U 1397)

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20 http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014/

Table 3: Manually extracted premodifiers of *drunk* in the British National Corpus (1994) and the Spoken BNC 2014. WRIT: written, SCON: spoken context-governed; SDEM: spoken demographically-sampled; SPOK: SPOKEN BNC 2014

		be					*get*		total
	WRIT_1994	SCON_1994	SDEM_1994	SPOK_2014	WRIT_1994	SCON_1994	SDEM_1994	SPOK_2014	
a bit	3		4	4	3		1	2	**17**
a litte	13				1				**14**
a little bit	1			3					**4**
absolutely								2	**2**
air-locked					1				**1**
appallingly					1				**1**
blind	7	1	1	2	1	1		2	**15**
blinded				1					**1**
completely	2		1						**3**
dead	6								**6**
degradingly					1				**1**
extremely	3			1	1				**5**
fairly	1	1							**2**
filthily					1				**1**
fucking				1					**1**
God damned	1								**1**
half	5								**5**
happily	1								**1**
hideously	1								**1**
hopelessly	1								**1**
invariably	1								**1**
just	2								**2**
least	1								**1**
legless	1								**1**
mindlessly				1					**1**
more or less	2								**2**
nice				1					**1**
paralytically			1						**1**
particularly				1					**1**
partly	1								**1**
pissed								1	**1**
pleasantly	1				1				**2**
pretty	2			17	1				**20**
punch	1								**1**
quite	3							5	**8**
quietly					1				**1**

Table 3: (continued)

	be				get				total
	WRIT_1994	SCON_1994	SDEM_1994	SPOK_2014	WRIT_1994	SCON_1994	SDEM_1994	SPOK_2014	
really	2		2	12				23	**39**
really really	1								**1**
ridiculously				1				1	**2**
rip-roaring	1								**1**
roaring	3				1				**4**
royally					1		1		**2**
slightly	5								**5**
so	22		2	17	9			8	**58**
sound	1								**1**
steaming	1				1				**2**
still	3		1	5					**9**
stinking		1			2	1			**4**
stocious								1	**1**
stoned				1					**1**
sufficiently	1								**1**
terribly	1			1	1				**3**
that	3		3	12				2	**20**
three-parts	1								**1**
too	40	1	1	13	3		1	14	**73**
two-thirds	1								**1**
very	15		1	3	11	1			**31**
very very				1		1		2	**4**
well			1						**1**
total	**161**	**4**	**18**	**98**	**42**	**4**	**3**	**63**	**393**

Typically, the *to*-infinitive clauses contain verbs which express abilities that are impeded by alcohol (e.g. *drive*, *remember*, *consent*, *walk*, *stand*, ...), and the finite clauses discuss what follows from being drunk (e.g. *fall*, *be sick*, *drop*, *not understand*).

We can also observe that the two next most frequent items, *really* and *very*, both occur in reduplicated form (presumably for intensification purposes). Beyond a small further set of common items, such as *pretty* and *that*, and a set of phrasal items such as *a bit*, *a little* and *a little bit*, we see a wide range of co-occurring elements with a frequency of 1 or 2. Possibly the most strongly associated element in such a premodifying position is *blind*, which can even be used without *drunk* to convey the same meaning (cf. discussion in Sections 1 and 4.2).

Possibly more interesting than what we find is what we do not find in this list of collocates: our assumption in Section 2 above was that we would find a proto-typical pattern around *drunk* that we could then use to identify the more creative uses of the assumed drunkenness construction. However, of the premodifiers in McIntyre's examples, only *fucking* occurs with *drunk* in our data – but only once,[21] and the forms *utterly* and *totally* are conspicuously missing.

This raises the question whether the pattern including premodifiers is really modelled on *drunk*, or if it may rather be modelled on some other word or set of words. We therefore contrasted a simple collexeme analysis for *drunk* (see Section 3) with one for *pissed*, which is the second most frequently used word to convey the meaning 'drunk' and the preferred choice of many speakers.[22]

To obtain comparable results, we first carried out an automated analysis of *drunk*. As shown in Table 4, the results are similar to those of the manual analysis given above, with the exception of items that are not tagged as adverbs in the corpus, e.g. *blind*, which are missing from this breakdown. The table is sorted by descending collostructional strength. As expected, the order is not strictly in terms of co-frequency, although there is a high-frequency bias inherent in statistical significance tests such as the Fisher Exact test used here, i.e. the items that are analyzed as most strongly associated tend to be frequent.[23]

Table 4: Collexemes for *drunk* in the pattern *be/get* _ADV _ADJ; p-values greater than 0.05 omitted; repelled items omitted

collexeme	cofreq	p-value	collostructional strength
too	63	5.04E-21	20.30
really	39	2.02E-09	8.69
so	57	3.42E-08	7.47
dead	5	2.82E-05	4.55
filthily	1	0.0010	2.99
royally	1	0.0010	2.99
paralytically	1	0.0010	2.99
helplessly	1	0.0031	2.51
slightly	5	0.0035	2.46

21 In the Spoken BNC 2014, there is a second example, which was not returned by our search query because *drunk* is tagged as a past participle verb form.
22 See the poll at http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/programmes/2001/booze/510.stm (accessed 27 October 2023), where *pissed* is listed as the audience's favourite word for *drunk* at 35% of the replies.
23 See Gries (2023) for new views on which measures can be used to separate the components of association and frequency.

Table 4: (continued)

collexeme	cofreq	p-value	collostructional strength
slightly	5	0.0035	2.46
never	6	0.0041	2.39
perceptibly	1	0.0072	2.14
that	5	0.0103	1.99
hideously	1	0.0113	1.95
obviously	4	0.0125	1.90
appallingly	1	0.0184	1.74
normally	2	0.0335	1.47
pretty	8	0.0461	1.34

The same analysis was carried out for *pissed* in the adjective slot, which resulted in 110 co-occurrences. However, the PoS-tagger had difficulty distinguishing between *pissed* as a verb form and *pissed* as an adjective, a distinction that might not be as relevant in this particular case anyway. We therefore used an orthographic restriction to *-ed* words instead of the adjective part-of-speech filter. With this approach, we obtain the 195 co-occurrences summarized in Table 5:

Table 5: Collexemes for *pissed* in the pattern *be/get* _ADV *-ed*; p-values greater than 0.05 omitted; repelled items omitted[24]

collexeme	cofreq	p-value	collostructional strength
really	65	4.46E-76	75.35
so	43	5.63E-26	25.25
totally	9	3.51E-07	6.45
completely	8	3.65E-05	4.44
incredibly	2	0.0006	3.21
fucking	2	0.0014	2.85
right	2	0.0014	2.85
pretty	3	0.0023	2.64
just	5	0.0031	2.51
as	4	0.0049	2.31
extremely	3	0.0063	2.20
real	1	0.0107	1.97
mightily	1	0.0200	1.70
massively	1	0.0331	1.48
apparently	2	0.0396	1.40
bloody	1	0.0421	1.38

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24 Note that for technical reasons, we cannot distinguish between *pissed* and *pissed off* in this analysis.

With *totally* in third place and *fucking* in sixth, this looks a lot more like the modifiers in McIntyre's examples (even if *utterly* does not co-occur with *pissed* in our data). Interestingly, *too* is missing from the top of the list and co-occurs only 4 times, which may be due to the fact that *pissed* describes a much more advanced state of drunkenness than some of the states covered by *drunk*.

If the general pattern follows *pissed*, as Table 5 suggests, this explains why McIntyre's examples do not contain any modifiers expressing a low state of intoxication, as opposed to the modifiers for *drunk*, among which we find *slightly* or *a little*. To test whether we can observe such a pattern in a larger sample of drunkonyms, we used the list of words presented in Appendix 1 and filtered them according to whether they ended in -*ed* (thereby excluding e.g. *Jan'd* or *jug-bitten* for technical reasons). All items containing an internal space were removed as well (e.g. *Bernard Langered*). We thus ended up with a list of 286 words, for which we calculated collexemes in the potential premodifier position. Table 6 lists the 40 most strongly associated collexemes in the adverb slot.[25]

Table 6: Collexemes for 286 potential drunkonyms ending in -*ed* in the pattern *be/get* _ADV -*ed*; top 40 list of attracted items

collexeme	cofreq	p-value	collostructional strength
completely	114	2.57E-62	61.59
totally	75	3.72E-38	37.43
really	112	7.79E-36	35.11
absolutely	48	8.84E-25	24.05
so	157	8.79E-22	21.06
virtually	27	2.76E-15	14.56
almost	33	1.51E-14	13.82
fucking	11	5.53E-11	10.26
like	27	1.21E-10	9.92
freshly	10	2.46E-09	8.61
thinly	7	9.76E-09	8.01
just	35	4.08E-08	7.39
humanely	5	1.55E-07	6.81
lightly	10	5.84E-07	6.23
pretty	15	9.70E-07	6.01
squarely	4	5.16E-06	5.29
partially	14	8.38E-06	5.08

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25 Note that many of the drunkonyms have more frequent primary meanings, e.g. *destroyed*, *wasted*, *impaired* or *troubled*.

Table 6: (continued)

collexeme	cofreq	p-value	collostructional strength
finely	7	2.50E-05	4.60
all	13	9.97E-05	4.00
ritually	4	0.0002	3.70
permanently	10	0.0002	3.70
half	6	0.0003	3.60
suddenly	13	0.0003	3.56
dissipatively	2	0.0003	3.55
partly	16	0.0003	3.54
momentarily	5	0.0004	3.39
fine	2	0.0008	3.08
scarcely	5	0.0013	2.87
darkly	2	0.0016	2.79
visually	4	0.0017	2.77
liberally	4	0.0024	2.62
barely	5	0.0029	2.54
either	15	0.0029	2.53
n't	70	0.0035	2.45
deeply	19	0.0039	2.41
still	60	0.0040	2.40
already	33	0.0047	2.33
cruelly	4	0.0053	2.28
utterly	6	0.0059	2.23
brutally	5	0.0060	2.22

Even though there are many items in the list that do not combine with the drunkonyms in their 'drunk' sense, we can clearly see the pattern of premodifiers that express not only a high but sometimes an extreme degree combined with these words. With *completely*, *totally*, *really* and *absolutely* as the top elements of the list, *fucking* in position 8 and even *utterly* in position 39, there seems to be a semantic pattern of intensification here that is definitely in line with McIntyre's examples. The pattern is not only semantic, but truly collocational (see e.g. Herbst 1996) in that not all words expressing a complete degree are equally common and acceptable. For instance, at the other end of the table (not shown here), *fully* is strongly repelled by the *-ed* drunkonyms, as are *very* and *strongly*.[26]

It is interesting to note that McIntyre points out in both standup comedy routines analyzed above that the euphemistic drunkenness construction is used by

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26 Out of the full list of 326 collexemes produced by the collostructional analysis, *strongly* is in position *315*, *very* in position *318* and *fully* in position *321*.

"posh people". This would superficially appear to stand in stark contrast to the synonyms for 'drunk' listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and other resources, which are often labelled as *colloquial* or *slang*, but of course this group of speakers may also take the liberty of using slang expressions. As regards the stylistic level of the intensifying adverbs used by McIntyre, the intensifying use of *fucking* is labelled as *coarse slang* in the OED, whereas *totally* is labelled as *colloquial*. The adjective-qualifying use of *utterly* has no such restriction, but the usage examples in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English,* e.g. "We utterly reject the philosophy of compulsory wage control.", suggest a more formal stylistic level of *utterly*, which is used only about one-tenth of the times compared to *totally* in the Spoken BNC 2014 and occurs predominantly in the written mode (14 pmw in BNC written vs 4 pmw in the spoken corpora). All this would suggest that the humorous effect of the drunkenness construction should be even stronger when the more formal adverb *utterly* is combined with nonce word uses referring to drunkenness, which stand in a tradition of informality. Still, a stylistic clash is no prerequisite for the drunkenness construction, and the ordering of the intensifiers in McIntyre's routines demonstrates beautifully that combinations on all stylistic levels are possible, from formal *utterly* via colloquial *totally* to the slang intensifier *fucking*.

Overall, we can observe that even the co-occurrences of the premodifier collexemes with the established drunkonyms from our list are relatively rare (with *totally*, for instance, we find 9 instances of *pissed* and 2 of *shitfaced*, but *slaughtered* or *plastered* occur only once), and even the most strongly attracted collexemes such as *completely* or *totally* occur more than five times more frequently with *-ed* words that are not part of our drunkonym list. Historically, many of the drunknonyms are interesting cases of creativity, but we have to concede that even with the large dataset available to us, it is very difficult to find new creative uses within this particular pattern. Our suspicion is thus that McIntyre's observation is a historical one of recently lexicalized elements rather than a creative cognitive process resulting in a high type-frequency of ad-hoc word formations. The chronological ordering of the synonyms for *drunk* in the OED reveals that McIntyre's examples *arseholed* (1974) and *trolleyed* (1992) are relatively recent additions testifying to the productivity of the word formation pattern

noun/verb + *-ed* = 'drunk' (adj),

which is the pattern underlying 9 of the 10 most recent synonyms for *drunk* in the OED since 1974 (e.g. *wankered* or *wazzed*).

Many of our drunkonyms seem to be modelled on (or at least compatible with) *pissed* and to share the formal pattern as well as general collocational preferences with it and with each other. This is consistent with findings about the valency of new communication verbs, for which Goldberg and Herbst observed

that they tended to be "based on existing constructions in which verbs with similar meanings occur" (Goldberg and Herbst 2016).

Thus the hypothesized construction from Section 2 can be confirmed as productive, but judging by our corpus study, it is not as productive as we had expected, and the form of the productive pattern needs to be slightly modified. As seen above, the most common version is

be/get + intensifying premodifier + *-ed*-form.

It is common enough to be treated as a separate pattern and not merely as an extended variant of the basic pattern

be/get + *-ed*-form

which McIntyre suggests in one of his *pyjamaed* examples.

Since both patterns are used much more frequently NOT meaning 'drunk', it would seem impossible to prove that the meaning of 'drunk' is in the pattern alone and that we are thus dealing with an argument structure construction. Still, listeners may immediately recognize unusual word formations in such linguistic contexts as meaning 'drunk', and the reason for that could be that language users have experienced so many word formations of the type X-*ed* (etc.) to mean 'drunk' that new word formations with an unknown meaning and a context that is sufficiently vague so as not to contradict this hypothesis are interpreted as meaning 'drunk', too. Such an interpretation appears particularly plausible in view of previous research, which has shown a high type frequency to be a major factor contributing to productivity (cf. e.g. Bybee and Thompson 1997).

Occasionally, we find the *-ed*-form on its own or just with the premodifier, as in example (14):

(14) If you was there you could take them, **too pissed** I should think! (KCE 2358)

However, contexts such as (14) are comparatively rare, and it is hard to imagine really novel uses in such structures. We would thus assume that only words that are already sufficiently conventionalized as meaning 'drunk' can be used outside the more common pattern given above.

4.2 Analysis of word list

As stated above, only 312 of the 546 drunkonyms in Appendix 1 contain the suffix *-ed*, but it is possible to discern additional productive patterns in the English language that enable its users to talk about drunkenness in humorous and creative ways. Thus various of the drunkonyms in Appendix 1 are based on Cockney rhyming slang. To use this pattern, in a first step, a two-element expression (sometimes with *and*

in between) that rhymes with the target word is used in the place of the latter. For instance, *Brahms and Liszt* (first attested in the OED as a synonym for *drunk* ca. 1972) or *Mozart and Liszt* (from 1961) are used instead of *pissed*. Further examples are the names *Adrian Quist*, *Oliver Twist* and the film title *Schindler's List*. In a second step, once the two-element expression is sufficiently entrenched/conventionalized, the second, rhyming element can be omitted, so that *Brahms* or *Schindler's* are used to mean 'pissed' without the formal relationship being visible any more.

A further, less productive pattern can be identified in the word list. Some modifiers have become so strongly associated with the drunkonyms that they can stand for them instead. A prime example is that of *nicely*, which the OED lists as a colloquial and regional adjective with the meaning 'In good health or spirits; (also) slightly intoxicated, tipsy'. This latter meaning is exemplified with the sentences (15) and (16).

(15) It was quite obvious he'd been at a pub all the time, because he was quite **nicely**. (1935)
(16) I'm not inebriated..but I am..a little exalted. What I believe is nowadays called **nicely** thank you. (1938)

One may assume that the emergence of this adjective can be traced back to a relatively recent linguistic development (with the first clear attestation for the drunkenness meaning in the OED dating from 1935), through which the common adverbial use of *nicely*, as in

(17) He was nicely$_{adv}$ drunk.

was complemented by an adjectival use, as in

(18) He was nicely$_{adj}$.

In this newly emerged context of use, the adjectival subject complement *drunk* is no longer realized formally. Instead, the meaning 'drunk' is expressed implicitly through the remaining form, *nicely*. As a consequence, one could argue, the part-of-speech change of *nicely* from adverb to adjective resulted in the word's acquisition of the meaning 'drunk'. However, as the *-ly* ending is morphologically so typical of adverbs that the transparent adverbial reading 'in a nice manner' very strongly suggests itself to the listener/reader, one might also argue that sentences like (18) are quasi-elliptical and that the adjectival meaning of *nicely* represents a combination of the adverb's original meaning 'in a nice manner' and the implied contextual meaning 'drunk'. This combined reading as 'drunk in a nice manner' is in line with the OED's definition of a moderate degree of drunkenness.

The word *blind* follows the same pattern. Used as a premodifier in our corpus study, it can also stand on its own to mean 'drunk' – a use that the OED describes as "short for *blind-drunk*". The fact that the first element is retained and stands

for the second one in both *nicely (drunk)* and *blind (drunk)* parallels the case of the rhyming slang pattern described above.

What the mechanisms described in this section have in common is that they allow the language users to remain very indirect, which is typical of euphemisms used for taboo words.

A particularly interesting case from our list of drunkonyms is *skunked*. According to the OED, it appears later than the rhymed expression *drunk as a skunk*. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the development of *skunked* is related to *drunk as a skunk*, where *skunk* is used as part of the intensifying postmodifer. However, in this case, the modifier is not used to mean 'drunk' on its own, as with *nicely* or *blind*, but instead is used in the pattern noun/verb + *-ed* = 'drunk' discussed above, thus combining the mechanism described in this section with that discussed in the corpus analysis section above.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided further evidence that there is – and has been for a long time – a wealth of terms for states of drunkenness in the English language. We have also shown that there are (at least until recently) productive patterns of creating new words meaning 'drunk', or rather 'pissed'. A meaningful argument structure construction without any lexical content might be available to speakers, but we conjecture that additional contextual cues as to the topic of drunkenness will be needed to successfully use this construction, the most prototypical form of which is

be/*get* + intensifying premodifier + *-ed*-form.

Coming back to the theoretical questions asked at the end of Section 2, we can say that the wide range of words observed in the already existing lists of drunkonyms seems to support the view that there is a large amount of words that one could potentially use to creatively express drunkenness in English. The wording "any word" put forward by McIntyre appears slightly too general, though, as it is difficult to imagine words such as *is*, *the* or *of* to mean 'drunk'. Also, for nouns such as *carpark* or *gazebo*, it is strictly speaking not the word itself but an *-ed*-form of it, i.e. *carparked* or *gazeboed*, that expresses the meaning of drunkenness in the relevant contexts.

The question of whether it makes sense to model such uses constructionally in the form of a schematic drunkenness construction and/or in the form of multiple, less abstract drunkenness constructions can be answered in the affirmative for both.

There are at least two partially productive drunkenness constructions in English, the one given in the previous paragraph, and the rhyming slang approach briefly mentioned at the end of Section 4. Possibly, there is a third one with *nicely* and *blind*, but due to the morphological difference between the two, this would have to be a rather high-level construction, and the generalization it provides is rather limited.

There is ample potential for future studies into the question of expressing drunkenness in English, as our two productive constructions only apply to less than half of all drunkonyms collected in Appendix 1. Thus forms such as *blotto*, *slug-nutty* or *stocious* need accounting for, and it appears that in the expression of drunkenness in English, the storage of seemingly unmotivated forms plays a major role. Construction Grammar, with its strong focus on storage, is highly suited to model all the linguistic aspects of English drunkenness.

6 Acknowledgements

7 Appendix

Appendix 1: Words expressing the state of drunkenness
The following list combines material from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Collins Dictionary's thesaurus, Wiktionary's thesaurus as well as synonyms for *drunk* collected by the audience of BBC One's *Booze* programme (cf. Section 1 for details). The list is sorted, first in descending order by the number of resources in which the word occurs (indicated by a figure between 1 and 4 in parentheses), and then alphabetically within each frequency group.[27]

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27 One would expect *pissed* as the basis for the drunkenness construction to occur in all the word lists under consideration, but interestingly, it is missing from the compilation by the audience of BBC One's *Booze* programme (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1883481.stm). Since it ranks highest in a poll conducted in the same context (http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/programmes/2001/booze/510.stm), one may assume that *pissed* was either used as an example word in the BBC's survey (and therefore excluded from the count) or that it was misspelled or modified orthographically for taboo reasons as *pished*, which occurs in the BBC One list. Note, however, that Urban Dictionary lists *pished* as a Scottish synonym for *drunk* (https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=pished; accessed 27 October 2023).

bladdered (4)
inebriated (4)
intoxicated (4)
langered (4)
legless (4)
mashed (4)
merry (4)
mullered (4)
pickled (4)
pie-eyed (4)
plastered (4)
sloshed (4)
smashed (4)
tipsy (4)
trashed (4)
wasted (4)
bevvied (3)
blasted (3)
blitzed (3)
blootered (3)
blotto (3)
bombed (3)
cabbaged (3)
canned (3)
fuddled (3)
hammered (3)
langers (3)
lashed (3)
loaded (3)
ossified (3)
paralytic (3)
pissed (3)
rat-arsed (3)
ratted (3)
screwed (3)
slaughtered (3)
sozzled (3)
squiffy (3)
steaming (3)
stewed (3)

stoned (3)
tanked (3)
tiddly (3)
tight (3)
well-oiled (3)
wrecked (3)
zonked (3)
Adrian Quist (2)
arseholed (2)
beered-up (2)
besotted (2)
blocked (2)
blottoed (2)
blue (2)
bollocksed (2)
bottled (2)
buzzed (2)
clobbered (2)
cocked (2)
cockeyed (2)
corned (2)
corny (2)
crocked (2)
cunted (2)
cup-shot (2)
cut (2)
disguised (2)
ebriose (2)
ebrious (2)
elevated (2)
faced (2)
fap (2)
flustered (2)
fluthered (2)
fou (2)
fresh (2)
fried (2)
fucked (2)
full (2)
gassed (2)

ginned (2)
glorious (2)
gone (2)
groggy (2)
high (2)
honkers (2)
inebriate (2)
jolly (2)
juiced (2)
kaylied (2)
lamped (2)
leathered (2)
liquored up (2)
lit (2)
locked (2)
looped (2)
lubricated (2)
lushy (2)
maudlin (2)
mellow (2)
minging (2)
monged (2)
moppy (2)
mortal (2)
muddy (2)
munted (2)
nappy (2)
obfuscated (2)
obliterated (2)
oiled (2)
owly-eyed (2)
parlatic (2)
peloothered (2)
pixilated (2)
ploughed (2)
polluted (2)
potted (2)
potulent (2)
puggled (2)
razzled (2)

ree (2)
ripe (2)
ripped (2)
rubbered (2)
sauced (2)
scammered (2)
schnockered (2)
screwy (2)
scuttered (2)
shedded (2)
shicker (2)
shickered (2)
skunked (2)
slewed (2)
snockered (2)
snuffy (2)
soaked (2)
soaken (2)
sottish (2)
spannered (2)
spiffed (2)
sprung (2)
squiffed (2)
steamboats (2)
stinking (2)
stinko (2)
stocious (2)
stonkered (2)
strut (2)
swacked (2)
swipey (2)
tanked up (2)
temulent (2)
tiddled (2)
tippled (2)
top-heavy (2)
trollied (2)
trousered (2)
twatted (2)
twisted (2)

wankered (2)
wazzed (2)
wellied (2)
wet (2)
zoned (2)
adrip (1)
airlocked (1)
ale-blown (1)
alecied (1)
ale-washed (1)
ankled (1)
annihilated (1)
askew (1)
babalas (1)
bacchic (1)
badgered (1)
baked (1)
banjaxed (1)
barley-sick (1)
battered (1)
beery (1)
befuddled (1)
befuggered (1)
beliquored (1)
bent (1)
Bernard Langered (1)
besotten (1)
bibacious (1)
bibulous (1)
bingoed (1)
bitch fou (1)
blathered (1)
blatted (1)
bleezin (1)
blind (1)
blocked-up (1)
blown away (1)
blucked (1)
bluttered (1)
boiled (1)

bonkers (1)
boogaloo (1)
boozed (1)
boozed-up (1)
boozy (1)
bosky (1)
bousy (1)
Brahms (1)
broken (1)
buffy (1)
bumpsy (1)
bungalowed (1)
bungfu (1)
burlin (1)
burlin' (1)
caned (1)
cap-sick (1)
chevy chased (1)
clear (1)
cocktailed (1)
columbered (1)
confuddled (1)
cooked (1)
crapulous (1)
cup-shotten (1)
dagged (1)
dead-oh (1)
decimated (1)
destroyed (1)
dot cottoned (1)
drink-drowned (1)
drinky (1)
dronkverdriet (1)
druck-steaming (1)
ebriate (1)
ebriated (1)
elephants (1)
elephant's (1)
elephant's trunk (1)
etched (1)

fairish (1)
falling-down (1)
far gone (1)
fecked (1)
fershnickered (1)
fighting-tight (1)
flashy (1)
fleemered (1)
flooey (1)
floored (1)
fluffy (1)
flush (1)
flushed (1)
fluted (1)
fly-blown (1)
flying (1)
foggy (1)
footless (1)
foxed (1)
frosted (1)
fu' (1)
fubar (1)
FUBARed (1)
fucked up (1)
fucked-up (1)
fuckered up (1)
fuckfaced (1)
funked up (1)
funny (1)
fuzzy-headed (1)
fuzzy-minded (1)
gatted (1)
gattered (1)
gee-eyed (1)
genevered (1)
gesuip (1)
gished (1)
goat (1)
goosed (1)
grogged (1)

groggified (1)
guttered (1)
half channelled over (1)
half cut (1)
half lit (1)
half polluted (1)
half seas over (1)
half-and-half (1)
half-cocked (1)
half-cut (1)
half-seas-over (1)
half-shaved (1)
half-shot (1)
hamboned (1)
hammer-blowed (1)
happy (1)
hazed (1)
heady (1)
hearty (1)
high-flown (1)
hooched up (1)
hosed (1)
hot (1)
howling (1)
impaired (1)
incapable (1)
inebrious (1)
insober (1)
insobrietous (1)
intoxicate (1)
jagged (1)
jahalered (1)
jaiked up (1)
jaked (1)
Jan Hammered (1)
Jan'd (1)
Jaxied (1)
jazzed (1)
Jeremied (1)
jingled (1)

jug-bitten (1)
juiced up (1)
junked-up (1)
Kaned (1)
kisky (1)
kylied (1)
lagered up (1)
lagged up (1)
langerated (1)
laroped (1)
larruped (1)
larrupt (1)
lash (1)
liquefied (1)
liquory (1)
lit up (1)
lit-up (1)
loo la (1)
loopy (1)
loose (1)
lumpy (1)
lushed (1)
maggot (1)
maggoted (1)
mandoo-ed (1)
mangled (1)
manky (1)
Maudlin-cupped (1)
mauled (1)
mazed-headed (1)
medicated (1)
meff'd (1)
Merl Haggard (1)
messed up (1)
mettled (1)
minced (1)
ming-ho (1)
miraculous (1)
mizzled (1)
moccasined (1)

moired (1)

mokus (1)

molo (1)

monkey-full (1)

moon-eyed (1)

moony (1)

motherless (1)

mottled (1)

muddled (1)

muggy (1)

muntered (1)

mused (1)

mustulent (1)

muzzy (1)

nase (1)

nazzy (1)

near (1)

newcastled (1)

newted (1)

nicely (1)

obliviated (1)

oiled-up (1)

Oliver (1)

Oliver Twist (1)

orey-eyed (1)

overcome (1)

overrefreshed (1)

overseen (1)

overshot (1)

overtaken (1)

paggered (1)

paid (1)

palintoshed (1)

para (1)

paraletic (1)

paralysed (1)

paralyzed (1)

parro (1)

peelywally (1)

peevied (1)

pepst (1)

pifflicated (1)

pinko (1)

piped (1)

pipped (1)

pished (1)

pissy-arsed (1)

plonked (1)

plotzed (1)

plowed (1)

poleaxed (1)

pollatic (1)

potable (1)

pot-shaken (1)

pot-shot (1)

pot-shotten (1)

pot-sick (1)

pot-valiant (1)

pounded (1)

primed (1)

queer (1)

quisby (1)

raddled (1)

rat-legged (1)

ravaged (1)

reek-ho (1)

reeling ripe (1)

rendered (1)

rocky (1)

rolling (1)

rosined (1)

rosy (1)

rosy glow (1)

rotten (1)

rotto (1)

rouzy-bouzy (1)

ruined (1)

rummy (1)

sat (1)

scattered (1)

schickered (1)

Schindlers (1)

schloshed (1)

schnookered (1)

scratched (1)

semi-bousy (1)

sewed up (1)

shaved (1)

shellaced (1)

shellacked (1)

sherry (1)

shitfaced (1)

shit-faced (1)

shithoused (1)

shitty (1)

shot (1)

shwasted (1)

skimished (1)

slammed (1)

slap-happy (1)

slarmied (1)

slued (1)

slug-nutty (1)

snatered (1)

snobbled (1)

snookered (1)

snozzled (1)

sodden (1)

soft (1)

sotted (1)

souped-up (1)

soused (1)

sozzly (1)

spanceled (1)

spancelled (1)

spangeled (1)

speechless (1)

spiflicated (1)

splashed (1)

spongelled (1)

spongy (1)

spreeish (1)

squizzed (1)

steamed (1)

steamin (1)

steampigged (1)

stiff (1)

stoated (1)

stonkin (1)

stotious (1)

stukkend (1)

stung (1)

stunned (1)

swizzled (1)

tap-shackled (1)

tashered (1)

temulentive (1)

throwed (1)

tightish (1)

tilted (1)

tin hat (1)

tin hats (1)

tipsified (1)

toasted (1)

toddied (1)

top-heavyish (1)

toping (1)

toppy (1)

tore up (1)

tosie (1)

touched (1)

tow-row (1)

toxic (1)

tozy-mozy (1)

trolleyed (1)

troubled (1)

tuned (1)

twatfaced (1)

used up (1)

warped (1)

wastey (1)

wazzocked (1)

well-corned (1)

well-cornered (1)

well-liquored (1)

well-sprung (1)

whiffled (1)

whift (1)

whiskeyfied (1)

whiskified (1)

whiskyfied (1)

whistled (1)

whittled (1)

whole-seas (1)

whole-seas over (1)

wineful (1)

wine-sprung (1)

wiped (1)

withered (1)

wobbly (1)

woozy (1)

zigzag (1)

zombied (1)

zooted (1)

zorched (1)

zotzed (1)

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