

Contact-induced change in Heritage Tagalog: Evidence from adjective intensification

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ABSTRACT

Heritage languages provide a site to investigate changes in the grammar that may be a result of dominant-language contact. This is tested in relation to adjective intensification in Heritage Tagalog in Toronto. At the same time, adjective intensifiers have been investigated recently in many sociolinguistic studies. However, much of our understanding of their variable patterns of use and capacity to undergo change are confined in the context of English and Spanish. The present study therefore broadens this scope by describing the intensifier system of Tagalog and then comparing the patterns between heritage and homeland speakers to see whether changes within the heritage group have taken place. Intensification in Tagalog can be achieved through lexical (free morphemes), morphological (prefixation or reduplication), and constructional (exclamative expressions) strategies. Using spontaneous speech data from heritage speakers in Toronto and comparable data from homeland speakers in Manila, distributional and multivariate analyses reveal that adjective type, word length, and emotional value of the adjective significantly affect intensifier choice. Crucially, heritage Tagalog is undergoing change in apparent time – the use of morphological intensification is decreasing in favour of lexical intensification. Further, greater use of English corresponds with greater use of lexical intensification. It is argued that this generational change towards preference for lexical intensification is due to contact with English. This study thus provides empirical evidence that the intensifier system of heritage Tagalog is becoming more English-like as a result of contact.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1P	first person
2P	second person
AV	actor voice
AY	<i>ay</i> -particle
BV	benefactive voice
COMPARATIVE	comparative marker
DAT	dative
DV	dative/locative voice
EXIST	existential marker
GEN	genitive
INT	intensifier
IV	instrumental voice
LINKER	linker
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominative
OV	object voice
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POS	possessive
SG	singular

1 INTRODUCTION

Variationist sociolinguistic studies traditionally focus on one (often well-documented) language at a time, essentially treating speakers as monolinguals (Nagy & Meyerhoff 2008). This masks the sociolinguistic reality that many people today are multilingual. In Toronto, one of the most ethnically diverse and multilingual cities in the world (Anisef & Lanphier 2003), over 46% of residents speak a heritage language (HL) (Statistics Canada 2017), a language that is neither one of Canada's official language (English and French) nor one of the many indigenous languages in the country. Crucially, the many HLs in the city in constant interaction with English – the dominant ambient language. This poses questions about changes that may occur in HLs as a result of this type of contact. This question is addressed in the context of adjective intensification in Heritage Tagalog.

Cross-linguistically, languages employ a wide range of processes to intensify the degree of a property expressed by an adjective.¹ Cuzzolin and Lehmann (2004: 1215) note that “almost every language has a linguistic means to convey the meaning *very* which combines with adjectives.” Languages have different strategies to intensify adjectives, and multiple strategies may exist within one language. For example, English (Quirk et al. 1985), Mandarin (Lim & Hong 2012), German (Claudi 2009) and Spanish (Cerrón-Palomino 2015) employ a lexical strategy through the use of free morphemes like *very* and *bien*. Languages may also use morphophonological strategies, as in consonant gemination as in Cahuilla (an Uto-Aztecan language; Seiler 1977) and Japanese (Uda 1991); and vowel lengthening, raising/tensing, or /u/-insertion in Javanese (Nurhayani & Cohn 2016). Javanese also exhibits syntactic strategies for intensification, though phonological intensification is more common and more productive (Nurhayani & Cohn 2016).

Tagalog intensification can be achieved in a number of ways, as shown in (1). Just like English, Tagalog has free morpheme intensifiers such as *sobra* (1a). Two morphological processes to achieve intensification include reduplication (1b) and prefixation (1c). Finally, Tagalog intensification can also be achieved constructionally through exclamative expressions (1d).

Intensifiers are an ideal linguistic feature for variationist sociolinguists due to their variable usage and capacity for rapid linguistic change. Intensifiers are versatile and different forms can undergo recycling (Tagliamonte 2011: 320). Further, intensifiers are easily manipulated to achieve creativity and performative behaviour (Peters 1994), and thus important in communicating aspects of our identities. Intensifiers are also argued to be more subject to social conditioning than other linguistic features that have less subjective content (Bulgin et al. 2008).

¹ Intensifiers can also modify other syntactic categories (e.g., adverbs). The present discussion focuses on adjective intensifiers.

(1) Intensification in Tagalog

- a. *sobra-ng sakit ng tainga ko* (T1F43A)²
INT-LINKER painful GEN ear 1P.SG.POS
'My ears are very painful'
- b. *bagay na bagay sa iyo* (T1M52B)
suitable na suitable.INT DAT 2P.SG
'[it] is very suitable for you'
- c. *napaka-ganda ng TRANSIT natin dito* (T1F52A)
INT-beautiful GEN transit 1P.PL.POS here
Our transit here is very beautiful
- d. *ang liit ng OPPORTUNITY* (TXF61A)
NOM small.INT GEN opportunity
'The opportunity is very small'

The goals of the current study are two-fold: describe the intensifier system of Tagalog, and determine whether there are any changes in the heritage language grammar that results from contact with English. With that in mind, I compare rates of use of the three intensifier strategies and explore how social and linguistic factors constrain intensifier choice. I also consider the role of ethnic orientation (as it pertains to language use practices and preferences) among the heritage speakers. Multivariate analyses reveal a change in apparent time among heritage speakers but not among homeland speakers. The linguistic factors that constrain intensifier choice among heritage speakers operate differently from that among homeland speakers. Finally, greater preference for and use of English leads to increased use of lexical intensification. It appears therefore that the intensifier system of heritage Tagalog is becoming more English-like. I argue these results indicate on-going contact-induced change, and the locus of change is lexical intensification – a strategy that parallels English. The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief background on heritage languages, the Filipinos community in Toronto, and Tagalog adjectives and intensifiers. Section 3 details previous variationist studies on intensifiers and the relevant social and linguistic factors that constrain their use. In Section 4 I outline the research questions, and then elaborate on the methodology in Section 5. Section 6

² Participant codes follow the convention: language, speaker generation, sex, age, and a unique identifier for otherwise identically-labeled speaker. For instance, T1F43A is Tagalog-speaking, first generation, female, 43 years old, and the first such speaker recorded.

discusses the findings from the distributional and multivariate analyses. Finally, I provide interpretations for the results and offer concluding remarks in Section 7.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 *Heritage languages*

HL research is an emerging field in linguistics (Polinsky & Kagan 2007) but heritage languages have existed throughout human history (Polinsky 2018) as a variety in their own right (Nagy 2016). Heritage speakers form a group that is between a native speaker and a second-language learner and as such, they provide another source of information about linguistic competence and socially-conditioned variation.

Heritage languages in diasporic settings such as North America are a prime context for studying contact-induced changes (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). In this situation, heritage language grammars may display innovative features that are not found in the homeland variety, and such features may (or may not) be traced back to English – the dominant ambient language of the community. However, innovations in heritage varieties do not arise simply because they are in greater contact with English than the homeland varieties. Looking at cross-generational trends and ethnic group affiliation allows for a more gradient and potentially more sensitive measure of degree of contact with English. Also, looking at identity-related factors may highlight the ways in which differences in HL grammar are not merely the result of incomplete or imperfect acquisition (Benmamoun et al. 2010), and instead may develop due to speaker agency.

In this study, a heritage speaker is defined following the Canadian government's definition: one that speaks a language that is neither Canada's two official languages nor an indigenous language of Canada. Heritage speakers include any individual who has acquired a language (to varying degrees of success) that is not the dominant language in the community (cf. Putnam & Sanchez 2013).

Toronto is an ideal place for HL research. It is a city with a large concentration of HL speakers, and a socio-political landscape that supports HL maintenance. The *Heritage Language Variation and Change* (HLVC) in Toronto Project (Nagy 2011) is home to the Heritage Language Documentation Corpus, a corpus of ten heritage languages in Toronto – collected using identical methods at all steps. This standardized methodology facilitates analyses of inter-generational, cross-linguistic, and cross community comparisons, which are important for theoretical inquiries on contact-induced change. The data for the current study is taken from this corpus.

There are several phonetic studies from the HLVC Project that suggest HLs in Toronto are subject to contact-induced change. Heritage Russian and Ukrainian voiceless stops are reported to exhibit more English-like Voice Onset Time (VOT) qualities across heritage generations than their homeland counterparts. Further, less frequent use of HL and weaker orientation towards heritage cultures are correlated with more English-like VOTs (Nagy & Kochetov 2013). In another VOT investigation, Kang and Nagy (2016) compare homeland and heritage Korean. The authors find that while both varieties demonstrate VOT merger, heritage speakers have a different trajectory of change; this difference, they posit, could be attributed to the greater influence of English in Toronto.

In contrast, there are morphosyntactic variables that show little contact effects. For instance, variable PRO-drop use in Heritage Cantonese, Italian, and Russian does not approach the very low rates of null subjects in English, but rather remained similar to homeland rates (Nagy et al. 2011). Variable case-marking in Heritage Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian show little systematic distinction from the homeland counterparts. In other words, the way heritage speakers mark case is very similar to monolingual speakers in the homeland (Łyskawa & Nagy 2019). Finally, in a study of noun classifiers, Nagy and Lo (2019) demonstrate that Heritage and Homeland Cantonese show similar preference for the general and mass classifiers.

The studies above highlight that some aspects of heritage language grammar are more susceptible than others to English contact. While it appears that morphosyntactic features remain stable between homeland and heritage speakers, it remains to be seen whether this generalization can also be made in the context of Toronto Heritage Tagalog, particularly for adjective intensifier use.

2.2 *Filipinos in Toronto*

The Philippines has been one of the top sources of immigrants to Canada since 2009 (Kelly et al. 2009). Toronto has the largest concentration of Filipinos and they make up the fourth-largest visible minority group with a population of 280,000 (Statistics Canada 2017). They account for 8.4% of Toronto's population that identify as visible minority. Filipinos arrived in Toronto in roughly three major waves of immigration. The first occurred in the late 1960's when Filipinos responded to Canada's labour demands in the textile and medical industries (Chen 1990, 1998; Pratt 2003). The second wave happened between the mid-1980's and early 1990's in response to the political instability and economic stagnation in the Philippines (Kelly 2014). During this time, Canada also introduced the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM, 1982–1993), which allowed many women to enter Canada and work as domestic caregivers. The third wave happened after 1993, when the FDM program was replaced with the Live-in Caregiver Program (LIPC). The program offered its participants a work permit and the possibility of obtaining permanent residency upon contract completion. The LIPC, which has become the most widely-used immigration channel among Filipinos, accounted for 26.3% of all arrivals from the Philippines between 1993 and 2009.

Filipinos in Canada are generally considered recent immigrants (Kelly 2006). McElhinny and colleagues (2009: 96) state that "less than 5 percent of the [Filipino] population arrived prior to 1970, and in 2001 over half of all Filipinos in Canada had arrived in just the previous ten years". Due to the varied immigration channels, Filipino immigrants come from various socioeconomic and linguistic backgrounds. In Toronto, for instance, Philippine languages like Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, Illongo, and Kapampangan are highly represented (Statistics Canada 2017), with many speaking Tagalog in addition to their regional dialects.

Filipinos in Toronto have dispersed settlement patterns (Thomas 2013) and reside in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods (Kelly 2014). This is corroborated by the residential patterns of our participants, who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhood. This is one possible reason for the lack of an apparent Filipino ethnic enclave in Toronto (similar to Little Portugal or Little

Italy).³ In my sociolinguistic interviews, one participant conveys that she would prefer to live in a Filipino neighbourhood: she says, “*siyempre sa Pilipino [neighbourhood] – kaya lang wala naman eh*” (Of course in a Filipino [neighbourhood] – but there is none). More recently, Filipinos are increasingly represented in Brampton, Mississauga, and Scarborough; they choose to reside in diverse areas to improve their quality of life and achieve socioeconomic mobility (Balakrishnan et al. 2005; Darden & Kamel 2004).

Despite generally having higher educational attainment compared to other immigrant communities, many Filipinos still experience deprofessionalization and deskilling (Kelly et al. 2009; Coloma et al. 2012; Pratt 2012). This has posed challenging in obtaining careers in managerial positions (an exception would be the healthcare industry). This kind of social landscape has implications for second-generation children (McElhinny et al. 2009: 94). One of the ways in which Filipinos mitigate this inferiority is by promoting the use of English at home. Statistics Canada (2001) report that the majority (56%) of Canadians of Filipino origin speak English at home, while 14% speak English in combination with a Philippine dialect.

Placing value in English is due in part because some parents feel it would lessen the chance of discrimination by not having a Filipino “accent”, and that children would have an easier time integrating. In the interviews, participant T2F21A tells a story of an acquaintance that had just moved recently to Canada, and whose child apparently could no longer speak Tagalog after only one year. She says, much to her amusement:

Mayroon nga kaming kilala na sinabi daw yung anak niya – LAST YEAR lang dumating dito – pero hindi na marunong mag-tagalog ... isip-isip ko, “hindi ganyan kaya kabilis makalimot ng lengguwahe! EITHER ganon OR ayaw mol ang talaga ipaalam na marunong mag-tagalog yung anak mo” ganon sabi ko. Bakit parang tinataboy mo lengguwahe mo e ang ganda nga ng lengguwahe natin eh [We know someone who just arrived last year, and their child can no longer speak Tagalog. I thought, “you don’t lose a language that fast!” I said, “either that, or you just don’t want to let people know that your child can speak Tagalog.” Why does it seem like you’re trying to put aside your language when it is very beautiful!]

In contrast, participant T1F60A has this to say about heritage languages in Toronto, and how she wants her children to maintain knowledge of Tagalog:

Yung ibang NATIONALITY, hindi nila pinapa-alis yung kanilang linguwahe: CHINESE, PORTUGUESE, SPANISH. Kaya minsan, ang natitingnan ko, umuunlad ang bansa nila. Kaya ako rin, gusto ko, ma-REMAIN nila ang Tagalog kesa ang Ingles [People from other nationalities do not forget their language: Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish. That’s why sometimes I think that’s a reason why they are successful. That’s why I want Tagalog to remain with [my kids].]

³ The intersection of Bathurst and Wilson has, in the past five years, developed into Toronto’s unofficial “Little Manila”. This area has an abundance of Filipino establishments and the site for the annual *Taste of Manila* food festival. This area was home to an aging Jewish population, and thus became an ideal place for Filipinos to work as domestic helpers in the late 1990s (see <https://www.blogto.com/city/2018/05/little-manila-neighbourhood-filipino-food-toronto/>).

Compared to other languages like Mandarin and Cantonese, there is little institutional and community support for learning Tagalog outside of the home setting. Currently, Filipino Centre Toronto and Kapisanan Philippine Centre offer Tagalog classes, but there is a lack of resources appropriate for heritage language learners.

Thus, the social landscape of Filipinos in Toronto contributes to a more restricted use of Heritage Tagalog and a weaker ethnolinguistic vitality when compared to other HLs like Cantonese (Tse 2017). In terms of contact, therefore, one possibility is that Heritage Tagalog would be more susceptible to English influence and thus would diverge from homeland patterns. This hypothesis is tested in the context of adjective intensifier use.

2.3 *Tagalog basics*

Tagalog is an Austronesian language and the national language of the Philippines (Gonzales 1998). It is the native language of most people in Metro Manila and in many provinces on the island of Luzon (Kaufman 2010). It is also the basis of Filipino, the official language of the country.

Tagalog has strong overlay from Spanish and English. Spain occupied the Philippines from 1521–1898. During this time, Spanish was the prestige code. In spite of this, according to Thompson (2003: 60), “the language thoroughly influenced the local languages”, as evidenced by the many Spanish loanwords in Tagalog today. Llamzon and Thorpe (1972) report that as much as 33% of Tagalog word roots are of Spanish origin. It is difficult, however, to identify these borrowings as they are integrated both linguistically and socially. Many Filipinos do not consider Spanish loanwords as foreign anymore. In fact, they are viewed as more conversational than their native Tagalog counterparts (French 1988).

On the other hand, when the United States occupied the Philippines from 1898–1946, English was introduced to the educational system with much success. English became the language of higher education, business, government, and other formal situations. It is also considered the language of power and social mobility. Today, English loanwords are also starting to supplant many native Tagalog words, and *Taglish* (Thompson 2003) has become the vernacular in Metro Manila.

Tagalog is also a heritage language in many diasporic communities in North America. In Toronto specifically, Tagalog is the fifth-largest HL (following Cantonese, Mandarin, Punjabi, and Italian), with more than 164,000 reported speakers, or 5.9% of the city’s population of heritage language speakers (Statistics Canada 2017).

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language (Schacter & Otones 1972). Predicates can be verbal, nominal, adjectival, and in some cases prepositional. There are no auxiliaries between predicates and their arguments. Arguments following the predicate have a relatively free word order (Kroeger 1993; Schacter 2008) yet may still be subject to some order constraints (Rackowski 2002). The flexibility in word order is possible because the semantic roles of the arguments are reflected in the case markers (Kroeger 1993): (NOM)INATIVE *ang*, (GEN)ITIVE *ng*, and (DAT)IVE *sa*.⁴ In general, genitive *ng* marks non-subject arguments as either possessors, actors, instruments, and indefinite

⁴ The markers *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* are for common nouns. Their counterparts for personal names are *si*, *ni*, and *kay*.

objects; and dative *sa* marks non-subject arguments as goals, recipients, locations, and definite objects. On the other hand, nominative *ang* is assigned to only one argument – the definite subject, and its semantic role is assigned and indicated by verbal affixes called voice markers (Kaufman 2009; Kroeger 1993: 13): ACTOR VOICE (AV), OBJECT VOICE (OV), DATIVE/LOCATIVE VOICE (DV), INSTRUMENTAL VOICE (IV) and BENEFACTIVE VOICE (BV). These are shown in (2). The use of the actor voice in (2a) indicates that the *ang*-marked argument *lalake* ‘man’ is the actor in the clause. In contrast, the use of dative/locative voice in (2c) indicates that *tindahan* ‘store’ is the location.

Finally, Tagalog distinguishes between four aspects: perfective, imperfective, contemplated, and recently contemplated (Schacter & Otones 1972; Kroeger 1993; de Guzman 1996), and these are marked on the verb through either the infix *-in-* or reduplication (Maclachlan 1992; Rackowski 2002).

(2) Basic Tagalog sentences with the main verb *bili* ‘to buy’ and perfective aspect *-in-* (adapted from Kroeger 1993: 13-14)

- a. B-um-ili⁵ ang lalake ng isda sa tindahan
PERF.AV-buy NOM man GEN fish DAT store
‘The man bought fish at a store’ (NOM argument = actor)

- b. B-in-ili-Ø ng lalake ang isda sa tindahan
PERF-buy-OV GEN man NOM fish DAT store
‘A man bought the fish at a store’ (NOM argument = patient)

- c. B-in-ili-han ng lalake ng isda ang tindahan
PERF-buy-DV GEN man GEN fish NOM store
‘A man bought fish at the store’ (NOM argument = location)

- d. Ip-in-am-bili ng lalake ng isda ang pera
IV-PERF-buy GEN man GEN fish NOM money
‘A man bought fish with the money’ (NOM argument = instrument)

- e. I-b-in-ili ng lalake ng isda ang bata
BV-PERF-buy GEN man GEN fish NOM child
‘A man bought fish for the child’ (NOM argument = recipient)

⁵ When the actor voice (AV) marker *-um-* is used with the perfective aspect, the infix *-in-* is not realized.

2.4 Tagalog adjectives

Tagalog adjectives come in different types (Schacter & Otones 1972). The most common ones are simple adjectives and a large class of derived adjectives, which includes *ma*-adjectives (Alejandro 1963). Other adjective types include number adjectives (e.g., ordinal, cardinal, and other numerical expressions), attention-directing deictics (equivalent to the English expression ‘Here/There he is.’), *pa*-adjectives (expresses or modifies activities as either intermittent or incipient), and *pang*-adjectives (instrumental expressions). There are also many English loanwords that have entered the Tagalog system (Schacter 2008). Here we limit the discussion to only simple adjectives, derived adjectives, as well as English adjective loans, because they are the ones that can undergo intensification.

2.4.1 Types of adjectives

Simple adjectives are adjectives in their base form. There are two subclasses: the first subclass (Table 1) form a larger paradigm with (but remain distinct from) verbs. Adjectives belonging to this subclass indicate the resulting state of the event denoted by the verb (Sabbagh 2011).⁶ On the other hand, the second subclass of simple adjectives (shown in Table 2) are not related to verbs.

Table 1. Simple adjectives related to (transitive) verbs (adapted from Schacter & Otones 1972: 197)

Adjective	Gloss	Related verb
ayos	‘arranged’	ayos /ʔa:jos/ ‘arrange’
galit	‘angry’	galit /ga:lit/ ‘anger’
basag	‘broken’	basag /ba:sag/ ‘break’

Table 2. Simple adjectives not related to nouns and verbs (adapted from Schacter & Otones 1972: 197)

Adjective	Gloss
pisa	‘crushed’
duwag	‘cowardly’
payat	‘thin’
mura	‘cheap’
tama	‘correct’
punit	‘torn’

Meanwhile, derived adjectives are formed by attaching derivational affixes to an adjectival base. The most common derivational affix is *ma*-. Adjective bases that can take a *ma*- affix can occur independently as nouns (as in Table 3). They either describe abstract qualities or designate

⁶ The sole argument of adjectives belonging to this subclass correspond to the direct object of the related transitive verb, as seen in the following example (adapted from Sabbagh 2011: 1428):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) a. Basag ang bote
broken NOM bottle
‘The bottle is broken’ | b. Nag-basag si Juan ng bote
PERF-break NOM Juan GEN bottle
‘Juan broke the bottle’ |
|--|---|

concrete objects. Resulting *ma*-adjectives convey abundance of the property expressed by these nominal bases. As shown in Table 4, there are also *ma*-adjectives whose bases occur as unaffixed adjectives, and they are further divided into whether or not the resulting *ma*-adjective has the same meaning as the unaffixed adjective. If the *ma*-adjective has a different meaning from their unaffixed counterpart, the former expresses that the property is non-inherent and transitory. Other derived adjectives can be formed by attaching the base to at least one adjectivizing affix. Some derivations involve circumfixes as well as partial reduplication. Some examples are provided in Table 5.

Table 3. *Ma*-adjective bases (in bold) that can occur independently as nouns (adapted from Schacter & Otanes 1972: 198).

	Adjective	Noun
Associated with abstract qualities	mab igat 'heavy'	bigat 'weight'
	mab ilis 'fast'	bilis 'speed'
	mag anda 'beautiful'	ganda 'beauty'
Associated with concrete objects	mal aman 'fleshy'	laman 'flesh'
	mab undok 'mountainous'	bundok 'mountain'
	mat ao 'crowded'	tao 'person'

Table 4. *Ma*-adjective bases that occur independently as unaffixed adjectives (adapted from Schacter & Otanes 1972: 199).

Same meaning as unaffixed adjectives	map ayapa 'peaceful'	payapa 'peaceful'
	masa gana 'prosperous'	sagana 'prosperous'
	matap at 'honest'	tapat 'honest'
Different meaning from unaffixed adjectives	mab ilog ang buwan round NOM moon 'The moon is full'	bilog ang buwan round NOM moon 'The moon is round'
	mad ilaw ang buhok niya yellow NOM hair 3P.SG 'Her hair is yellow (i.e., bleached blonde)'	dilaw ang buhok niya yellow NOM hair 3P.SG 'Her hair is 'naturally' yellow'

Finally, Tagalog has many adjective originating from English. These borrowings are marked and perceptually salient, but many have undergone loanword adaptation with respect to pronunciation. Some examples are shown in Table 6.

Table 5. Adjectivizing affixes (in italics) (adapted from Schacter & Otones 1972: 224–229).

Derivation	Meaning	Examples of derived adjectives
<i>pala</i> -BASE, <i>mapag</i> -BASE, <i>mapang</i> -BASE, and <i>ma</i> -BASE- <i>in</i>	Inclination or fondness	<i>pala-basa</i> ‘fond of reading’ <i>mapag-luto</i> ‘fond of cooking’ <i>mapang-gulo</i> ‘inclined to disturb’ <i>ma-tulung-in</i> ‘fond of helping’
BASE- <i>an</i>	Covered in what the base designates	<i>dugu-an</i> ‘bloody’ <i>sugat-an</i> ‘wounded’
BASE- <i>in</i>	Susceptible to what the base designates	<i>antuk-in</i> ‘easily affected by sleepiness’ <i>sipun-in</i> ‘susceptible to colds’
BASE + LINKER (-ng or na) + BASE	Experiencing an intense degree of what the base expresses ⁷	<i>awa-ng-awa</i> ‘feeling great pity’ <i>lungkot na lungkot</i> ‘very sad’
<i>ka</i> -CVCV _{base} -BASE	causing or producing what the base designates in an extreme degree	<i>ka-galang-galang</i> ‘inspiring great respect’ <i>ka-pani-paniwala</i> ‘very plausible’
<i>ma</i> -BASE- <i>an</i>	requiring the property of the base	<i>ma-bilis-an</i> ‘requiring great speed’
<i>maka</i> -BASE	in favour of, or fond of what the base expresses	<i>maka-bayan</i> ‘patriotic’ <i>makabago</i> ‘progressive’
<i>na</i> - + <i>ka</i> - + C(V) _{base} + BASE	causing or producing what the base expresses	<i>naka-a-antok</i> ‘causing sleepiness’
<i>na</i> - + <i>kapang</i> - + CV _{base} + BASE	causing or producing what the base expresses	<i>na-kapang-hi-hinayang</i> ‘causing regret’

Note. *ma*-BASE-*in* and *ma*-BASE-*an* are circumfixes.

Table 6. Examples of English adjective loans in Tagalog.

English loan	Tagalog pronunciation
happy	[hapi]
busy	[bisi]
strong	[strong]

⁷ This form is structurally similar to intensified forms. The only difference is that adjectives of this type have adjective bases that do not exist independently as simple adjectives.

2.4.2 Distribution of adjectives

Tagalog adjectives are found in predicative positions (3) and in nonpredicative positions (4-6). In attributive constructions, the adjective can precede (4a) or follow (4b) the modified entity. Crucially, in both cases, the adjective and the entity are separated by an obligatory LINKER (Rubin 1994; Sabbagh 2009).⁸ Adjectives can also appear as nominalized forms, as in (5). As with English, Tagalog allows multiple adjectives to appear before the modified noun, in which case each adjective contains a LINKER (6).

- (3) Masaya ako (T1F60A)
happy 1P.SG
'I am happy.'
- (4) a. Mabigat na HELMET (T1M52A)
heavy LINKER helmet
'heavy helmet'
- b. HELMET na mabigat (T1M52A)
helmet LINKER heavy
'heavy helmet'
- (5) Binili niya ang mahal (Schacter & Otones 1972: 195)
bought s/he NOM expensive
'S/he bought the expensive one'
- (6) Malaki-ng pula-ng mansanas (Samonte & Scontras 2019: 4)
big-LINKER red-LINKER apple
'big red apple'

There are also cases where the adjective is predicative, but the subject (or other elements) have been extracted. An example is shown in (7), where the subject *kayo* has undergone *ay*-inversion (Kroeger 1993). That is, the subject moves to sentence-initial position, and is followed by the particle *ay*. In colloquial speech, *ay* is often omitted, as in (8)-(9). Finally, adjectives may also agree with the modified entity in terms of number. As shown in (10), plurality of the modified NP may be marked in adjective via reduplication.

- (7) Kayo ay mabait (adapted from Schacter & Otones 1972: 486)
2P.PL AY kind
'You are kind.'
(cf. Mabait kayo)

⁸ The LINKER has two allomorphs: a free morpheme *na* occurs when the preceding word ends in a consonant while the bound morpheme *-ng* occurs when the preceding word ends in a vowel.

- (8) Kaya sila (ay) OKAY na (T2F21A)
 that's.why 3P.PL (AY) okay already
 'They why they are already okay.'
- (9) Kinakabahan siya – pati ako (ay) kinakabahan (TXF49A)
 nervous 3P.SG also 1P.SG (AY) nervous
 'She's nervous – I'm also nervous.'
- (10) Pero noon buhay siya, hiwalay-hiwalay kami (TXF49A)
 but before alive 3P.SG separated.PL 1P.PL
 'But when he was alive, we were separated.'

2.5 Tagalog intensifiers

As shown in (1a-d), adjectives can be intensified by lexical, morphosyntactic or constructional strategies. Lexical intensifiers that are represented in our corpus include *talaga* 'really', *sobra* 'excessively', *masyado* 'considerably', *ubod (ng)* 'full (of)', and *tunay (na)* 'truly'. These lexical intensifiers can precede or follow the adjective. The LINKER is obligatory when they precede the adjective (11), but obligatorily absent when the intensifier follows the adjective (12).

- (11) Talaga-ng mamahalin sila (T2M19A)
 INT-LINKER loving 3P.PL
 'They are very loving.'
- (12) Interesado talaga din ako (T2F21B)
 interested INT also 1P.SG
 'I'm also very interested.'

Morphological intensification includes full reduplication and prefixation (Schacter 2008). When the adjective is intensified via reduplication (13), the adjective base and its reduplicant are separated by the LINKER. This process also extends to English adjective loans as seen in (14).

- (13) luma-ng luma na siya (T1F60A)
 old-LINKER old.INT already 3P.SG
 'It is already very old.'
- (14) FRESH na FRESH (T1F43A)
 fresh LINKER fresh
 'Very fresh'

Meanwhile, there are four prefixes that can be used to intensify adjectives, namely *napaka-*, *kay-*, *ka-* (the reduced form of *kay-*) and *pagka-*. In our data, there are only two prefixes represented:

napaka- (15) and *ka-* (16); and they are less common than reduplication. Notice that when used with *ma*-adjectives, the *ma*-prefix is no longer present; instead, the prefix attaches to the base. Furthermore, these prefixes are also productive, as evidenced by their use with English adjectives (17).

- (15) napaka-ganda ng TRANSIT natin dito (T1F52A)
INT-beautiful GEN transit 1P.PL.POS here
'Our transit here is very beautiful.'
- (16) NEW YORK ka-lapit (T1M52B)
New York INT-near
'New York is very near.'
- (17) napaka-STRONG ng PERSONALITY nila (TXF25A)
INT-strong GEN personality 3P.PL.POS
'Their personality is very strong.'

Adjective intensification in Tagalog can also be achieved constructionally through exclamative sentences. They can either be predicative (18) or attributive (19). Kaufman (2011) argues that exclamatives are instances of nominalization. The nominative marker serves to nominalize adjectives, as seen in (18-19). He further notes that “predication is packaged as a presupposition” (Kaufman 2011: 724).

Exclamatives have been argued as instances of intensification because they are associated with a degree interpretation even without overt degree morphology, and crucially, this degree exceeds a relevant standard (Rett 2008, 2011 for English; Foltran & Nóbrega 2016 for Brazilian Portuguese). The same argument has been proposed in earlier works on Tagalog (Bloomfield 1917: 173). Exclamatives are also argued to introduce conventional scalar implicatures “to the effect that the proposition they denote lies at the extreme end of some contextually given scale” (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 47). For example, saying “What a beautiful dog!”, speakers convey that the dog is more than just ‘beautiful’ (Beltrama & Bochnak 2015).

- (18) Ang tagal ng seremonya (TXF61A)
NOM long.INT GEN ceremony
'The length of this ceremony!'
(cf. *Matagal ang seremonya* 'The ceremony is long')
- (19) Ang bait ko-ng nanay! (TXF61A)
NOM kind.INT 1P.SG-LINKER mother
'How kind of a mother I am!'
(cf. *Mabait ako-ng nanay* 'I am a kind mother')

(20) Ang ganda ni Rosa! (Sabbagh 2011: 1437)
 NOM beautiful.INT GEN Rosa
 'The beauty of Rosa!'

(21) *Ang punit ng damit niya! (Sabbagh 2011: 1437)
 NOM torn.INT GEN dress 3P.SG
 'How torn her dress is!'

As mentioned, intensifiers are linguistic devices that emphasize the degree or heighten the meaning of a property expressed by adjectives (Quirk et al. 1985). It has been reported that intensifier use tends to change rapidly (Macaulay 2006), and distribution varies greatly across linguistic and social dimensions (Labov 1985; Stenström 2000; Ito & Tagliamonte 2003), which makes them ideal for variationist analysis.

3.1 Linguistics factors

Adjective function – whether adjective is attributive or predicative – can provide insight into the extent of intensifier delexicalization (Mustanoja 1960: 326-7). The last stage in the delexicalization of intensifiers is when they modify predicative adjectives (Demonte 2011). This factor predicts that higher rates of intensifier use in predicative contexts will be correlated with

higher degree of delexicalization. For example, English *very*, *really*, and *pretty* collocate more frequently with predicative adjectives. Further, this pattern is most apparent for *very*, suggesting that this intensifier is furthest in the delexicalization process. However, *very* is significantly correlated with predicative adjectives only among the older speakers (50+ age group) in Toronto English (Tagliamonte 2008) while *really* is correlated with predicative adjectives only among the younger speakers (17–34 years old) in British English (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003). It should be noted that this factor has so far only been examined in the context of English, so this raises the question of the generalizability of this claim across other languages.

The emotional value of the adjective is correlated with intensifier use. Peters (1994: 274) observes that new intensifiers collocate with adjectives with “stronger personal and emotional involvement”. Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) as well as Tagliamonte (2008) find that lexical intensifier *so* is significantly correlated with emotional adjectives, and similarly for *really* among the young adult speakers (20–29 years old). Finally, *very* shows more frequent use with nonemotional adjectives. These results suggest that *so* and *really* are in the early stages of delexicalization, while *very*, which collocates with adjectives with less emotional impact, is more highly delexicalized.

Though not pertinent to the current study, other factors implicated include semantic type and adjective quality. Partington (1993) suggests that the greater degree of delexicalization is correlated with greater collocation behaviour. Therefore, another way to tap into delexicalization of intensifiers is exploring their collocation patterns with adjectives of different semantic categories such as dimension, colour, physical property, emotion, etc. (see Dixon 1977). In British English, *very* collocates widely across all semantic categories of adjectives among the older speakers, while this is the case for *really* among the middle-age and younger speakers (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003). The same trends are found in Toronto English (Tagliamonte 2008). In contrast, Bulgin et al. (2008) find no systematic pattern with respect to semantic category.

Adjective quality has also been examined as potentially influencing intensifier choice. Intensifiers that have maintained their original positive modal meaning, such as Spanish *bien*, collocate less frequently with negative adjectives. Indeed, this pattern emerges in various Spanish dialects (Brown & Cortés-Torres 2013; Kanwit et al. 2017), whereby *bien* is favoured by adjectives that have positive connotations in order to enhance a “positive semantic reading” (Brown & Cortés-Torres 2013:17)

3.2 Social factors

Intensifiers are generally associated with and used more frequently by younger speakers (Stenström et al. 2002; Tagliamonte 2008; Brown & Cortés-Torres 2013). Further, there appears to be an age effect in the choice of intensifier. Brown and Cortés-Torres (2013) report that younger speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish favour the use of *bien* more than *muy*. Tagliamonte (2008) finds that in Toronto English, *very* is favoured more by the older speakers and *really* by younger speakers.

Intensifiers also show gender-related patterning. Innovative forms are typically associated with (young) women (Jespersen 1922). In English, this seems to be the case as women tend to prefer *so* and are leading in its use. On the other hand, (young) male speakers prefer the use of

pretty (Tagliamonte 2008). Turning now to Spanish, men favour the use of the Peruvian Spanish intensifiers *-azo* over *-ísimo* in colloquial texts (Cerrón-Palomino 2013). Men also favour the use of *bien*, which is the innovative form and argued to be stigmatized in various Spanish dialects (Kanwit et al. 2017).

Finally, use of intensifiers is also influenced by style and genre. In general, intensifier use is associated with colloquial speech. Brown and Tagliamonte (2012), for example, investigates rates of intensification in Canadian English in spontaneous narratives and sociolinguistic interviews. Results reveal that intensifier use is greater in the former context than in the latter. They propose that spontaneous narratives often focus on the speakers' feelings and identity construction in an attempt to engage the audience. This kind of communicative goal, the authors claim, is not primary in sociolinguistic interviews, and hence the rate of intensifier use decreases.

3.3 *Drawing parallels between Tagalog and English intensifiers*

In English (and Spanish), lexical intensifiers are in different stages of grammaticalization via delexicalization and therefore results in different patterns of use. Studies have shown, for instance, that *so* is in its early stages of delexicalization whereas *very* is very delexicalized. It is perhaps possible to make analogous claims in Tagalog. We could place the three Tagalog intensification strategies in a continuum – not in terms of degree of delexicalization, but rather in terms of how lexical or grammatical it is. Lexical intensification lies on one end of the continuum, being the lexical approach; constructional intensification lies on the other end, being the most grammatical approach. If this is the case, then the hypotheses about the role of adjective function and emotional value can now be extended to Tagalog: nonemotional adjectives and those in predicative positions would favour constructional intensification (much like how the same conditions would favour a highly delexicalized intensifier in English).

In sum, intensifier use is linguistically and socially constrained. As far as linguistic factors are concerned, the patterns discussed here relate to how lexical intensifiers operate (in different varieties of English and Spanish), taking into account issues of delexicalization. This study also tests whether the same linguistic and social factors also constrain intensifier use in Tagalog. Further, to what extent intensifier use varies between homeland and heritage speakers necessitates looking at additional factors that test contact-induced effects. Section 4 outlines the hypotheses with respect to factors previously reported to affect intensifier choice (adjective function, emotional value, speaker age and gender) as well as the possible roles of adjective type, word length, speaker generation, and ethnic orientation. In Section 5, I elaborate further on how these factors are operationalized.

4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Adjective intensification in Tagalog is achieved through lexical, morphological, and constructional strategies. On the other hand, English (and Spanish) relies most readily on lexical intensification. Previous studies have identified several linguistic and social factors that constrain intensifier choice. Since there are currently no variationist studies on Tagalog intensifiers, it remains to be seen if and how these same factors play a role in Tagalog. However, as noted by

Nagy and Lo (2019: 85), “it is important to consider the same possibilities of internal variation as have been developed to account for change in English” in other languages – following the Uniformitarian Principle (Labov 1972). These factors therefore are included in this study.

To that end, I compare rates of use across the different intensifier strategies among all speakers. Then, I compare across heritage and homeland speaker groups to see if the conditioning factors operate differently. Finally, I consider individual differences in language use practices and preferences as a more nuanced measure contact. The following hypotheses are tested:

Social factors:

1. Younger speakers will favour lexical intensification
2. Female speakers will favour lexical intensification
3. Heritage speakers will use lexical intensification more than the other strategies
4. This effect would be greater among the GEN2 (given their greater contact with English) than GEN1 speakers
5. Speakers with greater orientation to English will show greater use of lexical intensification

Linguistic factors:

6. Adjectives in predicative contexts will favour constructional intensification
7. Nonemotional adjectives will favour constructional intensification
8. English loans will favour lexical intensification
9. Long adjectives will favour lexical intensification

It is worth noting that while Filipinos in the homeland are also generally exposed to English (e.g., English is the operational language in government, politics, higher education, etc.), they still have considerably less exposure to English than speakers living in Toronto. Therefore, contact with English is expected to play a greater role in the development of Tagalog in Toronto than in Manila.

5 METHODS

5.1 *Corpus*

The data examined in this study comes from the Heritage Language Documentation (HerLD) corpus, which is developed as part of the HLVC in Toronto Project (Nagy 2011). Currently the corpus contains spontaneous speech data from ten HLLs in Toronto. The HLVC protocol provides a unified methodology for describing HLLs and analysing certain aspects of variation and inter-generational change. The speaker sample for this study consists of 7 homeland and 13 heritage Tagalog speakers, as presented in Table 7. The heritage speakers lived in Metro Manila and other large major cities in the Philippines prior to arriving in Toronto. Similarly, the homeland speakers were all living and working in Metro Manila at the time of interview.⁹

⁹ The homeland speakers report Tagalog as their L1 except for TXM21A, who report it as their L2.

As per the HLVC protocol, GEN1 speakers must have lived the first 18 years of their lives in the homeland, moved to Toronto as adults, and have since lived in the city for at least 20 years. GEN2 speakers must be born and raised in Toronto or arrived before age 6; and their parents qualify as GEN1. Heritage speakers included in the study were comfortable speaking in Tagalog for about an hour. No proficiency measure was used in order to “describe the range of performances of all types of speakers who meet the Canadian government’s definition of a Heritage Speaker” (Nagy 2015: 314).

5.2 *Data collection*

There are 20 participants across two generations of heritage speakers as well as a methodologically-comparable sample from homeland speakers. All speakers are stratified according to gender and grouped into two age groups: speakers aged 39 and above are classified as older speakers (and this coincides with the definition of GEN1 heritage speakers), and speakers aged below 39 are classified as younger speakers. Heritage generation and age overlap and are not included together in statistical modelling in order to avoid issues of collinearity. T2M29A contributes only one intensified adjective token (via morphological intensification). T1F56A has three intensified adjective tokens – all of which use constructional intensification. As such, these heritage speakers are excluded from the analyses.

Each heritage speaker was interviewed by heritage Tagalog-speaking university students and recruited from the data gatherers’ personal networks. The homeland speakers were interviewed by the author who is a native speaker of Tagalog. The participants engaged in a sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1984) where they talked about their immigration experience and everyday experiences about language and culture. They completed a picture-naming and story-telling task. Lastly, they responded to an Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire (EOQ), a series of questions related to ethnic group affiliation. The questionnaire is broken into eight categories, namely ethnic identification, language, language choice, heritage, parents’ (perceived) ethnic identification, partner’s (perceived) ethnic identification, Filipino culture, and discrimination. The questionnaire is adapted from Keefe and Padilla’s (1987) survey. Responses to the EOQ are coded on a scale from 0, 1, and 2, with higher scores reflecting greater orientation towards Tagalog/Filipino identity, and lower scores indicating orientation towards English/Canadian identity. The EOQ values reported in Table 7 are averaged over responses related to language use and preferences (questions B3-5 and C1-5).¹⁰ The questionnaire is available at

http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/pdf/HLVC/short_questionnaire_English.pdf.

The recordings were transcribed in ELAN (Wittenburg et al. 2006), software that allows the user to time-align transcripts to the audio, in this case at clause-level. The general guideline is to transcribe in Tagalog orthography if the pronunciation is more Tagalog-like, and English orthography if the pronunciation is more English-like. It should be noted that conversational Tagalog is replete with code-mixing, and so there are plenty of English vocabulary items throughout the interviews, and these are differentiated from Tagalog by the use of capital letters in the transcript, as seen in (15).

¹⁰ There is currently no EO questionnaire available for homeland speakers.

Table 7. Participant profile stratified by GENERATION, AGE GROUP, and GENDER. EOQ score are for language use and preferences. Token *n* refers to all intensifiable adjective heads extracted from the sociolinguistic interview. Also included are the proportion of tokens that are not intensified (null) as well as intensified by lexical, morphological, constructional intensification.

Speaker	Generation	Age group	Gender	EOQ	Token <i>n</i>	% null	% lexical	% morphological	% constructional
T1M52A	GEN1	Older	M	1.33	67	88	7	3	1
T1M61A	GEN1	Older	M	1.33	70	93	3	0	4
T1M52B	GEN1	Older	M	1.22	81	74	6	7	12
T1F43A	GEN1	Older	F	1.56	82	70	5	7	18
T1F52A	GEN1	Older	F	1.44	187	65	5	27	3
T1F56A	GEN1	Older	F	1.00	59	95	0	0	5
T1F78A	GEN1	Older	F	1.44	107	76	6	7	12
T1F60A	GEN1	Older	F	1.78	113	90	1	4	4
T2M19A	GEN2	Younger	M	1.00	43	79	14	2	5
T2M29A	GEN2	Younger	M	1.44	13	92	0	8	0
T2F21A	GEN2	Younger	F	1.56	136	80	4	3	12
T2F21B	GEN2	Younger	F	1.00	75	72	27	0	1
T2F22A	GEN2	Younger	F	0.67	59	92	7	0	2
TXM28A	Homeland	Younger	M	NA	76	91	3	1	5
TXM24A	Homeland	Younger	M	NA	101	82	3	1	14
TXM21A	Homeland	Younger	M	NA	40	80	18	2	0
TXF25A	Homeland	Younger	F	NA	56	77	12	5	5
TXF23A	Homeland	Younger	F	NA	58	72	14	3	10
TXF49A	Homeland	Older	F	NA	83	86	4	1	10
TXF61A	Homeland	Older	F	NA	75	64	17	5	13

5.3 Circumscribing the variable context

The tokens were extracted from the sociolinguistic interviews. Tokens include adjectival heads that modify an NP, and that can be intensified – in line with previous studies on English intensifiers (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte 2003). Focusing on only adjectival intensification provides an accurate representation of cases where intensification could but did not apply. The dataset therefore contains instances where intensifiers did occur, and where they could but did not occur.

Adjectival tokens such as numerals (22), *pang*-adjectives, which encode instrumental expressions (23), and nominal modifiers (24) are excluded since these adjectives cannot be intensified in Tagalog.¹¹ Further adjectives with moderatives or downtoners (25), and in comparative constructions (26) are excluded. Finally, I excluded adjectives with intensifiers in negative polarity contexts (27) since intensifiers in these instances function more as downtoners (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003).

- (22) may isa-ng grupo na ... dito lumaki (T2F21A)
 EXIST one-LINKER group COMP here grew.up
 ‘There is one group that grew up here’

- (23) mga COMEDY SHOWS – yung pampatawa¹² (T1M52A)
 PL comedy shows that for.fun
 ‘Comedy shows – the ones for fun’

- (24) kamay na bakal (TXF61A)
 hand LINKER steel
 ‘Hand of steel’

- (25) medyo kakaiba ... yung LUNCH ko (T2F21A)
 slightly different ... that lunch 1P.SG.POS
 ‘My lunch is slightly different’

- (26) mas PROUD pa nga yung hindi marunong managalog (T2F21A)
 COMPARATIVE proud still indeed that NEG knowlegable speak.Tagalog
 ‘Those that can’t speak Tagalog are even more proud (of being Filipino)’

- (27) hindi naman masyado mahirap (TXM21A)
 NEG even INT difficult
 ‘It’s not very difficult’

¹¹ Deictic expressions, and *pa*-adjectives (which denote performance of an activity) are also excluded, but such tokens are absent in the corpus.

¹² The prefix *pang*- in this case has undergone place assimilation (*pang*- → *pam*-).

5.4 Coding

The data was coded for a number of linguistic variables previously reported to affect intensifier use. The factor ADJECTIVE FUNCTION considers whether the intensified adjective is predicative, as in (28) or nonpredicative, as in (29). Nonpredicative constructions can be diagnosed by the presence of LINKER in between the adjective and the NP (*-ng* between *mahaba* ‘long’ and *sulat* ‘letter’).

- (28) *sobrang sakit ng tainga ko* (T1F43A)
 INT painful GEN ear 1P.SG.POS
 ‘My ears are very painful’

- (29) *sumulat ako ng mahaba-ng mahaba-ng sulat* (T1F52A)
 wrote 1P.SG GEN long-LINKER long.INT-LINKER letter
 ‘I wrote a very long letter’

EMOTIONAL VALUE has two levels: emotional and nonemotional. Adjective tokens are coded as either emotional when related to human emotions, as in (30) or nonemotional when related to physical attributes or other qualities, as in (31).

- (30) *takot na takot (ako)* (T1F43A)
 scared LINKER scared.INT
 ‘I’m very scared’

- (31) *napaka-laki ng importansya ng ENGLISH sa pilipinas* (T2F21A)
 INT-big GEN importance GEN English DAT Philippines
 ‘The importance of English in the Philippines is very big’

The role of two additional linguistic factors are considered: adjective type and word length. The factor ADJECTIVE TYPE relates to whether the intensifier collocates with a simple adjective (32), derived adjectives such as a *ma*-adjective (33) or other derived adjectives (34), or English loans (35).¹³ It should be noted, however, that in the corpus, the set of derived adjectives is comprised mostly of *ma*-adjectives. English adjectives were included if they are in a Tagalog clause and have Tagalog-like pronunciation. Exclamatives (i.e., constructional intensification) are derived from predicative constructions; therefore, the type of adjectives in exclamatives are categorized according to their predicative form. This is particularly important for *ma*-adjectives, whose *ma*-prefix drops in exclamatives, as in the case of *masaya* ‘happy’ in (31). It is expected that simple adjectives will use intensification strategies other than the constructional one given the syntactic restriction discussed earlier. Further, since English uses lexical intensifiers, it is hypothesized that English loans will be intensified more frequently via lexical intensifiers (because this is, by far, the most common option in English).

¹³ I also considered whether the adjective has Spanish origins, but there were only five Spanish borrowings; therefore, Spanish loans was not used as a factor level.

- (32) bagay na bagay sa iyo (T1M52B)
 suitable LINKER suitable.INT DAT 2P.SG
 'It's very suitable for you'
- (33) 'diba ang saya mo? (TXM24A)
 is.not NOM happy 2P.SG
 'You are very happy, right?'
- (34) magkaiba talaga (sila) (TXM21A)
 different INT (3P.PL)
 'They are very different'
- (35) talaga-ng STRONG yung RELATIONSHIP namin (T2F22A)
 INT-LINKER strong that relationship 1P.PL.POS
 'Our relationship is very strong'

Second, intensifiers may be sensitive to word length. It has been noted that the morphological structure of base words such as word length affect the productivity of derivation and compounding (Aronoff 1976). To operationalize the factor WORD LENGTH, for each adjective I counted the number of syllables and classified into two categories: *short* for one (36), two (37), three (38) syllables; and *long* for adjectives with four (or more) syllables (39). It is expected that speakers may disprefer prefixal intensifiers such as *napaka-* or reduplication when the adjective is already long. Instead, they may favour lexical intensifiers since they constitute separate morphemes and would not contribute further to the adjective length.

- (36) talaga-ng CLOSE kami (T2F21B)
 INT-LINKER close 1P.PL
 'We are very close'
- (37) sikat na sikat (ang ARISTOCRAT) (T1F43A)
 famous LINKER famous.INT (NOM Aristocrat)
 'Aristocrat (restaurant) is very famous'
- (38) pinado-ng pinado ang programa (T1F52A)
 polished-LINKER polished.INT NOM program
 'The program is very polished'
- (39) nakakatakot talaga (TXM28A)
 scary INT
 'very scary'

I also consider several social factors. The factor GENERATION refers to the speaker's status as either heritage GEN1 or GEN2, or homeland. The factor AGE GROUP has two levels: speakers aged 19-38 form the younger age group while those above 39+ years older form the older group. The tokens were coded for GENDER – whether coming from a male or female speaker. Finally, for the GEN1 and GEN2 speakers ($n = 224$), I examine the role of EOQ. Since I am interested in contact, EOQ was operationalized by averaging each speaker's responses to EOQ questions related to language use and preferences, namely, questions B3-5 and C1-5. Table 8 summarises the predictor variables tested in this study.

5.5 *Methods of analysis*

At the outset, it is important to note that Tagalog – particularly in the heritage language context – is an understudied language and our data collection is still in-progress. Consequently, the sample size and token count in the current study are small. Therefore, in cases where statistical modelling is not a viable and responsible option, I report only distributional trends.

Once the tokens were coded for the response and independent variables, I explored the distribution of intensifiers across the different linguistic and social factor groups. Then, in order to determine which factors significantly affect intensifier use when all factors are simultaneously considered (and controlled for), the data was fit into a series of mixed effects models using the `glmer()` function (and the *bobyqa* optimizer) of the *lme4* package (Bates et al. 2015) in *R* (R Core Team 2018). The dependent variable is the choice of intensification strategy: lexical, morphological, or constructional (as in 1a–d). The dependent variable was then turned into a binary categorical response: the use of one variant versus the other two alternatives. As a result, three separate models were constructed, each looking at the contributions of linguistic and social factors in the choice of one strategy over the alternatives. All categorical factors were simple coded. Finally, random intercepts for SPEAKER and ADJECTIVE were included in all models in order to account for speaker and token variation that may otherwise skew the distribution. The significance level was set at $p < 0.05$.

This study is primarily interested in generational variation. The initial analysis of all speakers, with GENERATION as a factor, showed a U-shaped pattern with respect to lexical and morphological intensifiers. That is, homeland speakers differed from GEN1 speakers, who in turn, differed from GEN2 speakers; but crucially, GEN2 speakers patterned like homeland speakers (see Appendix A). The generational change between GEN1 and GEN2 heritage speakers appeared to be a change in progress. We therefore also report our analysis of only GEN1 and GEN2 speakers using the factor AGE GROUP (as well as other factors that came out as significant in previous analysis). This confirms that there is on-going change. Next, heritage and homeland speakers were compared to see whether the significant conditioning factors operate differently across speaker groups. Finally, I report efforts to account for individual differences in language use and preference as a more fine-grained and nuanced measure of contact.

Table 8. A summary of the predictors tested in the study.

Factor group	Level	<i>n</i>
Social factors		
GENERATION	Homeland	101
	Generation 1	162
	Generation 2	62
AGE GROUP	Old	201
	Young	124
GENDER	Female	249
	Male	76
EOQ (of GEN1 and GEN2 speakers)	(continuous)	224
Linguistic factors		
ADJECTIVE FUNCTION	predicative	265
	nonpredicative	60
ADJECTIVE TYPE	simple	57
	derived	206
	English	62
EMOTIONAL VALUE	emotional	61
	nonemotional	264
WORD LENGTH (in syllables)	short	308
	long	17

6 RESULTS

6.1 *Distributional analysis*

Table 9 shows the rate of intensification among the 18 speakers: out of the 1509 adjective heads, 22% are intensified. Table 10 shows that homeland speakers and heritage speakers intensify at rates of 21% and 22%, respectively. Both rates are lower compared to intensification in Toronto English (36%; Tagliamonte 2008) but similar to British English (24%; Ito & Tagliamonte 2003), and American English (22% Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005). Further, Table 11 shows that across homeland and heritage groups, females intensify more than males; and older speakers intensify more than younger speakers. These patterns support previous reports that females tend to use more intensifier than males, but seem to counter previous reports that intensifier use is more associated with younger speakers. So far, intensification seems to be distributed very similarly in homeland and heritage Tagalog.

Table 9. Overall distribution of intensification.

Total <i>n</i> = 1509					
Intensified			Not intensified		
%	N		%	N	
22	325		78	1184	

Table 10. Overall distribution of intensification between Homeland and Heritage Tagalog (*n* = 1509).

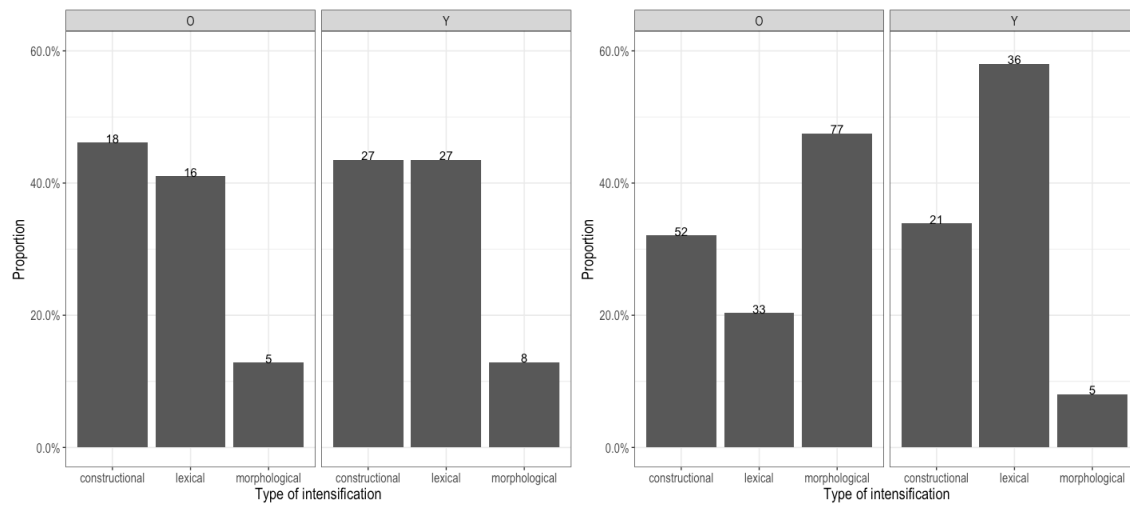
Homeland			Heritage		
% Intensified	<i>n</i>	Total <i>n</i>	% Intensified	<i>n</i>	Total <i>n</i>
21	101	489	22	224	1020

Table 11. Rates of intensification in Heritage and Homeland Tagalog according to GENDER and AGE GROUP.

	Homeland			Heritage		
	% Intensified	<i>n</i>	Total <i>n</i>	% Intensified	<i>n</i>	Total <i>n</i>
GENDER						
Females	25	68	272	24	181	759
Males	15	33	217	16	43	261
AGE GROUP						
Older	25	39	158	23	162	707
Younger	19	62	331	20	62	313

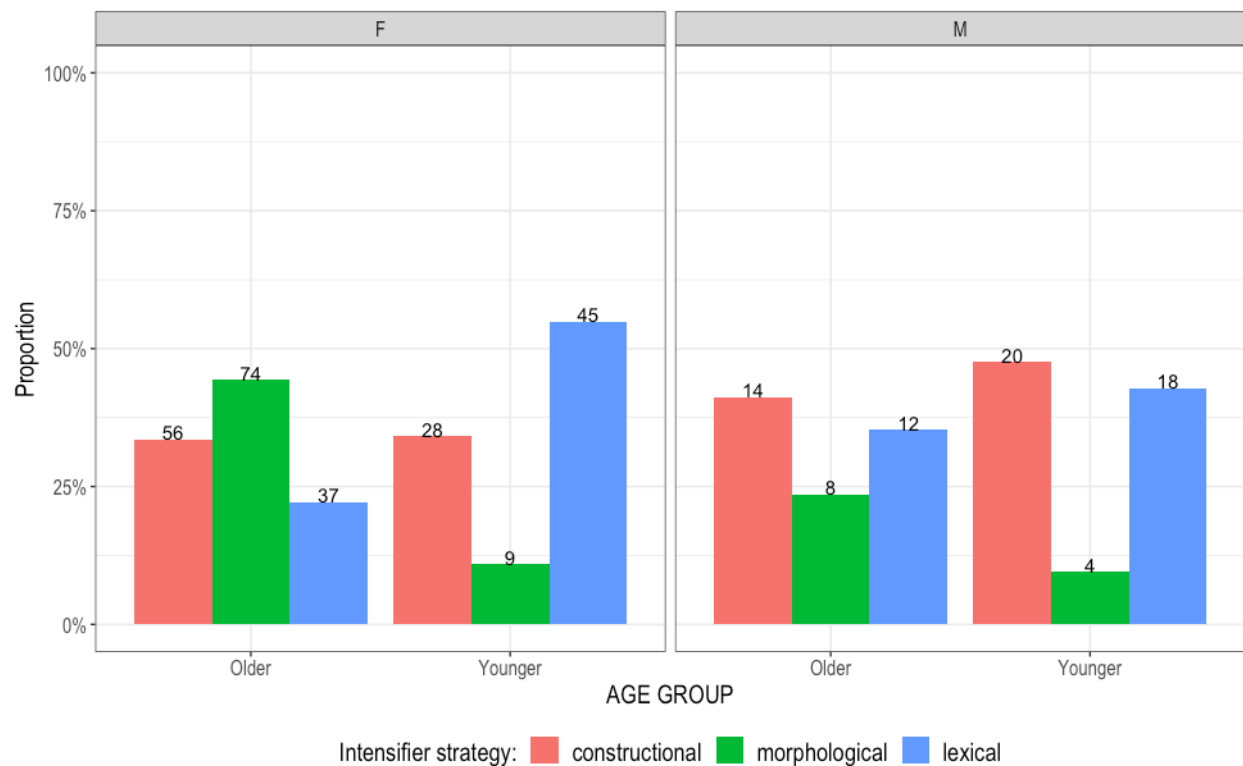
From here on, I examine only the 325 intensified adjectives. Let us consider the distribution of the different intensifier variants between homeland and heritage speaker groups. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the three intensification strategies between homeland and heritage speakers according to age group (older vs. younger speakers). The homeland group shows a consistent pattern over apparent time: greater use of constructional and lexical intensification and very little use of morphological intensification. This suggests that the variation remains stable over time. This is not the case among the heritage speakers. Rates of constructional intensification for both groups are similar. However, whereas older speakers have lower rates of lexical intensification relative to morphological intensification, the opposite trend is observed among younger speakers. This suggests that the Heritage Tagalog, there is a change over time.

Figure 1. Distribution of intensifiers between homeland speakers (on the left) and heritage speakers (on the right) according to AGE GROUP (O = older and Y = younger) (token count is shown on top of each column).



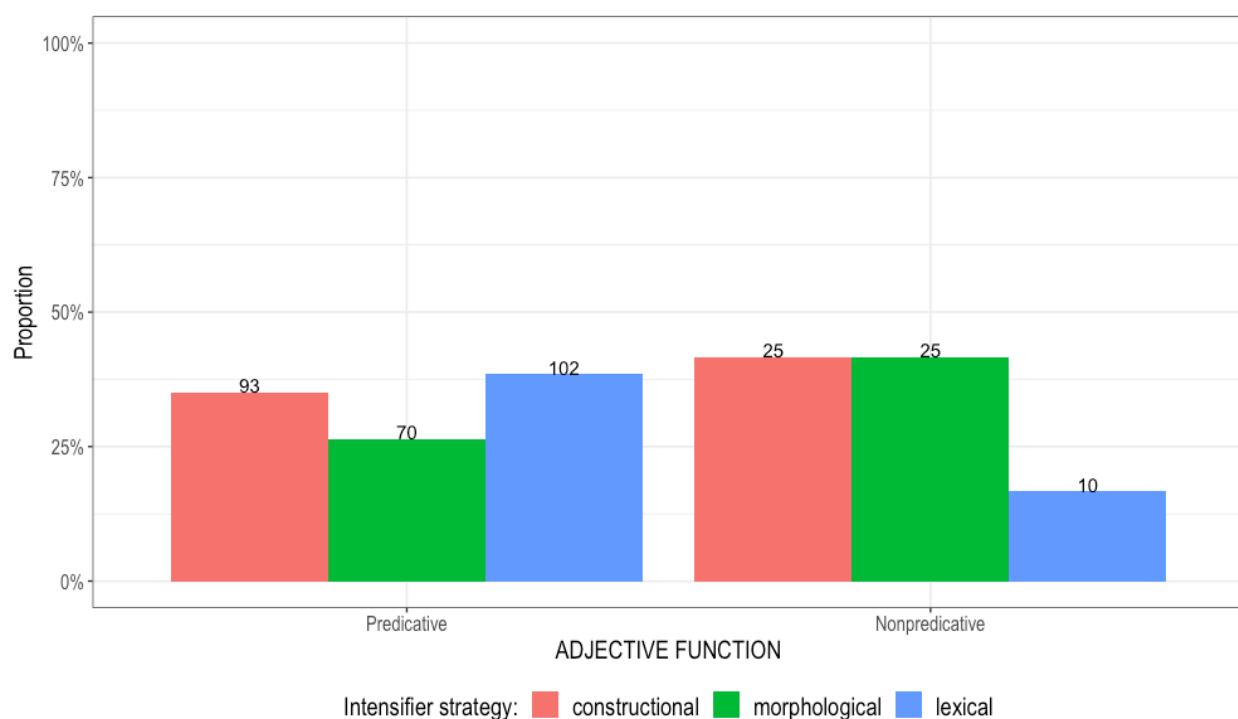
Consider this time the distribution of all speakers by AGE GROUP and GENDER. As shown in Figure 2, there seems to be an interaction between the two factors: older females use morphological intensification at a far greater rate than younger speakers. In contrast, older and younger male speakers show similar patterns of use. Younger speakers, particularly the females, use lexical intensification more than the other strategies, indicating that lexical intensification is the more innovative strategy.

Figure 2. Distribution of intensifiers according to AGE GROUP and GENDER (token count is shown on top of each column).



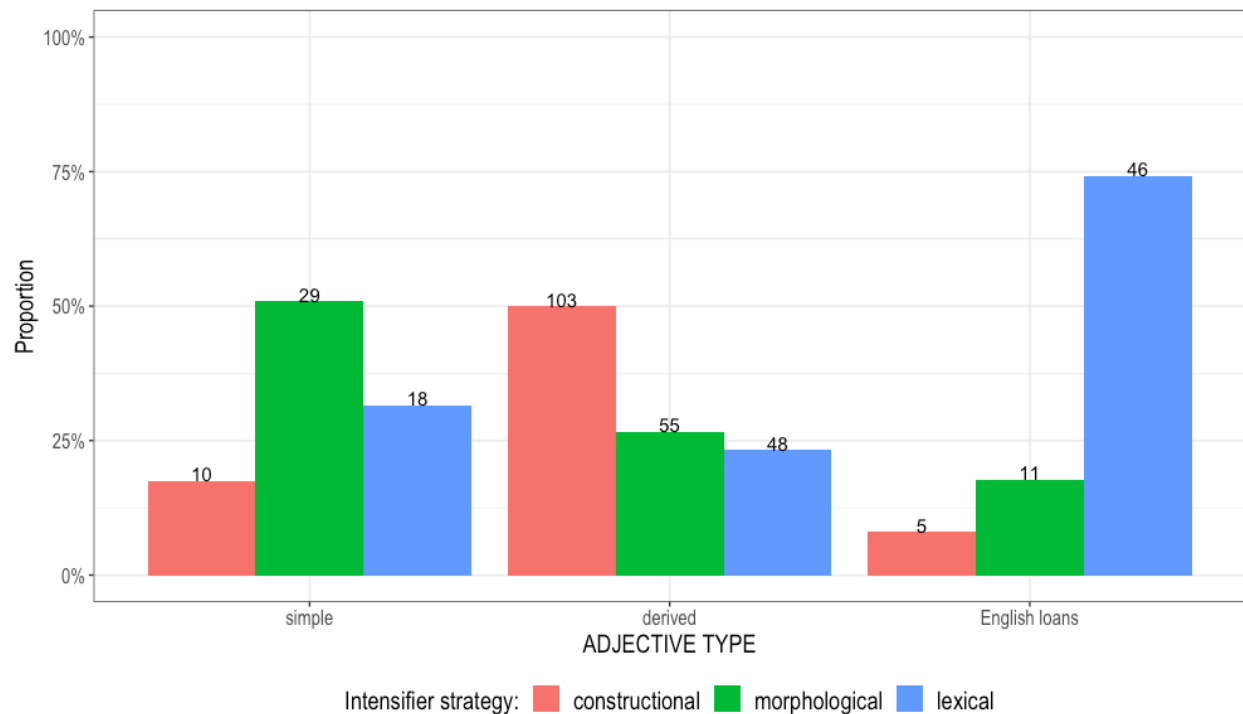
I now turn to the linguistic factors beginning with ADJECTIVE FUNCTION. The distribution of intensifiers across predicative and nonpredicative contexts are shown in Figure 3. There is a higher rate of lexical and constructional intensifier use when adjectives are in predicative positions. This finding preliminarily supports the hypothesis that constructional intensification would collocate with adjectives in predicative contexts given that they are the most delexicalized intensification strategy. Note, however, that there is slightly higher rate of lexical intensification among predicative adjectives. This may indicate, as in English, that the lexical intensifiers represented in the data, as a whole, are delexicalized. Conversely, there is less use of morphological intensifiers in predicative contexts.

Figure 3. Distribution of intensifiers according to ADJECTIVE FUNCTION (token count is shown on top of each column).



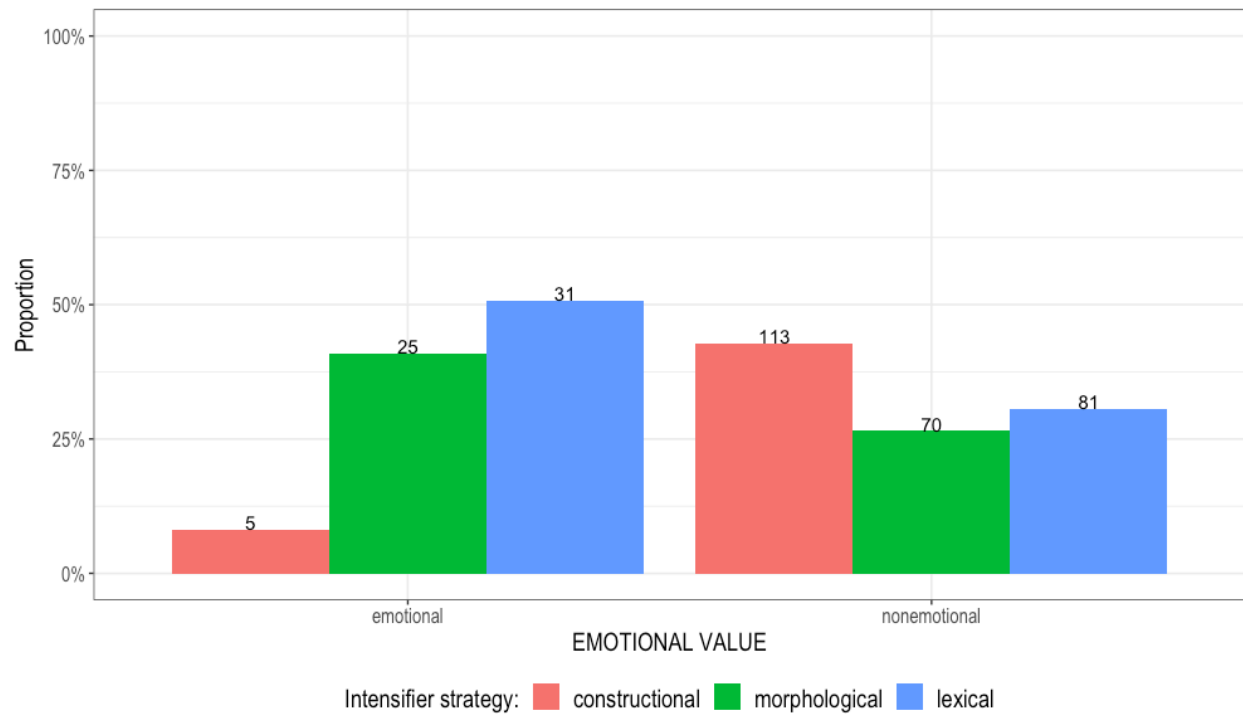
Turning now to ADJECTIVE TYPE, which explores whether the type of adjective (simple, derived or English loans) would show any patterns of intensifier use. As shown in Figure 4, each adjective type seems to favour one intensification strategy: simple adjectives collocate with morphological intensification, derived adjectives demonstrate greater use of constructional intensification and English adjective loans are associated with greater use of lexical intensification. This provides initial evidence that English loans maintain a preference for English-like intensification.

Figure 4. Distribution of intensifiers according to ADJECTIVE TYPE (token count is shown on top of each column).



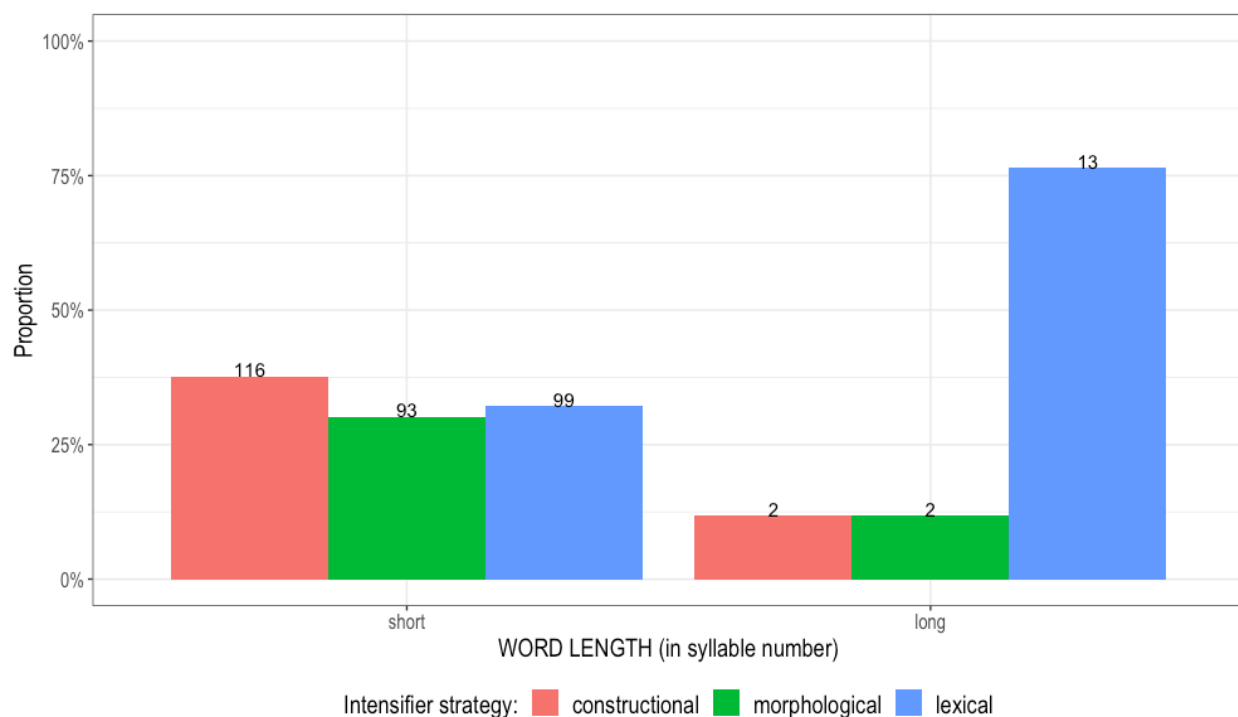
The next factor is EMOTIONAL VALUE. This considers the distribution of intensifiers according to whether the adjective is related to emotions (emotional) or general properties or physical attributes (nonemotional). As shown in Figure 5, lexical intensification is used at a higher rate with emotional adjectives. Conversely for nonemotional adjectives, constructional intensification use is greater than the other two strategies.

Figure 5. Distribution of intensifiers according to EMOTIONAL VALUE (token count is shown on top of each column).



Finally, let us investigate intensifier use according to WORD LENGTH. This is shown in Figure 6. The most striking pattern here is that when the adjective is long (i.e., 4 syllables), it collocates more with lexical intensifiers.

Figure 6. Distribution of intensifiers according to WORD LENGTH (token count is shown on top of each column).



6.2 Variable patterns among all speakers

I investigated whether there were significant differences in intensifier use across all speakers when all other factors are simultaneously considered in order to present evidence and evaluate the hypotheses stated above (Section 4). The data was fit into mixed-effects logistic models with GENERATION as a factor. Other predictors tested include GENDER, ADJECTIVE FUNCTION, ADJECTIVE TYPE, EMOTIONAL VALUE, and WORD LENGTH as well as the interactions of AGE GROUP with GENDER to see whether there are age patterns stratified by gender. Three separate multivariate analyses were conducted for all speakers to investigate how the linguistic and social factors contribute to the probability of using one variant versus other alternatives.

The model output includes an estimate for each level of each factor, which is a measure of change in the response for each unit of change in the predictor while holding other predictors constant. Positive or negative coefficients suggest a favouring or disfavouring environment, respectively, for the response variable relative to the reference level. These values also indicate the magnitude of the effect. The standard error provides a measure of precision (smaller *SE* indicates more precise estimates). The *z*-value is a test statistic for Wald tests, which measure the ratio between the estimate and its standard error. This is used to calculate the statistical significance of the predictors. *p*-values lower than 0.05 indicate the probability of obtaining the

observed patterns – assuming the null hypotheses are correct – is very small, and therefore we reject the null hypotheses in favour of the alternative hypotheses (as outlined in Section 4). Finally, the ‘%’ column shows the rates of use of a particular intensification strategy for any given level of a factor.

Table 12 shows the three model outputs. The first model (Lexical) explores the probability of using lexical intensifiers. The results show that GEN2 and homeland speakers, English adjective loans as well as long adjectives are more likely to favour the use of lexical intensifiers compared to the other strategies. The second model (Morphological) explores the probability of using morphological intensifiers. The results show that GEN1 speakers are more likely to favour the use of morphological intensifiers compared to GEN2 and homeland speakers. Similarly, simple adjectives are more likely to collocate with morphological intensifiers. Finally, the third model (Constructional) explores the probability of using constructional intensifiers. The results show that derived adjectives favour the use of constructional intensifiers. There is also a trend whereby nonemotional adjectives more likely collocate with constructional intensifiers.

The three models above provide different insights into the patterning of intensifiers. Whereas GEN1 speakers prefer the use of morphological intensification, GEN2 and homeland speakers prefer lexical intensification. There is no change with respect to constructional intensification as evidenced by their similar usage rates. In spite observing different patterns between older and younger women, this difference is not significant when collapsed over all other factors. Similarly, whether the adjective is in predicative or nonpredicative contexts does not influence intensifier use. On the other hand, adjective type plays a role in intensifier choice: English loans, simple Tagalog adjectives, and derived Tagalog adjectives collocate more likely with lexical, morphological, and constructional intensifiers, respectively. Word length appears to be a constraint only for lexical intensifiers. Finally, nonemotional adjectives favour constructional intensification. Thus, findings from this section reveal that the linguistic constraints operate on each intensification strategy differently and crucially, GEN1 differs from GEN2 in overall intensifier use, but GEN2 mirror homeland speakers (at least in terms of rates).

Table 12. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of intensifier use in Tagalog across all speakers ($n = 325$). Reference levels are in italics, and shading represent significant effects.

	Lexical					Morphological					Constructional					N
	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	
(Intercept)	0.33	0.67	0.500	0.617		-0.57	0.78	-0.73	0.465		-4.29	1.04	-4.10	0.000		
GENERATION																
<i>GEN1</i>					20%					47%					32%	162
GEN2	2.45	0.76	3.21	0.001	58%	-3.00	0.99	-3.02	0.002	8%	-0.24	1.04	-0.23	0.82	34%	62
Homeland	1.60	0.65	2.47	0.013	43%	-2.09	0.80	-2.59	0.009	13%	0.59	0.91	0.64	0.52	45%	101
GENDER																
<i>Females</i>					33%					33%					34%	249
Males	1.00	0.73	1.36	0.17	40%	-1.12	0.85	-1.32	0.19	16%	0.35	1.03	0.34	0.73	45%	76
ADJECTIVE FUNCTION																
<i>Predicative</i>					38%					26%					35%	265
Nonpredicative	-0.52	0.55	-0.95	0.34	17%	0.59	0.49	1.20	0.23	42%	0.05	0.50	0.10	0.92	42%	60
ADJECTIVE TYPE																
<i>English loans</i>					74%					18%					8%	62
Simple	-2.56	0.81	-3.13	0.002	32%	2.45	0.81	3.04	0.002	51%	0.38	0.83	0.46	0.64	17%	206
Derived	-1.95	0.60	-3.28	0.001	23%	0.03	0.66	0.04	0.965	27%	2.51	0.70	3.61	0.0003	50%	57
EMOTIONAL VALUE																
<i>Emotional</i>					51%					41%					8%	61
Nonemotional	-0.32	0.54	-0.60	0.55	31%	-0.27	0.57	-0.49	0.62	27%	1.37	0.70	1.97	0.049	43%	264
WORD LENGTH																
<i>Short</i>					32%					30%					38%	308
Long	2.36	0.98	2.41	0.016	77%	-1.48	1.23	-1.21	0.23	12%	-1.40	1.04	-1.35	0.18	12%	17
GENERATION:GENDER																
<i>GEN1:Female</i>					16%					54%					30%	128
<i>GEN1:Male</i>					35%					24%					41%	34
<i>GEN2:Female</i>					56%					8%					36%	53
<i>Hom:Female</i>					45%					15%					40%	68
GEN2:Male	-1.47	1.38	-1.06	0.29	67%	1.83	1.87	0.98	0.33	11%	-0.04	1.99	-0.02	0.98	22%	9
Hom:Male	-1.32	1.06	-1.25	0.21	36%	0.44	1.38	0.32	0.75	9%	-0.02	1.50	-0.01	0.99	54%	33

6.3 *Change in progress*

That GEN1 and GEN2 speakers vary significantly in terms of intensifier use preferences (lexical and morphological intensification) may indicate that a change is happening. This is because GENERATION and AGE GROUP are highly correlated. I therefore fit data from only the heritage speakers into mixed-effects logistic models with the social factor AGE GROUP and factors that came out as significant above. The results are presented in Table 13. The statistical models confirm that there is an age effect when controlling for the linguistic factors: there is decrease in use of morphological intensification among younger heritage speakers in favour of lexical intensification. There is no change with respect to constructional intensification. Further, we see the effects of adjective type and emotional value in the same direction: English loans, simple adjectives, and derived adjectives favour lexical, morphological and constructional intensification, respectively; and nonemotional adjectives favour constructional intensification. Word length, however, no longer exerts a significant effect, suggesting that this effect (as seen when all speakers were analyzed) is driven by the homeland speakers (who, in fact, exhibit a categorical pattern)

Table 13. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of intensifier use in Tagalog among heritage speakers – with particular focus on AGE GROUP. Reference values are in italics, and shading represents significant values.

	Lexical					Morphological					Constructional					N
	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	
(Intercept)	1.86	0.92	2.02	0.04		-1.70	0.90	-1.88	0.06		-6.51	1.72	-3.77	-0.0001		
AGE GROUP																
<i>Old</i>					20%					47%					33%	162
Young	2.63	0.94	2.79	0.005	58%	-2.57	1.07	-2.40	0.02	8%	-0.35	0.92	-0.37	0.71	34%	62
ADJECTIVE TYPE																
<i>English loans</i>					78%					19%					3%	41
Simple	-3.32	1.20	-2.76	0.006	26%	2.29	0.94	2.43	0.01	58%	1.74	1.30	1.34	0.18	16%	38
Derived	-2.49	-0.85	-2.94	0.003	19%	0.14	0.75	0.18	0.85	36%	3.74	1.18	3.18	0.001	45%	145
EMOTIONAL VALUE																
<i>Emotional</i>					52%					45%					3%	42
Nonemotional	-1.50	0.72	-2.08	0.04	26%	0.53	0.65	0.82	0.41	35%	2.80	1.24	2.25	0.02	39%	182
WORD LENGTH																
<i>Short</i>					29%					38%					33%	212
Long	1.52	1.26	1.20	0.23	67%	-0.81	1.30	-0.62	0.53	17%	-0.11	1.28	-0.09	0.93	16%	12

6.4 *Heritage versus homeland patterns*

This section considers whether the significant linguistic factors reported in Section 6.2 (i.e., ADJECTIVE TYPE, EMOTIONAL VALUE, and WORD LENGTH) operate differently across heritage and homeland groups. Factors wherein speakers were categorical were excluded in the statistical models. In these cases, I only report the rates and token counts. Factors with a significant effect for each generation are shaded to highlight the similarities among factors that strongly predict the use of each strategy across groups.

Consider the probability of using lexical intensification. Table 14 shows that ADJECTIVE TYPE is significant for GEN1 and GEN2 speakers. EMOTIONAL VALUE is significant only for GEN2 speakers. WORD LENGTH did not come out as significant even though it was significant in the previous analysis for either GEN1 and GEN2 speakers. This is likely because there are too few tokens of long adjectives in these groups.

In terms of the probability using morphological intensification, Table 15 reveals ADJECTIVE TYPE is significant only for GEN1 and homeland speakers. EMOTIONAL VALUE is not significant for the heritage speakers. For all speakers, WORD LENGTH is not significant.

Looking this time at the probability of using the constructional intensifiers, Table 16 shows that ADJECTIVE TYPE is significant only for homeland speakers. EMOTIONAL VALUE is significant only for GEN1 speakers. Finally, WORD LENGTH is not significant for GEN1 speakers.

The main takeaway here is that some factors are significant for the heritage speakers but not for the homeland speakers and vice versa. The results therefore suggest that the intensification system of the heritage speakers has changed. That is, heritage speakers are operating with a different set of principles for their choice of intensification strategy.

Table 14. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of lexical intensifier use in Tagalog per speaker group. Reference values are in italics, and shading represents significant values.

Lexical																		
Homeland (<i>n</i> = 101)							GEN1 (<i>n</i> = 162)						GEN2 (<i>n</i> = 62)					
	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N
(Intercept)	0.25	0.79	0.32	0.75			8.61	2.72	3.17	0.001			2.77	1.33	2.07	0.03		
ADJECTIVE TYPE																		
<i>English loans</i>					68%	21					62%	21					95%	20
Simple	-1.41	0.98	-1.44	0.90	42%	19	-20.46	8.51	-2.40	0.02	12%	30	-1.80	1.86	-0.96	0.33	75%	8
Derived	-1.51	0.81	-1.86	0.06	34%	61	-14.51	4.57	-3.18	0.001	14%	111	-2.80	1.25	-2.24	0.02	32%	34
EMOTIONAL VALUE																		
<i>Emotional</i>					47%	19					37%	32					100%	10
Nonemotional	0.86	0.91	0.94	0.35	41%	82	-2.12	1.45	-1.46	0.14	16%	130	—	—	—	—	50%	52
WORD LENGTH																		
<i>Short</i>					40%	96					20%	158					56%	54
Long	—	—	—	—	100%	5	1.90	3.94	0.48	0.63	50%	4	0.73	1.65	0.44	0.66	75%	8

Table 15. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of morphological intensifier use in Tagalog per speaker group. Reference values are in italics, and shading represents significant values.

	Morphological																	
	Homeland (<i>n</i> = 101)						GEN1 (<i>n</i> = 162)						GEN2 (<i>n</i> = 62)					
	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N
(Intercept)	-1.16	0.66	-1.75	0.08			-1.69	0.97	-1.74	0.08			-2.89	1.21	-2.38	-0.02		
ADJECTIVE TYPE																		
<i>English loans</i>					14%	21					67%	21					5%	20
Simple	2.35	1.02	2.29	0.02	37%	19	2.39	1.07	2.24	0.02	45%	30	0.94	1.91	0.49	0.62	25%	8
Derived	-0.12	1.00	-0.12	0.90	5%	61	0.32	0.80	0.39	0.69	33%	111	-0.72	1.90	-0.38	0.70	6%	34
EMOTIONAL VALUE																		
<i>Emotional</i>					32%	19					59%	32					0%	10
Nonemotional	-2.06	0.86	-2.34	0.02	8%	82	0.32	0.70	0.46	0.65	45%	130	—	—	—	—	10%	52
WORD LENGTH																		
<i>Short</i>					13%	96					49%	158					6%	54
Long	—	—	—	—	0%	5	—	—	—	—	0%	4	0.81	1.81	0.45	0.65	25%	8

Table 16. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of constructional intensifier use in Tagalog per speaker group. Reference values are in italics, and shading represents significant values.

Constructional																		
Homeland (<i>n</i> = 101)							GEN1 (<i>n</i> = 162)						GEN2 (<i>n</i> = 62)					
	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N	Est.	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	%	N
(Intercept)	-2.42	0.99	-2.44	0.01			-5.92	1.82	-3.25	0.00								
ADJECTIVE TYPE																		
<i>English loans</i>					19%	21					5%	21					0%	20
Simple	-0.70	1.04	-0.68	0.50	21%	19	1.62	1.33	1.22	0.22	20%	30	—	—	—	—	0%	8
Derived	1.64	0.80	2.05	0.04	61%	61	2.13	1.23	2.53	0.01	40%	111	—	—	—	—	62%	34
EMOTIONAL VALUE																		
<i>Emotional</i>					21%	19					3%	32					0%	10
Nonemotional	1.28	0.86	1.49	0.14	50%	82	2.73	1.34	2.04	0.04	39%	130	—	—	—	—	40%	52
WORD LENGTH																		
<i>Short</i>					47%	96					32%	158					39%	54
Long	—	—	—	—	0%	5	1.12	1.68	0.67	0.50	50%	4	—	—	—	—	0%	8

6.5 EOQ: Language use patterns and preferences

Finally, I conducted inter-speaker comparisons, focusing on GEN1 and GEN2 speakers and how intensification patterns may be influenced by individual differences in language use practices and preferences. Because I am interested in contact-induced effects, I considered to what extent preference for and greater use of English influences rate of use of Tagalog lexical intensification (which has an English equivalent). The results of the multivariate analyses in Table 17 show that the role of language use practices and preferences is significant for lexical intensification and only trending for morphological intensification – when all other factors are simultaneously considered (which, once again, show effects in the same directions as in previous analyses). This provides evidence that preference for and more frequent use of English leads to greater use of lexical intensification, but not necessarily to lesser use of morphological intensification. This therefore may be argument for contact induced change, whereby orientation towards English leads to the use of more English-like processes.

Table 17. Multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of intensifier use in Tagalog among heritage speakers ($n = 224$) – with particular focus on ethnic orientation (language use practices and preferences). Reference levels are in italics, and shading represent significant effects.

	Lexical					Morphological					Constructional					N
	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	Est.	SE	z	p	%	
(Intercept)	10.41	2.80	3.72	0.0002		-8.49	3.40	-2.50	0.01		-8.90	2.70	-3.29	0.001		
EOQ	-5.92	1.75	-3.37	0.0007		4.40	2.28	1.92	0.05		1.76	1.58	1.11	0.27		224
ADJECTIVE TYPE																
<i>English loans</i>					78%					19%					3%	41
Simple	-3.10	1.20	-2.58	0.01	26%	2.19	0.95	2.29	0.02	58%	1.62	1.31	1.24	0.22	16%	38
Derived	-2.32	0.84	-2.74	0.006	19%	-0.01	0.76	-0.01	0.99	36%	3.65	1.18	3.08	0.002	45%	145
EMOTIONAL VALUE																
<i>Emotional</i>					52%					45%					3%	42
Nonemotional	-1.43	0.73	-1.95	0.05	26%	0.58	0.66	0.88	0.38	35%	2.77	1.24	2.24	0.02	39%	182
WORD LENGTH																
<i>Short</i>					29%					38%					33%	212
Long	1.76	1.30	1.36	0.17	67%	-1.04	1.36	-0.77	0.44	17%	-0.09	1.28	-0.07	0.94	16%	12

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In keeping with the HLVC project, the goals of this study were to document language use patterns in heritage Tagalog and identify features that may be undergoing change. Specifically, this study compared intensifier use in heritage and homeland speakers to identify what factors influence variation, and also determine whether there is any evidence of contact-induced changes.

Results indicate that heritage speakers have an overall intensification rate of 22%. This is lower than the rate reported for Toronto English (36%; Tagliamonte 2008), the dominant ambient language of our heritage speakers. This difference in rates may likely be due to their being different language, but this offers insight that there seems to be no contact-induced transfer of intensifier use from English to heritage Tagalog. Furthermore, gender-related distributional patterns demonstrate that females intensify adjectives more than men. This is in-line with previous reports for English and Spanish, thus supporting claims that female speech tends to be more emotive. In contrast, overall rates demonstrate that older speakers intensify more than younger speakers across heritage and homeland groups, thereby opposing previous studies as well as previous claims that intensifier use is very much associated with younger people. There could be numerous reasons for this, and at this stage, we speculate it may be due to the interviewer-interviewee relationship. Earlier studies suggest intensifier use is associated with colloquial usage and emotional language. In looking at the data, the older speakers with higher intensifier rates were interviewed by a research assistant who have close personal ties with them, and as such can engage in more emotional-laden topics or narratives (Brown & Tagliamonte 2012) than data gatherers who have no previous ties to their interviewees.

Tagalog possesses three strategies for intensification: lexical, morphological, and constructional. The distributional patterns show that constructional intensification is the most frequent strategy (followed closely by lexical intensification). This highlights that intensification via exclamative constructions is not marked compared to the exclamative construction in English, which also has an intensified (degree) interpretation (but not commonly used and readily interpreted as such). Further, this particular strategy is not undergoing change and remains stable in both heritage and homeland groups. With respect to the heritage speakers, this further shows that so far, constructional intensification is not subject to influence from English contact.

When all speakers are examined, word length is implicated in this variation. Results suggest that there is greater tendency for longer words to collocate with lexical intensifiers. There is cross-linguistic evidence that productivity of derivational processes is affected by the morphological structure of the base (Krott et al. 2008), such as word length. In English, for example, the comparative form for adjectives has two variants: suffix *-er* or the free morpheme *more*. The choice is very strongly predicted by word length: adjectives that are one- or two-syllable long typically gets the *-er* suffix while three-syllable adjectives (and longer) almost always gets the free morpheme *more* (e.g., ‘*more* interesting’ vs. ‘*interesting-*er*’) (Quirk et al. 1985). Something similar could be happening here, but the underlying mechanism driving this restriction remains unclear. One possibility that can be tested in future studies (with more data) is whether word length is related to morphological complexity or prosodic weight.

That nonemotional adjectives collocate more frequently with the constructional intensifier among GEN1 is curious, and thus far we can only speculate as to possible reasons for this. Recall

that in English intensifiers that collocate with nonemotional adjectives are generally in later stages of delexicalization. Something similar could be happening here: exclamative expressions have no inherent (lexical) meaning and the most “delexicalized” (i.e., grammatical) out of the three strategies, and as such more readily collocate with nonemotional adjectives. Since this effect is found only among GEN1 heritage speakers, this could be taken as evidence of change due to English. Another possibility, one that is language-internal, is that the use of exclamatives with nonemotional adjectives heightens the illocutionary force of the utterance. Perhaps nonemotional adjectives are evaluative (whereas emotional adjectives are not); a speaker then, is still able to express an emotive attitude towards the nonemotional property of the subject which goes beyond their expectations (Potsdam 2011: 664).

GEN1 and GEN2 speakers vary in preferred choice of intensifier: GEN1 use morphological intensification more than other strategies while GEN2 use lexical intensification versus others. Among GEN2 speakers, lexical intensification is replacing morphological intensification – being used more by younger females. This further highlights that lexical intensification is the more innovative strategy. Crucially, the results show that the intensifier system is changing; that is, not only are the rates of use changing across generations, the linguistic conditioning has also changed. Therefore, this age-pattern correspond to a change in apparent time.

The generational change between GEN1 and GEN2 speakers may be attributed to contact with English, and lexical intensification may be the locus of contact-induced change. GEN2 speakers show higher rates of lexical intensification compared to GEN1 (and homeland) speakers, thereby suggesting that GEN2 speakers are relying more on this particular strategy. Further, GEN2 speakers seem to have generalized and extended the use of lexical intensification across different adjective types, and the patterns related to English loans provides insight into the possible role of contact. King (2000) argues that language-internal syntactic changes may occur as a result of contact-induced lexical changes (i.e., borrowing). Sankoff (2002) subscribes to a similar view that variation and change is intimately associated with the lexicon. King shows that in Prince Edward Island (PEI) French, the syntax of prepositions demonstrates English-like properties that are heavily constrained in other varieties of French – that of preposition stranding. She argues this stems from lexical borrowing of English prepositions. She states, “the direct borrowing of English-origin prepositions has resulted in the extension of a property of English prepositions, the ability to be stranded, to the whole set of [PEI French] prepositions” (p. 147). However, the syntactic mechanisms associated with English preposition stranding is not borrowed, and so PEI French exhibits preposition stranding “without the constraints found on the construction in English” (p. 147). She concludes that changes in the syntax follow from direct lexical borrowing. It is possible that a similar phenomenon is occurring in the case of the heritage speakers, whereby borrowing English adjectives also involves borrowing syntactic properties related to intensification; therefore, these loans collocate more frequently with lexical intensifiers. In doing so, other adjective types are also increasing their collocation rates with lexical intensifiers, as in the case of GEN2 speakers. On the other hand, the high rates of intensifier use with English loans among the homeland speakers may be just a result of a lexical restriction upon borrowing, as evidenced by the lower rates of lexical intensification (in general and with English loans) among homeland speakers compared to GEN2 heritage speakers. This would be similar to how, for

example, English verbs of Latinate origin dislike forming double object constructions (Green 1974, Levin 1993).

Finally, the role of ethnic orientation as it relates to language use practices and preferences was investigated. A significant effect emerged: heritage speakers reporting preference for and greater use of English are associated with higher rates of lexical intensifier use. This suggests that greater use of English may emphasize parallel structures in both languages, and in turn, favour their use in Tagalog (in this case, the use of lexical intensifiers). However, note that EOQ scores for language preferences and use are correlated with their overall EOQ scores (Appendix B), which in turn, are correlated with GENERATION and AGE. I therefore remain cautious in making strong claims about the role of ethnic orientation at this stage.

We look for three types of evidence to support changes due to contact (rather than internal change or age grading): (1) different patterns between homeland and heritage speakers; (2) different patterns between GEN1 and GEN2 speakers, given that GEN2 speakers have greater contact with English; and (3) greater divergence from homeland patterns among those that have greater orientation and more frequent use of English. I found that intensifier use is undergoing change in heritage Tagalog, whereas the same cannot be said for the homeland speakers. Moreover, the ways in which some of the conditioning factors operate among the heritage speakers deviate from homeland patterns, indicating that heritage speakers are operating with a different set of principles in choosing an intensification strategy. Finally, those that report greater orientation and more frequent use of English are GEN2 speakers, and we found that they demonstrated the highest usage rates of lexical intensifiers.

This study, albeit in a small scale, provides evidence of on-going change where the use of morphological intensifiers is decreasing in favour of lexical intensifiers. Adjective type, word length, and emotional value were also found to constrain intensifier choice. English adjective loans tend to collocate more with Tagalog lexical intensifiers – likely because of the structural parallel; this suggests there is contact-induced syntactic borrowing by means of lexical borrowing.

With more data, one could look at only the lexical intensification, and compare the use of different lexical intensifiers (similar to the English and Spanish studies). It could also be worthwhile to look into the role of Spanish loans, which are abundant in Tagalog. I expect that Spanish loans would pattern just like English loans since Spanish similarly relies on lexical intensifiers. Finally, following the goals of the HLVC project, it would be fruitful to examine variable patterns of use in their English (Hoffman & Walker 2010).

At a community level, Heritage Tagalog appears to have more restricted use and weaker ethnolinguistic vitality when compared to other HLs. It was therefore expected that the language would be more susceptible to contact-induced changes. This study tested this hypothesis within the context of adjective intensifiers. The intensifier system in heritage Tagalog is undergoing contact-induced change toward greater preference for lexical intensification. It thus appears that the grammatical system is changing (cf. Poplack & Levey 2010) to mirror that of English.

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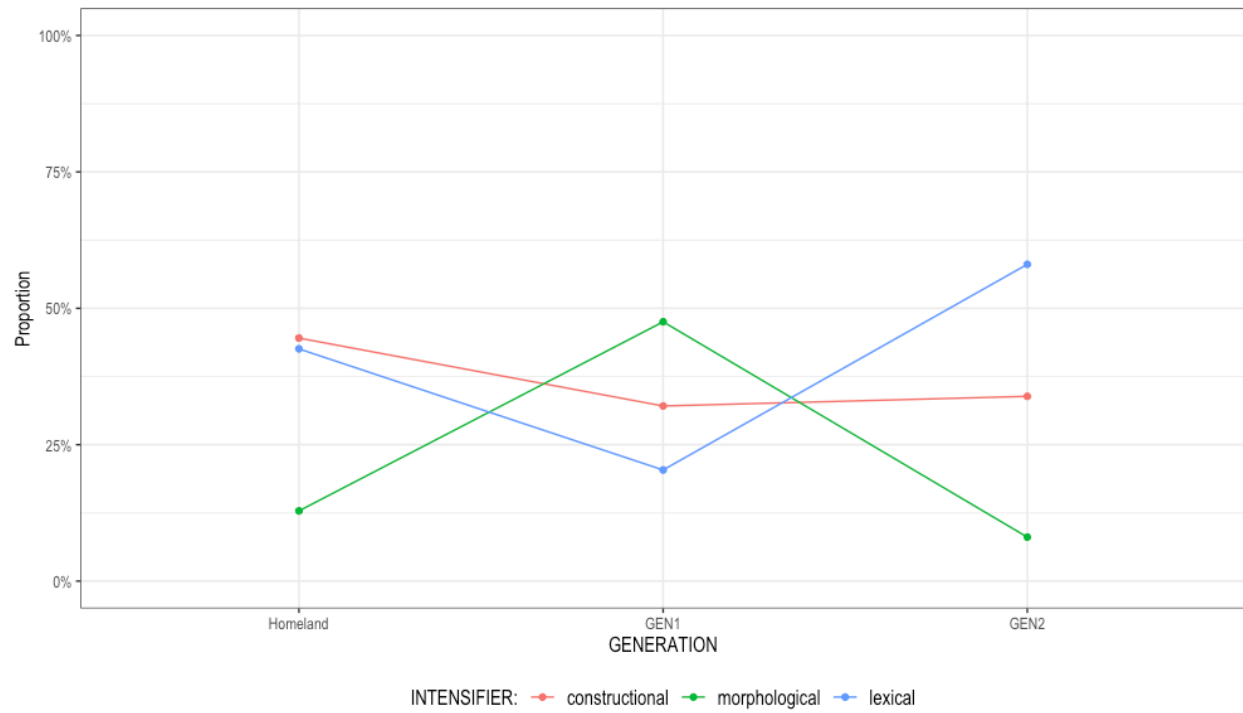
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APPENDICES

A. Distribution of intensifiers according to GENERATION.



B. Correlation plot between EOQ (averaged over all questions) and EOQ (averaged over questions related to language use and preferences).

