'Northmen, Southmen, comrades all'?[1] The adoption of discourse *like* by migrants north and south of the Irish border

K A R E N   P .   C O R R I G A N [a]   A N D   C H L O É   D I S K I N [b]

[a]*Newcastle University, UK*
[b]*The University of Melbourne, Australia*

A B S T R A C T

The Republic of Ireland (ROI) and Northern Ireland (NI) have recently become attractive migrant destinations. Two main dialectal varieties are recognised on the island, but little is known about their adoption by new speakers. Focusing on a panlectal feature, discourse *like*, we conducted a quantitative sociolinguistic investigation of its adoption by seventeen young Polish and Lithuanian migrants in Armagh (NI), and thirty-six Polish and Chinese adult migrants in Dublin (ROI), with comparator samples drawn from native speakers. Findings show that *like* rates in both cities diverge, but that migrants mirror local frequencies. Clause-final *like* is restricted primarily to native speakers, but is twice as frequent in Armagh than in Dublin. English proficiency has a significant effect on the likelihood of young migrants in Armagh adopting the clause-final variant. The article's significance also stems from the original contribution it makes to our understanding of how sociolinguistic competence is acquired in 'superdiverse' settings. (Discourse *like*, identity, migration, Northern Irish-English, Hiberno-English, Ulster English, Southern Irish-English)*

I N T R O D U C T I O N

A tale of two cities

Immigration is a new phenomenon on the island of Ireland, which was once synonymous with emigration (Corrigan 2010:124–26; Kallen 2013:34). Language acquisition is a key consequence of such processes. Here we compare the adoption of a well-documented characteristic of Irish-English (IE), the discourse-pragmatic marker *like* (henceforth *like*), by migrant populations in two urban contexts. The former is Armagh city in Northern Ireland (NI) and within the dialect region known variously as Northern Irish-English/Hiberno-English/Ulster English (NIE/HE/UE) (Corrigan 2010). The latter is Dublin, capital of the Republic of Ireland (ROI), and associated typologically with Southern Irish-English/Hiberno-English (SIE/HE) (Kallen 2013; see Figure 1).

NIE/HE/UE and SIE/HE have long been recognised as dialectologically distinct from other non-Celtic influenced Englishes (Barron & Schneider 2005; Corrigan

745

FIGURE 1. Locations of Armagh City and Dublin.[2]

2010:31; Kallen 2013:224–29) because of their language contact origins. Thus, dialects across the island share unique features such as retaining the Irish contrastive verbal categories 'punctual' versus 'habitual'. Although this distinction is productive island-wide, NIE/HE/UE favours a habitual *be* variant while *do + be* predominates in SIE/HE (Corrigan 2010:63–64; Kallen 2013:90–93). The existence of morphosyntactic variation alongside the extensively documented phonological differences north and south of the border (Corrigan 2010:ch. 2; Kallen 2013:ch. 2) piqued our interest in investigating whether there might likewise be regional variation at the level of discourse-pragmatics and whether it could be replicated by newcomers.

Here we focus on *like*, a feature that is subject to variation and change with respect to 'overall frequency, social meaning and positioning' (Schweinberger 2015:114) across many English dialects (D'Arcy 2008, 2017), making it an

excellent choice for investigating migrants' acquisition of regional varieties. We specifically address the position of *like*, tracking the use and adoption of clause-initial and clause-medial variants, but particularly focusing on a clause-final variant, reported to be typical of British Isles' Englishes (Truesdale & Meyerhoff 2015:9–10), and especially Irish Englishes (Diskin 2013; D'Arcy 2017), leading it to be viewed as somewhat 'emblematic' of Irish identity (Diskin 2017).

Studies addressing the adoption of discourse-pragmatic features by second language (L2) speakers of SIE/HE have been expanding, for example, Diskin (2017), Nestor, Ní Chasaide, & Regan (2012), and Migge (2015). However, the acquisition of NIE/HE/UE by L2 speakers remains a tabula rasa. Moreover, our study is the first ever to conduct a quantitative sociolinguistic investigation of the same feature in two distinct dialect zones on the island amongst both locally born populations and migrants.

The research contributes to our theoretical understanding of how sociolinguistic competence is acquired in 'superdiverse' settings (Vertovec 2007). Of particular concern is the manner in which L2 learners not only develop competence in what Howard, Mougeon, & Dewaele (2013:340) define as 'Type I Variation' but also 'Type II Variation'. The former consists of alternation between L2 variants (including non-native forms). The latter, which is our focus, refers instead to the successful acquisition of native-like patterns of sociolinguistic variation. *Like*, in particular, has been proposed to be a 'powerful tool in the identikits of both L1 and L2 speakers' of SIE/HE and has thus been implicated as crucial to the indexing of social identities in ROI (Nestor et al. 2012:342). As such, the research also offers a preliminary analysis of the extent to which *like* usage accomplishes identity work north as well as south of the border, with respect to what Bucholtz & Hall (2004:383–84, 2005:599–601) term *distinction* and *adequation*.

BACKGROUND

Discourse like

Discourse *like* is a panlectal feature, which has grammaticalised from its original adverbial or comparative prepositional status to that of a discourse marker (D'Arcy 2017). It has been extensively researched in North American Englishes (Fuller 2003; D'Arcy 2005, 2008, 2017; Kastronic 2011; Tagliamonte 2016), as well as in British dialects (Miller & Weinert 1995; Levey 2006; Bartlett 2013; Truesdale & Meyerhoff 2015), Australasian English (Sharifian & Malcolm 2003; Miller 2009) and IE/HE (Siemund, Maier, & Schweinberger 2009; Nestor et al. 2012; Nestor 2013; Corrigan 2015; Schweinberger 2015; Diskin 2017).

Like has been found to vary considerably with regard to its clausal positioning, and occurs in three principal types of maximal projection vis-à-vis the clause, namely, initially in (1), medially in (2), and finally in (3).[3]

(1) <u>Like</u> if you want to work in Macau (Jemma, Dublin)[4]
(2) Friends in there they're <u>like</u> laughing (Elzbieta, Armagh)
(3) I hadn't a clue <u>like</u> (Katherine, Armagh)

D'Arcy (2005:4) tracks *like*'s emergence, reporting on attestations in the *OED* dating back to the late eighteenth century where it 'generally occurs in clause-final position'. She also makes an important distinction between *like*'s function as a discourse marker or pragmatic particle. The former refers to the encoding of relations that are textual such as connecting new information to discourse that has already been uttered. The latter, by contrast, is reserved for signalling interpersonal connections and thus conveys subjectivity beyond the text (D'Arcy 2017:2–3). The discourse marker in clause-initial position, later followed by the discourse particle in clause-medial position, grammaticalised out of the traditional clause-final form (D'Arcy 2017:80).

Evidence points to clause-final and clause-initial *like* behaving similarly, in the sense that they both possess scope over the entire following or preceding clause, as in (1) and (3), unlike clause-medial *like*, where the scope is more restricted (Schweinberger 2015). This has led some to view clause-marginal *like* (initial and final positions combined) as one entity operating in competition with clause-medial *like* (Siemund et al. 2009; Nestor et al. 2012). From this perspective, clause-marginal *like* has been found to be favoured by both native and non-native speakers of SIE, which contrasts with speakers of, for example, Canadian English, who prefer it clause-medially (D'Arcy 2005). However, others have argued that the clause-final position specifically is unique in its predominance in IE/HE (Corrigan 2015:49–50; Schweinberger 2015:132). Moreover, this type is also readily attested in other so-called 'Celtic Englishes' such as the Scots data examined in Miller & Weinert (1995). Thus, there may be some mileage in viewing its frequency in IE/HE and Scots as being due to the influence of historical contact with Goidelic Celtic in which discourse markers are also preferred in clause-marginal positions (Ó Curnáin 2012 and see below). Clause-final *like* has also been reported in Northern British Englishes (Andersen 2001:222), including Tyneside (Bartlett 2013), which have been affected by Irish/Scots in-migration historically (Beal & Corrigan 2009:231–32). However, it has been suggested that this phenomenon may be receding here in favour of clause-initial or clause-medial *like* (Bartlett 2013; Diskin 2013).

Language-internal constraints on discourse like

D'Arcy (2017:80) shows that clause-initial (or discourse 'marker') *like* in British English first occurred before matrix complementizer phrases, followed by subordinate complementizer and tense phrases. The discourse particle appeared initially on the left periphery of determiner and verb phrases (DP/VP), later generalising to noun and degree phrase contexts (NP/DegP). Previously, Andersen (2001:284)

had proposed a *principle of lexical attraction*, stating that *like* 'tends to occur imme-diately before the lexical material of a phrase rather than before grammatical words'. He found that *like* is more frequent before NPs, as in (4) and VPs as in (5) than before prepositional (PP) (see (6)) or adjectival (AP) phrases (see (7)).

(4)   Half of the dress is <u>like</u> lace (Iera, Armagh)
(5)   We go the fields and <u>like</u> catch fish (Yanmei, Dublin)
(6)   <u>Like</u> with Nadia I don't have any problem (Sara, Dublin)
(7)   And everyone's <u>like</u> moody (Elzbieta, Armagh)

This predilection may also be due to its tendency to co-occur with 'discourse-new' in (8), rather than 'discourse-old' (previously mentioned) or 'discourse-in-ferred' (general knowledge) information in (9) (Prince 1981; Cheshire 2005:483; Labelle-Hogue 2013).

(8)   He'd asked me to draw <u>like</u> a shark face (Iera, Armagh)[5]
(9)   You could spot my mum from <u>like</u> a mile away (Iera, Armagh)[6]

Thus, the nature of lexicogrammatical material following *like*, as well as its re-lationship to the information structure of the clause in which it is embedded, are two key themes underpinning our research. Furthermore, it is predicted that native and L2 speakers may use *like* differently in this regard, in the sense that while the latter may well have acquired the form and employ it at similar frequencies to local speak-ers, their usage may be both structurally different (employed in a restricted range of syntactic positions) and less complex (not encompassing the full array of discourse-pragmatic functions, although this issue is not specifically addressed here; see Diskin 2017).

Discourse like *and L2 speakers*

In addition to the numerous studies that focus on *like* usage amongst native speakers of diverse Englishes, there has been some research investigating *like* in the speech patterns of L2 English acquirers, that is, focusing on their acquisition of sociolin-guistic variation, or 'Type II Variation' with respect to this variable (Howard et al. 2013:340). Thus, Truesdale & Meyerhoff (2015) found that Polish teenagers in Edinburgh had lower frequencies of *like* usage than local peers, and that the full set of discourse-pragmatic functions of *like*, which the locals deployed, had not yet successfully been transferred by the L1 Polish cohort to their L2 English. In a study of *like* frequency, Fuller (2003) found that even highly proficient speakers did not match the frequencies of native speakers' *like* usage. Similarly, Müller (2005) and Buysse (2010), investigating German and Dutch L1 and L2 speakers, respectively, established that L2 speakers had consistently lower *like* rates. Hellermann & Vergun (2007) report that the more acculturated L2 speakers were, the more

likely they were to use native-like frequencies. Likewise, but in the context of Anglophones acquiring French, Sankoff, Thibault, Nagy, Blondeau, Fonollosa, & Gagnon (1997) note that native-like mastery of discourse markers depends on fluency, which was correlated with speakers' degree of integration. These studies indicate that proficiency, and potentially other factors such as length of residence (LOR) and how the migrant views the host community and is perceived by them, may be implicated in the adept acquisition of discourse-pragmatic markers as proxies for the degree to which one might expect L2 speakers to have acculturated and assimilated to local (linguistic) norms.

Research questions

Based on this literature and the contexts in which the Armagh and Dublin corpora were collected, outlined below, we address the following research questions.

  (i) Do L2 speakers of NIE/HE/UE and SIE/HE differ in their rates of discourse *like* usage when compared to native speakers?
 (ii) Do more proficient L2 speakers use *like* at similar rates to native speakers and does LOR play any role?
(iii) Is *like* usage amongst native and L2 speakers bound by internal constraints such as clausal position, discourse newness and the principle of lexical attraction?

METHODOLOGY

Locations and demolinguistics

The relative geographical positions of Armagh and Dublin are illustrated in Figure 1. Armagh is a modest urban centre with a population, according to the 2011 census, of just 14,749 (Russell 2015:7), 5.4% of whom are non-nationals (Kerr 2014:14). Speakers of Polish (2,910) and Lithuanian (1,730) constitute the largest nonindigenous groups (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency 2012; Kerr 2014:14). The Dublin conurbation had a population of 1,270,603 at the time of the 2011 census (Central Statistics Office 2011:2), where 15.7% of residents declared themselves to be non-Irish nationals (Central Statistics Office 2012:39) and Poles and Chinese were counted among the top ten largest such communities.

Participant recruitment and sociolinguistic interviews

All participants were recorded using a semi-structured sociolinguistic interview method, the main aim of which was to allow free conversation on the one hand, with minimal interviewer intervention, but to also gather attitudinal and other information about participants' daily lives (see Labov 1972).

Armagh. In Armagh, twenty-five speakers participated (Table 1). The interviews were recorded between 2013 and 2016 by Corrigan using a judgement sample method to ensure that interviewees were already acquainted with one another via friendship or kinship networks. The corpus amounts to over 118,220 transcribed words, from which a total of 2,985 tokens of *like* were extracted/coded (with certain instances being discounted subsequently if they proved not to be part of the variable context, as detailed below).

The Armagh school interviews (approximately one hour long) were conducted in social spaces outside classrooms in a secondary school. Participants were between the ages of twelve and twenty and the L2 speakers' residency lengths ranged from 1.5 to eight years, with an average of 3.5 years.[7] Their competence in English, for our purposes, was based on teachers' assessments using the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001).[8] This is an international standard for language proficiency used to assess L2 speakers' skills.

Teacher CEFR assessments in Armagh ranged from the A2 ('basic user') category to B1 ('independent') with the majority of newcomers (n = 7) in this sample assigned to B1, followed by an equal distribution in the A2 category (n = 5) and an 'A2B1' category (n = 5), which was an intermediary unofficial category created by the teachers. The pupils categorised as B1 were on average five years older than pupils in the A2B1 and A2 categories, and had been in Northern Ireland on average two years longer than the A2B1 cohort, and five years longer than the A2 cohort. Thus, the results in the present article for LOR and proficiency should be interpreted with knowledge that age, proficiency, and residency are somewhat collinear.

Dublin. A total of forty-one native and migrant adults were recruited in Dublin (Table 2) and interviewed one-to-one by Diskin throughout 2012 and early 2013. Recruitment was primarily via the friend-of-a-friend and snowballing approaches, with contacts also provided by migrant-led organisations.

The Dublin interviews were collected using a similar protocol to the Armagh study and each session likewise lasted approximately one hour. This corpus was recorded not in an educational setting but in either a public place or in the participants' homes. For this analysis, a twenty-minute segment from the middle portion of every interview was coded, so that both corpora would each total approximately fourteen to fifteen hours of speech. This resulted in a total of 788 *like* tokens being extracted/coded (with exclusions applied later, as noted below).

The Dublin participants were aged between nineteen and forty-nine and for the migrants their residencies ranged from one to eleven years, with an average of 4.5 years. During the interview, the migrant participants were administered a written Common European Framework-type questionnaire where they were requested to self-assess proficiency. Scores per speaker ranged from A2 (the lowest) to C2 (the highest) with the average assessment in this case being close to a B2

TABLE 1. *Armagh participants.*

Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Northern Irish	4	4	**8**
Lithuanian	4	4	**8**
Polish	5	4	**9**

TABLE 2. *Dublin participants.*

Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Irish	2	3	**5**
Chinese	6	11	**17**
Polish	9	10	**19**

('independent user'). In this sample, proficiency and residency were not collinear, as many migrants received schooling in English prior to migrating. As such, the Armagh and Dublin samples are not exactly commensurate in this regard. Moreover, there are other potentially confounding factors regarding these diverse populations that may have important implications for interpreting the findings, which are discussed below.

A tale of two populations

In addition to their north versus south locations, there is another important difference between the two populations, namely, their life stages. This arises as an artefact of the differing methodologies and orientations of the earlier projects from which this collaborative research derives (Diskin 2017; Corrigan 2020). From a chronological or etic perspective, the Armagh participants are in what Kirkham & Moore (2013:277) describe as the 'second decade of life' with a mean age of 16.3 years ($SD = 2.46$). By contrast, while there is some overlap between the groups with respect to chronological age, the speakers in Dublin had a considerably higher mean age of 29.7 years ($SD = 6$). Hence, the cohorts in each location can be considered emically to by and large have had rather diverse life histories prior to data collection. Nonetheless, since the Armagh participants at least—irrespective of their chronological ages—all continue to be bound by what Eckert (2003:112) defines as 'the constraints (and opportunities)' of school conditions, we can assume for present purposes that the cohort at this life stage is somewhat homogeneous, as regards the predictions that are made regarding their behaviours.[9]

Additionally, one might also argue, for the native speakers at least, that grouping adolescents from the earliest phase of their second decade (Armagh) with adults (Dublin) may run counter to arguments regarding processes of acquisition,

incrementation, and stabilisation, as articulated in Labov (1994:446–47) and Ta-gliamonte (2016), inter alia. Indeed, this article focuses on group behaviour and neither personally patterned variation (Dorian 2010), nor intra-speaker malleability (Buchstaller, Krause, Auer, & Otte 2017:4) are major foci here. However, while vernacular stabilisation (Labov 1994:85–86; Chambers 2009:175; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009:66) has been proposed to occur between ages fourteen and seventeen (thus coinciding with the mean age of the Armagh cohort, though not its upper and lower ends), real-time investigations of individual speakers from their teens into their third and subsequent decades have problematised this stabilisation proposal somewhat (Sankoff & Blondeau 2007; Cukor-Avila & Bailey 2013; Buchstaller et al. 2017). Lability of this type is especially associated with the phonological level. However, Buchstaller (2015:460) has argued on the basis of real-time evidence regarding quotative usage in Tyneside English that 'older speakers can display adaptive behaviour'.

More crucial in our case is the evidence from research on diverse child and adolescent populations that the functions of discourse *like* amongst native speakers is learned 'after age ten' in Miller & Weinert's (1995:366) conservative estimate or possibly even before then by research on preadolescents in Britain and Canada reported in Levey (2006, 2016). Similarly, D'Arcy (2017:149) found that Canadians between the ages of ten and twelve are fully conversant with the use of *like* and thus that: 'discourse features and the strategies related to their use are in place before adolescence'. Many lines of evidence therefore point to the probability that this feature will have already stabilised even in the speech of the youngest Armagh participants, who can then more reasonably be compared with those from Dublin, either already in or closer to their third decade.

The variable context

While discourse *like* cannot be considered to be a sociolinguistic variable sensu stricto, as it does not constitute 'two or more ways of saying the same thing', in accordance with the *principle of synonymy* (Weiner & Labov 1983:30), it has nonetheless been examined quantitatively (D'Arcy 2005, 2017; Müller 2005; Levey 2006; Labelle-Hogue 2013; Nestor et al. 2012; Schweinberger 2015; Diskin 2017), perhaps taking a broader *variational* rather than *variationist* perspective.[10] Here we adopt a normalisation procedure, where we examine the frequency of eligible discourse *like*s per 1,000 words, thus accounting for differences such as variability in the number of words per speaker.[11] Our approach is thus not, strictly speaking, a variationist one, and so is not stringently governed by the *principle of accountable reporting* (Labov 1994:223), in the sense that it does not include all instances where *like* could have occurred, but did not (the method underpinning D'Arcy 2005 and Kastronic 2011). The strictly variationist approach results in an overwhelming number of potential contexts for occurrence, which can become unwieldy when coding manually (see Diskin 2017:148). D'Arcy (2005) overcame

this by using a randomly selected subsample. In doing so, however, one might argue, as Walker (2010:77) does, that this process creates an 'artificial overall rate' that may, in fact, render such analyses not strictly accountable either, in the absolute sense of Labov (1994:223). The variationist construct was initially, of course, not designed to handle variation on linguistic levels 'above and beyond phonology' (Sankoff 1973), and there are well-rehearsed arguments in the field regarding the extent to which it can indeed ever be strictly applied to discourse-pragmatics or morphosyntax (Cornips & Corrigan 2005:99; Cheshire 2005, 2007; Pichler 2010; Walker 2010; Truesdale & Meyerhoff 2015:9–10). As such, our analysis instead takes a 'form-based' approach, whereby the variable context includes all instances of discourse *like* (but no other 'competing' variants). It thus operationalises discourse *like* according to Pichler's general definition that regards such features as 'formally heterogeneous', 'syntactically optional', and not contributing to 'truth-conditional meaning' (Pichler 2013:4). Hence, *like* in the combined Armagh and Dublin datasets was investigated by first isolating all instances and examining each manually, in order to ascertain its eligibility with respect to the list of exclusions outlined below.

Exclusions

There were several instances of *like* that were not part of the variable context, such as its (rare) use as a suffix or infix or before relative clauses (after D'Arcy 2005:80). Exclusions also included *like* as verb in (10), noun in (11), comparative preposition in (12), conjunction in (13), adverb in (14) or as part of a general extender in (15) (see Cheshire 2007; Tagliamonte & Denis 2010). *Like* in false starts in (16) (see Nestor et al. 2012:338) and, following Levey (2006:424), frozen or semifrozen usages such as in (17) were also omitted. Excluded too was the well-attested quotative in (18), in line with recent work considering the phenomenon to be part of a separate variable context (see Tagliamonte, D'Arcy, & Rodríguez Louro 2016, inter alia).

(10) I wouldn't <u>like</u> to be a Protestant. (Iera, Armagh)
(11) What I'm looking to do after I finish my A-Levels in Saint Pat's [is] to head to the <u>likes</u> of Jordanstown (Dara, Armagh)
(12) My dad's forty-one. He looks <u>like</u> he's twenty (Iera, Armagh)
(13) I was terrified, I felt <u>like</u> I'm losing something (Aleksander, Dublin)
(14) I was jumping <u>like</u> that. (Elada, Armagh)
(15) I dunno, maybe twenty minutes or something <u>like</u> that (Dominik, Dublin)
(16) To be fair if they was <u>like</u>- we'd be good at the radio for younger ones (Katherine, Armagh)
(17) So <u>it's like</u> maybe, what's it? Three times [the size of] Galway? (Janusz, Dublin)
(18) And I was <u>like</u> "Oh yeah…" (Magda, Dublin)

TABLE 3. *Average number of likes per 1,000 words by nationality in Armagh and Dublin.*

| Armagh	Northern Irish	Lithuanian	Polish	**Total**
	22.82	25.84	25.64	**24.82**
Dublin	Irish	Chinese	Polish	**Total**
	13.38	9.14	7.65	**8.96**

RESULTS

Frequency of like

The results of the overall normalized frequencies of *like* in both cities are summarised in Table 3, and visualised in Figure 2. Within each locale, there is striking consistency across the three nationality groups, suggesting that in both regions the L2 speakers have adopted the frequency of usage typical of their respective community norms, although the box plots indicate visible individual variation, particularly among the Armagh Poles, that is worthy of future investigation.

Across each community, there appear to be distinctions in *like* rates, with higher frequencies found in Armagh than in Dublin. However, a chi square test revealed no significant differences ($\chi^2(3) = 1.94$, $p = 0.59$).

Differences in the clausal position of like

Armagh. When *like* was examined from the perspective of its clausal positions, there were more obvious differences compared to the overall average frequencies of usage. The breakdown for Armagh is presented in Table 4. It shows that individuals of Polish and Lithuanian heritage are using *like* in broadly similar ways to one another, with about 40% of their *like*s in clause-initial position, over 50% medially, and a minority clause-finally. Polish participants used more clause-final *like* than their Lithuanian peers at 6.48% versus 2.75%. However, even this rate does not come close to the Armagh natives' considerably higher proportion of *like* in this position at 33.43%. The latter group's proportions of clause-initial (29.96%) and clause-medial *like* (36%) are also, by contrast, lower than those of the migrant cohorts. These lower rates may be the result of a 'trade-off'. In other words, the Armagh natives' preference for clause-final *like* usage may be taking the place of clause-initial and medial *like*, which conversely is more likely to be favoured by migrants.

A variety of fixed effects regression models were run to test whether there were significant differences in how each of the three different nationality groups in Armagh were using (i) clause-initial *like*, (ii) clause-medial *like*, and (iii) clause-final *like*. Results revealed no significant differences in *like* usage in the left periphery (clause-initial). However, the Armagh natives significantly favoured
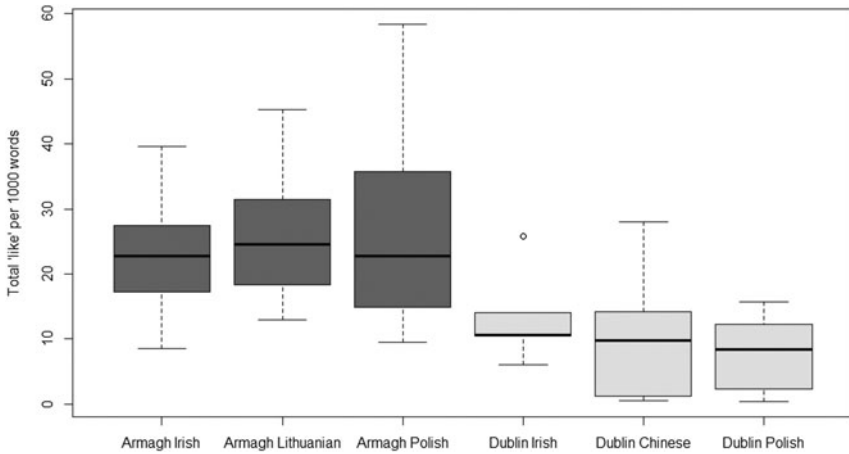
FIGURE 2. Frequency of *like* by nationality in Armagh and Dublin.

TABLE 4. *The clausal position of* like *in Armagh.*

	Initial (N)	Initial (%)	Medial (N)	Medial (%)	Final (N)	Final (%)	Total
Northern Irish	216	29.96%	262	36.34%	241	33.43%	721
Lithuanian	425	41.75%	563	55.30%	28	2.75%	1018
Polish	509	41.21%	641	51.90%	80	6.48%	1235
Total	**1150**	**38.67%**	**1466**	**49.29%**	**349**	**11.73%**	**2,974**[12]

clause-final *like* and significantly disfavoured clause-medial *like*, as compared to their peers of Lithuanian and Polish heritage (Tables 5 and 6).

Figure 3 illustrates the diverse proportions of clause-final *like* usage in Armagh (displayed as a percentage of the total number of *likes* used) and clearly demonstrates the distinct preference for locals to employ it in the right periphery. The boxplots also show that whereas the Armagh natives display a notable degree of individual variation for this variant, the Poles and Lithuanians are quite uniform as a group in their (low) proportions of clause-final *like* usage.

Dublin. The clausal distribution of *like* in Dublin is presented in Table 7, showing several differences when compared to the Armagh dataset. Firstly, and most strikingly, the native Irish in Armagh use over twice as much clause-final *like* than the native Irish in Dublin do (33.43% versus 16.42%). This also results in the Dublin natives having higher rates of clause-initial *like* as compared to Armagh locals (35.82% versus 29.96%), as well as higher rates of clause-medial *like* (47.76% versus 36.34%).

756

TABLE 5. *Generalised linear regression model for proportion of clause-final* like *by nationality in Armagh.*

	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr(> |t|)
(Intercept)	37.771	2.953	12.789	1.16e-11***
Lithuanian	− 35.074	4.177	− 8.398	2.61e-08***
Polish	− 29.857	4.059	− 7.356	2.31e-07

Null deviance: 7330.1 on 24 degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 1535.0 on 22 degrees of freedom
AIC: 181.88.
*$p \leq 0.05$; **$p \leq 0.01$; ***$p \leq 0.001$.

TABLE 6. *Generalised linear regression model for proportion of clause-medial* like *by nationality in Armagh.*

	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr(> |t|)
(Intercept)	31.156	5.048	6.172	3.27e-06***
Lithuanian	26.143	7.138	3.662	0.00137**
Polish	18.968	6.937	2.734	0.01211*

Null deviance: 7418.5 on 24 degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 4484.3 on 22 degrees of freedom
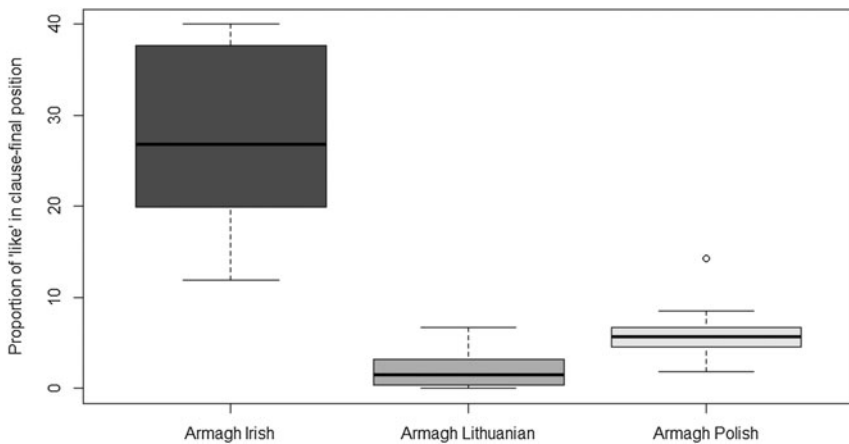AIC: 208.68.
*$p \leq 0.05$; **$p \leq 0.01$; ***$p \leq 0.001$.

FIGURE 3. Proportion of clause-final *like* by nationality in Armagh.

Language in Society **49**:5 (2020)

757

TABLE 7. *The clausal position of* like *in Dublin.*

	Initial (N)	Initial (%)	Medial (N)	Medial (%)	Final (N)	Final (%)	Total (N)
Irish	24	35.82%	32	47.76%	11	16.42%	67
Chinese	120	34.19%	215	61.25%	16	4.56%	351
Polish	104	28.73%	231	63.81%	27	7.46%	362
Total	**248**	**31.79%**	**478**	**61.28%**	**54**	**6.92%**	**780**[12]

When it comes to the migrants, the Dublin Chinese use over one and a half times the amount of clause-final *like*s as the Armagh Lithuanians do (4.56% versus 2.75%). The Polish groups in both cities have higher proportions of clause-final *like* as compared to the other L2 cohorts, and are quite commensurate in their rates of clause-final *like* usage (7.46% in Dublin; 6.48% in Armagh). However, the Armagh Poles use clause-initial *like* more often than their peers in Dublin do (41.21% versus 28.73%). This is compensated for by the preference for clause-medial *like* amongst Poles in Dublin (63.81% in Dublin versus 51.90% in Armagh).

Overall, it can be said that in both Dublin and Armagh the L2 speakers use clause-final *like* quite minimally (averaging 6.01% in Dublin and 4.62% in Armagh across both L2 groups in each location). This is in stark contrast to the preferences displayed by locals in each city. What is most notable here is that although L2 speakers are mirroring the overall RATES of *like* usage (see above), they are not replicating the PATTERNS of use, in the sense that their favoured positioning of *like* differs considerably from local norms.

The effect of proficiency in English on like *and its clausal position*

On the basis of Hellermann & Vergun (2007) as well as Sankoff et al. (1997), it had been predicted that proficiency would have an effect on the degree to which local patterns of *like* usage would be adopted by L2 speakers. However, in neither Armagh nor Dublin was this so. Figure 4 illustrates the frequency of *like* amongst the three Common European Framework proficiency bands assigned to non-native speakers in Armagh, as compared to their native peers. It is clear that there is no correlation between increased proficiency and *like* usage, as the most proficient L2 speakers (B1) actually have some of the lowest rates of *like* (although with some overlap) by comparison to the native Irish, and when compared to speakers from the other proficiency categories.

However, when examined by clausal position, there was an effect in Armagh for proficiency, whereby L2 speakers at B1 were more likely to be using clause-final *like* as a proportion of their overall *like*s than their peers with lower CEFR scores. This trend is clearly visible in Figure 5 (and note that, as outlined earlier,
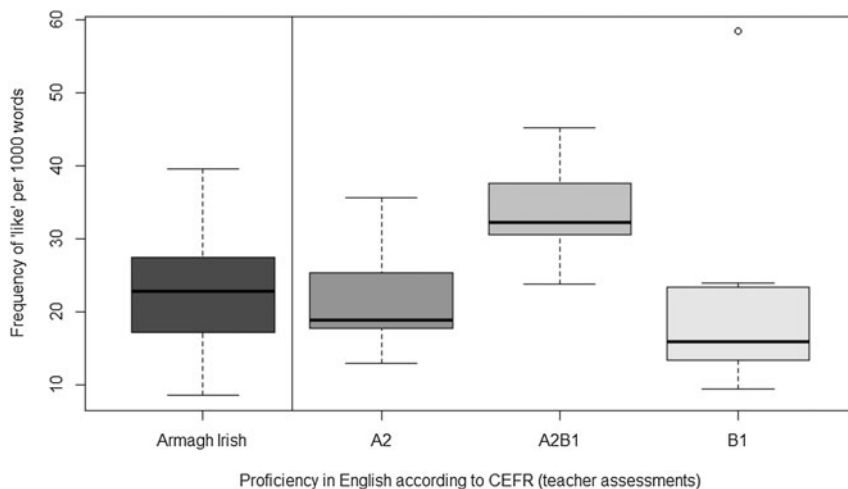
FIGURE 4. Frequency of *like* by proficiency levels in Armagh.

the B1 migrants were also older and had been in NI longer than the lower proficiency cohorts). It is also apparent that as proficiency improves from A2 to A2B1, there is no increase in the use of clause-final *like*—in fact, there is a slight decrease in frequency. It is only in the transition from A2B1 to B1 that the difference becomes significant, which was confirmed by the results of a fixed effects regression model (Table 8).

The impact of proficiency on *like* usage frequencies in Dublin is presented in Figure 6, where there is a visible increase in rates between categories B1 and B2 particularly (a transition that is not comparable with the Armagh data due to the previously noted proficiency discrepancies between both groups). The upward trend in Dublin is, however, not statistically significant since a Pearson correlation test showed only a weak positive correlation at r(40) = 0.37, $p < 0.02$. By contrast to the Armagh results, when analysed by clausal position, no significant effect was found for proficiency and either initial, medial, or final *like* in Dublin.

Length of residence (LOR) effects

Figure 7 shows no correlation between the allied metric that normally relates to L1 exposure, that is, LOR, and frequency of *like* usage in Armagh. L2 speakers with a LOR of just two years appear to be equally liable to use *like* as their peers who have resided in Armagh four times longer. There were no statistically significant differences between the various stages of LOR in this case. Moreover, when divided into its three positions, *like* was not found to have any direct or significant linear relationship with LOR in Armagh. Even though, as previously noted, LOR and proficiency
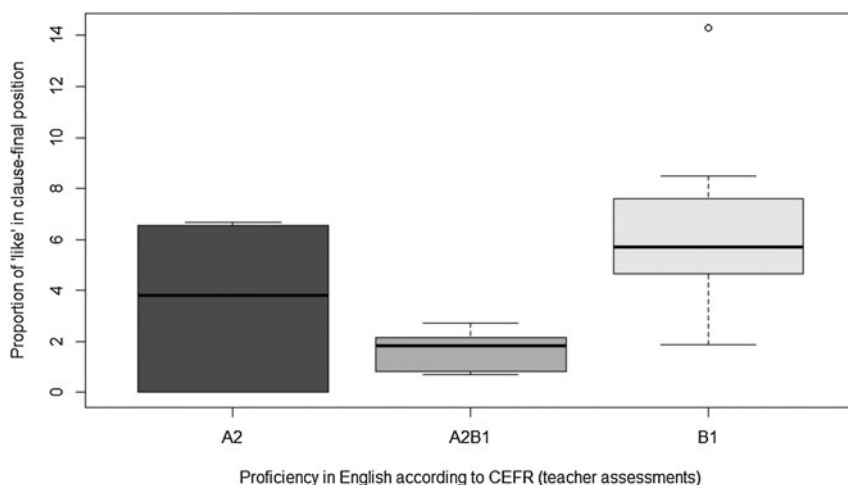
FIGURE 5. Proportion of clause-final *like* usage by proficiency in Armagh.

TABLE 8. *Generalised linear regression model for proportion of clause-final* like *by proficiency in Armagh.*

	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	3.821	1.427	2.678	0.0180*
A2B1	−1.029	2.018	−0.510	0.6180
B1	4.711	1.868	2.522	0.0244*

Null deviance: 257.62 on 16 degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 142.52 on 14 degrees of freedom
AIC: 92.39.
*$p \leq 0.05$; **$p \leq 0.01$; ***$p \leq 0.001$.

are somewhat collinear in this sample, proficiency emerged as a stronger predictor of *like* and clause-final *like* usage than LOR did. A similar situation was found in Dublin, with no effect detected for LOR on the frequency of *like* overall, or on its use across different clausal positions.

Language-internal factors

Discourse newness. It was predicted that *like* would precede items that were discourse-new. Table 9 presents our results, showing that for all participants, *like* is indeed more likely to precede discourse-new entities (11.93% of the time in Dublin versus 14.54% of the time in Armagh) than it is to go before discourse
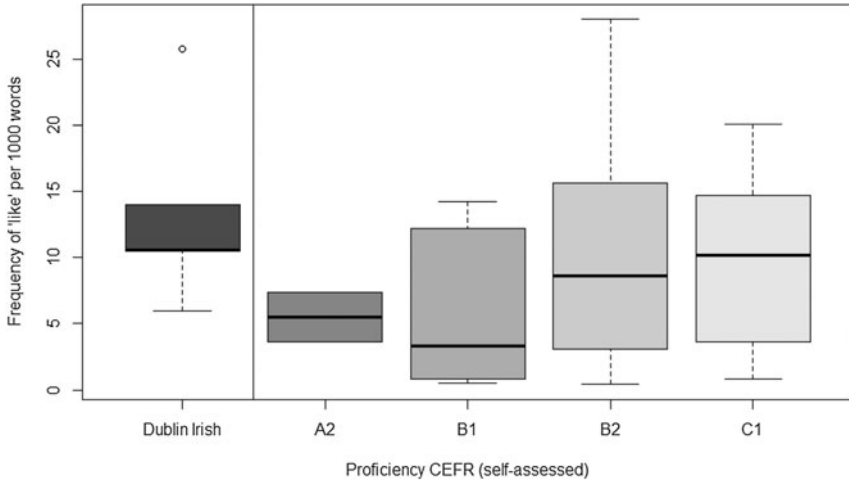
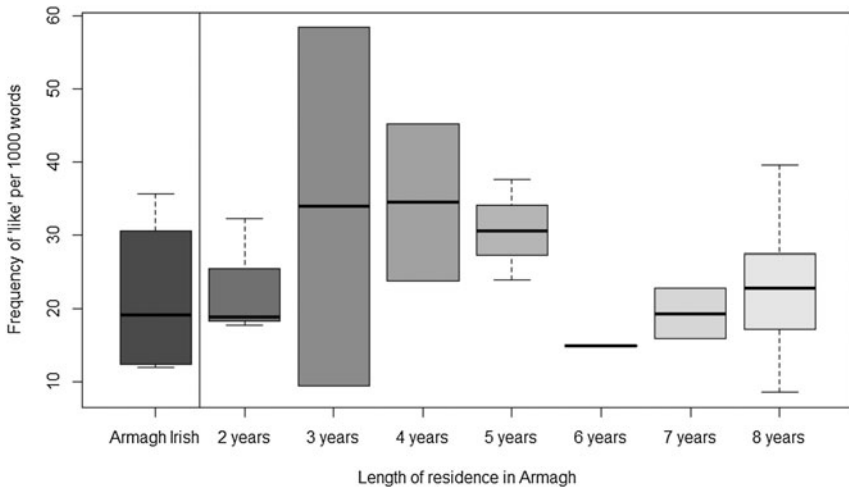FIGURE 6. Frequency of *like* by proficiency levels in Dublin.

FIGURE 7. Frequency of *like* by LOR in Armagh.

'old' items (1.02% in Dublin and 6.23% in Armagh). This difference for the discourse-old items between the cities could perhaps be explained by the fact that the entire interview in Armagh was analysed, whereas in Dublin only a short segment was extracted. It can be presumed that the longer an interview lasts, the more likely it is that a previously mentioned item will recur, although this effect

TABLE 9. *Discourse newness following* like *in Armagh and Dublin.*

		Infer entity (N)	Infer entity (%)	Old entity (N)	Old entity (%)	New entity (N)	New entity (%)	None / uncertain (N)	None / uncertain (%)	Total
Armagh	Irish	45	6.24	28	3.88	78	10.82	570	79.06	721
	Lithuanian	59	5.78	69	6.76	136	13.33	756	74.12	1020
	Polish	71	5.71	89	7.16	220	17.70	863	69.43	1243
	Total	**175**	**5.86**	**186**	**6.23**	**434**	**14.54**	**2190**	**73.37**	**2985**
Dublin	Irish	5	7.14	0	0.00	6	8.57	59	84.29	70
	Chinese	16	4.49	5	1.40	50	14.04	285	80.06	356
	Polish	34	9.39	3	0.83	38	10.50	287	79.28	362
	Total	**55**	**6.98**	**8**	**1.02**	**94**	**11.93**	**631**	**80.08**	**788**

is arguably outweighed by the pragmatic importance and thematic prominence of the previously mentioned item, which is not examined systematically here.

It is also worth noting that 70–80% of cases could not be coded, as there was no entity following *like*, or the context was too ambiguous. Nonetheless, when assessing the impact of discourse-old versus discourse-new in isolation, there does seem to be a visible trend in both datasets for *like* to precede new entities, which is in line with the predictions of Cheshire (2005) and Labelle-Hogue (2013).

Regarding native versus L2 differences, the Polish group in Armagh had fewer 'none'/'uncertain' cases (69.43% versus 74.12% for the Lithuanians and 79.06% for the native Irish) alongside slightly higher proportions in the other categories, particularly for discourse 'new' (17.70% versus 13.33% for the Lithuanians and 10.82% for the locals). In Dublin, the main difference was the Chinese preference for *like* before discourse 'new' items (14.04% versus 10.50 for the Polish and 8.57% for Dubliners) and their relative dispreference for it preceding inferrable entities (4.49% versus 9.39% for the Polish and 7.14% for the locals). Overall, it can be said that the preference for *like* to precede discourse-new items was being replicated unproblematically by the L2 speakers. However, the low token counts for Dubliners—especially once the 'none'/'uncertain' category is excluded—renders any conclusive findings for all Dublin cohorts tentative at this stage, though there may be mileage in future research investigating this phenomenon with larger datasets.

The principle of lexical attraction.   In line with Andersen (2001), it was predicted that *like* would more readily precede NPs and VPs than PPs or APs. Table 10 presents the total number and proportion of lexical and grammatical material that occurred after *like*, once nonapplicable tokens (265 in Armagh; 185 in Dublin) were removed. The figures show that the most likely items to follow *like* were nouns/NPs, pronouns, and verbs/VPs in Armagh, and pronouns, determiners/ DPs and nouns/NPs in Dublin. The high number of pronouns following *like* could be explained by the fact that clause-initial *like*, often at the head of a CP, was included in this analysis, unlike, for example, Andersen (2001), which only focused on medial *like*. Based on the summary above, it could be said that the *principle of lexical attraction* holds in both locales in the sense that the overall pattern is [NP, VP] > [PP, AP]. However, these results remain indicative since the analysis did not apply a strictly accountable variationist approach—whereby all possible instances where lexical/grammatical material could have occurred before NPs, VPs, and so on, but did not—were accounted for. There are, however, some interesting dialectal differences worth noting, namely, *like* was more likely to precede DPs in Dublin than it was in Armagh, where there was a preference for *like* to precede NPs. This lends some support to D'Arcy's (2008) claim that part of the grammaticalisation of *like* is generalisation from the higher functional projection (e.g. the DP) to the lower lexical one (the NP). Considering the fact that the Armagh speakers are younger than those in Dublin, this sign of

TABLE 10. *Summary of lexicogrammatical material occurring after* like *in Armagh and Dublin.*

Type of item	Armagh		Dublin	
Noun/NP	439	16.14%	71	11.93%
Pronoun	412	15.15%	116	19.50%
Verb/VP	382	14.04%	42	7.06%
Adjective/AdjP	343	12.61%	37	6.22%
Determiner/DP	342	12.57%	109	18.32%
Preposition/PP	186	6.84%	37	6.22%
Adverb/AdvP	159	5.85%	42	7.06%
Quantifier	152	5.59%	58	9.75%
Conjunction	135	4.96%	29	4.87%
Discourse marker	107	3.93%	33	5.55%
Existential subject	63	2.32%	21	3.53%
Total	**2720**		**595**	

later stage development is congruent with the notion that younger speakers will be at the 'peak' of linguistic change (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). Thus, the younger native speakers in Armagh may be more advanced than older Dubliners in their use of clause-initial and clause-medial *like*, while still retaining conservative clause-final *like* for other purposes, such as indexing a sense of regional identity reported to be 'emblematic' of Irishness (Diskin 2017). In that light, this outcome may not necessarily contradict the finding that the Armagh natives are also users of the more conservative clause-final variant of *like*. This, of course, warrants further careful qualitative examination.

DISCUSSION

We have examined the frequency of discourse *like* usage across two locales and within speech cohorts that typify diverse linguistic heritages. One of the most striking findings that offer insights into the acquisition of IE/HE as an L2 is that *like* was used at similar rates WITHIN both Armagh and Dublin, but not necessarily ACROSS each city. Thus, rates of *like* usage in Dublin were uniform, regardless of native/ L2 speaker status, and the same was true for Armagh. This overarching finding also did not depend on L2 speakers' linguistic backgrounds. Newcomers of any heritage were ably using *like* at almost identical rates to their native-speaking peers thus indicating the degree to which *like* may be viewed as a viable resource within L2 linguistic repertoires. Interestingly, our result somewhat contradicts the findings of Davydova & Buchstaller (2015), Mougeon, Rehner, & Nadasdi (2010), and Müller (2005). They instead suggest that the frequency of discourse pragmatic variants in L2 speakers was disproportionately lower than that of native speakers even when the former were advanced learners. Our outcomes may also signal the extent

to which newcomers have become sensitive to some local IE/HE constraints on this variable, though one should be wary of assuming that surface parallels in rates across diverse cohorts conclusively indicate acquisition of 'Type II' variation by L2 speakers. In fact, such results may hide subtle underlying grammatical differences, as Poplack, Zentz, & Dion (2012) have demonstrated in their analysis of preposition stranding in North American French.[13]

Moreover, proficiency—implicated to be important for distinguishing between non-native speakers in their acquisition of variable constraints by Hellermann & Vergun (2007) and Sankoff et al. (1997)—had surprisingly little effect on *like* frequencies in either location. L2 speakers in Armagh and Dublin with low proficiencies were just as capable of using *like* as their peers with higher Common European Framework scores. Residency duration, a factor commonly also examined in tandem with proficiency, was likewise not found to have a significant impact either. Interestingly, these outcomes echo the findings of Meyerhoff & Schleef (2014:109) who state that such external factors 'almost invariably failed to be chosen as significant in our analyses'. Very importantly, however, increased proficiency in Armagh, which was somewhat collinear with residency and age, was a significant predictor of clause-final *like* usage, lending weight to the argument advanced further below that the clause-final variant may have a different status vis-à-vis L2 acquirers.

One of the more marked differences between the cities was the relative frequencies and proportions at which *like* was being used, since *like* proved to be twice as likely to occur in Armagh than in Dublin, both overall, and in clause-final position (although statistically significant differences were only found for the latter). There are at least three possible explanations which each have some merit and require further investigation in subsequent research. Firstly, although we have already argued that *like* stabilises early, this finding may in the end prove to be an age-grading effect, since the Armagh interviews were with adolescents, whereas the Dublin participants were adults. The result may thus support Andersen's (2001) suggestion and related arguments by Tagliamonte (2016:14) that 'teenagers use an overwhelming number of *likes*'. Secondly, as noted earlier, previous research has reported nuances regarding the clausal positioning of *like* that isolate IE/HE from other non-Celtic Englishes. These may be related to language contact effects (Ó Curnáin 2012), on account of the propensity for a wide range of discourse markers in Irish to occupy clause-peripheral rather than medial positions, as exemplified for Irish *ach* 'but' in (19) which likewise occurs in IE both utterance-finally (Harris 1984:132) and initially (Corrigan 2015:39).[14]

(19)   Tuigtear   dóibh   ná   fuil   aon   diabhal   Ní   ag   éinne   le
          think   to + them   NEG   BE   any   devil   thing   at   anyone   with
          déanamh   ach
          do   but
          'They think that nobody has any damn thing to do, but' (Ó Siadhail 1989:299)

This predilection in the dialect is reflected in this study across both locales whereby the native speakers, who are, after all, descendants of the first L2 speakers of IE, were far more liable to use *like* in clause-final position than the newcomers. The divergence between Armagh and Dublin locals could possibly be conceived of as reflecting the different periods when Irish declined in each city, with the shift in Dublin happening considerably earlier (Corrigan 2010). As such, Armagh speakers may retain clause final *like* appropriated from their late Modern English models of spoken English on account of the fact that their ancestors' L1 reinforced the penchant for clause-marginal discourse marking. By comparison, the shift to English in Dublin began in the middle ages when the discourse marker function was not yet attested. Since most regions of Ireland outside of the large cities shifted to English around the same period as conjectured for Armagh, the feature has come to be regarded as stereotypical for IE/HE more broadly and is one that is subject to social comment (see Corrigan 2010:80). Indeed, tracking this feature closely over time as D'Arcy (2017) has done for Canadian English could reveal important trends, not just for IE, but for varieties of English globally and may give further insights into D'Arcy's (2017) proposal regarding *like*'s cline of grammaticalisation.

Finally, although models of how innovation diffuses spatially have been criticised (Britain 2013:606–11), perhaps there is nevertheless mileage too in reflecting upon the possibility that contemporary differences between native and non-native cohorts residing in these cities arise instead from the fact that Dublin is a cosmopolitan urban space at the forefront of innovation whereas Armagh is decidedly different in this regard. Changes such as internal clause *like* usage in this view might be seen to be in the process of diffusing down an urban hierarchy from capitals to smaller cities. We note that D'Arcy (2017) posits that *like* is undergoing a process of change from the clause periphery to internal clause positions. Our findings for clause-initial and clause-medial *like* show that Armagh native speakers favour clause-initial *like*, whereas their peers in Dublin prefer the clause-medial variant. Moreover, the proportion of clause-final *like* usage was lower amongst all speakers there than it was in Armagh (16.42% versus 33.43%). One might conjecture that the Dublin speakers are further advanced along the path of grammaticalisation of *like*, which is also consistent with the 'gravity' or 'cascade' model of diffusion, whereby large urban centres are taken to be the epicentres of linguistic change (Trudgill 1974). In the same vein, Nestor (2013) argued that clause-marginal *like* was more common in rural areas in Ireland than in Dublin, suggesting that clause-medial *like* could be viewed as an 'urban' trend away from the 'traditional (and obsolescing) British pattern' (D'Arcy 2005:5). Armagh's city designation has already been noted, and while it has considerably higher status sociohistorically than the rural community studied in Nestor (2013), it comes as no particular surprise that the Armagh natives may be exhibiting a preference for 'local', traditional clause-marginal *like* rather than the more 'urban' and global clause-medial type. It is interesting to note the opposite tendency amongst their migrant peers who prefer clause-medial *like* and do so perhaps because they are more oriented to current

'global' trends in Ireland such as those found in Dublin. Capitals generally have higher migrant populations, are composed of more 'fluid' social networks, and are better connected to the rest of the world. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that a migrant to a small city like Armagh may be less inclined to participate in local practices (especially those that are indexical of the host community to which they are a newcomer) than they would be to orient towards more fluid, cosmopolitan trends elsewhere that are not strongly indexical of any one community. Indeed, there was some evidence of this amongst the migrants in Armagh, many of whom appeared to have loose local ties, and spoke of plans to return 'home' or to follow relatives to a different migrant destination.

It can also be assumed of course that the clause-final variant is not one that L2 acquirers would have been aware of prior to arrival, whereas they may have had some experience of *like* in other positions (via exposure to North American English media rather than 'classroom learning' in the sense of Sankoff et al. 1997:212). Nonetheless, if *like* is acquired with relative ease clause-initially and medially, and since the clause final variant features in the native speaker datasets (Armagh and Dublin) at a frequency of 16–33%, and thus is part of their naturalistic input as L2 learners, there may well be cognitive or other factors at play regarding *like* adoption in this position that are not our present concern. However, it must be noted that the proportion of clause-final *like* usage increased with proficiency among Armagh migrants, suggesting that it requires at least a baseline of competence (sociolinguistic, or otherwise) in English to be used at similar rates to those of native speakers. That said, in Dublin, proficiency levels had no impact on clause-final *like* frequencies (albeit average levels of proficiency for non-native speakers across the two cities were not identical and were measured in different ways).

Leaving proficiency aside, it would appear that L2 speakers in both locales are exhibiting some resistance to clause-final *like*. Recent trends in Third Wave sociolinguistics have indicated that certain variables constitute 'a constellation of ideologically related meanings', that can be activated in the situated use of a specific variable (Eckert 2008:453). Clause-final *like*, due to its marginal status on the stage of world Englishes, could be considered to be or to have become indexical of 'Irishness' (D'Arcy 2017:13; Nestor et al. 2012; Nestor 2013) in a manner similar to the appropriation of final particle *but* by Australians (Mulder, Thompson, & Penry Williams 2009). In this sense, it can be seen as belonging to a 'local ethnographic category' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 587) and thus becomes a variable that can only be used 'genuinely' by native speakers (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:585). Should an L2 speaker of IE/HE avail of this feature in linguistic interactions (as many of the proficient Armagh teens do), it is interpretable as an 'emergent', boundary crossing performance of sorts that would be incongruent with their assigned social grouping as 'migrant' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:588). Indeed, the local associations of clause-final *like* might, in fact, be an undesirable identity resource for such speakers to perform during linguistic interactions island-wide, particularly those

who are not planning to reside there permanently. Their avoidance of *like* in clause-final position may thus be construed as a signal that it is being used in some process of 'distinction' in the terms of Bucholtz & Hall (2004:383–84). Hence, while native speaker groups on the island of Ireland have appropriated this variant in linguistic interactions so as to place their similarities to the fore in pursuit of 'adequation' (Bucholtz & Hall 2004:383–84), L2 speakers of IE/HE may actually be distancing their social identities from 'local ethnographic categories' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:587) by dispreferring clause-final *like*.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

We have shown that tracking the same variable in two different locales raises important questions pertaining to language variation and change, such as the significance of large urban centres as focal points for linguistic change and the place of L2 speakers within these processes. Nonetheless, a number of inconsistencies across the datasets render direct comparisons problematic. The L2 speakers in Armagh are youngsters who moved there as children. This differs broadly from the adults in Dublin, who spent their formative years abroad. Moreover, Armagh newcomers are more closely aligned to a 'Generation 1.5' than are Dublin migrants and this likely has repercussions for the roles of identity construction and integration more broadly. Furthermore, the age differences shed light on the broader question of the acquisition of discourse-pragmatic variables by non-native speakers at different life stages (see Diskin & Levey 2019).

Discourse-pragmatic variables convey layers of meaning, such as the signalling of new information, and perform complex roles in interaction like floor-holding, or mitigating. In the case of IE, at least, *like* also appears to fulfil a socioindexical role of signalling regional identity. Future work would be well-placed to examine the perception of *like* in a variety of utterance types to better assess the levels of processing that are required to retain its complex, inter-related meanings and how these might connect with prior experience, input, and social information about the speakers who favour it.

Another area for re-evaluation concerns the diverse L1 backgrounds of the speaker samples—especially when a key reason why IE/HE differs from other Englishes is its original development as an L2 contact language (Corrigan 2010; Kallen 2013). Is it possible to compare individuals who have acquired Chinese, Polish, and Lithuanian as their L1 and treat them as comparable L2 learners without also examining whether or not discourse *like* equivalents also feature in any of these languages (see Levey 2006:418)? While there have been attestations of worldwide grammaticalisation of *like* from simile to complementiser in genetically unrelated languages, there remains a paucity of research on the 'areal and genetic distribution of this process' (Heine & Kuteva 2002:274) and whether these grammatical developments were interrelated or operated independently of one other. Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, there is almost no published

research on the forms/functions of discourse *like* equivalents in the L1s of our migrant cohorts.[15] Exploring these issues, however, will be crucial to furthering our understanding of how variation and change within discourse-pragmatic systems interact with L2 acquisition processes both cross-dialectally and cross-linguistically.

The sociopolitical context of both communities is a topic that could likewise benefit from further investigation. For instance, in NI, the strict ethnoreligious division between Protestant and Roman Catholic communities results in complex local social networks, which have been shown to have sociolinguistic repercussions (see McCafferty 2001; Corrigan 2010, 2020). How do L2 speakers orient towards these networks, to what extent does immigrant prejudice impact upon a new speaker's ability to integrate, and how are these practices manifested linguistically (see Corrigan 2020)? For the time being, it suffices to say that migration to the island of Ireland offers a lens into language variation and change that is considerably more complex and multifaceted than simply observing the behaviour of native speakers.

NOTES

*We would like to thank the editor and anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments that have improved this contribution enormously—as have observations from audiences at New Perspectives on Irish English 4 and Sociolinguistics Symposium 22. We also wish to recognize Frances Kane for offering advice regarding the clausal positioning of Irish pragmatic markers and the efforts of staff at both the Central Statistics Office (CSO) and Northern Ireland's Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) for assistance with census materials. Corrigan is similarly grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council that supported this research (2012–2015) and Diskin extends her thanks for funding to the Irish Research Council (2011–2014). Hayden Blain, Joaquín Bueno-Amaro, and Dan Jordan should also be acknowledged for proofreading assistance. Remaining shortcomings are, as usual, our responsibility.

[1]Extracted from Francis O'Donovan's lyric 'On the One Road' (1940). The article is dedicated to the memory of Jim Miller (1942–2019), a stalwart mentor and friend who died on 8th of February 2019 while we were writing. His research on the function of *like* in dialogue informs several of our arguments. We thus hope that this article not only makes an original contribution to furthering our knowledge of this discourse-pragmatic feature but also becomes 'something to leave a memory of us, *like*'. This phrase—made more poignant in the present context—is drawn from Miller & Weinert's (1995:389) Scots corpus. It illustrates the clause-final variant that they deftly analyse in this groundbreaking work that subsequently features prominently in Miller (2009) and now here.

[2]Courtesy of Corrigan (2020).

[3]For details of the diverse functions and distinctions recognised in the literature, see Miller's (2009) classification as well as Diskin (2017) and Schweinberger (2015).

[4]The names used passim are pseudonyms that are either (i) chosen by the authors with sensitivity to participants' heritage backgrounds, or (ii) selected by the participants themselves.

[5]This is the first mention of 'shark face' and is therefore counted as 'new' to the discourse.

[6]'A mile away' is a common measure. Thus, this context is shared by both interlocutors and hence 'inferred'.

[7]There was one participant in Armagh aged twenty, who was still attending secondary school, due to repeating examinations. The remainder of the participants were eighteen or younger.

[8]See https://www.eaquals.org/resources/introduction-to-the-cefr-with-checklists-of-descriptors/; accessed May 14, 2019.

[9]Naturally, further research may prove this assumption false, since discourse-pragmatic variables can be subject to developmental differences, as a reviewer noted.

[10]Kate Beeching made this useful distinction during her talk at Discourse-Pragmatic Variation and Change 3 (DiPVaC3).

[11]The normalisation of discourse features per 1,000 words procedure is standard practice, but it should be interpreted with the caveat that 'it rests on the (untested) assumption that the contexts in which discourse variables occur are distributed evenly throughout speech' (Walker 2010:76).

[12]A small number (no more than eleven in either dataset) of tokens were excluded, as in these cases, the clause position of *like* was ambiguous, or it was not meaningfully clause-bound.

[13]Thanks to a reviewer for reminding us of the implications of this.

[14]Hickey (2015:29) remarks that 'very little research has been done on the pragmatics of Irish'. Hence, we rely on evidence here from Frances Kane (p.c.) drawn from her intuitions and a search she performed for us of the thirty million word *Nua-Chorpus na h-Éireann* (https://focloir.sketchengine.co.uk/run.cgi/index). Utterance final *but* is also found in north-eastern English (Hancil 2017) as well as in Antipodean varieties (Mulder, Thompson, & Penry Williams 2009). Its presence may be traceable to the koiné nature of these varieties, which included Irish input dialects.

[15]Meilutė Ramonienė (p.c.) advises that the Lithuanian form *tipo,* which has a similar meaning/function to *like*, can be used in various clausal positions. If speakers with this heritage have already acquired clause-final *tipo* but the Armagh Lithuanian cohort are avoiding *like* in that position, this could lend some weight to the indexicality/globalization arguments proposed here.

REFERENCES

Andersen, Gisle (2001). *Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barron, Anne, & Klaus P. Schneider (eds.) (2005). *The pragmatics of Irish English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bartlett, Joanne (2013). 'Oh I just talk normal, like': A corpus-based, longitudinal study of constituent-final like in Tyneside English. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(1):1–21.

Beal, Joan C., & Karen P. Corrigan (2009). The impact of nineteenth century Irish-English migrations on contemporary Northern Englishes: Tyneside and Sheffield compared. In Esa Penttilä & Heli Paulasto (eds.), *Language contacts meets English dialects*, 231–58. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Britain, David (2013). Space, diffusion and mobility. In J. K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 2nd edn., 471–500. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bucholtz, Mary, & Kira Hall (2004). Language and identity. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, 369–94. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

———, & ——— (2005). Identity and social interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5):585–614.

Buchstaller, Isabelle (2015). Exploring linguistic malleability across the lifespan: Age-specific patterns in quotative use. *Language in Society* 44:457–96.

———; Anne Krause; Anja Auer; & Stefanie Otte (2017). Levelling across the life-span? Tracing the FACE vowel in panel data from the North East of England. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 21(1):3–33.

Buysse, Lieven (2010). Discourse markers in the English of Flemish university students. In Iwona Witczak-Plisiecka (ed.), *Speech actions in theory and applied studies*, 461–84. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Central Statistics Office (2011). *Census of population, 2011*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

——— (2012). *Profile 6: Migration and diversity.* Dublin: Stationery Office.

Chambers, J. K. (2009) *Sociolinguistic theory*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cheshire, Jenny (2005). Syntactic variation and beyond: Gender and social class variation in the use of discourse-new markers. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9(4):479–508.

——— (2007). Discourse variation, grammaticalisation and stuff like that. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(2):155–93.

Cornips, Leonie, & Karen P. Corrigan (2005). Convergence and divergence in grammar. In Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens, & Paul Kerswill (eds.), *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*, 96–134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corrigan, Karen P. (2010). *Irish English, vol. 1: Northern Ireland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

——— (2015). 'I always think of people here, you now, saying *like* after every sentence': The dynamics of discourse-pragmatic markers in Irish-English. In Carolina Amador-Moreno, Kevin McCafferty, & Elaine Vaughan (eds.), *Pragmatic markers in Irish English*, 37–64. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

——— (2020). *Linguistic communities and migratory processes*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton, to appear.

Council of Europe (2001). *Common European framework of reference for languages*. Strasbourg: Language Policy Unit.

Cukor-Avila, Patricia, & Guy Bailey (2013). Real time and apparent time. In J. K Chambers & Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 2nd edn., 239–62. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

D'Arcy, Alexandra (2005). *Like: Syntax and development*. Toronto: University of Toronto dissertation.

——— (2008). Canadian English as a window to the rise of *like* in discourse. *Anglistik* (*International Journal of English Studies*) 19(2):125–40.

——— (2017). *Discourse-pragmatic variation in context: Eight hundred years of LIKE*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Davydova, Julia, & Isabelle Buchstaller (2015). Investigating quotative marking in a German student community. *American Speech* 90(4):441–78.

Diskin, Chloé (2013). Integration and identity: Acquisition of Irish-English by Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin, Ireland. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(1):67–89.

——— (2017). The use of the discourse-pragmatic marker *like* by native and non-native speakers of English in Ireland. *Journal of Pragmatics* 120:144–57.

———, & Stephen Levey (2019). Going global and sounding local: Quotative variation and change in L1 and L2 speakers of Irish (Dublin) English. *English World-Wide* 40(1):53–78.

Dorian, Nancy C. (2010). *Investigating variation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eckert, Penelope (2003). Language and adolescent peer groups. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 22(1):112–18.

——— (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4):453–76.

Fuller, Janet M. (2003). Use of the discourse marker *like* in interviews. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(3):365–77.

Hancil, Sylvie (2017). Final *but* in northern Englishes. In Sylvie Hancil & Joan C. Beal (eds.), *Perspectives on northern Englishes*, 150–65. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Harris, John (1984). English in the north of Ireland. In Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*, 115–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd, & Tania Kuteva (2002). *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hellermann, John, & Andrea Vergun (2007). Language which is not taught: The discourse marker use of beginning adult learners of English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(1):157–79.

Hickey, Raymond (2015). The pragmatics of Irish and English. In Carolina Amador-Moreno, Kevin McCafferty, & Elaine Vaughan (eds.), *Pragmatic markers in Irish English*, 17–36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Howard, Martin; Raymond Mougeon; & Jean-Marc Dewaele (2013). Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. In Robert Bayley, Richard Cameron, & Ceil Lucas (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of sociolinguistics*, 340–49. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kallen, Jeffrey L. (2013). *Irish English, vol. 2: The Republic of Ireland*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Kastronic, Laura (2011). Discourse *like* in Quebec English. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 17(2):105–14.

Kerr, Mary (2014). *Minority ethnic demographics*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Strategic Migration Partnership.

Kirkham, Sam, & Emma Moore (2013). Adolescence. In J. K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 2nd edn., 277–98. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Labelle-Hogue, Simon-Pier (2013). *Kids say the darndest things? Discours des préadolescents, changement linguistique et évolution de like discursif par la méthode*. Ottawa: Université d'Ottawa M.A. Thesis.

Labov, William (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

——— (1994). *Principles of linguistic change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Levey, Stephen (2006). The sociolinguistic distribution of discourse marker *like* in preadolescent speech. *Multilingua* 25:413–41.

——— (2016). The role of children in the propagation of discourse-pragmatic change: Insights from the acqustion of quotative variation. In Heike Pichler (ed.), *Discourse-pragmatic variation and change in English*, 160–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCafferty, Kevin (2001). *Ethnicity and language change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Meyerhoff, Miriam, & Erik Schleef (2014). Hitting an Edinburgh target: Immigrant adolescents' acquisition of variation in Edinburgh English. In Robert Lawson (ed.), *Sociolinguistics in Scotland*, 103–128. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Migge, Bettina (2015). *Now* in the speech of newcomers to Ireland. In Carolina P. Amador-Moreno, Kevin McCafferty, & Elaine Vaughan (eds.), *Pragmatic markers in Irish English*, 390–407. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Miller, Jim (2009). *Like* and other discourse markers. In Pam Peters, Peter Collins, & Adam Smith (eds.), *Comparative studies in Australian and New Zealand English*, 317–37. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———, & Regina Weinert (1995). The function of LIKE in dialogue. *Journal of Pragmatics* 23:365–93.

Mougeon, Raymond; Katherine Rehner; & Terry Nadasdi (2010). *The sociolinguistic competence of immersion students*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mulder, Jean; Sandra A. Thompson; & Cara Penry Williams (2009). Final *but* in Australian English conversation. In Pam Peters, Peter Collins, & Adam Smith (eds.), *Comparative studies in Australian and New Zealand English*, 337–58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Müller, Simone (2005). *Discourse markers in native and non-native English discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nestor, Niamh (2013). The positional distribution of discourse *like*: A case study of young Poles in Ireland. In David Singleton, Vera Regan, & Ewelina Debaene (eds.), *Linguistic and cultural acquisition in a migrant community*, 49–74. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

———; Caitríona Ní Chasaide; & Vera Regan (2012). Discourse *like* and social identity: A case study of Poles in Ireland. In Bettina Migge & Máire Ní Chiosáin (eds.), *New perspectives on Irish English*, 327–53. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (2012). *Census 2011: Key statistics for Northern Ireland*. Online: http://www.nisra.gov.uk/Census/key_stats_bulletin_2011.pdf; accessed February 22, 2019.

Ó Curnáin, Brian (2012). An Ghaeilge iarthraidisiúnta agus an phragmataic chódmeasctha thiar agus theas. In Ciarán Lenoach, Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, & Brian Ó Curnáin (eds.), *An Chonair Chaoch: An Mionteangachas sa D;00E1;theangachas*, 284–64. Inverin, Co. Galway: Leabhar Breac.

Ó Siadhail, Mícheál (1989). *Modern Irish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pichler, Heike (2010). Methods in discourse variation analysis: Reflections on the way forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14:581–608.

——— (2013). *The structure of discourse-pragmatic variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Poplack, Shana; Lauren Zentz; & Nathalie Dion (2012). What counts as (contact induced) change? *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15(2):247–54.

Prince, Ellen F. (1981). Toward a taxonomy of given-new information. In *Peter Cole (ed.),* Radical pragmatics, 223–54. New York: Academic Press.

Russell, Raymond (2015). *Key statistics for settlements, Census 2011.* Northern Ireland Assembly, Research and Information Service Research Paper (NIAR 404-15).

Sankoff, Gillian (1973). Above and beyond phonology in variable rules. In Charles-J. N. Bailey & Roger W. Shuy (eds.), *New ways of analysing variation in English*, 44–61. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

———, & Hélène Blondeau (2007). Language across the lifespan. *Language* 83:560–88.

———; Pierette Thibault; Naomi Nagy; Hélène Blondeau; Marie-Odile Fonollosa; & Lucie Gagnon (1997). Variation in the use of discourse markers in a language contact situation. *Language Variation and Change* 9:191–218.

Schweinberger, Martin (2015). A comparative study of the pragmatic marker *like* in Irish English and in south-eastern varieties of British English. In Carolina P. Amador-Moreno, Kevin McCafferty, & Elaine Vaughan (eds.), *Pragmatic markers in Irish English*, 114–34. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sharifian, Farzad, & Ian G. Malcolm (2003). The pragmatic marker 'like' in English teen talk: Australian Aboriginal usage. *Pragmatics and Cognition* 11(2):327–44.

Siemund, Peter; Georg Maier; & Martin Schweinberger (2009). Towards a more fine-grained analysis of the areal distributions of non-standard features of fnglish. In Esa Pentillä; & Heli Paulasto (eds.), *Language contacts meet English dialects: Studies in honour of Markku Filppula*, 19–46. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Tagliamonte, Sali A. (2016). *Teen talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———, & Alexandra D'Arcy (2009). Peaks beyond phonology. *Language* 85(1):58–108.

———; Alexandra D'Arcy; & Celeste Rodríguez Louro (2016). Outliers, impact and rationalization in linguistic change. *Language* 92(4):824–49.

———, & Derek Denis (2010). The stuff of change: General extenders in Toronto, Canada. *Journal of English Linguistics* 38(4):335–68.

Trudgill, Peter (1974). Linguistic change and diffusion: Description and explanation in sociolinguistic dialect geography. *Language in Society* 3:215–46.

Truesdale, Sarah, & Miriam Meyerhoff (2015). Acquiring some *like*-ness to others. *Te Reo* 58:3–28.

Vertovec, Steven (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6):1024–54.

Walker, James A. (2010). *Variation in linguistic systems*. London: Routledge.

Weiner, E. Judith, & William Labov (1983). Constraints on the agentless passive. *Journal of Linguistics* 19:29–58.

Address for correspondence:
Karen P. Corrigan
School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics
Percy Building
Newcastle University
Newcastle upon Tyne
NE1 7RU, UK
k.p.corrigan@ncl.ac.uk