"Múin Béarla do na Leanbháin"
'Teach the Children English'

"When I was a kid no one came...the only black men here had uniforms on them." *Quietly* by Owen McCafferty
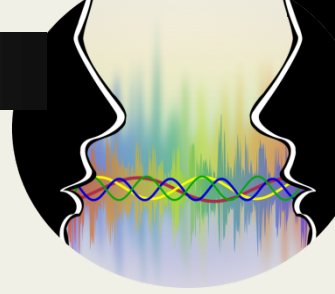
Karen Corrigan

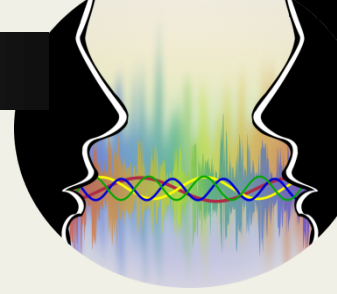**NWAV 45, November 3-6 2016**

Newcastle University

1. The causes of "super-diversity" in NI

2. The sociolinguistic consequences

3. Implications for LVC and L2 acquisition in contact settings

(i.) The 1990's Peace Process

(ii.) EU (A12) Accession Legislation 2004, 2007, 2008

(iii.) Refugee crisis in Europe (from Eritrea, Somalia, Syria)
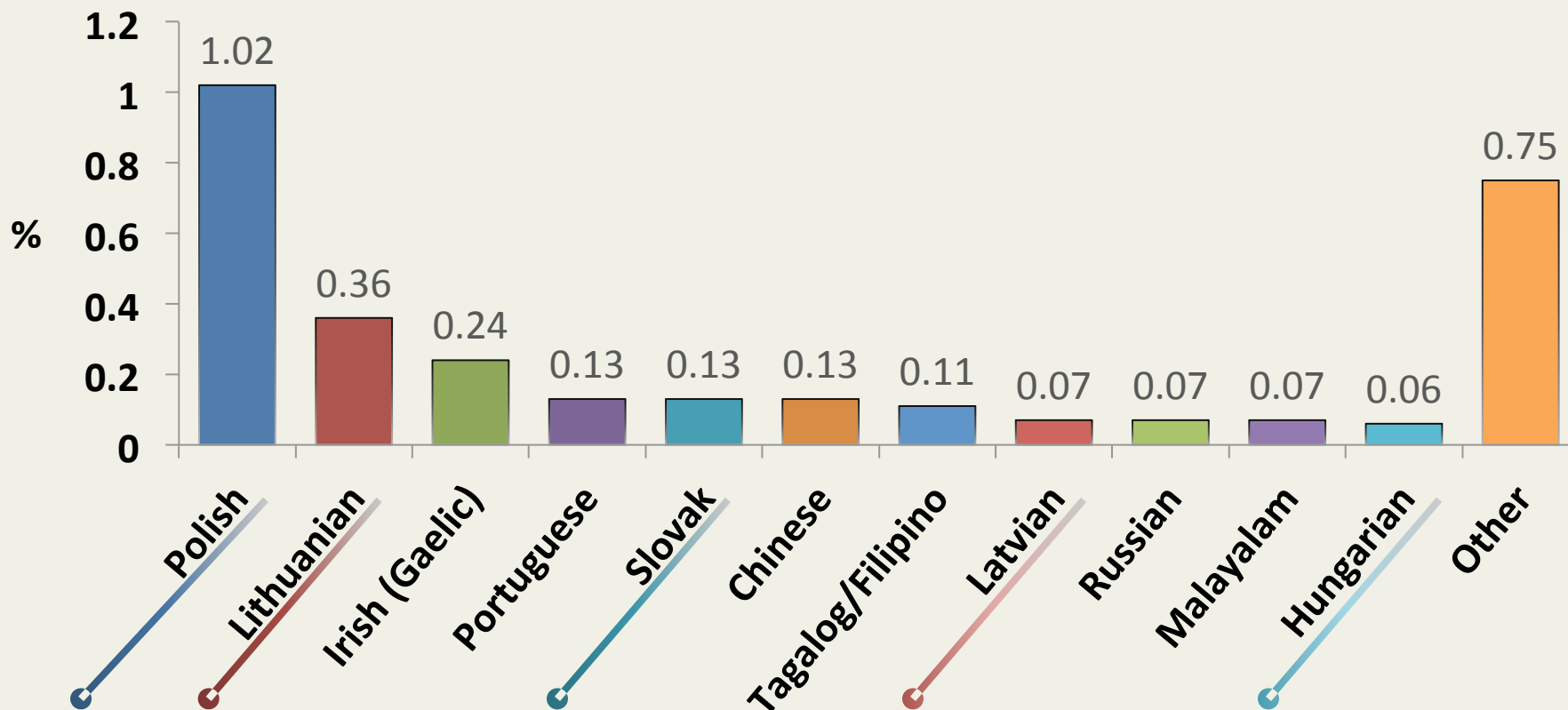
Minority ethnic groups in NI (2011 Census)

- 1.8% of the resident population belong to minority ethnic groups.

- 2% of the population (i.e. 35,700 people) originate in A12 countries (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia) - (compared to just 0.1% in 2001).

- The proportion of the usually resident population born outside Northern Ireland rose from 9% (151,000) in 2001 to 11% (202,000) in 2011.

- English was not the main language for 3.1 per cent (54,500) of usual residents aged 3 years and over.

Languages in NI (2011 Census)

FIGURE 1: % Population: Main Languages (other than English)
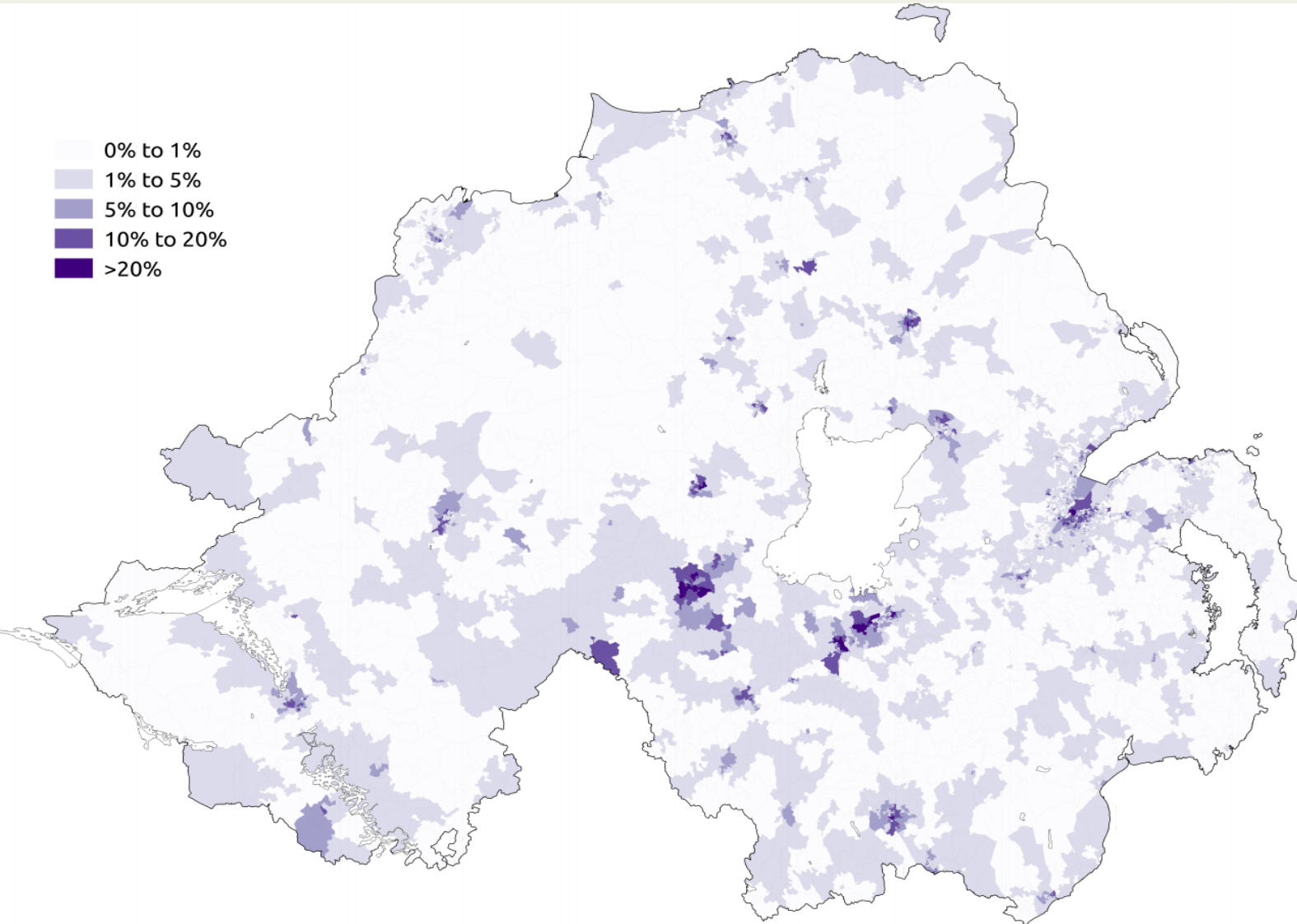

A8 countries — main countries that joined EU as part of 2004 expansion:
Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

Percentages of foreign languages spoken in NI (2011 Census)

0% to 1%
1% to 5%
5% to 10%
10% to 20%
>20%

Múin Béarla ethnolinguistic interview sites (2014-2016)

- 2 post-primary schools (1 girls; 1 boys) in **Armagh** [pop. 15,020]

- 1 primary school (girls & boys) in **Belfast** [pop. 280,962]

- 1 primary school (girls & boys) in **Donaghmore (near Dungannon)** [pop. 947]

Múin Béarla ethnolinguistic interview Sites (2014-2016)

- 105 sociolinguistic interviews

- 180 participants

- 90 native speakers

- 90 non-native speakers

- 44 males (5-11Y)

- 36 females (5-11Y)

- 51 males (12-19Y)

- 49 females (12-19Y)

Super-diversity in NI =
Diverse ethnicities, foreign
languages, countries of origin…..

Super-diversity (Vertovec 2007: 1025)

the proliferation and mutually conditioning effects of a range of new and changing migration variables shows that it is not enough to see 'diversity' only in terms of ethnicity…. Such additional variables include differential immigration statuses….divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution….

2. The Sociolinguistic Consequences

Population Change in Great Famine Era

Irish Famine & Emigration in the 19C.

Destinations of Overseas Migrants, 1821-1920

Legend:
- Over 30%
- 20 to 30%
- 10 to 20%
- 0 to 10%
- Population Rise
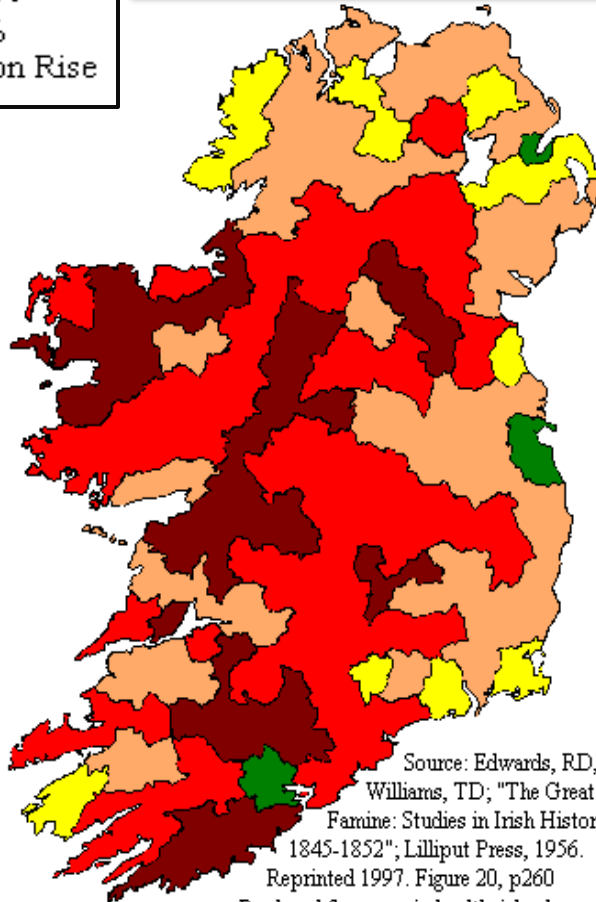
Source: Edwards, RD, Williams, TD; "The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History 1845-1852"; Lilliput Press, 1956. Reprinted 1997. Figure 20, p260. Produced for www.irelandtheisland.com

Destination: USA, Australia, Canada, Other
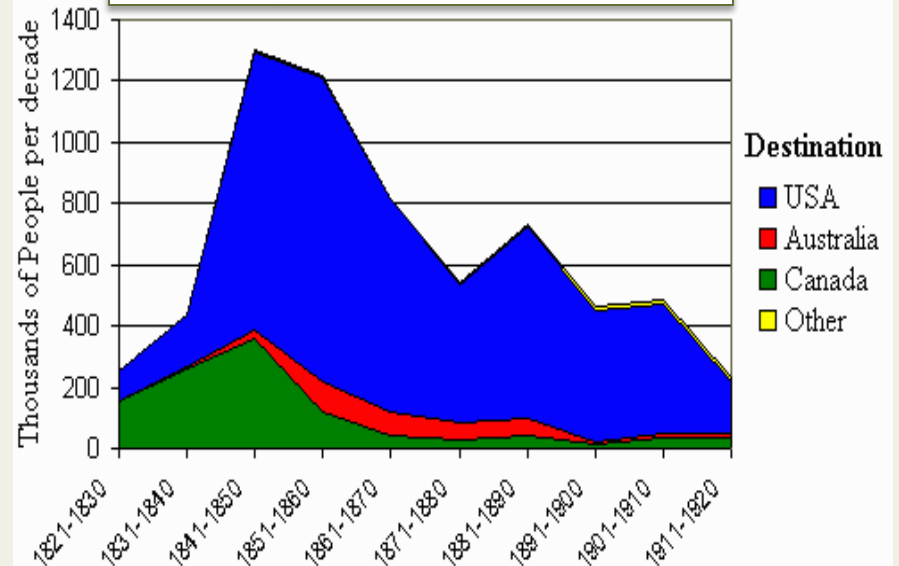
Unlike the rest of this site, this chart is declared to be in the public domain.

2. The Sociolinguistic Consequences

Irish Famine & Emigration in the 19C.

I gcuntas Dé múin Béarla do na leanbháin is ná bídís dall ar nós na n-asal a teacht anseo amach

'For God's sake teach the children English and don't be blind like the asses who have come out here'

Source: Séan Ó Dúbhda, respondent to the Irish Folklore Commission, Questionnaire 'Emigration to America', RBÉ, UCD, 1955, MS1407, Cited in Corrigan (1992: 151)

I think the American letter helped to anglicise this country to a great extent and gave the people a greater desire to learn English and to keep the children at school so as to learn it and have some knowledge of that language.

I often heard my father to say that when he was a young lad rising up nearly every letter that came from America at that time urged and exhorted the parents to try and teach English to the children.

'I gcúntais Dé múin Béarla dos na leanbhái is ná bídís dall ar nós na n-asal a' teacht anso amać.

That was some of the talk in the letters. Every youngster was a potential emigrant. There were many cases where parents who could not speak English gave the rod to their children across the shinbones near the fire because they spoke Irish. The American letter was the most cause of it. Was it because of patriotism or a geographical accident the Irish language survived?

The 'Hot News' Perfect

(1a) …she's after hitting our Áine…   Corrigan (2010: 62)
(1b) I was just after getting off a truck   Labov (2008: 315)
(1c) The fire's after burning all the woods…   Clarke (2010: 79) Labrador/
                                                Newfoundland

Local linguistic resources

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                                                            Newfoundland

(1d)	*tá*	*sé*	*i ndéidh/tar eis*	*an*	*rud*	*sin*	*a dhéanamh...*
	is	*he*	*after*	*the*	*thing*	*that*	*doing...*

'he is after doing that thing...' (Adapted from Ó Sé 1992: 60-61)

Global linguistic resources

Be Like **Quotative**

(2a) And then they were like "Oh what results did you get?" (*Empire Corpus 2008-2009,* Corrigan 2010: 101)

(2b) ….she'd be like "Hashtag going to shop" like….
(*Múin Béarla Corpus, 2014-2016:* 2014-02-24_StB_RO'K_CMcK_DI1_ [R09_0010] 14:25.4)

Global linguistic resources

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BE LIKE quotative: "flagship globally available linguistic resource" (Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009: 292 on the dynamics of this variant in the US, North East England and New Zealand)

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

• "the acquisition of sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic variation has only been consolidated as a new wave of study within Second Language Acquisition research" during the last decade.
(Bayley 2005; Bayley & Regan 2004; **Howard et al. 2013: 340**; Leung & Young-Scholten 2013; Preston 1989; Tarone 2007)

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• Informal and vernacular sociolinguistic variants are underused by language learners when compared to native speaker frequencies even by those speakers who are quite advanced.
(Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; Davydova 2015; Mougeon et al. 2004, 2010; Neary Sundquist 2014; Regan 1996)

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• Learners must "increasingly engage appropriate form-function relations" so as to fully acquire the probabilistic constraints governing the use of informal and vernacular variants by native speakers which is a really complex task.
(Bayley & Regan 2004; Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; **Howard et al. 2013: 340**; Meyerhoff & Schleef 2014; Regan 2004, 2005; Tarone 2007)

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

Type I Variation

Don't go to NI vs. *no go NI*

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

Type I Variation

Type II Variation

Don't go to NI vs. *no go NI*

I'm spreading my roots vs. *I'm spreadin' my roots*

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

Type I Variation   **Type II Variation**

Don't go to NI vs. *no go NI*   *I'm spreading my roots* vs. *I'm spreadin' my roots*

• Highly positive effect on acquisition provided by native-speaker contact. The higher the levels of such contact and the more integrated within the local community the learner appears to be, the more native-like their sociolinguistic choices become. (Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; **Howard et al. 2013: 344**; Regan 2005; Sankoff et al. 1997)

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

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• L2 learners can become sensitized to the internal and external factors that govern linguistic variation in native speaker populations so that their constraint ordering can become near identical to that which obtains in L1 speech. (Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; Davydova 2015; Howard et al. 2013; Major 2004; Meyerhoff & Schleef 2014; Regan 2010).

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

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• For some variants, only partial or no acquisition ever occurs. Moreover, intralinguistic constraints are more likely to be partially reconstructed and extralinguistic factors, if acquired at all, are often reorganized.
(Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; Howard et al. 2013; Leung & Young-Scholten 2013; Meyerhoff & Schleef 2014).

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

Pseudonym	D.O.B.	Gender	Ethnicity	L.O.R	F.S.M	Time in other English-speaking countries	Birthplace of speaker and parents
Ramus Barcus	03/03/2001	M	Lithuanian	2 yrs	Yes	None	Kaunas, Lithuania
Elada Danis	03/06/2001	M	Lithuanian	2 yrs	Yes	England (2 wks)	Joniškis, Lithuania

Ramus: It's l= it's loads of people here. Yeah like, we had shopping yesterday, and was sport direction twas a woman have a job. She is Lithuania. Loads of people.

Elada: I was on over at his house, eh, his brother was playing with loads of friends. Do you know what they were doing? They were knocking random doors.

[Extracted from the Armagh teenage component of the Múin Béarla corpus]

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

FIGURE 2: Distribution of TH- variants by ethnicity and sex (N=734) (Thorburn & Corrigan 2015)

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

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SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

(Dewaele 2004; Howard et al. 2013; Labov 2008; Leung & Young-Scholten 2013; Mougeon et al. 2004, 2010; Regan 2005, 2010; Regan et al. 2009; Sankoff et al. 1997)

• The effect of the learner's L1

• Exogenous factors

• The personality and sociopsychological characteristics of the learner

• Characteristics and status of the sociolinguistic variants

• The role of the migrant's L1 regarding substrate effects in the L2 as well as the part it plays in conducting daily interactions and maintaining translocal relationships with friends and family

• Personal ties, social networks and communities of practice

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

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• **Personal ties, social networks and communities of practice**

SLA and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence

….contrary to the assimilative patterns adopted by immigrants in the past, current immigrants demand recognition and the right to disagree with the hegemonic ideology as they strive for the legitimacy of maintaining their differences. They may refuse therefore to acquire the host language (or local dialects or accents) and insist on maintaining their home languages…

Debaene & Harris (2013: 90-91)

Why choose to investigate the quotative system in NIE?

"Replicability is a sign of good science, and it follows that research on *be like* should lead to more research on *be like.*" D'Arcy (2012: 345)

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"The social and situational constraints [on the use of] direct speech markers." Milroy & Milroy (1977: 3)

Research Questions

- How do speakers across a range of locations (North America, the UK and the Republic of Ireland) make use of quotative variation to express local and global norms?

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-Australia	Rodríguez-Louro (2013); Winter (2002)
-Canada	D'Arcy (2004); Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004), (2005); Tagliamonte & Denis (2014)
-India	Davydova (2015)
-Jamaica	Höhn (2011)
-United States	Barbieri (2007); Blyth et al. (1990); Butters (1982); Cukor-Avila (2012); Dailey-O'Cain (2000); Labov (2016); Singler (2001)
-United Kingdom	Buchstaller (2014); Cheshire et al. (2011); Durham et al. (2012); Macaulay (2001); Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999); Schleef & Turton (2016)
-New Zealand	D'Arcy (2012)

Research Questions

- Do newcomers to NI acquire the same quotative system as that of their locally born peers?

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"quote their ethnicity by creatively using the resources available for the construction of dialogue as acts of identity" (2010: 82).

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"quote their ethnicity by creatively using the resources available for the construction of dialogue as acts of identity" (2010: 82).

-Edinburgh (Polish community)   Meyerhoff & Schleef (2014)

-Dublin (Chinese & Polish communities) Diskin (2015); Diskin & Levey (2016)

Research Questions

• Quotation devices allow hearers to vicariously share actions, attitudes, dialogue, emotions and thoughts that only the speaker was party to when they occurred.

• There are conditions on their use which may or may not be significant across different communities and their constraint hierarchies may be different too.

• There are a range of quotative introducers which can also vary globally including: *Go, be like, this+is+me, think,* zero, *say, here+is+me etc.*

Global Linguistic Resources: Primary quotative types

BE LIKE: ….she'd be like "Hashtag going to shop" like….
(2014-02-24_St-B_RO'K_CMcK_DI1_[R09_0010] 14:25.4)

SAY: ….he says "oh well I thought, where are you from?" he says "I'm from Armagh"….
(2014-02-24_St-B_EMcD_DS_DI_[R09_0029] 14:33.7)

GO: ….and he goes and he goes "how'd you do that" and he goes "You have to be fat"….
(2012-08-20_SC_KG_MM_DI1_[R09_0006] 26:56.8)

THINK: ….but then I thought "No, I'll just tell the truth" and….
(2014-01-23_St-C_EK_I1_[R09_0019+0020] 34:07.9)

ZERO: ….You'd see my mummy on the computer Ø: "There's no =T=! They've give me a computer where there's no =T=!"….
(2014-01-28_St-C_AMcQ_NB_ST_TI_[R09_0013_0014] 50:27.0)

Global Linguistic Resources: Other quotative types

ASK: I asked my mum "was it real?" She says "no"….
(2014-02-27_St-B_ED_DF_DI1_[R09_0028_0029] 06:43.5)

TELL: try telling "No you have to say this, you have to speak in Lithuanian" and….
(2014-01-23_St-C_EK_I1_[R09_0019+0020] 15:41.5)

SHOUT: ….marking me they were all shouting at her [raises pitch] "don't leave your player mate. Mate get back on her mate."
(2014-02-26_St-B_JD_CG_DI_[R09_0018] 15:38.2)

The Quotative System: Global and Local Perspectives

- Tense (historical present, present or past)

- Grammatical Person (1st, 2nd or 3rd)

- Mimesis (+/- voice effects)

- Content of the quote (reported speech or reported attitude/thought)

(Blyth et al. 1990; Buchstaller 2014; Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009; Cheshire & Fox 2007;Cukor-Avila 2002; D'Arcy 2004, 2010, 2012; Romaine & Lang 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004, 2007; Tagliamonte & Denis 2014; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 *inter alia*)

The Quotative System: Global and Local Perspectives

- Apparent/Real Time

- Gender

- Region

- Socio-Economic Status

- Ethnicity

- Native vs. Non-Native Speaker

- Length of Residence (LOR)

- Proficiency

- Mobility

(Amador-Moreno 2015; Buchstaller 2011, 2014; Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009; Cheshire & Fox 2007; Cheshire et al. 2011; Cukor-Avila 2002; Davydova 2015; Davydova & Buchstaller 2015; Diskin 2013, 2015; Diskin & Levy 2016; Diskin & Regan 2015; Meyerhoff & Schleef 2014; Milroy & Milroy 1977; Nestor 2013; Tagliamonte & Denis 2014; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 *inter alia)*

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Múin Béarla: Armagh Teenage Corpus

Language Status	Male	Female	Total
L1 English	26	19	45
L2 English	25	30	55

Armagh

MAP: Adapted from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Island_of_Ireland_location_map_Armagh.svg, (CC Share Alike 3.0)

The incrementation model (Labov 2001)

Most sociolinguists agree that adolescence is the "focal point for linguistic innovation and change" (e.g. Chambers, 2003a; Eckert, 1997; Kerswill, 1996; Roberts 2002). This means that children and adolescents, in particular, are the key individuals to look to when it comes to trying to find out what is changing in language and where language is headed. (Tagliamonte 2016: 7)

The variable context for the quotative system in Armagh

FACTOR GROUPS

1. **Ethnolinguistic heritage**
2. [Sex]
3. **Proficiency in English**
4. [Length of residence]
5. [Free school meals]
6. [Year of birth]
7. **Tense**

   -present
   -past
   -historical present

8. **Grammatical person**

   -first
   -third

9. **Mimesis**

   -mimetic
   -non-mimetic

10. **Quote Content**

   -reported thought
   -reported speech

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Every token of *be like*, *go,* zero, *say, think* and other (*here is*+ PRO/NP; *this is*+PRO/NP; *scream* etc.) was searched for and coded, with the following exclusions:

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Marker of focus or new information
In contexts of 'for example'/'such as' etc.
Think/Say introducing indirect speech
Standard grammatical functions of *like* etc.
Incomplete/inaudible quotations
Quotatives introducing written sources
Quotatives introducing gestures unrecoverable from audio data

(See Cheshire et al. 2006, 2011; D'Arcy 2004; Diskin 2015; Diskin & Levey 2016; Romaine & Lang 1991; Tagliamonte & Denis 2014; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 *inter alia*)

3. Implications for LVC and L2 Acquisition in Contact Settings

TABLE 1: Distribution of variants across speaker sub-groups

	Bengali		English (NI)		Filipino		Latvian		Lithuanian		Malayalam	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	21	53.8	270	38.5	0	0.0	3	23.1	311	38.0	57	61.3
go	0	0.0	90	12.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	45	5.5	0	0.0
zero	8	20.5	120	17.1	5	62.5	6	46.2	193	23.6	6	6.5
say	6	15.4	143	20.4	3	37.5	4	30.8	110	13.4	6	6.5
think	2	5.1	12	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	1.1	2	2.2
other	2	5.1	67	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	151	18.4	22	23.7
TOTALS: [2009]	39	100.0	702	100.0	8	100	13	100.0	819	100.0	93	100.0

	Polish		Portugese		Russian		Sinhala		Malayalam/ Sinhala	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	40	22.7	31	36.9	6	26.1	17	65.4	16	61.5
go	6	3.4	10	11.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
zero	30	17.0	15	17.9	6	26.1	3	11.5	4	15.4
say	79	44.9	13	15.4	11	47.8	5	19.2	5	19.2
think	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
other	20	11.4	15	17.8	0	0.0	1	3.8	1	3.8
TOTALS: [2009]	176	100.0	84	100	23	100.0	26	100.0	26	100.0

3. Implications for LVC and L2 Acquisition in Contact Settings

TABLE 1: Distribution of variants across speaker sub-groups

	Bengali		English (NI)		Filipino		Latvian		Lithuanian		Malayalam	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	21	53.8	270	38.5	0	0.0	3	23.1	311	38.0	57	61.3
go	0	0.0	90	12.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	45	5.5	0	0.0
zero	8	20.5	120	17.1	5	62.5	6	46.2	193	23.6	6	6.5
say	6	15.4	143	20.4	3	37.5	4	30.8	110	13.4	6	6.5
think	2	5.1	12	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	1.1	2	2.2
other	2	5.1	67	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	151	18.4	22	23.7
TOTALS: [2009]	39	100.0	702	100.0	8	100	13	100.0	819	100.0	93	100.0

	Polish		Portugese		Russian		Sinhala		Malayalam/ Sinhala	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	40	22.7	31	36.9	6	26.1	17	65.4	16	61.5
go	6	3.4	10	11.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
zero	30	17.0	15	17.9	6	26.1	3	11.5	4	15.4
say	79	44.9	13	15.4	11	47.8	5	19.2	5	19.2
think	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
other	20	11.4	15	17.8	0	0.0	1	3.8	1	3.8
TOTALS: [2009]	176	100.0	84	100	23	100.0	26	100.0	26	100.0

3. Implications for LVC and L2 Acquisition in Contact Settings

TABLE 1: Distribution of variants across speaker sub-groups

	Bengali		English (NI)		Filipino		Latvian		Lithuanian		Malayalam	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	21	53.8	270	38.5	0	0.0	3	23.1	311	38.0	57	61.3
go	0	0.0	90	12.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	45	5.5	0	0.0
zero	8	20.5	120	17.1	5	62.5	6	46.2	193	23.6	6	6.5
say	6	15.4	143	20.4	3	37.5	4	30.8	110	13.4	6	6.5
think	2	5.1	12	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	1.1	2	2.2
other	2	5.1	67	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	151	18.4	22	23.7
TOTALS: [2009]	39	100.0	702	100.0	8	100	13	100.0	819	100.0	93	100.0

	Polish		Portugese		Russian		Sinhala		Malayalam/ Sinhala	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
be like/it's like	40	22.7	31	36.9	6	26.1	17	65.4	16	61.5
go	6	3.4	10	11.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
zero	30	17.0	15	17.9	6	26.1	3	11.5	4	15.4
say	79	44.9	13	15.4	11	47.8	5	19.2	5	19.2
think	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
other	20	11.4	15	17.8	0	0.0	1	3.8	1	3.8
TOTALS: [2009]	176	100.0	84	100	23	100.0	26	100.0	26	100.0

TABLE 2: Participant numbers by ethnolinguistic sub-group and sex

Sex	Bengali	Filipino	Latvian	Malayalam	Portuguese	Russian	Sinhala	Sinhala/ Malayalam	Total
F	1	0	0	3	4	0	1	1	10
M	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	5
Total	1	1	3	3	4	1	1	1	15

Sex	English (NI)	Lithuanian	Polish	Total
F	15	10	4	29
M	21	6	8	35
Total	36	16	12	64

FIGURE 3: Languages in the Armagh LGD in the 2011 NI Census
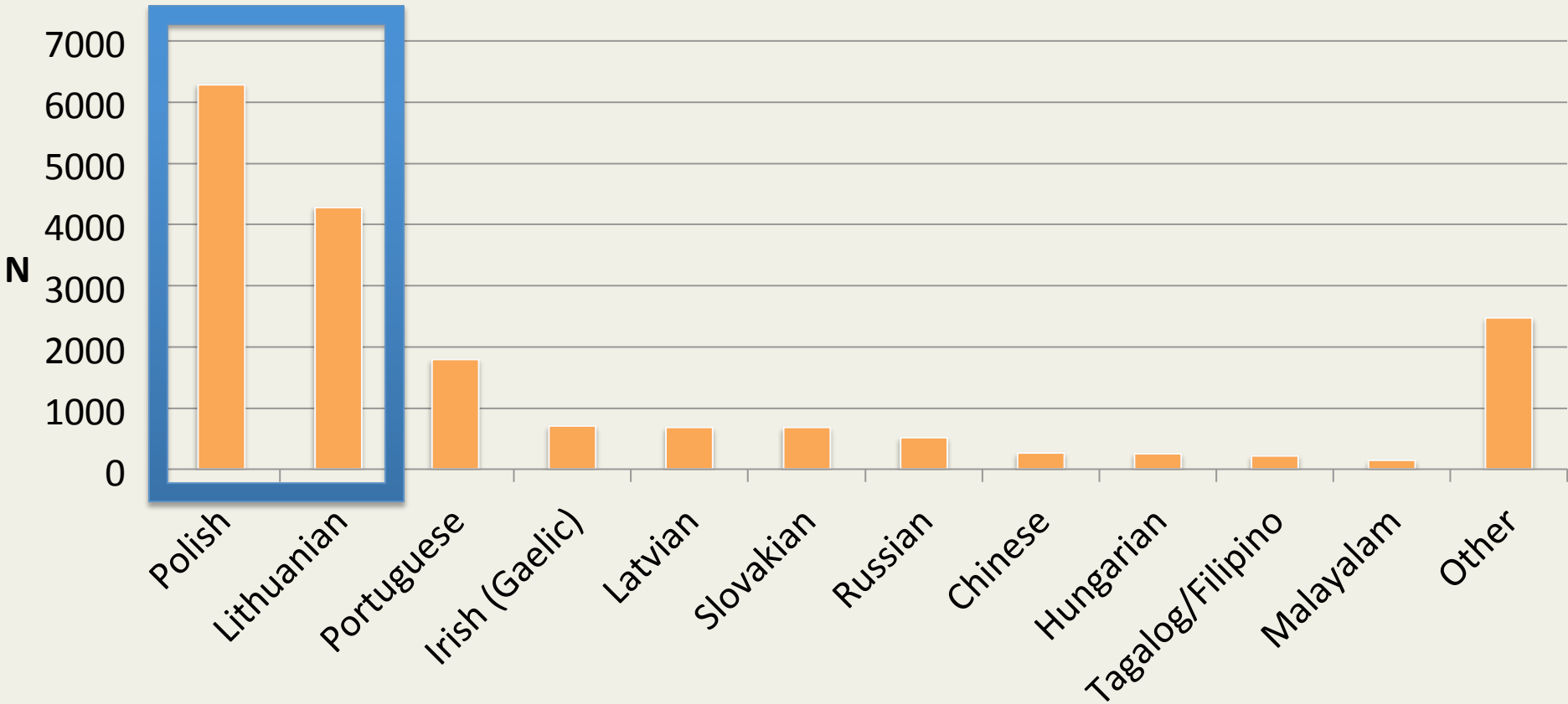
FIGURE 4: Distribution of quotative markers in the *Armagh Teenage Corpus* by speakers' L1
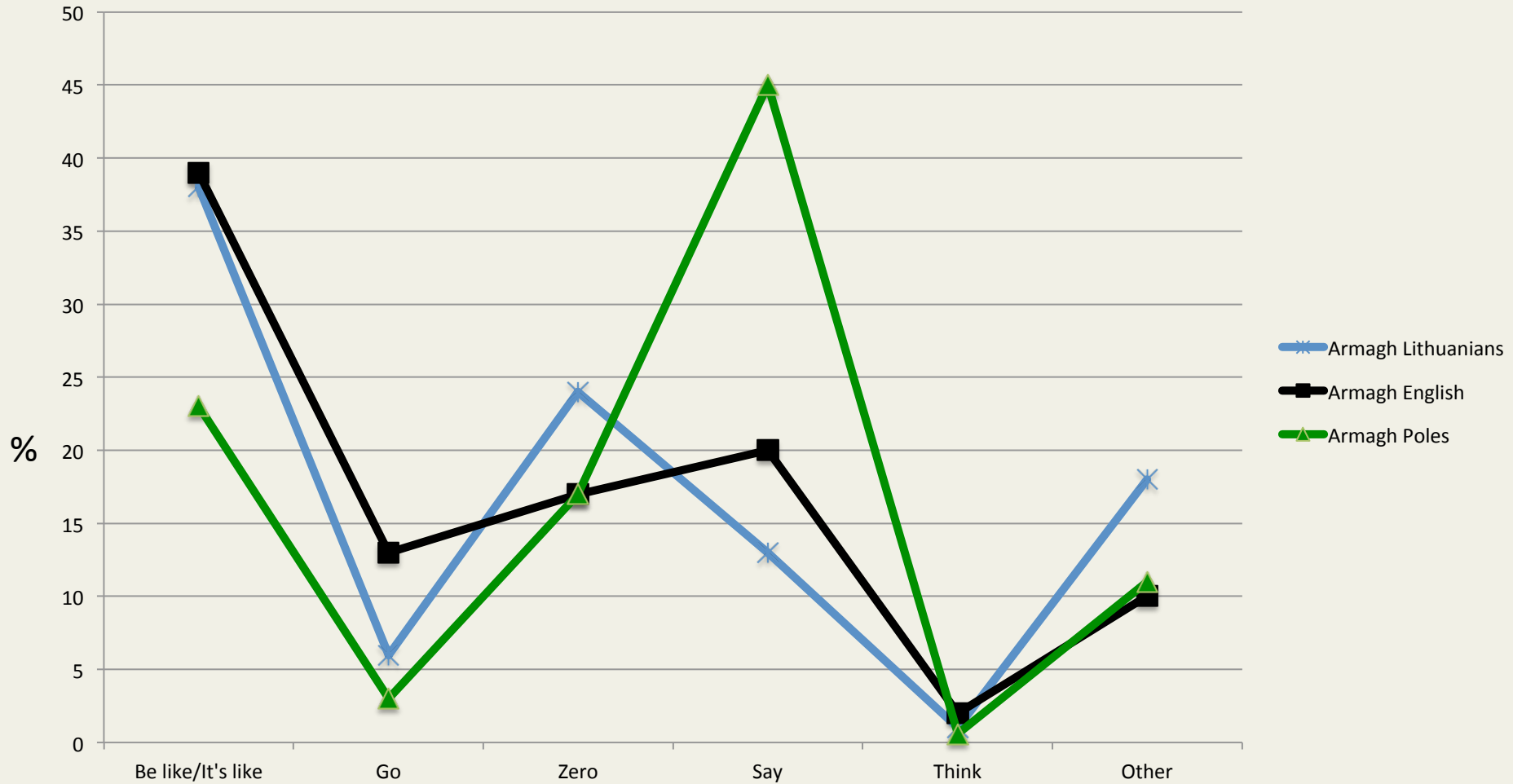
FIGURE 5: Distribution of quotative markers in the *Armagh Teenage Corpus* by speakers' L1
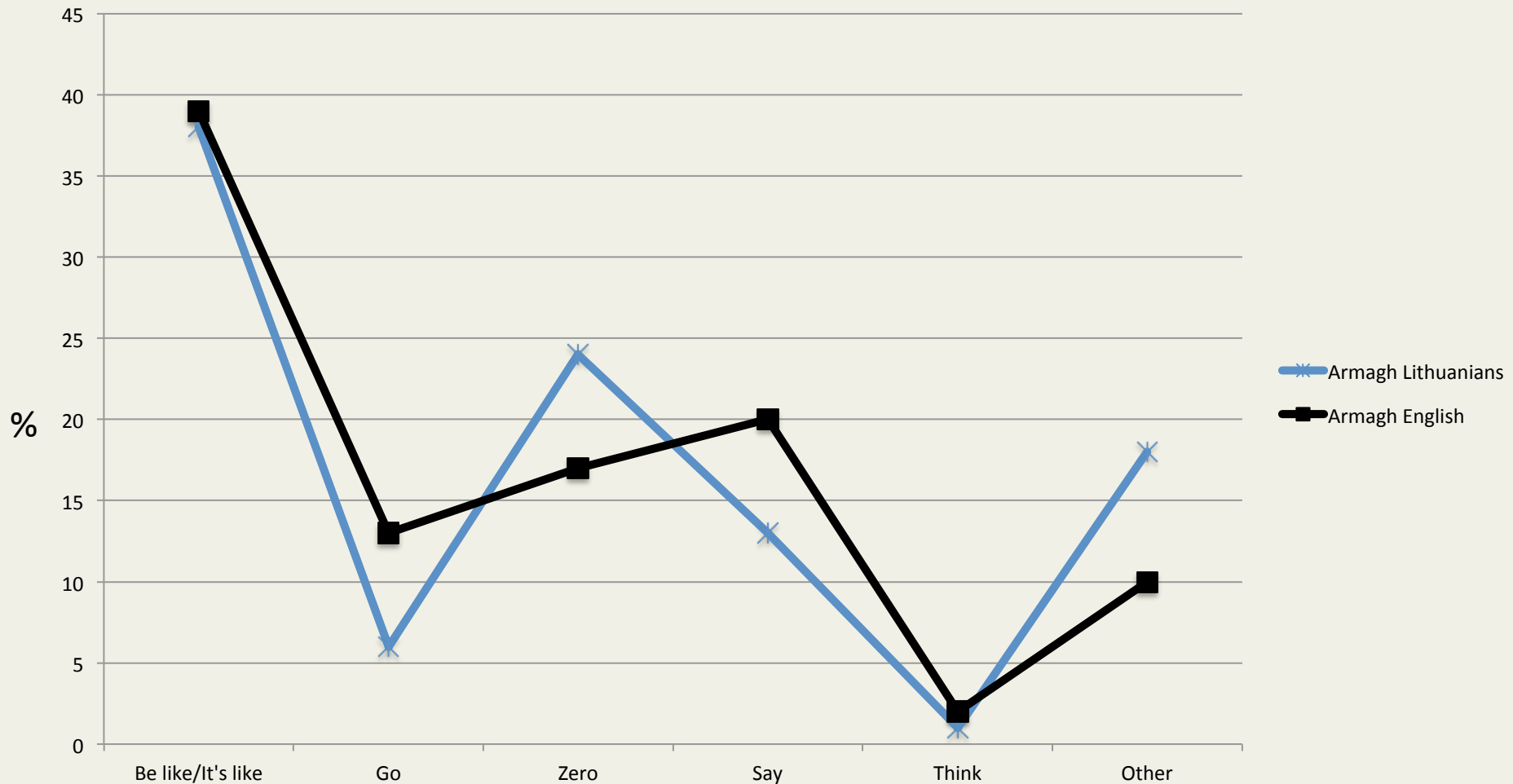
FIGURE 6: Distribution of quotative markers in the *Armagh Teenage Corpus* by speakers' L1
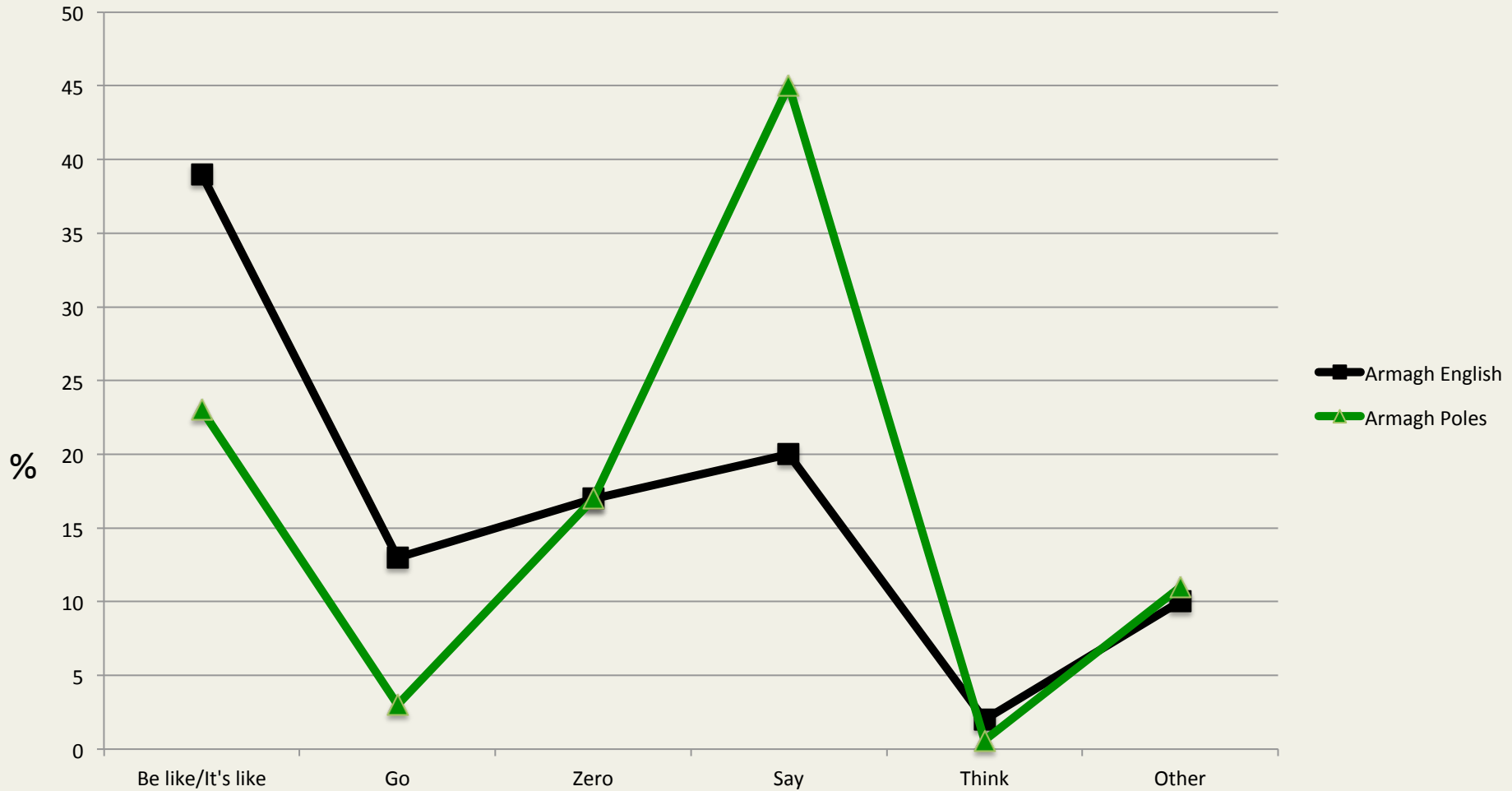
FIGURE 7: Distribution of quotative markers in Armagh, Canada and Dublin by speakers' L1
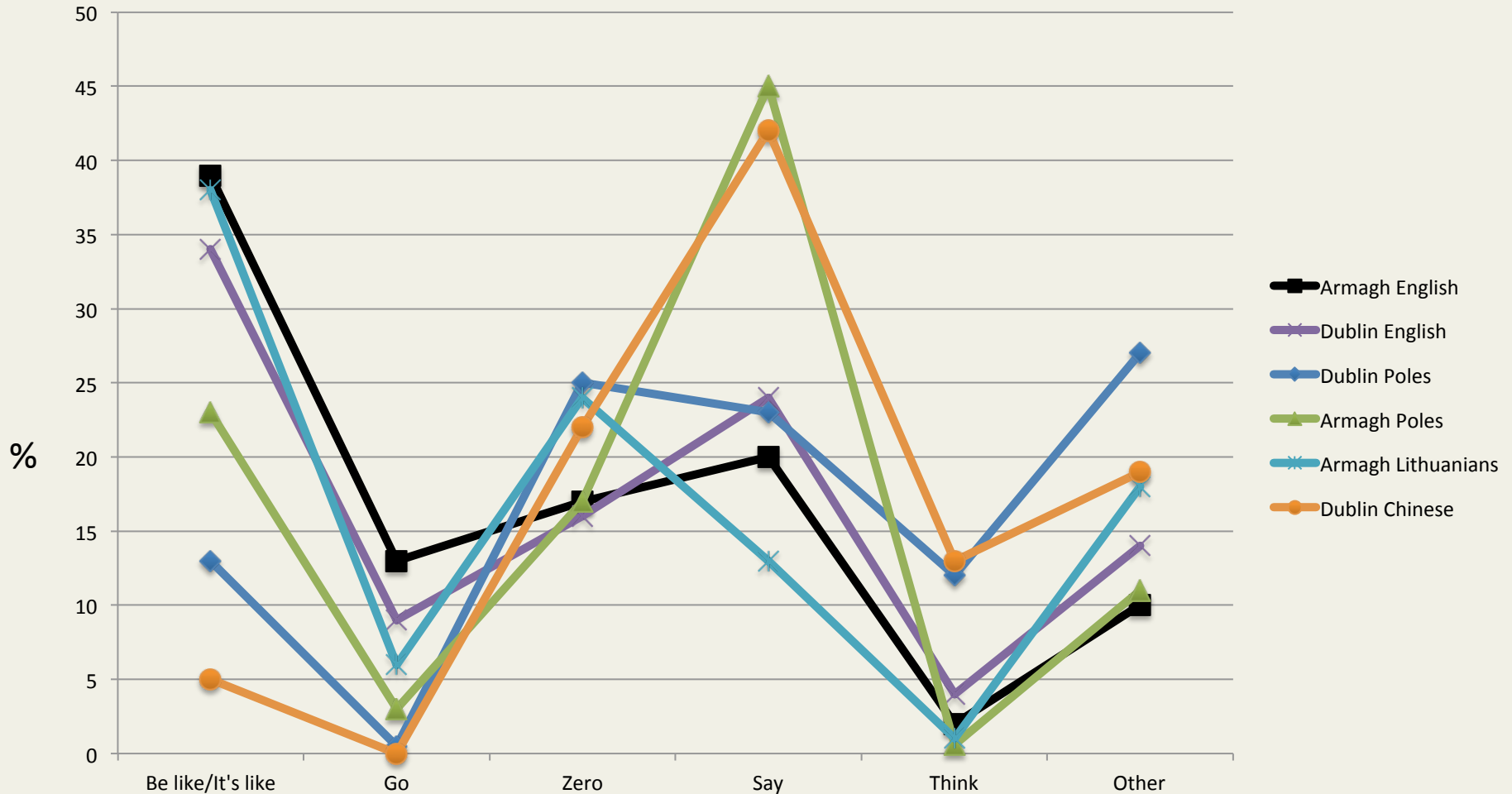
FIGURE 8: Distribution of quotative markers amongst English speakers in Armagh and Dublin
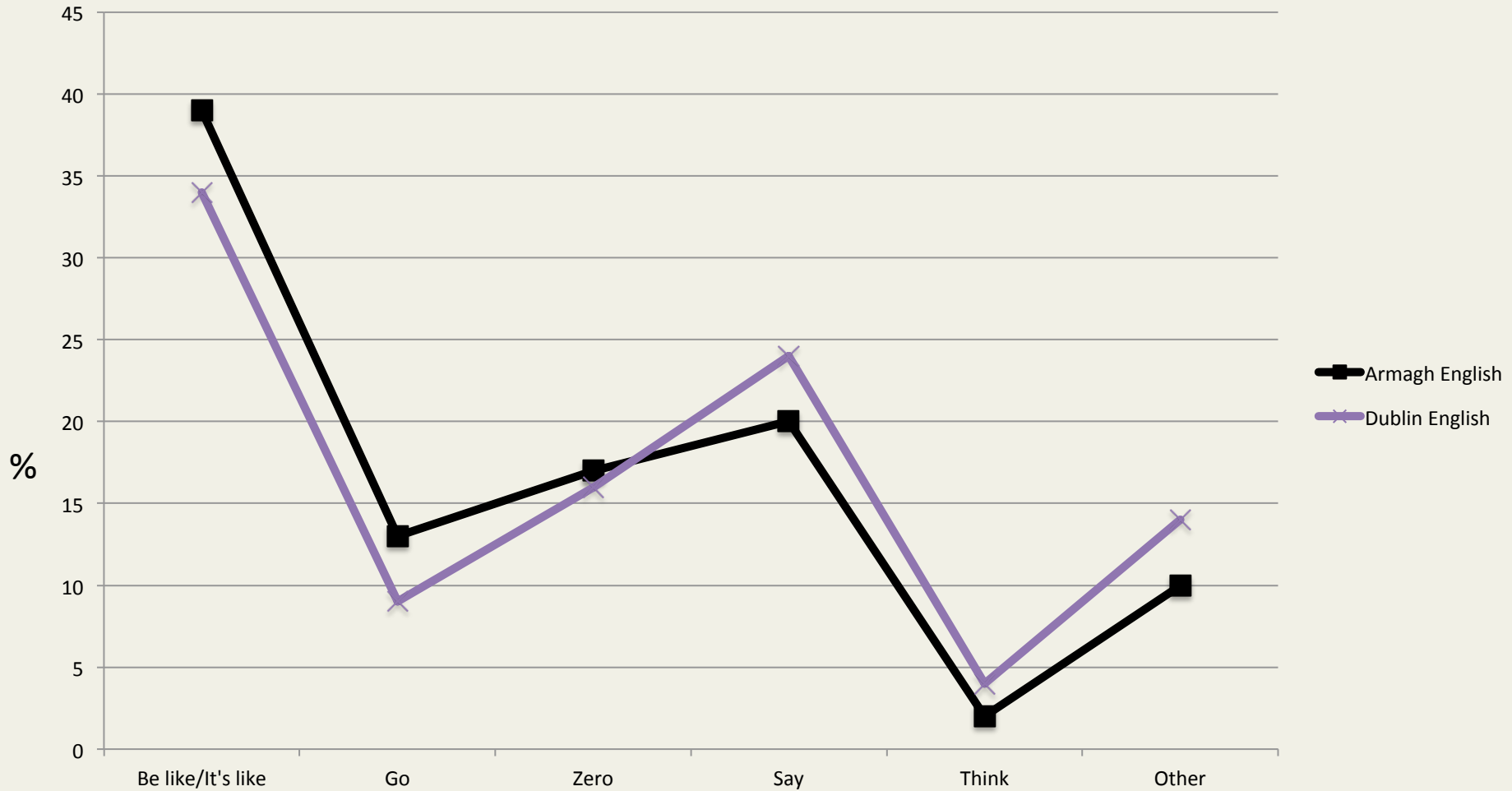
FIGURE 9: Distribution of quotative markers amongst English speakers in Armagh, Canada and Dublin
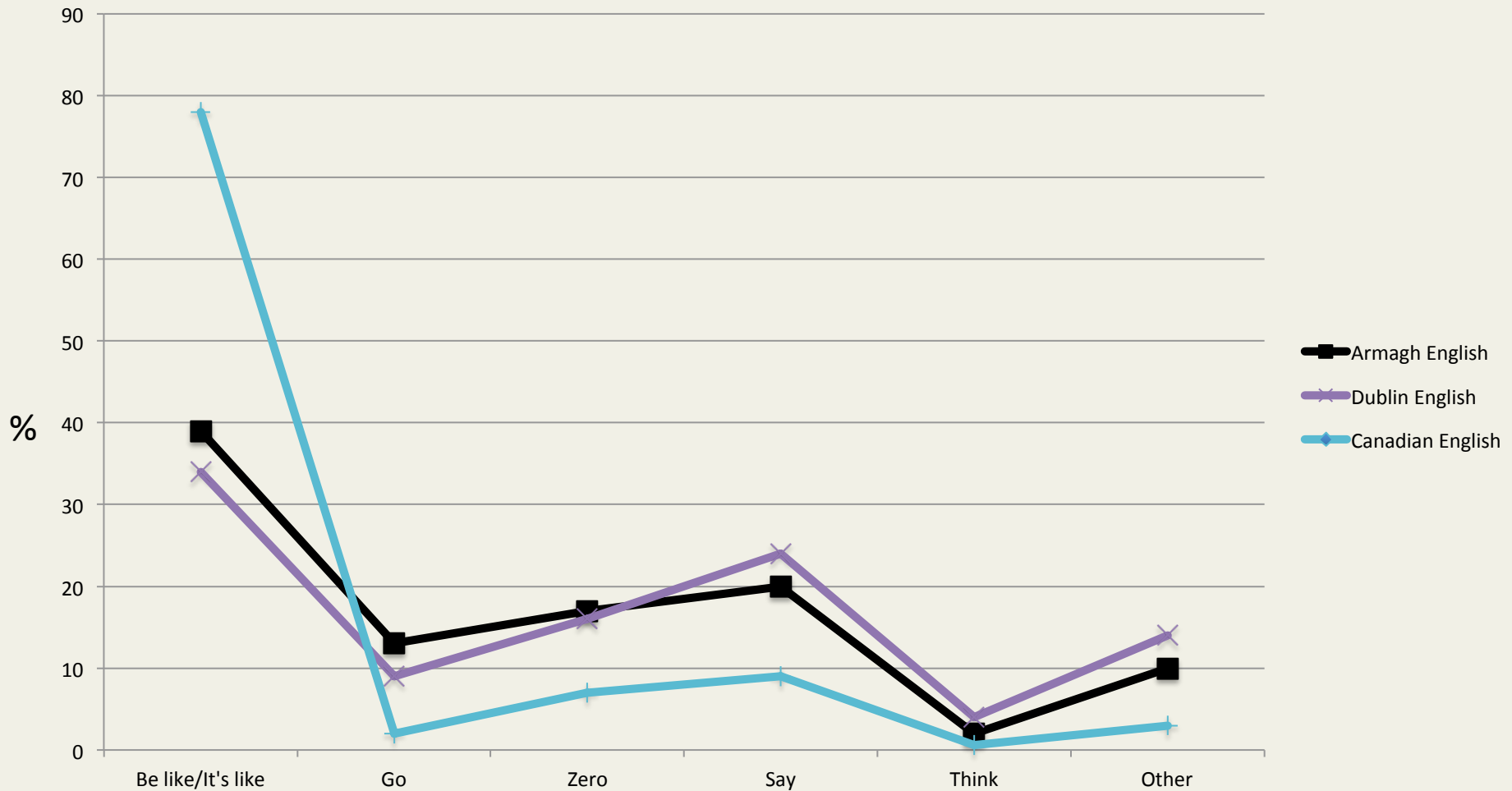
FIGURE 10: **Distribution of quotative markers amongst native and non-native (Polish) speakers in Armagh and Dublin**
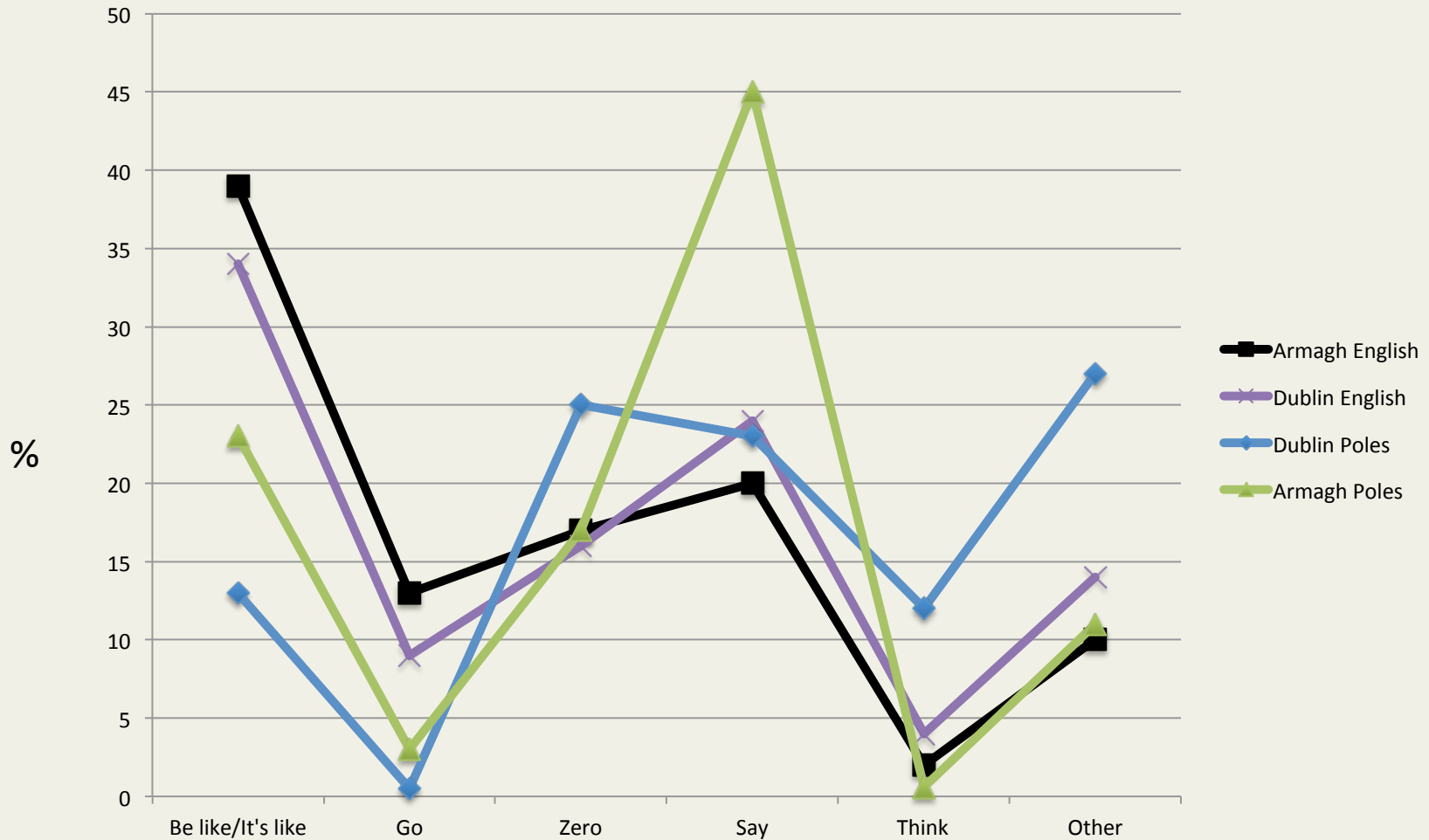
FIGURE 11: Distribution of quotative markers amongst native and non-native (Chinese and Lithuanian) speakers in Armagh and Dublin
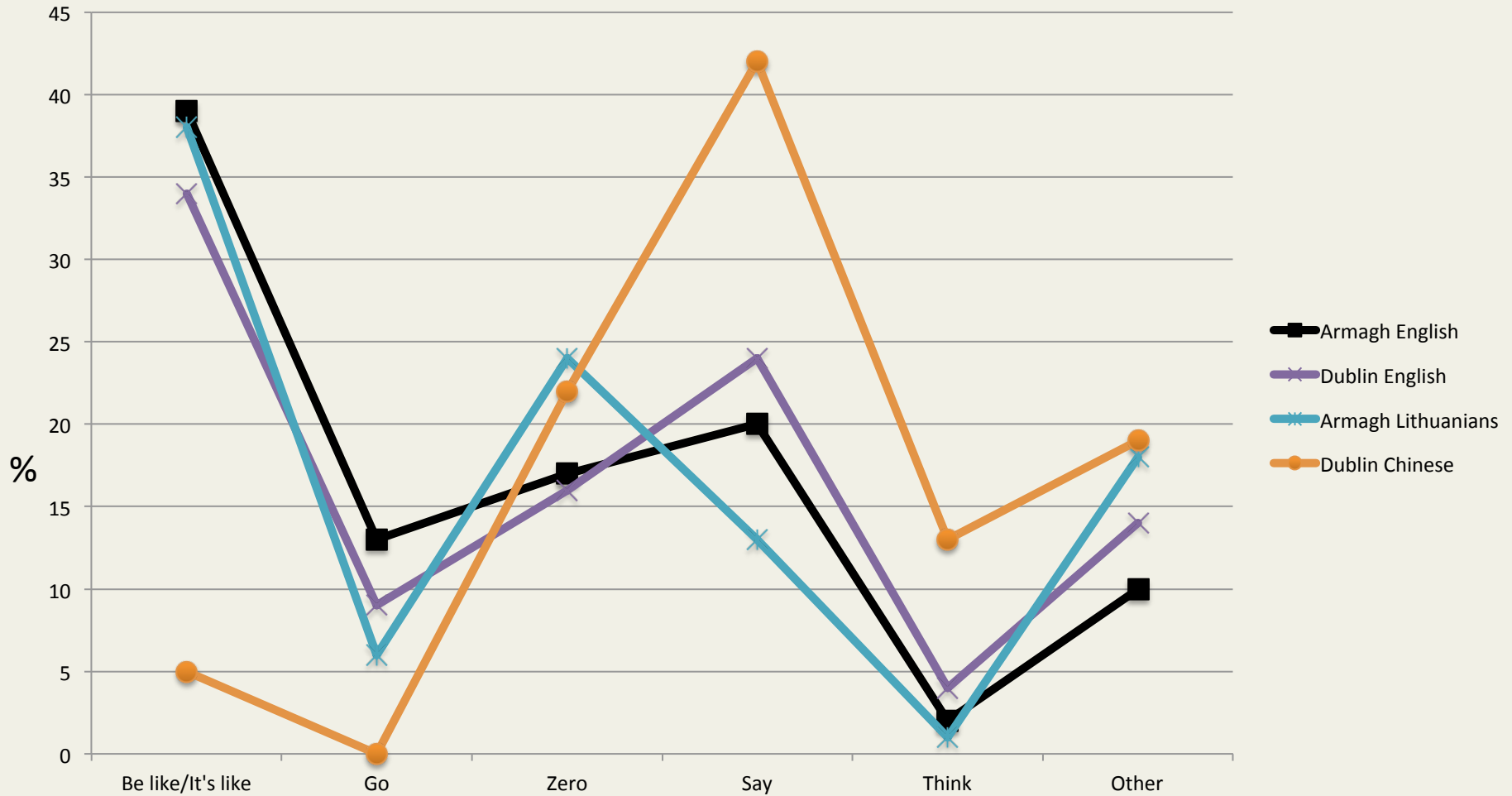
FIGURE 12: Distribution of quotative markers amongst native and non-native (Lithuanian) speakers in Armagh and Dublin
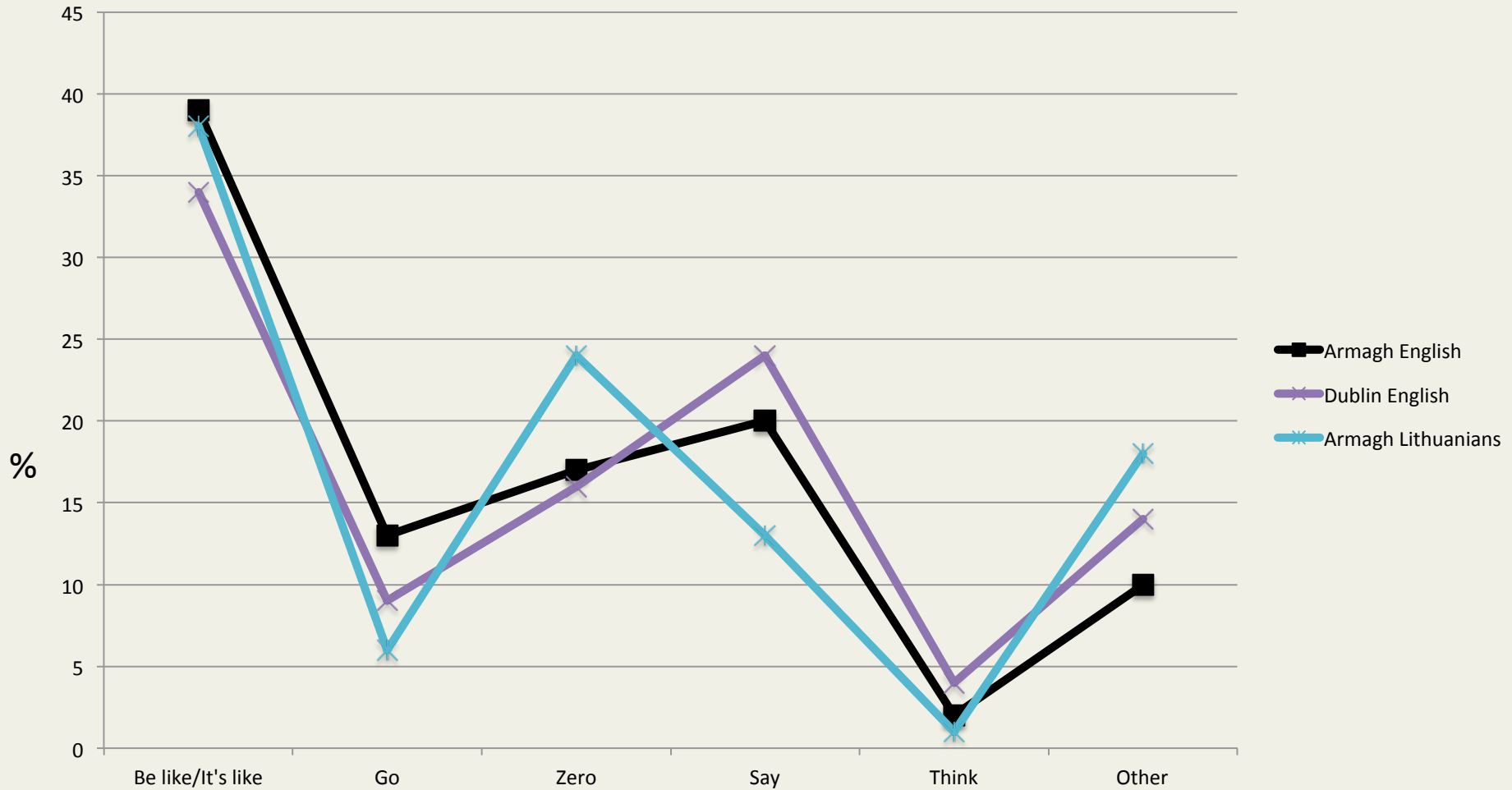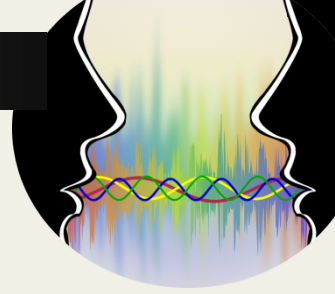
1. *Be like* amongst Armagh teens in a global perspective

2. *Be Like* vs. *Say* amongst Armagh teens

3. Have Polish and Lithuanian teens acquired the Armagh system?

4. Proficiency issues in Armagh, Dublin and Edinburgh

TABLE 3: Independent multivariate analysis of linguistic factors contributing to the selection of *Be Like* in Armagh English (N.B. excluding tokens of *it's like* which might skew unhelpfully)

FACTOR GROUPS	English [Armagh] FW
TENSE	
Historical present	.28
Past	.76
Present	.45
Range	*48*
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	
First	[.58]
Third	[.45]
Range	
MIMESIS	
Non-mimetic	.41
Mimetic	.59
Range	*19*
CONTENT OF QUOTE	
Reported thought	[.57]
Reported speech	[.43]

TABLE 3: Three independent multivariate analyses of linguistic factors contributing to the selection of *Be Like* in Canadian and Southern/Northern Irish Englishes

FACTOR GROUPS	English [Canadian]	English [Dublin]	English [Armagh]
	FW	FW	FW
TENSE			
Historical present	.60	.78	.28
Past	.46	.51	.76
Present	.21	.40	.45
Range	*39*	*38*	*48*
GRAMMATICAL PERSON			
First	.61	.59	[.58]
Third	.42	.45	[.45]
Range	*19*	*14*	
MIMESIS			
Non-mimetic	[.51]	.54	.41
Mimetic	[.49]	.47	.59
Range		*7*	*19*
CONTENT OF QUOTE			
Reported thought	[.52]	[.51]	[.57]
Reported speech	[.50]	[.50]	[.43]

(Figures for Canada and Dublin adapted from Diskin & Levey 2016)

TABLE 3: Three independent multivariate analyses of linguistic factors contributing to the selection of *Be Like* in Canadian and Southern/Northern Irish Englishes

FACTOR GROUPS	English [Canadian] FW	English [Dublin] FW	English [Armagh] FW
TENSE			
Historical present	.60	.78	.28
Past	.46	.51	.76
Present	.21	.40	.45
Range	*39*	*38*	*48*
GRAMMATICAL PERSON			
First	.61	.59	[.58]
Third	.42	.45	[.45]
Range	*19*	*14*	
MIMESIS			
Non-mimetic	[.51]	.54	.41
Mimetic	[.49]	.47	.59
Range		*7*	*19*
CONTENT OF QUOTE			
Reported thought	[.52]	[.51]	[.57]
Reported speech	[.50]	[.50]	[.43]

(Figures for Canada and Dublin adapted from Diskin & Levey 2016)

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GRAMMATICAL PERSON			
First	.61	.59	[.58]
Third	.42	.45	[.45]
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MIMESIS			
Non-mimetic	[.51]	.54	.41
Mimetic	[.49]	.47	.59
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CONTENT OF QUOTE			
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	FW	FW	FW
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Historical present	.60	.78	.28
Past	.46	.51	.76
Present	.21	.40	.45
Range	*39*	*38*	*48*
GRAMMATICAL PERSON			
First	.61	.59	[.58]
Third	.42	.45	[.45]
Range	*19*	*14*	
MIMESIS			
Non-mimetic	[.51]	.54	.41
Mimetic	[.49]	.47	.59
Range		*7*	*19*
CONTENT OF QUOTE			
Reported thought	[.52]	[.51]	[.57]
Reported speech	[.50]	[.50]	[.43]

(Figures for Canada and Dublin adapted from Diskin & Levey 2016)

TABLE 4a: Independent multivariate analyses of linguistic factors contributing to the selection of BE LIKE/SAY amongst Native and Non-Native participants (CEFR Independent)

	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		POLISH (Independent)	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4	37.6	44.9
	FW	FW	FW	FW	FW	FW
TENSE						
Present	0.452	0.607	0.424	[0.624]	0.289	[0.577]
Historical Present	0.278	0.559	0.512	[0.415]	0.808	[0.360]
Past	0.759	0.338	0.564	[0.459]	0.368	[0.566]
Range	*48*	*27*	*14*		*52*	
GRAMMATICAL PERSON						
First	[0.584]	[0.470]	0.577	[0.417]	[0.585]	[0.437]
Third	[0.452]	[0.530]	0.423	[0.583]	[0.415]	[0.536]
Range			*15*			
MIMESIS						
Mimetic	0.594	0.305	0.572	0.318	0.670	0.382
Non-mimetic	0.406	0.695	0.423	0.682	0.330	0.618
Range	*19*	*40*	*15*	*36*	*34*	*24*
CONTENT OF QUOTE						
Reported thought	[0.573]	0.958	[0.474]	<0.001	[<0.001]	[<0.001]
Reported speech	[0.427]	0.997	[0.526]	>0.999	[>0.999]	[>0.999]
Range		*40*				

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

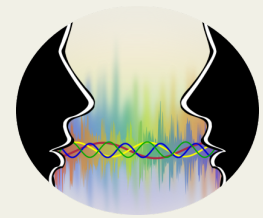| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

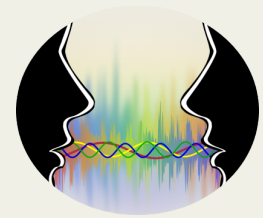| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

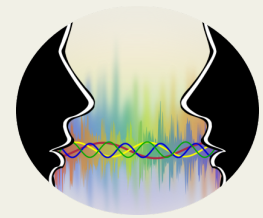| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect **not** shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

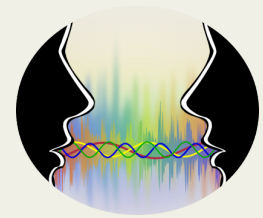| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect **not** shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

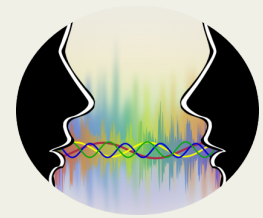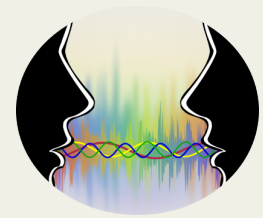# 3. Implications for LVC and L2 Acquisition in Contact Settings

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

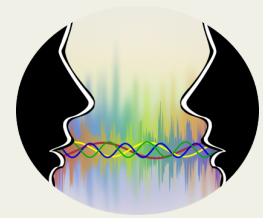| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

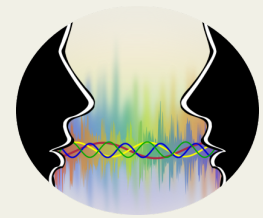| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

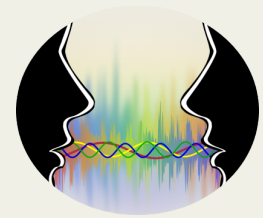| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**	**BE LIKE**	**SAY**
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY:
✔ = shared direction of effect
X = direction of effect not shared
[] = effect not significant

	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

KEY:
✔ = shared direction of effect
X = direction of effect not shared
[] = effect not significant

	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

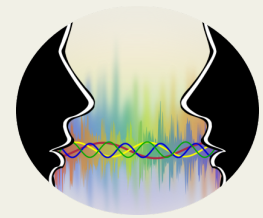| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

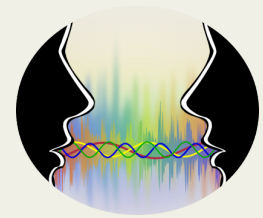| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

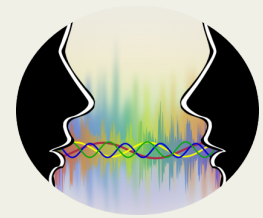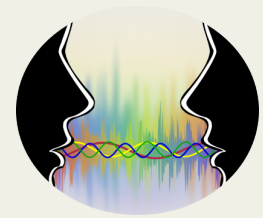| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

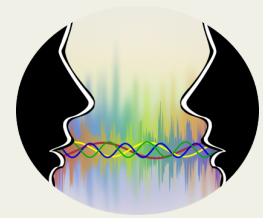| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect; X = direction of effect not shared; [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

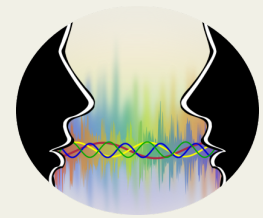| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

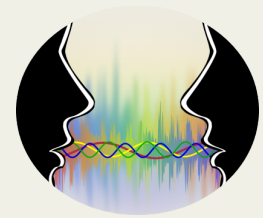| KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect <u>not</u> shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

TABLE 4b: Comparison of constraint hierarchies for *BE LIKE/SAY* amongst L1 (Armagh) and L2 (CEFR Independent, Lithuanian and Polish) speakers

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		LITHUANIAN (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	46.3	14.4		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

KEY: ✔ = shared direction of effect X = direction of effect not shared [] = effect not significant	NORTHERN IRISH		POLISH (Independent)		SHARED CONSTRAINT HIERARCHY	
	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY	BE LIKE	SAY
Quotative Variation %	37.5	20.4	37.6	44.9		
	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	historical present>past>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

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	FW	FW	FW	FW		
TENSE	past>present>historical present	present>historical present>past	past>historical present>present	[present>past>historical present]	X	X
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	first>third	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech>thought]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

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GRAMMATICAL PERSON	[first>third]	[third>first]	[first>third]	[third>first]	✔	✔
MIMESIS	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	mimetic>non-mimetic	non-mimetic>mimetic	✔	✔
CONTENT OF QUOTE	[thought>speech]	speech>thought	[speech (K.O.)]	speech (K.O.)	X	X

Conclusions

• Distributionally, native speaker Englishes North and South of the Irish border share local characteristics with respect to the dynamics of their quotative systems as well as other aspects of their grammar like the 'hot news perfect'. They are thus distinctive from varieties like Canadian English closer to the epicentre of quotative change.

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• Comparative, multivariate analyses of Irish quotative systems across geographical space, however, indicate that even diverse native speaker varieties within Ireland manifest subtle differences in the significance and rank order of internal conditioning factors on the interloper *be like* variant.

• Divergent groups of teenagers within a single urban location in Northern Ireland construct dialogue creatively using *say* and *be like* to index their membership of different ethno-social categories.

Summary

•The proficiency of non-native speakers is an important predictor of the frequency of vernacular variants in the L2 grammar. Advanced speakers like the Lithuanian group in Armagh have tuned into many aspects of the relative frequencies of occurrence of variants in the local variety. They are also aware to some extent of the constraint ordering of some conditions on local quotative norms that favour *be like* and *say* in different grammatical and pragmatic contexts.

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• Successful acquisition also seems to be variant specific and governed by ethnolinguistic factors since the statistical models for *be like* and *say* for the Lithuanian and Polish speakers in Armagh are not identical in the manner in which they match native speaker probabilities.

'The mysteries of the substrate' (Labov 2008)

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• **German** *Und+pronoun+so*+quotation   ➔   **German EFL learners** *and+I+like* +quotation

Und   **ich**   **so**   "dass muss ich jetzt nicht haben"
And   *I*   *like*   *"that need   I   now not have"*
'And I'm like, "I don't need that right now."
[Adapted from (Golato 2000: 48) and cited in Davydova and Buchstaller (2015: 466)]

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• **Hindi** *ki ('that)*   ➜   **Indian English** *ki+quotation*

[….] they never tried to learn [ind] **ki** [/ind] "my child has done something"
'[….] they never tried to learn that "my child has done something"
[*Hamburg Corpus of Non-Vernacular English IE51,* Davydova (2015: 308)]

'The mysteries of the substrate' (Labov 2008)

•**Irish-English/Irish**

….after blinking up at the sacred figure, "Not a bloody bit like the man" **says he**. "That's not Mulcahy" **says he**, "whoever done it."
[Columbia University on-line edition of *Ulysses, Episode 6, "Hades",* Line 730]

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Ollie Corr:"Aye, but I don't know. I'd have to go home and think about that" **says I**.
[Male, aged 72, Armagh; *Empire Corpus,* Corrigan (2008-2009)]

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[Male, aged 72, Armagh; *Empire Corpus,* Corrigan (2008-2009)]

"Cuma liom"   **arsa   seisean,**   "ba   mhaith   liom   a   ghabháil isteach"
Equal with-me say-past 3p-s-emph   be-cond   good   with-me   PRT   go   in
"I don't care" he said, "I want to go inside."
[Native Ulster speech sample from Raidió na Gaeltachta, Tamalt Comhrá, 2002: *Nua-Chorpas na hÉireann:* https://focloir.sketchengineco.uk/auth/run.cgi/simple_search?home=1]
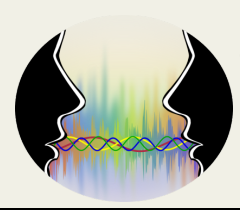
"When I was a kid no one came…the only black men here had uniforms on them." *Quietly* by Owen McCafferty

"….man hat Arbeitskräfte gerufen, und es komen menschen" ['….they have called for a workforce and human beings are arriving'] (Max Frisch in Berwald 2013: 223)
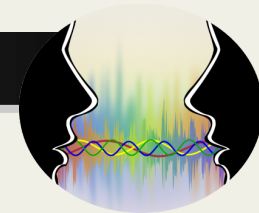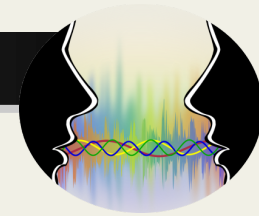
Thanks/Merci/Go Raibh Maith Agaibh

Chloé Diskin
Christian Louis-Shea Ilbury
Frances Kane
Adam Mearns
Jennifer Thorburn
John West

Carolina Amador-Moreno
Mercedes Durham
Ghada Khattab
Stephen Levey
Warren Maguire
Gerardine Meaney
Kevin McCafferty
Jim McCloskey
Peter Patrick
Sali Tagliamonte

Thanks/Merci/Go Raibh Maith Agaibh

James Milroy
Lesley Milroy

Belfast Community Studies
1975-1982
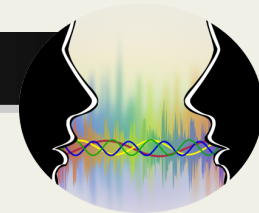
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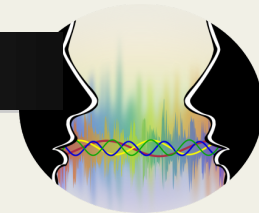## References

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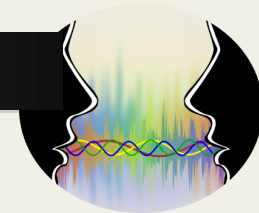
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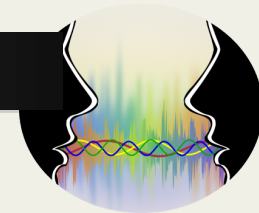
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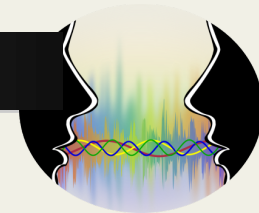
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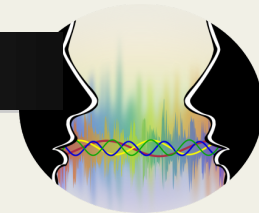# References

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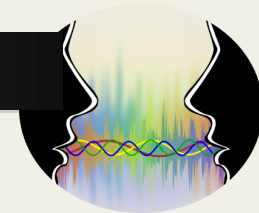
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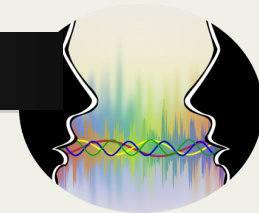
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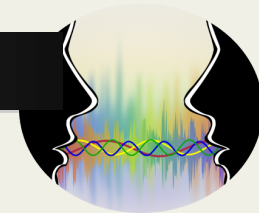
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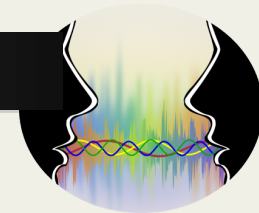
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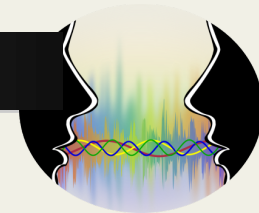
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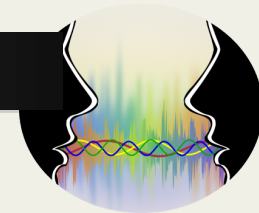
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