"*Sure* it wouldn't be right"

Sure as a discourse marker in *A corpus of Irish English* from the 18th to the 20th century.

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Many thanks to
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Abbreviations

CIE	*A corpus of Irish English* (Hickey 2003)
DM	Discourse marker
FG	Factor group
ICE-GB	*International corpus of English* – Great Britain
KO	KnockOut
MUE	Mid Ulster English
OED	Oxford English dictionary
SUE	South Ulster English

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of *sure* as a discourse marker in Irish English, as well as other variants such as *surely*, *to be sure*, *sure enough*, *no sure* and *but sure*. The discourse markers will be studied in texts from *A corpus of Irish English* (Hickey 2003), and analysed according to the gender and origin of the authors, period, character's gender, clause position, meaning and type of clause. All of the factors will be described in chapter 4.

This is an original study because it covers a longer time span than previous studies and looks at the development of the use of the discourse markers through time. It is also an empirical study as it is based on a corpus. Consequently, this is a study that has not been done before, and hopefully it will bring some new information to the field.

1.1 The discourse markers

To give a basis for this study, descriptions of discourse markers (henceforth DM) as well as definitions of *sure* and *surely* will be given first. These descriptions will then give grounds for the analyses.

A DM can be described in various ways and some of the descriptions will be included below for reference and to explain why the term 'discourse marker' is suitable for this study. According to the *Oxford dictionary of English grammar* a discourse marker is "[a] word or phrase that helps to signal the direction in which language, particularly in a conversation, is going" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 119). It may be considered as a tool to indicate the direction of the language within a conversation, as *sure* may be used in a sentence like "It's there sure" to indicate a matter of course. Schiffrin defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1986: 31; cited in Andersen 2001: 40).

Furthermore, Chalker and Weiner have explained that the term may include conjunctions as well as "words outside the main syntax" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 119).

Another discussion might be the choice of the term 'discourse marker'. Fraser has described DMs as a subtype of pragmatic markers and comments that a DM "signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse" (Andersen 2001: 40). Moreover, Andersen (2001) notes that "the term 'pragmatic marker' was introduced to describe a class of short, recurrent linguistic items that generally have little lexical import but serve significant

pragmatic functions in conversation (Andersen 2001: 39). This description is similar to the other descriptions of DMs as well as the 'other' variants, as short linguistic items used in Irish English. They do not have much lexical meaning, but may serve as a tool or a signal which indicates or emphasises the meaning of a sentence or discourse. In *The Oxford dictionary of English grammar* a pragmatic marker or filler, as it might be called, has been described as "[a] word, usually outside the syntax of an adjoining clause, that serves to fill what might otherwise be an unwanted pause in conversation" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 151). A definition of this class may also "include items studied within the European 'Partikelforschung' tradition i.e. so-called 'pragmatic particles' […] and within the Anglo-American 'discourse marker' tradition (Andersen 2001: 39). However, even if *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants serve pragmatic functions, these markers are mostly found in discourse. Based on observations in the corpus and the use of *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants of *sure* in these texts, I find it appropriate to use the term 'discourse marker' in this study.

Sure used in Standard English marks a level of certainty and according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition) (henceforth OED) *sure* may be used to qualify a statement and is otherwise described as "[a]ssuredly, undoubtedly, for a certainty" (OED, s.v. *sure*, 3.a.). According to *A dictionary of Hiberno-English, sure* in Irish English is used as an emphatic marker, and moreover, it can be used as an "emphatic opening to a sentence" (Dolan 2006: 231). According to *The hamely tongue, sure* might denote "after all; isn't that so; etc" (Fenton 1995: 157). Finally, in *A first glossary of Hiberno-English* (*, sure* was described as a "[c]ommon opening word in a sentence" (Christensen 1996: 125). All in all, *sure* is an emphatic marker that is likely to occur clause initially and to have an assuring or affirmative function.

The 'other' variants of *sure* have also been included in this study and coded separately to see whether they are used similarly or if they occur in different contexts. *Surely* is etymologically closely related to *sure* and they were also discovered in alternation in Amador Moreno's study (Amador Moreno 2006: 140). There may therefore be reason to assume that *sure* and *surely* may appear as DMs in similar contexts. The OED (revised) describes *surely* as an element "used to emphasize the speaker's firm belief that what they are saying is true and often their surprise that there is any doubt of this" (OED revised, s.v. *surely*) and to "express a strong belief in the statement" (OED, s.v. *surely*, 4.b.). There is therefore reason to believe that *surely* will be used as a positive emphatic marker or a reinforcing element of 'aye' or 'yes' or any other form of agreement. *Surely* may be used as marking "of course, by

all means" (Fenton 1995: 157), which will also be coded as an emphatic marker of agreement or a reinforcing element of agreement in this study.

Some examples of the DMs extracted from *A corpus of Irish English* (henceforth CIE) can be seen below. These are taken from the texts representing the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Further descriptions of examples 1-5 will be included below.

> (1) " You just guessed my mind; I'd hould a good heiffer, if it war God's will 1 had the like, that this blessed moment she's in some o' the green raths they live in; **sure** well we know they're to be seen in plenty the very road he tuck her," answered Mickle. (Banim and Banim 1825-26: 14)
>
> (2) 'Tony Doolin' was often a hard masther to him; **to be sure** he well desarved it, for an idle lazy rogue, as he was; bud it's what I'm goin' to say, is this. (Banim and Banim 1825-26: 14)
>
> (3) MARGARET ROONEY Feeney was the name, **sure enough** -, but what signifies that? (Gregory: 2-Hanrahan)
>
> (4) SIR WILFULL. No Offence, I hope. [Salutes Mrs. Marwood.] MRS. MARWOOD. **No sure**, Sir. (Congreve 1700: 44)
>
> (5) Now if she married you, Dick, where's the farm to bring her to? - **Surely**, it's not upon them seven acres of stone and bent, upon the long Esker, that I'd let my daughter go to live. (Carleton: 49 – traits and stories of the Irish pesantry)

Examples (1) – (5) illustrate the variation in which the DM may appear. Examples 1 and 2 are extracted from John and Michael Banim's *Tales of the O'Hara family* from 1825-26, where 1 is an example of *sure* used as a DM in initial position with an emphatic function. Example 2 shows the DM *to be sure* in initial position and has an emphatic function in the clause as well. The third example illustrates a use of *sure enough* as DM in final position of the clause, but also here it takes an emphatic function. The fourth example is *no sure* which functions as a negative emphatic DM in this clause, as it puts emphasis on the answer *no*. Finally, the fifth example is with *surely* as a DM. Here *surely* is in initial position and can be seen as an emphatic marker. The positions and functions the DMs might have, will be described in chapter 4, where also the coding schema for this study will be presented and explained. The methods that will be used in this study will be explained and exemplified in chapter 2.

Sure has been described as one of the most common opening words in sentences in Irish English (Joyce 1910/1979: 338), hence this study will look at the DM's position in the clause. That is a reason why I have decided to study the use of *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants in Irish English texts. Moreover, as the use of *sure* as DM is a unique feature which is

only found in Irish English, this is an interesting field to study. DMs have often been neglected in studies of Irish English (Amador Moreno 2006: 141), and as previously mentioned, there has not been any research on this feature in the corpus which will be studied here.

1.2 The data and the paper

Texts that will be used for this study are from the *CIE* and represent various genres from the 18th to the 20th century. The corpus consists of more than 600 000 words (see table 2.1) and is a collection by Raymond Hickey (2003). Texts from the medieval period are all from the poetry genre, while texts from the other centuries are divided into four genres; drama, novel, prose and varia. Drama is the largest genre group and is present in all centuries from the 16th to the 20th. In the 17th and 18th century there is a genre called 'varia', which can also be considered poetic texts, but there are no occurrences of either *sure* or *surely* in these groups. Novel and prose are only represented in the 19th century. There are also a few texts in this corpus which are written in Irish and not Irish English. However, if there are occurrences of *sure*, *surely* or the 'other' variants, these will be considered as part of the analyses. The corpus that will be used for this study consists of written texts, however there are dialogues in many of the texts and since DMs are used especially to mark a conversation, it is likely that there will be a higher percentage of DMs in the oral genre drama, or in dialogues.

The next chapter will be used to give further descriptions of the data as well as explain the methods and analyses that will be used in this study. Furthermore, I will refer to previous research on Irish English DMs and *sure* and *surely* as DMs in chapter 3, and use these as a basis for further discussion. One of the previous studies on the subject is by Karin Aijmer (2008), who has studied British English and the use of *sure* and *surely* among other linguistic features. Although her study has not included the Irish English use of *sure* or *surely* as DMs, her findings may give grounds for an interesting discussion. Shane Walshe (2009) has studied Irish English and the way it is represented in film. This oral language may correspond to the language that is used in the dramatic texts, and these may therefore be interesting to compare. Carolina P. Amador Moreno (2006) has studied the use of *sure* in Irish English among other Irish English linguistic features. Their studies will therefore be considered the most relevant, and primarily be used for comparison. Amador Moreno (2006) has studied examples from Patrick MacGill's novels, and her observations will also be used as guidelines for variables and coding of the examples in this study. Descriptions of the coding of the tokens extracted from the CIE and an explanation of the choices will be given in chapter 4. This will also give

grounds for the analyses. The results will then be presented in chapter 5, where tables 5.1 – 5.11 will illustrate the distribution of the DMs according to the factor groups. Chapter 6 will then be used to compare and discuss the results with previous studies presented in chapter 3. Finally, I will include a summary of my study and conclude my findings.

CHAPTER 2

DATA AND METHOD

2.1 Data

The data which will be used for this study, is a collection of texts called *A corpus of Irish English* that has been collected by Hickey (2003). These texts are representative of Irish English and may therefore be used for this study. The corpus will be described in more detail in section 2.1.1. As this corpus has been collected already, the methods that will be used involve the extraction of the relevant items and analyses of the tokens. Further description of the methods that will be used in this study will be given in section 2.1.2.

2.1.1 The corpus

The CIE is a collection of written texts and consists of more than 600 000 words. Also, the corpus consists of different genres, where drama, prose and novel are more oral than poetry and varia. Texts from the medieval period have a total of 27 143 words, and these texts are not divided into genre. Drama is the only genre represented in the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, while there are drama and varia texts in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, varia is a genre where there are no occurrences of *sure*, *surely* or the 'other' variants. The majority of the texts are from the nineteenth century, and these are divided into novel, prose and drama. This is also the only century where novel and prose are represented. As drama is a genre that is accessible in all the centuries from the sixteenth to the twentieth, the diachronic development may therefore be analysed in this genre only.

Table 2.1 shows the number of words in each genre and period, which may give a clearer perception of how the texts in the corpus are distributed. The table may also be relevant for later discussions of how representative and valid the results are in this study will be.

Table 2.1

Distribution of words per genre and period

	Poetry	Drama	Prose	Novel	Varia	Total
Medieval period	27143	0	0	0	0	27143
16th century	0	1705	0	0	0	1705
17th century	0	9620	0	0	3167	12787
18th century	0	125211	0	0	1701	126912
19th century	0	120846	59974	26514	0	207334
20th century	0	246117	0	0	0	246117
Total	27143	503499	59974	26514	4868	621998

* The numbers do not include descriptions of texts or other additional information included in the extracts.

Table 2.1 shows the distribution of words per genre and period. With the exception of poetry in the medieval period, the numbers rise through the centuries, starting at 1705 words in the sixteenth century and ending with almost 250 000 words in the twentieth century. Drama is by far the largest and best represented genre in the CIE with 503 498 words over five centuries. Prose comes second with almost 60 000 words, but all of the texts are from the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century is the best represented period in the CIE as far as genres are concerned, with texts in the drama, prose and novel genres. Varia is a genre with less than five thousand words over two centuries, however this genre has no occurrences of *sure*, *surely* or the 'other' variants. There was one novel in the CIE, which contributes 26 514 words to the corpus. The varia texts are poetic texts and may therefore be combined with poetry if they do not contain enough occurrences to be analysed separately. Tokens extracted from the texts in the novel and prose genre will be coded separately, but they might also be combined if there are not enough tokens. Considering the amount of texts from the drama genre, there is no reason to combine this genre with any others. Moreover, since DMs are a typical oral feature, it is most likely to occur in the drama texts.

Although previous studies have focussed mainly on *sure* as a DM (Amador Moreno 2006), other variants like *surely*, *to be sure*, *sure enough* and *no sure* will be included in this study. The authors represented in the CIE are of Irish, Anglo-Irish or British origin, but have all been considered as representative of Irish English literature. The "outside perspective on English in Ireland is of interest as it shows what features were salient and hence registered by the non-Irish" (Hickey 2003: 237). The authors that are represented in the CIE have been included as they write in Irish English or use Irish English in their texts. It is therefore likely to find typical Irish English linguistic features in their texts as well. There are 3 female

authors and 26 male authors. Further descriptions of the authors will be included in section 4.1.2.1.

2.1.2 Sample design

There is reason to believe that there is a development and diachronic change in Irish English and the literature representing it (here CIE). An outline of historical events that have or may have affected the spread of English in Ireland, as well as social and language history, will be given in section 4.1.2.2. As can be seen in table 2.1, not all of the periods can be compared concerning genre, and drama is the only genre that may show the diachronic distribution of *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants. Both the gender of the author and characters' gender will be analysed to see whether there is a gender difference in the use of this DM. The syntax and semantics will also be analysed and compared to previous studies (Amador Moreno 2006, Walshe 2009, Aijmer 2008), which will be further described in chapter 3.

2.1.3 The linguistic features in the data

As previously mentioned, the linguistic features that will be studied are the DMs *sure*, *surely*, *to be sure*, *sure enough, but sure* and *no sure*. However, the last four items will be coded as 'other', as there are few occurrences. In table 2.2 below, one might observe the distribution of DMs per period.

Table 2.2

Distribution of the DMs per century

	Sure	Surely	Other	Total
Medieval period	2	0	0	2
16th	0	0	0	0
17th	2	0	0	2
18th	48	4	57	109
19th	126	26	76	228
20th	82	163	11	256
Total	260	193	144	597

Table 2.2 shows that there are few or no occurrences in the first three periods. There are enough occurrences of the DMs in the texts from the 18th, 19th and 20th century to perform this study. *Sure* and the 'other' variants occur mostly in the 19th century, while *surely* is the DM that is used most in the 20th century. The overall amount of DMs seems to increase through

the centuries. The distribution of the DMs will be described and illustrated further in chapter 5.

2.1.4 The variable context

The dependent variables, the DMs, will be studied according to several factors, both internal and external. One of the external factors, the period, was illustrated in table 2.2, and will be used to study the development and change in the use of the DMs through time. Historical events and the influence of English in Ireland through time is a factor that will be described further in chapter 4. Another external factor is the origin of the authors. This factor is considered relevant as the authors originate from an Irish-speaking, Irish-English, or an English-speaking community, and their use of the Irish-English DMs may vary accordingly. The authors' gender, as well as the characters' gender, is considered as relevant factors to see if there is a difference in usage based on gender. However, there are only three female authors and therefore it may be difficult to state the result as an absolute, but we may get an indication of the typical user of the DMs based on the characters' gender. The last external factor is the genre of the text, but as the CIE is mainly a dramatic corpus, this factor may also be of less significance. The other texts that contained enough tokens to be considered part of this study were prose and novel, both full of dialogue and close to oral language. The internal factor, clause position, is based on findings in previous studies of the marker, but also on descriptions of the items in dictionaries. *Sure* is for instance considered as an "emphatic opening to a sentence" (Dolan 2006: 231), and this should be confirmed or refuted in this study. The next internal factor is the meaning of the clause in which the DM occurs. This is also a factor that has been included in previous studies (Amador Moreno 2006, Walshe 2009), and it will be described in chapter 3 and in dictionaries, as explained in chapter 1. It has been included as it is considered significant in the identification of the DMs, but also in comparison with the previous studies. The clause type in which the DM occurs is the final internal factor. As the other internal factors, this has also been considered in other studies of the DMs and is relevant for its use and for comparison with previous observations.

2.1.5 Exclusions and exceptional distributions

I'm sure may in some contexts appear to be a DM, but it may also be described as an adjectival complement. This variant may seem ambiguous in some cases, but is considered not to be a variant of the DM that has been studied here. Therefore, this variant of *sure* was

excluded from this study, and tokens of *I'm sure* were extracted from the token file. However, there were about 100 tokens of *I'm sure* in the CIE.

2.2 Methods

The lexical analysis tool "WordSmith tools" (Scott 2010) has been used to collect all occurrences of *sure*. In this program it was possible to search and extract words or a group of words. *Surely* was extracted independently, while *sure* and the 'other' variants were collected in one. Each period was coded separately to get a better look at the distribution of the occurrences, which also facilitated the elimination of certain periods.

Tokens were analysed and coded manually in an ordinary Word file. Each token was coded according to the coding schema (table 4.1) that was developed for this study. The dependent variable, which can be described as "a feature that alternates (i.e. varies) when some independents variable changes" (Tagliamonte 2006: 264), consists of the DMs *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants in this study. Independent variables are "features that influence the dependent variable; independent variables can be external (e.g. sex, socioeconomic class, age) or internal (e.g. lexical item, clause type, semantic or syntactic features)" (Tagliamonte 2006: 264). The independent variables that were used in this analysis are origin, period, genre, gender, character's gender, clause position, meaning and type of clause, all of which are presented in table 4.1. When all of the tokens were analysed these were copied into a token file in the Goldvarb program. Goldvarb (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith 2005) is a variable rule program which allows for cross-reference searches that may show which independent variables are most relevant and which combinations give significant results.

Analysing socioliguistic variation by Tagliamonte (2006) was used as a guide, and definitions of the terms that will be used here to describe the process are also taken from that book. After that, factor specifications were generated and the tokens checked to see if there were any errors in the coding. If a code had been forgotten or a symbol did not correspond to any of the codes that were set in the factor specifications, this would turn up as an error. When the errors were eliminated, the cells were loaded to memory. Another problem that may occur is a KnockOut (henceforth KO). A KO is a "value of 0 or 100 per cent in a cell" (Tagliamonte 2006: 265), which means that it is not a variable and that it is not necessary to include in an analysis. To avoid these KOs some of the variables had to be re-coded. A re-code can be described as a "configuration of a condition file which modifies it from a no-re-code and leads to a different 'view' of the data" (Tagliamonte 2006: 266). When these actions were done, the analyses could be executed.

The tables that illustrate the distribution of the different factor groups were then tested with chi-square. Tagliamonte has described chi-square as a statistical test where "the sum of the squares of observed values minus expected values [is] divided by the expected values" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263). These tests were performed by entering the numbers of the DMs that are given in each table into a chi-square test. When the calculation is carried out, you get numbers illustrating the chi-square, degree of freedom and p-value. Preacher further describes the test that is "used to test the null hypothesis that the frequency within cells is what would be expected, given these marginal Ns" (Preacher 2001: online). If the chi-square number was low, i.e. table 5.9, the factor group was considered insignificant in isolation. If the p-value was 0, the factor was significant at 0.01 level.

The first analysis that was run in Goldvarb was the binomial one step, which can be described as "type of variable rule analysis in which all groups and all cells are treated at the same time" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263). This analysis results in a scheme which indicates in which contexts the dependent variable is most likely to occur, but it may also simplify spotting anomalies. The cell column lists combinations of factors. The second column is called total and lists how many tokens there are of the different combinations. The third lists how many times the application value occurs within the combinations. Next is the column that lists the expected number of occurrences based on the model. Finally, the last column indicates the error which is based on the difference between the model and the actual data (Tagliamonte 2006: 220). If the error is high, i.e. above 2.0 (Preston 1996: 11, Young and Bayley 1996: 272), re-coding might lead to a better agreement between the expected scores and the actual data. The log likelihood will also appear in the scheme after the binomial one step. The log likelihood can be described as a "measure of the goodness of fit of an analysis; figures closer to zero represent better models than those further removed from zero" (Tagliamonte 2006: 265). This number can also be improved if the highest errors in the scheme is removed or improved.

A statistical significance can also be measured using Goldvarb. As Tagliamonte describes; "results were not produced by chance; the variable program assesses statistical significance at the .05 level" (Tagliamonte 2006: 266) which indicates which factors are relevant or not. To measure the statistical significance of the factor groups, it is necessary to run a binomial step-up/step-down regression analysis. Binomial step-up/step-down analysis can be described as a "type of variable rule analysis in which computations are done one step at a time with different configurations of factor groups" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263). By running this analysis one might also see which factor groups are significant and which are not, and

also the order of the factors according to significance. It is only possible to list one of the DMs as the application value each time when running the binomial one step and the binomial step-up/step-down. An application value is a "variant defined as the outcome of the variable rule" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263), and is the dependent variable that has been analysed. Consequently, *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants were analysed separately in the binomial analyses. In the best stepping-up run, the significant factors are listed, while the least significant factors are listed when stepping-down. If there are some interactions that affect the significance, it is possible to re-code which might improve the results, and then compare the two analyses. To see if a re-code changes the outcome can therefore be another reason to run two analyses.

Finally, one might run the cross tabulation analysis, which "shows how two factors are related" (Tagliamonte 2006: 264). Cross-tabulation allows for an examination of the connections between different factor groups. Every factor group was therefore cross-tabulated with all of the other factor groups. The outcome of this analysis indicates the distribution based on the numbers in the cells, and also the lack of numbers in a cell. If there is an empty cell, it might again be necessary or interesting to re-code a factor group.

CHAPTER 3

SITUATING THE LINGUISTIC VARIABLE

This chapter describes previous studies of the discourse markers. However, there has been little research on the use of *sure* as a DM in Irish English (Amador Moreno 2006: 141). Amador Moreno has studied linguistic features, including DMs, in novels by Patrick MacGill. Another study has been carried out by Walshe (2009). He has studied the use of Irish English in films, where discourse features such as the DM *sure,* have been included. Their observations and examples will be further described in section 3.1 below. Finally, a study of the use of *sure* and *surely* in Standard British English has been included for comparison (Aijmer 2008). The use of these items in Irish English differs from their use in British English, but may open for a wider comparison and discussion of the markers nevertheless.

3.1 Previous research

A corpus of Irish English opens for several ways to study DMs, one being the diachronic development. *Sure* is a DM that can be found in four of the centuries represented by the CIE. However, only three of the centuries will be included as there are only a few occurrence of the DMs found in texts from the medieval period. Even so, lack of the DMs in the first centuries can be an indication of its use as well. That is because the lack of occurrences in the earliest centuries can indicate that the DMs were not a common feature in Irish English before the eighteenth century.

Another way to study this DM is by looking into the social perspective of its use; do female and male authors use it equally or is this a feature preferred by one of the genders? Moreover, will female characters use it more than male or will this usage be similar to that of the author's? The origin of the authors may also be a factor indicative of the social perspective. These are all external factors that might affect usage. Internal factors that will be analysed in relation to the distribution of DMs are semantic and syntactic. The function the DM has in a clause and the meaning of the clause cover the semantic aspect of the study. The positions where the DMs might be found, is part of the syntactic aspect of the study.

As there have been limited studies of the DM *sure* in Irish English, other studies are included to create a more detailed background for this study and the following discussion. The following section will therefore be used to describe previous studies of Irish English features that have included the DMs *sure* and *surely.* The previous studies of Irish English

were executed by Amador Moreno and Walshe. Aijmer's study of *surely* in the *International corpus of English* from Great Britain (henceforth ICE-GB).

3.1.1 Amador Moreno

Amador Moreno (2006) has studied Irish English linguistic features in novels by Partrick MacGill. Among the linguistic features she has studied, the use of some DMs in Irish English was included. *Sure* and *surely* were two of these DMs. Her study and observations have been a starting point for the choice of variables for this study. Moreover, results from the study of MacGill's novels will be compared and discussed in relation to this study of the CIE.

Amador Moreno comments that the use of *sure* in Irish English might derive from *cinnte,* an Irish emphasizer (2006: 144). *Cinnte* is translated as "certain", "conclusive" and "sure" (Irish dictionary online, s.v. *cinnte*). This may also explain its use as a typical emphatic DM. Studying the character's use of DMs, Amador Moreno discovered that *sure* also could be used in alternation with *surely* (2006: 140). However, *sure* has also been "analysed as a dialectal realisation of the adverbial form *surely*" (2006: 141).

According to Amador Moreno's study, the majority of the examples with *sure* or *surely* as a marker, tend to have an emphatic force (2006: 144). Some examples of *sure* may also imply contrast (2006: 145). Another use that was observed in MacGill's novels was *sure* and *surely* as "marking appeal for consensus from the speaker to the listener" (2006: 146). *Sure* or *surely* may also be used as an answer to a question or as a response to an utterance (2006: 149). Besides, the DMs can also give an indication of how an utterance should be interpreted (2006: 141).

Amador Moreno comments that the quantity of DMs that occurred in the corpus she used (2006: 144) seems to support the statement that *sure* is one of the most common opening words in Irish English (Joyce 1910/1979: 338, Christensen 1996: 125). Below, I will include some examples that she used to illustrate the use of *sure* in the novels. She included more of the context, however, that will not be done here. An example from her corpus can be seen in example (1) below, where *sure* is used as an opening word to an affirmative declarative sentence. Example (2) shows how *sure* is used as an emphatic marker or as a reinforcing element of negation. The third example shows how *sure* is used as a reinforcing element of 'aye'.

(1) *Sure* the mountain is there to this very hour […]. (RTP, Norah's mother and Norah, p.76 in Amador Moreno 2006: 142)

(2) 'No *sure*,' answered Willie […]. (RTP, Jim and Willie, p.105 in Amador Moreno 2006: 143)

(3) 'Aye, *sure* and she will that.' (Amador Moreno 2006: 143)

Amador Moreno also states that "the emphatic force of this marker […] is undeniable in the majority of the examples which can be found in the novels" (2006: 144). That statement confirms the use that has been described in *A dictionary of Hiberno-English* (Dolan 2006). Nevertheless, the DM may have other semantic interpretations as well. Examples (4) and (5) below illustrate some of her findings.

(4) '*Sure* you don't hate your own people?' (Amador Moreno 2006: 142)

(5) '*Sure* and it's not at all,' […] (Amador Moreno 2006: 146)

An example which she comments on is (4), where *sure* may imply contrast and could be replaced by *but* (Amador Moreno 2006: 145). Example (5) is an illustration of how *sure* can be used when referring back to previous information. The structure which is most used in examples with the DM is *sure* + NP/VP (noun phrase/verb phrase). This is most common in negative and affirmative sentences (2006: 144), and can also be seen in example (1) above.

3.1.2 Walshe

Walshe has studied the representation of Irish English in films (2009). His corpus was based on the language from 50 films that were set in Ireland (Walshe 2009: 1). He started by "searching them for a selection of typical grammar, discourse and lexical features, before approaching them from a phonological perspective" (Walshe 2009: 1). His observations of the discourse features will be described and included in this section, as the other features as well as the phonological perspective is not relevant in this discussion of the DMs *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants.

Amador Moreno's (2005) definition and comments on DMs have been used as a basis for Walshe as well (Walshe 2009: 121). He has included other discourse features in his study as well, which can be considered as typical of the Irish English dialect. However, his study of *sure* will be the focus here. Shane Walshe has described *sure* as "the most typical discourse marker in Irish English" (Walshe 2009: 121), and states that the use of *sure* is Irish English is very different from the way it is used in other varieties of English (Walshe 2009: 121). To illustrate the various uses *sure* might take in Irish English, he used the examples below that were extracted from *A man of no importance* (Walshe 2009: 122):

(6) But, *sure*, I can't act.

(7) But, I *sure* can't act.

(8) But, I can't act, *sure*.

Walshe comments that the first example (6) "implies a certain amount of surprise on the part of the speaker" (Walshe 2009: 122), while the second (7) places emphasis on the meaning in utterance. However, as *sure* is a DM that may also come at the end of a clause, he includes (8). The first and the last examples that he includes illustrate occurrences of *sure* as DMs, while *sure* is an adverb in the second example. Walshe also commented that *sure* can occur in North American colloquial English (Walshe 2009: 122). However, the Irish English use of *sure* differs in intonation whether it is a DM or an adverb. It is pronounced [ʃʌr] [ʃʊər] (Walshe 2009: 122). His findings also indicate that predominantly *sure* is used as an emphatic marker, and example 9 below is an instance he has extracted in his study. He also included examples of *sure* used in conjunction with *but*, which can be seen in example 10.

(9) That's Sunday. **Sure**, we'll have to get Mass first. **Sure**, we might as well leave it off till Monday then.
(*This is my Father*, 01:25:50, MGard1930M)

(10) I know, but **sure** looks aren't everything.
(*A very unlucky leprechaun*, 00:05:11, MPM1990W)

In Walshe's study, *sure* was "one of the most frequent features of Irish English" (Walshe 2009: 123). It appeared in 46 out of 50 movies, which equals 92%. The high number may be due to the versatility of the DM, considering both clause positions as well as meanings.

3.1.2 Aijmer

Aijmer (2007) has studied the use of *surely* among other linguistic features. The study that will be referred is of the ICE-GB. She notes that *surely* was not one of the most frequent adverbs, and it was more restricted when it came to its interactional usefulness compared to adverbs such as *certainly*, *of course* and *obviously* (Aijmer 2007: 134). In her study, *surely* did not appear with strengthening or weakening premodifiers (Aijmer 2007: 135). Besides, more than half of the occurrences of *surely* were in initial position in the clause (Aijmer 2007: 135), and it was found in 7 out of 57 cases in end position (Aijmer 2007: 137). Example (11) shows *surely* in front position, while (12) is of *surely* used at the end of a clause.

(11) *Surely* it couldn't have been him from the lake thirty-five
(ICE-GB:S1A-020/151 in Aijmer 2007: 135)

(12) in which case you ought to be doing some phonetics *surely*
(ICE-GB:S1A-008/14 in Aijmer 2007: 137)

(13) it is but that *surely* **would** improve with time
(ICE-GB:S1A-031/191 in Aijmer 2007: 138)

Surely seems to be more highlighted if placed in final position, and might be seen as a stronger way of reaching out to the addressee (Aijmer 2007: 138). The third example is of *surely* in medial position, where it can occur before or after the finite verb (Aijmer 2007: 138), but here it occurs before the finite verb. In that position, *surely* may also mean 'truly, verily, indeed', a definition mentioned in the OED (Aijmer 2007: 138), in which case it loses it "epistemic meaning and function as an emphasizer or intensifier" (Aijmer 2007: 139).

If *surely* appears in a statement it seems to open for contradiction of the statement, and it seems like "[t]he speaker incorporates in her message the recognition that she wants confirmation, approval, agreement" (Aijmer 2007: 136). *Surely* may also occur in declaratives with a tag question (Aijmer 2007: 136). Moreover, she states that in 10 out of 30 instances where *surely* occurs in tag questions, *surely* occurs in collocation with *but* (Aijmer 2007: 137). An example of this collocation can be seen in (14) below.

(14) *But surely* from the point of view of the farmer it's it's all to do with the hard ecu and and the hard facts of of driving tractors across large field, isn't it? (ICE-GB: S1B-037/21 in Aijmer 2007: 137).

As can be observed in previous examples, *surely* can bring different meanings to a clause depending on its position and context. One context in which it seems to place emphasis on a statement without being ambiguous is in *I surely did* (Aijmer 2007: 139).

3.2 Discussion and critical commentary of previous research

Amador Moreno's study of the DMs has been based on novels by an author of Irish origin. The outcome of her study shows the versatility of the DM as it may appear in different clause positions and adopt different meanings. However, as the study is based on the language of one person, it cannot represent Irish English in general. Her study is also based on one genre, which only allows for a narrow investigation of the DMs.

Walshe has studied Irish English in films, which is representative of planned oral language as opposed to spontaneous speech. However, this study might be considered more representative of the Irish English language variety as it takes 50 movies into consideration, which again include several actors. This genre may also be considered as closer to the drama genre, and might be more suitable to compare with drama.

Aijmer did not study the use of *sure*, *surely* or the 'other' variants as DMs in Irish English. Her study was included to add more information about the use of *surely* as a marker, as there exists little data on the subject.

Nevertheless, the outcome of these studies seems to indicate the same, and *sure* is considered a frequent discourse feature in both. The versatility of its use has also been observed in both studies. None of the studies that have been described above have considered the diachronic aspect of this linguistic feature.

CHAPTER 4

CODING AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Coding schema and factor groups

Table 4.1 below shows the coding schema and variables that will be used for analysis, and will provide the basis for cross-tabulation and binomial analyses in Goldvarb. The different factor groups will be described in section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 with sub- sections. Due to the size of the schema, it had to be divided over two pages.

Table 4.1

Coding schema for the discourse markers *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants

Dependent variable	
FG1 Discourse markers	
s	sure
y	surely
o	other variants
Independent variables	
FG2 Author's origin	
h	Irish
a	Anglo-Irish
FG3 Period	
c	18th century
d	19th century
e	20th century
FG4 Genre	
d	Drama
p	Prose
n	Novel
FG5 Gender	
m	Male
f	Female
FG6 Character's gender	
m	Male
f	Female
n	Not applicable

FG7 Clause position	
i	Initial
f	Final
m	Medial

FG8 Use	
a	Emphasising marker of agreement
n	Emphasising marker of negation
r	Reinforcing element of agreement
c	Suggesting contrast

FG9 Type of clause	
a	Affirmative declarative
n	Negative declarative
i	Interrogative

Table 4.1 shows the factors that will be used as variables in the analyses of the DMs *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants. The DMs are listed as the dependent variable which is the variable that will be consistent in all of the analyses. Moreover, this coding schema shows the variables that are included after re-coding and exclusion of some factors. The following sections will describe the variables that are illustrated in table 4.1 in addition to the factors that were re-coded or excluded.

4.1.1 Dependent variables

A dependent variable is a "feature that alternates (i.e. varies) when some independent variable changes" (Tagliamonte 2007: 264), and in this study, the DMs *sure*, *surely*, *to be sure*, *sure enough*, *no sure* and *but sure* are the dependent variables. *Sure* and *surely* are the main DMs that will be studied, but I will also look at the 'other' variants. Occasionally *but* is used in front of *sure* or *surely,* and in these cases there is reason to think that the marker suggests contrast as *but* may mean "except" or "excluding". An example of *but surely* can be seen in (6) below.

(1) PATSY **Sure** it wouldn't be right, Fadher, I can't - (Shaw 1904: *25*)

(2) TIM CASEY There'd be a welcome for it with them **surely**! (Laughter.) (Gregory 1907: 10)

(3) We were on the devil's own turnpike for eight-and-forty hours; **to be sure**, we were all in a comical pickle. (Th. Sheridan 1740: 2)

(4) I never saw him in such fine spirits as that day he went out - **sure enough**

he was within aims-ace of getting quit handsomely of all his enemies (Edgeworth 1801: 14)

(5) SIR WILFULL. No Offence, I hope. [Salutes Mrs. Marwood.]
MRS. MARWOOD. **No sure**, Sir. (Congreve 1700: 44)

(6) MOLINEUX **But surely** you cannot be without some relatives! (Boucicault 1875: 5).

The first example (1) illustrates one use of *sure* as a DM in a negative declarative clause, where *sure* is the initial part of a negative answer. The second example is *surely* in final position in a positive declarative clause. The third example is an instance of *to be sure* used clause initially as a reinforcing element of agreement in a positive declarative clause. Example (4) illustrates *sure enough* initially in a positive declarative clause. Example (5) illustrates how *sure* can be used as an emphatic marker in a negative clause. Finally, (6) illustrates the use of *but* in front of *surely.* This is a negative declarative sentence and the DM is indicative of the speaker's disagreement with a former utterance.

4.1.2 Independent variables

Tagliamonte has described independent variables as "features that influence the dependent variable" (Tagliamonte 2007: 264). These variables can be external, e.g. origin, period, genre, gender and character's gender, or internal as clause position, usage and type of clause. These variables will also be a basis for the hypotheses and the discussion following the analyses. The independent variables have been inspired by and to some extent based on previous studies of DMs, which may give a better basis for comparison and discussion.

4.1.2.1 Origin

The writers were divided into three groups according to their place of origin to see if there may be a significant distinction in their use of the DMs. These groups have been coded as British, Anglo-Irish and Irish, the last one to make a clear distinction between Irish authors of British decent and those of Irish decent. The Anglo-Irish and British authors were then combined due to few tokens. Now a short description of the authors will be given, including their origin and their texts. The authors will be described according to the period they represent, starting with the sixteenth century and ending with the twentieth century. Most of the authors from the medieval period are unknown, with the exception of the Kildare poems written by Michael Kildare. Finally, the total number of authors of the different origins will be given.

There was only one named author from the sixteenth century, and that was William Shakespeare. He is represented in the CIE with *Henry V* dated 1599/1623. *Sir John Oldcastle* is a drama from 1600 and was the only one of the two parts that was published (Hickey 2003: 262). *Captain Thomas Stukeley* is also a play by an unknown writer. It was written in 1605 and "[i]t contains a single scene in Irish English" (Hickey 2003: 263). The first edition of this scene was produced in Standard English in blank verse, while the second was in broad Irish English (Hiberno-English) dialect (Bliss 1979: 32).

There are seven authors represented in the seventeenth century. Maurice Cuffe wrote *The siege of Ballyally Castle*, a text from 1642, and it is an extract from this drama that is included in the CIE. Cuffe was "an Irish merchant of English extraction" (Bliss 1979: 42), and "his spelling reflects the non-standard features of his pronunciation" (Bliss 1979: 43). Next is Thomas Dekker, who is the author of *Old Fortunatus* (1599/1600) and *The honest whore part II* (1605/1630). Dekker was British, but used Irish phrases and words in his works (Bliss 1979: 37). The third author from this period is Richard Head, represented in the CIE with the drama *Hic et Ubique* from 1663. Head had an English father, but he was born in Ireland (Bliss 1979: 46). Ben Jonson is the fourth author. He wrote *The Irish masque* in 1613/1616, which was "the first and most elaborate of Jonson's attempts to represent Irish character and speech on the stage" (Bliss 1979: 38). Thomas Randolph wrote *Hey for honesty* in 1630/1651. Thomas Shadwell wrote *The Lancashire witches* in 1681/1682, which was "inspired by the animosity generated against the Catholics as a result of the 'Popish Plot', fabricated in 1678 by Titus Oats" (Hickey 2003: 266). Shadwell was born in Norfolk (Hickey 2003: 266). The last known author representing the seventeenth century is John Dunton with "Report of a sermon" from 1698. Dunton was British, but moved between Ireland and London (Bliss 1979: 60), and the text included in the CIE is based on a sermon that was held at a funeral (Hickey 2003: 261).

The next ten authors represent the eighteenth century in then the CIE. John Durant Breval wrote *The play is the plot* in 1718. He was son of a French protestant, and he was not known to have any other connection to Ireland than his interest for the country (Bliss 1979: 67). However, one of the characters in the play is Irish, Machone, and his speech can be seen in the passage that is included in the CIE (Hickey 2003: 266). Susanna Centlivre is the first female author represented in the CIE. She wrote *A wife well managed* in 1715. She was "probably born in Ireland, but moved to London after the death of her parents" (Bliss 1979: 66). William Congreve wrote *The way of the world* in 1700. Congreve was born in Yorkshire, but he got his education in Ireland. The next author is George Farquhar, who was born in

Derry, Ulster. He has written two dramas that are represented in the CIE, *The twin rivals* in 1702/1703 and *The beaux' stratagem* in 1707. Oliver Goldsmith is the author of *She stoops to conquer* (1773). He was born in County Longford, Ireland and studied in Scotland, the Netherlands and elsewhere before he moved to London in 1765. *She stoops to conquer* was his second play (Welsh 1996: 219). *Ireland preserved* was written by John Michelburne in 1705. Michelburne was born in Sussex, England, but moved to Ireland, where he was joint Governor during the siege of Derry in 1689 (Welsh 1996: 366). Next is Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who is the author of *The school for scandal* and *St. Patrick's day or The scheming lieutenant* written in 1777 and 1775, the first being his masterpiece. Sheridan was born in Dublin, and was son of Thomas Sheridan. Thomas Sheridan was also born in Ireland, but got his education in London. He is the author of *The brave Irishman* (1743) which is also included in this corpus (Welsh 1996: 519-21). Jonathan Swift wrote *A dialogue in Hybernian stile* in 1735. Swift "was interested in and gifted with manipulating language, particularly for his satirical ends" (Hickey 2003: 262). Moreover, "concern with Ireland and matters Irish by major writers begins with Swift" (Hickey 2003: 270). Peadar Ó Doirnín was a poet from the first half of the eighteenth century. The poem, "Muiris Ó Gormáin", is in Irish, but since there were some lines in English, it was included in the CIE. Ó Doirnín spent his life as a schoolmaster, and the poem tells about another schoolmaster who was a rival (Hickey 2003: 262).

The next period that is included in the CIE is the nineteenth century. First out is Dion Boucicault who is represented in the CIE with three drama texts, *Arrah na pogue* from 1864, *The colleen bawn* from 1860 and *The shaughraun from 1875.* The plays have stereotypical portrayals of Irish figures and "represent the speech of Irish drama before the Irish Literary Renaissance and Lady Gregory" (Hickey 2003: 273). Boucicault was from Dublin, educated in London and later moved to America where he wrote the plays. Lady Augusta Gregory is the author of four dramas represented in the CIE, *Hanrahan's oath*, *On the racecourse*, *Spreading the news* and *The workhouse ward.* Lady Gregory was of "Anglo-Protestant landed gentry stock from Co. Galway," and she was "one of the leading figures of the Irish Literary Renaissance" (Hickey 2003: 273). Oscar Wilde is also represented in the CIE with *The importance of being Earnest* from 1899. Wilde was born in Dublin and started his education in Ireland and continued his studies at Oxford (Welsh 1996: 599). William Butler Yeats is represented in the CIE with *The Countess Cathleen* and *Cathleen ni Houlihan* written in 1899 and 1902 (Welsh 1996: 609). Maria Edgeworth is the author of the novel *Castle Rackrent, an Hibernian tale* from 1801. She was born in England, and later moved to County Longford in

Ireland. There are dialogues in Irish English in the novel, which is why it is included in the CIE (Hickey 2003: 271). John Banim and Michael Banim were born and educated in Ireland. In 1822 they decided to work together writing stories about the native Irish, and *Tales of the O'Hara family*, which is included in the CIE, was written in 1825-26. William Carleton wrote *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry* in 1830-33. There are three tales from this collection that is presented in the CIE, and these are "Ned M'Keown", "The three tasks" and "Shane Fadh's wedding". Carleton was born in County Tyrone, he became protestant and was in favour of the union with Great Britain.

The last period in the CIE is the twentieth century, represented by four male authors, all of whom are born in Dublin. Brendan Behan is the author of *The quare fellow* (1956) and *The hostage* (1959). The former is based on the time he spent in prison, while *The hostage* is a play concerning the relationship with Britain and national feelings (Hickey 2003: 276). Sean O'Casey was also born in Dublin but moved to England to live. He is the author of *The shadow of a gunman* (1923), *Juno and the paycock* (1924), *The plough and the stars* (1926) and *The silver tassie* (1928). He used the Dublin dialect to try to portray genuine speech in his plays (Hickey 2003: 275). Also George Bernard Shaw moved to England in his early years, where he spent the rest of his life. He did not use Irish speech explicitly in more than one of his plays, which was *John Bull's other island* (1904). Consequently, this is the only play that is included in the CIE. The last author representing the twentieth century is John Millington Synge. The plays by Synge that are included in the CIE are *The shadow of the glen* (1903), *Riders to the sea* (1904), *The playboy of the western world* (1907), *The tinkers' wedding* (1907) and *Deirdre of the sorrows* (1909).

All in all, there were two female authors of Anglo-Irish origin and one of British origin. Centlivre representing the eighteenth century and Edgeworth and Lady Gregory representing the nineteenth century. There are a total of 26 male authors represented in the CIE. There were 11 male authors of Irish origin, representing the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century. There were 13 male authors of Anglo-Irish and British origin. The period with most authors of Irish origin was the nineteenth century, and there were most authors of Anglo-Irish origin in the eighteenth century.

4.1.2.2 Period

The CIE covers a wide time span, starting at the end of the medieval period and including texts from all centuries up to the twentieth. The next part will be used to give a brief history, including some of the linguistic implications from these periods. Even though there were not

many tokens from the earliest periods, these will be described nevertheless. The lack of tokens might also be an indication of how the DMs were used or not used as it may imply when the DMs became a part of the Irish English vocabulary. This historical outline will be based on Corrigan's presentation of the Irish history (2010: chapter 5).

Ireland's first contact with the Anglo-Normans occurred between the 1170s and the early thirteenth century. Then it was also restricted to Antrim and Down, other places that were affected were concentrated on the east coast of Ireland (Corrigan 2010: 109). Carrickfergus Castle in Antrim was one of the buildings that was built as a strategic fortification, and is still an important feature of the landscape. This was a "springboard for the subsequent development of manorial lands and demesnes" Corrigan 2010: 110). An important event that that took place in the sixteenth century was the 'Reformation Parliament' (1529-36) (Corrigan 2010: 111). Some of the "descendants of the medieval Anglo-Normans in Ulster had acculturated to Gaelic lifestyles, which government edicts like the infamous 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny had not prevented" (Corrigan 2010: 111). The Statutes of Kilkenny were introduced to force the Irish-speaking population and the French-speaking lords to use English (Hickey 2002: 10), but also to force people of English origin to speak English.

The linguistic implications in the medieval period and the sixteenth century are affected by the use of Latin as it was the lingua franca in the Church of Rome, and has been used alongside Old Irish since Christianity was introduced (Corrigan 2010: 112). Latin was also the high language shared by Anglo-Norman and Gaelic chieftains with a monastic or bardic system of education. English and Gaelic were low languages (Corrigan 2010: 113). However, both English and Norman French became essential in the Anglo-Norman urban settlements during the reign of Elizabeth I. In places outside these urban places, the Anglo-Normans became more assimilated to the Irish, in relation to language, legal and socio-political structures (Corrigan 2010: 114).

The last years of the sixteenth century were affected by the Nine Years War (1594-1603). In 1603, James VI of Scotland became King of England. New English and Scottish tenants settled in southern Antrim and northern Down in 1606, which led to changes and demographic division between ethnic groups in Ulster (Corrigan 2010: 115). During the seventeenth century, British planter populations brought "new possibilities for language / dialect contact and mixing in Ulster that would be on a scale beyond anything that the region had witnessed in its earlier history" (Corrigan 2010: 117). The Jacobite plan was to "ensure that the Ulster settlement would be secured from future rebellion" (Corrigan 2010: 117).

Consequently, the British planters were supposed to establish new towns and garrisons and avoid any contact with the Irish.

Nevertheless, there did not seem to be place for any linguistic or cultural assimilation outside urban centres (Corrigan 2010: 118). As Corrigan, with reference to Robinson (1994: 147), puts it:

> Irish monolingualism and a 'distinctive identity' persisted even in those rural areas that were densely populated with the new British and that this was especially so in the poorer areas like the slopes of the Glens, Sperrins and Slieve Gullion where Irish now congregated. (Corrigan 2010: 118)

In 1851, census was performed, which gave an indication of where the different population groups were established based on their surnames (Corrigan 2010: 119). Based on these numbers, it seems as if the southern Ulster English (SUE) dialect zone was well established (Corrigan 2010: 120).

Corrigan has described the period from the eighteenth century through to the first half of the twentieth century as marked by two processes:

> (a) increased contact between the language / dialect groups because of improved communications in addition to far-reaching economic, political and social changes
>
> (b) the further dislocations which affected the native Irish resulting from the Catholic expulsions of the 1790s and the loss of life and migration associated with the Famine period. (2010: 121)

The eighteenth century has often been referred to as the 'Age of Enlightenment', and was also a century of improvement in Ulster. Linen production became a good industry in villages that were near rivers, roads and canals. Linen production led to commercial manufacture and international trade, which again led to prosperity amongst the British planter populations in Ulster (Corrigan 2010: 122). Events such as the 1798 rebellion, as well as the linen production breaking down, led to emigration among Presbyterians from the Ulster Scots areas Corrigan 2010: 123).

The linguistic implications in the eighteenth century were affected by political events and industrial developments. Furthermore, Corrigan explains that the spread of English and Scots across the Mid Ulster English (MUE) zone has been favoured due to these events (Corrigan 2010: 123). Considering the population in the SUE zone, the majority remained

Irish monoglots. The Ulster Scots (US) zone was not fully infiltrated by the English before the twentieth century (Corrigan 2010: 124).

The nineteenth century started with the Act of Union in 1801. Shipbuilding and heavy industry led to further growth of the urban settlements on the east coast and in the Lagan valley (Corrigan 2010: 124). The Great Famine started in the late 1840s which caused internal migration and emigration. Due to starvation and epidemics that followed the famine, almost one million people in Ireland died. Furthermore, during the years 1845-55 two million people emigrated. Corrigan (2010) states that the unstable conditions with population decline and displacement, was also a trigger in linguistic destabilisation.

Today, Irish is an official language in Ireland along with English. However, most of the Irish population are English monolinguals (Crystal 1995: 336).

4.1.2.3 Genre

The third factor group is genre. The main genre in the CIE is drama, but there are texts in the novel, prose, poetry and varia genres as well. As could be seen in table 2.1, varia was the only genre in the medieval period, while drama was the only genre in the sixteenth century. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had texts in the drama and the varia genres. The nineteenth century was the only period that had texts in the novel and prose genres, as well as the drama genre. The drama genre is the only one in the twentieth century. The genres are included as an independent variable as the texts originally were divided into genre in the corpus and to see whether genre is a significant factor in the use of the DMs. In the following sections, I will give a description of the genres and try to explain the relevance of these genres and the use of DMs.

Texts from the medieval period all belong to the poetry genre, but this is also the only period where poetry is represented as a separate genre. The varia group consists of sermons, prayers and other text within the poetic genre. There is no reason to believe there are many occurrences of the DMs in poetry as this is not an oral genre and normally poems do not include dialogue or any other form of discourse.

In the *Oxford English Dictionary* 'drama' is described as "A composition in prose or verse, adapted to be acted upon a stage, in which a story is related by means of dialogue and action, and is represented with accompanying gesture, costume, and scenery, as in real life; a play" (OED, s.v. *drama*). Carter and McRae have noted that "in a drama script what we read is largely only dialogue" (2001: 315), which makes drama to a large extent an oral genre. As a result it is likely that there will be more use of the discourse markers *sure* and *surely* here than

in the more written genres. One of the dramas represented in the CIE is *She stoops to conquer* by Oliver Goldsmith, a story where the heroine 'stoops' to a lower level to 'conquer' the hero in the story as he is more comfortable talking to servants and barmaids (Carter and McRae 2001: 176).

Varia is a genre that is only represented in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and has texts which do not fit into the other genres. These are sermons, prayers, etc. and some of the texts in this genre are not written in Irish English. This may also be a reason why there are no occurrences of the DMs in this genre.

There is only one novel in the CIE, which is written by the Irish author Maria Edgeworth. A novel is described as "[a] long fictional prose narrative, usually filling one or more volumes and typically representing character and action with some degree of realism and complexity; a book containing such a narrative" (OED, s.v. *novel*).

According to the OED, prose is described as a "story" or a "narrative", but also "[l]anguage in the form in which it is typically written (or spoken), usually characterized as having no deliberate metrical structure (in contrast with *verse* or *poetry*)." (OED, s.v. *prose*). This group may also have a higher percentage than novel and varia since there are many dialogues and a more oral language.

4.1.2.4 Gender

The fourth independent variable is gender. Gender has been considered a factor when it comes to language use. I have therefore included the gender of the author as a variable in this study. There are 26 male writers represented in the CIE and only 3 female writers. The outcome of the analysis of gender can therefore only be considered an indication and not an absolute result. Of the female authors, Lady Gregory and Edgeworth were of Anglo-Irish origin and Centlivre was of British origin. Then again, as authors of British and Anglo-Irish origin have been combined, all of the female authors represent the same origin. The female writers are represented with a total of six texts in the corpus. Centlivre, who is British, has written one drama represented in the CIE. Lady Gregory is the author of four dramas in the CIE and Edgeworth is the author of the only novel. The male authors are represented in all of the periods and genres except in the novel genre. Eight of the writers are unknown and these are concentrated in the varia genre and three texts from the earlier periods of drama.

4.1.2.5 Characters' gender

The fifth independent variable is the character's gender. Whether the author is male or female, he or she might vary the way (s)he writes for female and male characters. And as language use may vary according to the gender of the author, the characters' gender may also affect the use of the DMs. The characters' use can also be an indication of how the DMs are typically used as characters often represent certain stereotypes. However, since DMs may also occur in normative text, narrative has been included in addition to 'female' and 'male' character.

4.1.2.6 Clause position

The different clause positions in this study have been included based on previous research as well as through observations of the occurrences in the corpus. A previous study that has been consulted is Amador Moreno's study of Irish English features in novels by Patrick MacGill. Her study, in addition to that by Walshe and Aijmer, were described in chapter 3.

The first position in which one might find DMs such as *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants is initially. *Sure* has been described as one of the most common opening words in Irish English (Dolan 2006: 231). Therefore, there is reason to believe that *sure* will occur in initial position. In this position it may also introduce an existential construct, be placed in front of an interrogative or in front of *and + verb phrase*. One might also find the DM between the subject and the verb or within a verb phrase. The DMs might also occur clause finally, as observed in Walshe's study (Walshe 2009: 122).

Some of the clause positions were collapsed based on the lack of tokens. The clause position 'introducing existential construct' was included in the initial clause position. Other positions that were coded as clause initially were the DMs that occurred in front of an interrogative of in front of *and + verb phrase*. The DMs that were found between the subject and the verb were coded as clause medial. The remaining positions after these changes were, clause initially, medially and finally. The distribution of the DMs by clause position can be seen in table 5.7.

4.1.2.7 Usage

Table 4.1 shows the different types of usages that have been included in this study. The first usage a DM may have is as an emphatic marker of agreement. The DMs might also be emphatic markers of negation. The DMs can be used as reinforcing elements of 'aye' or 'yes,' or they can be a used as reinforcing elements of agreement using verb/auxiliary. Since there are no exact equivalents to *yes* and *no* in Irish (Filppula 1999: 161-166), *reinforcing element*

of agreement using verb/auxiliary has been added as a type of use. This usage was later collapsed with the reinforcing elements of agreement using verb/auxiliary, and was then called reinforcing element of agreement. Moreover, *sure* might suggest contrast or be a marker of cause, in which case it might be replaced by 'because'. Lastly, *sure* may introduce an existential construct. These different usages have been based on observations in the corpus, and on the outcome of Amador Moreno's study (2006).

An emphatic marker is "(i)mparting or expressing emphasis" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 134) and may mark agreement or negation. In Amador Moreno's study of McGill's novels, she found that the marker had an emphatic force in most of the examples (Amador Moreno 2005: 86). In the unlikely event that there are too few occurrences of *sure* as an emphatic marker, they might be collapsed. According to Amador Moreno's observation *surely* is also used as an emphasizer (Amador Moreno 2005: 91). Finally, *sure* may also introduce an existential construction, which means that it may typically be "used to express a proposition that someone or something exists" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 142).

4.1.2.8 Type of clause

The last variable that is included for this analysis of *sure* is type of clause. DMs may occur in different types of sentences, and since they might occur more than once in a sentence, the DMs will be analysed according to the clause they are in. Three types of clauses have been included and these are affirmative declarative, negative declarative and interrogative. The interrogative was divided into positive and negative interrogative clauses, but these were collapsed as there were few examples. The declarative clauses were divided into affirmative and negative clauses.

Amador Moreno, states that *sure* can occur in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences (2006). An affirmative sentence is stating that a fact is as it is (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 16), and that in an affirmative declarative the subject precedes the verb (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 103). An interrogative clause is a questioning clause. An illustration of a negative interrogative clause can be seen in example (9) below. According to Chalker and Weiner a tag is a "(s)hort phrase or clause added on to an already complete utterance" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 393). One type of tag that may occur in the texts in CIE is "to add an exclamatory comment" (Chalker and Weiner 1998: 393). Hickey described a tag as a statement that is "turned into a question by placing a verb with reverse polarity at the end of the sentence" (Hickey 2007: 152). However, there were few occurrences where *sure, surely*

and the ‘other’ variants were tags, and this ‘clause type’ was therefore collapsed with the clause type to which it was attached.

(7) TRAMP I would **surely**. A man that's dead can do no hurt. (Synge 1903: 4)

(8) PHILLY Twist yourself. **Sure** he cannot hurt you if you keep your distance from his teeth alone. (Synge 1907: 52)

(9) Isn't it true, **surely**, she's an old, flagrant heathen, would destroy the world? (Synge 1909: 9)

Example (7) illustrates how *surely* is used in an affirmative declarative clause. Here the DM occurs clause initially. Example (8) shows the use of *sure* clause initially in a negative declarative clause. The positive and negative interrogative clauses were coded as interrogative as there were few occurrences of the DMs in these clauses. Example (9) shows *surely* used in a negative interrogative clause.

4.2 Hypotheses

I am going to study the DMs *sure, surely* and the ‘other’ variants, and investigate whether or not the DMs are used as more than emphatic markers in Irish English. Based on descriptions of *sure* and *surely* in Irish English dictionaries and outcomes of previous studies, I will examine if those are valid regardless of period, origin or gender. Is there a difference in the use of *sure* as a DM by authors of Anglo-Irish or Irish origin? As *sure* is not used as a DM in other variations of English, this use may originate from Irish, which would suggest that *sure* should be mainly used by authors of Irish origin. Also, has there been a change in the use of *sure, surely* or the ‘other’ variants as DMs in Irish English through history?

Based on the study of Irish English by Amador Moreno, I will study which discourse functions *sure* can have in Irish English. Her analysis illustrated that *sure* was a typical emphatic marker that tends to occur in initial position. Walshe’s study of Irish English in films gave similar results. Thus, there is reason to assume that the majority of the examples of *sure* will be clause initial and have an emphatic effect.

There is a majority of male writers, but as there are three female writers in the CIE, I will see if there is a significant difference in their use of the DMs. The characters’ gender will also be considered to get a better perception of the potential differences.

Sure, *surely* and the ‘other’ variants are more likely to occur in dialogues or monologues than in plain text, as these are discourse markers. Accordingly, they are expected

to occur more frequently in the oral genres like drama. The novel and the prose texts that are included in the corpus are also rather oral and contain a great deal of dialogue. The previous studies that are used as reference here were also performed on oral genres, film scripts and novels.

According to Aijmer's study of *surely*, more than half of its occurrences were clause initially (Aijmer 2008: 135). It may therefore be assumed that *surely* will predominantly occur in the initial position. *Sure* and *surely* is hypothesised to be an emphatic marker of agreement (common knowledge or emphasising the 'truth' of an utterance) rather than a marker of negation. Moreover, it is also likely to find *surely* in contexts suggesting contrast, based on the previous study by Aijmer.

The DMs will also be studied in relation to the clause in which they occur. The different clauses have been divided into three groups: affirmative declarative, negative declarative and interrogative. Based on the previous studies indicating that *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants are positive markers, it is expected that the DMs mainly will occur in affirmative declarative clauses.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

Results from the study will be presented in this chapter, beginning with a description of the outcome and exclusions. Due to KnockOuts (KO), which occur when there is a "value of 0 or 100 per cent in a cell" (Tagliamonte 2006: 265), some variables had to be recoded. The dependent variables were changed from six into three groups, which means that all other occurrences than *sure* and *surely* were collapsed into the same group, called the 'other' variants. Since there were only three tokens extracted from texts by British authors, these were added to tokens extracted from Anglo-Irish authors. Considering the origin of the Anglo-Irish authors as well as the use of Irish English by the British authors, these were the most suitable for collapse. Initially, there were seven clause positions, but due to the lack of tokens representing the different positions, some of them have been combined. Instead of dividing into "sure + interrogative", "sure + and + VP" and DM "introducing existential construct", these instances are now part of the group of DMs that occur in initial position.

Some other clause positions were also collapsed due to KO. There were too few tokens where DMs were situated between the verb and the object as well as within a verb phrase, and these positions had to be collapsed. Another position that was included in this collapse was DMs situated between the subject and the verb. The last clause position was not collapsed due to KO, but was considered more appropriate. These three clause positions were, therefore, changed to clause medially

The meaning or usage the DMs seemed to have in the different clauses, were initially divided into six groups, but after eliminating and collapsing some of them there are four remaining usages. Due to few examples, the DMs that were used as reinforcing elements of "aye"/"yes", were collapsed with the reinforcing elements of agreement using verb/auxiliary. Furthermore, there were no tokens where DMs were used as markers of cause or introducing an existential construct. The last variable that was changed because of KO was the type of clause in which the DMs occur. Positive interrogative and negative interrogative clauses were collapsed.

The tables illustrating the distribution of the DMs by factor groups will be described and tested with a chi-square test. Then, a description of the findings of the Goldvarb analyses, the binomial varbrul and the cross-tabulations, will be illustrated and commented. First, there

will be a brief paragraph about the exclusions that were done during the process. Then the distribution of the DMs will be described and illustrated in tables. The percentages shown in the tables are column percentages and have been rounded up or down to the next full number.

5.1.1 Exclusions

I found only four relevant examples of *sure* in the medieval period and no occurrences of *surely* or the 'other' variants of *sure*. The examples that were found will be mentioned, but will not be included in further analysis. There were no occurrences of any of the DMs in texts from the sixteenth century. There were only two examples of *sure* as a DM and no other variants were present in the texts from the seventeenth century. Therefore, this period will be excluded as well. Moreover, the group of texts which was called varia did not show any use of the DMs, and will not be represented in the analysis. Hence, eighteenth century drama will be the first period and genre represented in this analysis.

Sure occurs sometimes as a reinforcing element of "aye" or "yes", but it might also be used without. Initially, these were coded separately, but were combined due to few examples.

5.1.1.1 I'm sure

I'm sure was considered to be a part of the DMs that would be studied at first, but was excluded after closer analysis. *I'm sure* may appear as a marker of discourse, however, the meaning often changes if extracted from a clause.

> (1) and you do look so delightfully ugly - I'm sure no one will find you out (Sheridan 18th: 17)

> (2) TONY I'm sure I always lov'd cousin Con's hazle eyes (Goldsmith 1773: 12)

5.2 Distribution of discourse markers

The overall distribution of the discourse markers *sure*, *surely* and the others is illustrated by the 593 tokens extracted from the texts in the CIE dated from the eighteenth century till the twentieth century.

Table 5.1

Total distribution of the discourse markers, *sure*, *surely* and other

sure		surely		'other'	
N	%	N	%	N	%
256	43	193	33	144	24
Total N			593		

Table 5.1 shows the distribution of the DMs. The majority of the tokens are occurrences of *sure* with 256 tokens out of 593. *Surely* was the DM that was used in 33% of the occurences. The other DMs containing *sure*, such as *to be sure*, *sure enough, but sure*, and *no sure,* represented 24% of the tokens.

In the following, there is a description of the distribution of DMs based on the variables used for this analysis. In table 5.2 one can see the percentage of DMs divided by the origin of the authors.

5.2.1 Origin of the authors

There were only three tokens written by British authors, where two of the tokens were examples of *sure* as DM while the third was an example of other use of *sure*. Since the British authors seemed to have some connection to or extraordinary interest in Irish English and Ireland, these authors were included in the group of Anglo-Irish authors. Below, table 5.2 shows the distribution of DMs divided into Irish and Anglo-Irish as well as the total percentage of tokens.

Table 5.2

Distribution of discourse markers by authors' origin

	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglo-Irish	100	28	171	48	88	25	359	61
Irish	156	67	22	9	56	24	234	40

Table 5.2 shows that the majority of the examples were extracted from texts by Anglo-Irish authors. According to these numbers, the Anglo-Irish authors favour *surely* which is used in 48% of the tokens. *Sure* and the 'other' variants are used in 28 and 25% of the tokens by the Anglo-Irish authors. There are a total of 234 occurrences in texts by the Irish authors, which represents 40% of the overall tokens. The DM *sure* is the variant that is mainly used by the authors of Irish origin with 67%. The 'other' variants are used in 24% of the tokens, and *surely* is used in only 9% of the tokens. According to the chi-square test of this table, the chi-square was 113.067, with a degree of freedom at 2, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level.

5.2.2 Period

Three periods, the medieval period, the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, were excluded based on the lack of tokens extracted from them. In table 5.3 below the distribution of DMs from the eighteenth to the twentieth century will be presented.

Table 5.3

Distribution of discourse markers by period (centuries)

	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
18th	48	44	4	4	57	53	109	18
19th	126	55	26	11	76	33	228	38
20th	82	32	163	64	11	4	256	43

Table 5.3 shows that the number of tokens increases from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. There were 109 tokens extracted from the eighteenth century, 228 tokens from the nineteenth century and 256 tokens from the twentieth century. According to the table, the 'other' variants seemed to be preferred in the eighteenth century with 53%, followed by *sure* with 44% of the tokens. *Sure* was the DM that was used in the majority of tokens extracted from texts from the nineteenth century. Here, *sure* made up 55% of the occurrences, followed by the 'other' variants with 33%. The majority of occurrences extracted from the twentieth century were with *surely. Surely* occurred in 64% of the tokens, and was followed by *sure* with 32%. The 'other' category accounted for just 4% of the tokens in the twentieth century. The chi-square test of this factor group indicated a chi-square of 235.564, the degree of freedom was 4, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level.

5.2.3 Genre

After exclusions of the varia and poetry genres based on the lack of tokens, three genres were included in these analyses. These genres are drama, novel and prose, although drama is the only genre that is present in all of the periods that is included in this study.

Table 5.4

Distribution of discourse markers by genre

	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Drama	224	46	185	38	80	16	489	83
Prose	20	34	6	10	33	56	59	10
Novel	12	27	2	4	31	69	45	8

Table 5.4 shows drama is the best represented genre in my study, with a total of 83% of all the data. Novel and prose are the smallest genres in the CIE making 8% and 10% of the tokens. Moreover, the novel and prose genres are only represented in the 19th century. *Sure* is the DM that is mostly used in the drama genre, with 46% of the tokens. *Surely* was used in 38% of the tokens extracted from the drama texts, while only 16% were occurrences of the 'other' variants. In the genres prose and novel, other variants of *sure* as DM were used most, representing 56% of the tokens in prose and 69% of the tokens in the novel.

This table gave a chi-square of 102.846, a degree of freedom at 4, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level.

5.2.4 Gender

There were not many female authors represented in the CIE, however, 73 tokens have been extracted from texts by female authors and will be considered in this analysis.

Table 5.5

Distribution of discourse markers by the authors' gender

	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	223	43	187	36	110	21	520	88
Female	33	45	6	8	34	47	73	12

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of the DMs by the gender of the authors. The majority of the tokens were extracted from male authors, making 88% of the 593 tokens. Based on the table, the male authors seemed to favour *sure* over the other DMs with 43%, but *surely* followed with 36% of the tokens by the male authors. The female authors used 'other' variants of *sure* in 47% of the tokens, closely followed by the use of *sure* in 45% of the tokens. This table gave a chi-square of 32.253, which was not significant.

5.2.5 Character's gender

The characters' gender was divided into female and male. When the DMs were not uttered by a character, but used as part of the narration, tokens were coded as 'not applicable'. Below, table 5.6 will show the distribution of the DMs by the characters' gender.

Table 5.6

Distribution of discourse markers by the characters' gender								
	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	169	48	99	28	81	23	349	59
Female	80	42	87	46	24	13	191	32
Not applicable	7	13	7	13	39	74	53	9

Table 5.6 shows that the majority of the DMs were uttered by male characters, making 59% of the tokens. The female characters are responsible for 32% of the use of the DMs, while 9% of the tokens were coded as not applicable. This indicates that most of the tokens extracted from the texts in the CIE were part of a dialogue or a monologue rather than occurring in the narrative. *Sure* seemed to be the DM that was preferred by the male characters as it was used in 48% of the tokens. *Surely* and the 'other' variants were used in 28 and 23% of the tokens by male characters. The DM that was preferred by female characters was *surely,* which occurred in 46% of the tokens. *Sure* was used in 42% of the utterances by female characters. The 'other' variants were used in 74% of the tokens extracted outside discourse. The chi-square test of this factor group gave a chi-square of 95.229, 4 as degree of freedom, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level.

5.2.6 Clause position

As described in the introduction, some of the initial clause positions have been combined, and the tokens were divided into three groups. Consequently, the token have been coded according to where the DM is situated: clause initially, clause finally, or within the clause. The distribution of the DMs by clause position will be illustrated in table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7

Distribution of discourse markers by clause position								
	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial	240	67	35	10	83	23	358	60
Final	13	6	155	69	56	25	224	38
Medial	3	27	3	27	5	46	11	2

Table 5.7 shows that the DMs tend to occur clause initially, as they do in 60% of the tokens. *Sure* is the variant that mainly occurs clause initially, making 67%. The 'other' variants occur

in initial position in 23% of the tokens, and *surely* is only used in 10%. *Surely* is the DM that occurs mostly in final position with 69%. The 'other' variants make up 25% of the DMs that occur clause finally. The DMs that are used mostly clause medially are the 'other' variants. These occur in 46% of the medial tokens, while *sure* and *surely* are both used in 27% of these tokens, but the numbers of medial tokens are small.

When testing the numbers of the distribution of the DMs per clause position, the chi-square was 272.165, the degree of freedom was 4, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level. In contrast to the other chi-square tests that had status as 'okay', the status of this test stated that "[a]t least 20% of expected frequencies are less than 5" (Preacher: online). That was the status due to the few occurrences of *sure* and *surely* in medial position.

5.2.7 Usage

After collapsing and excluding some factors, there were four types of usages that were considered relevant in the study of these DMs. These were emphatic marker of agreement, emphatic marker of negation, clauses suggesting contrast, and reinforcing element of "aye"/"yes" or of agreement using verb/auxiliary. Table 5.8 below illustrates the distribution of the DMs by usage. The percentages in this table illustrate the distribution of each DM, which differ from the other tables that gives the percentages per independent variable.

Table 5.8

Distribution of discourse markers by usage

	sure		surely		'other'	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Emph. agr.	128	50	155	80	98	68
Reinforc. agr.	63	25	17	9	24	17
Emph. neg.	57	22	14	7	11	8
Contrast	8	3	7	4	11	8
Total	256	43	193	33	144	24

Table 5.8 shows that the DMs are used primarily as emphatic markers of agreement, with a total of 64%. *Sure* is predominantly used as an emphatic marker of agreement with 50%, but it is also frequently used as a reinforcing element of agreement and as an emphatic marker of negation, counting 25% and 22%. *Sure* was only used for suggesting contrast in 3% of the occurrences. *Surely* was primarily used as an emphatic marker of agreement with 80% of the occurrences, and only occurred a few times in other usages. The 'other' variants of the DMs also occurred most as emphatic markers of agreement in 68% of the tokens. They were used

as reinforcing elements of agreement or reinforcing "aye" or "yes" in 17% of the occurrences. The 'other' variants were only used as emphatic markers of negation and as markers suggesting contrast in 8% of the tokens.

The chi-square of this table was 59.771, the degree of freedom was 6, and the test is significant at the 0.01 level.

5.2.8 Type of clause

The last variable that was coded and analysed was type of clause. This variable was added to see in which clause types the DMs would occur the most. These types were affirmative declarative, negative declarative, and interrogative. There were too few examples of interrogative clauses, and, therefore, they have not been divided into positive and negative interrogatives.

Table 5.9

Distribution of discourse markers by clause type

	sure		surely		'other'		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Aff. decl.	187	38	175	36	130	26	492	83
Neg. decl.	62	72	12	14	12	14	86	15
Interrogative	7	47	6	40	2	13	15	3

Table 5.9 shows the distribution of the DMs by the type of clause in which they occur. The type of clause that was best represented among the tokens extracted was the affirmative declarative clause which counted for 83% of the tokens, 15% occurred in negative declarative clauses and 3% in interrogative clauses. *Sure* occurred in 38% of the affirmative declarative clauses, followed by *surely* with 36% and the 'other' variants with 26%. The DM that was used in the majority of the negative declarative clauses was *sure* with 72%. *Surely* and the 'other' variants were both used in 14% of the negative declarative clauses. In the interrogative clauses, *sure* was also the most frequently used DM, as it occurred in 47% of the tokens. *Surely* was used in 40% of the tokens in interrogative clauses, and the 'other' variants occurred in 13%.

The chi-square was set to 35.963, the degree of freedom was 4 and the p-value was 2.9e-7. The low number of this chi-square test indicates that this factor group is not

significant on its own. In resemblance to the test of clause position, this test had the status: "At least 20% of expected frequencies are less than 5" (Preacher: online)

5.2.9 Comparison of the factors

The previous paragraphs have given an impression of the results. However, it is important to compare and see all of the results as one. This comparison will be based on the binomial one-step analysis and the binomial step-up/step-down analysis. The former is a "type of variable rule analysis in which all groups and all cells are treated at the same time" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263). While the latter is a "type of variable rule analysis in which computations are done one step at a time with different configurations of factor groups" (Tagliamonte 2006: 263). These analyses can only be used after eliminating singletons and KOs. As these analyses can only analyse one dependent variable at a time, *sure*, *surely,* and the other DMs were analysed separately.

Results from the binomial one-step analyses will be described first. The log likelihood of *sure* was -227.879, when the novel and prose genres were combined, the log likelihood changed to -228.255. This was a change for the worse considering the log likelihood. In the binomial one-step analysis of *surely,* the log likelihood was -143.683. When the prose and novel genres were combined, the log likelihood changed to -144.122. The analysis of the other variations gave a log likelihood of -197.724, which changed to -198.253 when the two genres were combined.

When *sure* was analysed, one set of codes gave a great difference between the model and the actual data, which is shown in the example's error. A high error "may mean that there is interaction between factor groups or that 'a particular lexical item is exerting an undue influence' (Young and Bayley 1996: 272)" (Tagliamonte 1996: 221). What is considered high here might also be discussed, but I will consider the numbers below as high errors. Table 5.10 illustrates the highest errors in the binomial one-step analysis of *sure*.

Table 5.10

Binomial one-step analysis of *sure*				
Cell	Total	App'ns	Expected	Error
acdmffra	2	2	0.152	24.243
aedmniaa	2	2	0.241	14.571

Table 5.10 shows the two highest errors in the binomial one level analysis of *sure*, the highest being an error of 24.243, followed by an error of 14.571. The cell shows the combinations of

factors that give the error. The combination of factors that give the highest error in the analysis of *sure* is; an author of Anglo-Irish origin with a text representing the eighteenth century drama genre, male author and female character, *sure* in final position as a reinforcing element of agreement in an affirmative declarative clause.

Table 5.11

Binomial one-step analysis of *surely*				
Cell	Total	App'ns	Expected	Error
acdmfiaa	13	3	0.148	55.420
hdpmfinn	2	1	0.040	23.224

Table 5.11 shows that the highest error in the anaysis of *surely* was 55.420. The first cell shows the combination of an author of Anglo-Irish origin from the eighteenth century, a token extracted from the drama genre by a male author and a female character, the DM occurred in clause initial position as an emphatic marker of agreement in an affirmative declarative clause.

Table 5.12

Binomial one-step analysis of the 'other' variants				
Cell	Total	App'ns	Expected	Error
aedmmira	7	2	0.161	21.517
hedmfira	2	1	0.065	13.855

Table 5.12 shows the combinations that give the highest errors in the analysis of the 'other' variants, the highest being 21.517. The factors that are listed in the first cell are; Anglo-Irish author, twentieth century, drama genre, male author and character, initial clause position, reinforcing element of agreement, and an affirmative declarative clause.

The best stepping up run of *sure* showed a log likelihood of -228.145 and significance of 0.00. Below, table 5.13 illustrates the best stepping-up run of this analysis. This run illustrates the distribution of *sure* in the significant variables. These variables are the author's origin, genre, gender, character's gender, clause position and meaning the DM adds to a clause. Table 5.13 also illustrates the number of *sure* occurring in each of the different factor groups as well as the percentage out of the total of occurrences.

Table 5.13

Best binomial stepping-up run of *sure*			
Significance	0.00		
Log likelihood	-228.145		
Total number	256		
	Factor weight	N	%
Clause position			
Initial	0.78	240	40
Medial	0.42	3	1
Final	0.12	13	2
Origin			
Anglo-Irish	0.33	100	17
Irish	0.74	156	26
Genre			
Drama	0.57	224	38
Prose	0.26	20	3
Novel	0.14	12	2
Gender			
Female	0.88	223	38
Male	0.43	33	6
Character's gender			
Female	0.58	80	13
Male	0.52	169	28
Not applicable	0.16	7	1
Usage			
Emphatic marker of agreement	0.46	128	22
Emphatic marker of negation	0.72	57	10
Reinforcing el. of agreement	0.58	63	11
Suggesting contrast	0.13	8	1

The binomial analysis of *sure* showed that the most significant factor was the clause position, which clearly illustrated that *sure* normally occurs in the initial position and it is least likely to occur in the final position. The number that points to the use of *sure* clause initially is 0.78 and there were 240 occurrences of *sure* in the initial position. In contrast, there were 13 occurrences of *sure* clause finally, and weighted that clause position to 0.12. The use of *sure* by authors of Irish origin was weighted 0.74, which is considerably higher than that of the Anglo-Irish authors. The genre that was weighted highest was drama with 0.57. Furthermore, the female authors tended to use *sure* more than the male authors. The use of *sure* by the female authors was also weighted more than that of the male characters, though not significantly. Considering this factor group, it was the use of *sure* in the narrative that was considerably lower than the characters' use. The last factor group that was considered significant in the best binomial stepping-up run of *sure* was the usage. The usage that was weighted highest was the emphatic marker of negation with 0.72, followed by the reinforcing

element of agreement and the emphatic marker of agreement. The occurrences of *sure* suggesting contrast were weighted lowest, with only 0.13. The period and the type of clause were factors that turned out to be insignificant in the analysis of *sure*.

The best binomial stepping-up run of *surely* gave a log likelihood of -144.080 and significance of 0.04. Below, table 5.14 illustrates the factor groups that were considered significant in the analysis of *surely.*

Table 5.14

	Best binomial stepping-up run of *surely*		
Significance	0.04		
Log likelihood	-144.080		
Total number	193		
	Factor weight	N	%
Clause position			
Initial	0.26	35	6
Medial	0.93	3	1
Final	0.82	155	26
Origin			
Anglo-Irish	0.77	171	29
Irish	0.14	22	4
Period			
18th	0.02	4	1
19th	0.71	26	4
20th	0.72	163	27
Genre			
Drama	0.56	185	31
Prose	0.34	6	1
Novel	0.14	2	0
Gender			
Female	0.04	6	1
Male	0.61	187	32
Usage			
Emphatic marker of agreement	0.58	155	26
Emphatic marker of negation	0.51	14	2
Reinforcing el. of agreement	0.17	17	3
Suggesting contrast	0.85	7	1

Table 5.14 shows that the most significant factor in the analysis of *surely* was clause position. *Surely* was weighted highest in medial position with 0.93, closely followed by *surely* occurring clause finally, which was weighted 0.82. The initial clause position was only weighted 0.26. Other factor groups that were significant in this analysis were origin of the authors, period, genre, gender and usage.

Surely was favoured by authors of Anglo-Irish origin, weighted 0.77. Considering the periods, the eighteenth century was significantly lower than the other periods as it was only weighted 0.02. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were weighted 0.71 and 0.72. As *sure, surely* occurred most in drama. Moreover, *surely* was used most by the male authors, which was weighted 0.61, in contrast to the female use that was weighted 0.04. The last factor group that was significant in this analysis was the usage. *Surely* occurred as an emphatic marker of agreement in 36% of the tokens, however, *surely* used for suggesting contrast was weighted highest. The weight indicating *surely* as an emphatic marker of agreement was 0.58. *Surely* used as a reinforcing element of agreement was weighted 0.17, which indicates that it was least likely to appear in that usage. Finally, the insignificant factors when analysing *surely* were the character's gender and type of clause.

Table 5.15 below, illustrates the best binomial stepping-up run the 'other' variants. This run gave a log likelihood of -200.646 and significance of 0.00.

Table 5.15

Best binomial stepping-up run of the 'other' variants			
Significance	0.00		
Log likelihood	-200.646		
Total number	144		
	Factor weight	N	%
Period			
18th	0.94	57	10
19th	0.52	76	13
20th	0.23	11	2
Genre			
Drama	0.41	80	13
Prose	0.81	33	6
Novel	0.90	31	5
Character's gender			
Female	0.37	24	4
Male	0.51	81	14
Not applicable	0.84	74	12
Clause position			
Initial	0.38	83	14
Medial	0.30	5	1
Final	0.69	56	9
Usage			
Emphatic marker of agreement	0.51	98	17
Emphatic marker of negation	0.23	11	2
Reinforcing el. of agreement	0.61	24	4
Suggesting contrast	0.84	11	2

Table 5.15 shows the factors that were considered significant in the analysis of the 'other' variants. Period was the most significant factor in this analysis. The eighteenth century was weighted 0.94, which indicates that the 'other' variants frequently occurred in tokens from that century. There was a decline in the use in the nineteenth century, where they were weighted 0.52, and in the twentieth century they were weighted 0.23. Other factor groups that were considered significant in the distribution of the 'other' variants were genre, the characters' gender, the clause position and the usage. The novel was the genre that was weighted highest with 0.9, followed by prose with a weight of 0.81. In contrast to *sure* and *surely*, the 'other' variants were used least in the drama texts. In addition, the 'other' variants were predominantly used in the narrative. The clause position that was weighted the highest was final, with 0.69. The 'other' variants were primarily used for suggesting contrast, which was weighted 0.84. They were used least as emphatic markers of negation. Factors that turned out to be insignificant were type of clause, gender and origin of the authors.

Cross tabulations showed which combinations of factors that were significant, considering both high and low numbers. Table 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18 will illustrate some of these combinations

Table 5.16

Distribution of the discourse markers in a cross-tabulation of origin and period

		Irish		Anglo-Irish		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
18th	sure	9	60	39	41	48	44
	surely	0	0	4	4	4	4
	other	6	40	51	54	57	52
	Total	15		94		109	
19th	sure	94	63	32	41	126	55
	surely	13	9	13	16	26	11
	other	42	28	34	43	76	33
	Total	149		79		228	
20th	sure	53	76	29	16	82	32
	surely	9	13	154	83	163	64
	other	8	11	3	2	11	4
	Total	70		186		256	
Total	sure	156	67	100	28	256	43
	surely	22	9	171	48	193	33
	other	56	24	88	25	144	24
	Total	234		359		593	

Table 5.16 shows the cross-tabulation of the two factor groups, period and origin. The percentages that are given in table 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18 are calculated within each group, suck as tokens by Irish authors in the eighteenth century is one group. Table 5.16 illustrates how the DMs that are represented in the 18th, 19th and 20th century as well as by the authors' origin. This cross-tabulation shows that there are few occurrences of the DMs in texts by Irish authors in the eighteenth century, and there are no occurrences of *surely*. There were 149 tokens by authors of Irish origin in the nineteeth century, which equal 25% of the total amount of tokens that were extracted. In total do authors of Irish origin favour the use of *sure* as a DM, which makes 26% of the 593 tokens that were extracted from the CIE. The majority of the tokens that were extracted from texts by Anglo-Irish authors were from the twentieth century. *Surely* was the DM that was frequently used by the Anglo-Irish authors, which represented 29% of the total occurrences. The 'other' variants were in 52% of the examples in the eighteenth century, which made up 40% of the total occurrences of the 'other' variants. *Sure* was used in the majority of the examples in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, *surely* was the most frequent DM by the Anglo-Irish authors. *Surely* was also the most numerous in the twentieth century.

There were few tokens extracted from texts by female authors, and this can be explained by the lack of female authors from the twentieth century, and few female authors representing the other periods. The majority of tokens from the female authors were in the nineteenth century where *sure* and the 'other' variants of *sure* were used most. The male authors seemed to favour the use of the 'other' variants in the eighteenth century, followed by the use of *sure*. In the nineteenth century *sure* was used in 60% of the occurrences while *surely* was mostly used in the twentieth century.

Below, table 5.17 illustrates the distribution of the DMs in a cross-tabulation of origin and usage. The majority of the DMs were used as emphatic markers of agreement and 64% of the tokens with *sure* were extracted from texts by authors of Irish origin. Considering the use of *sure* by the Irish authors, 53% of them were used as emphatic markers of agreement. The Anglo-Irish authors favoured the use of *surely* as an emphatic marker of agreement, while *sure* was only used in 19% of the tokens with this usage. The DM that was preferred as an emphatic marker of negation was *sure*. *Surely* and the 'other' variants were not used much by either of the origins. *Sure* was also favoured as a reinforcing element of agreement, although *surely* was used in some of the tokens by the Anglo-Irish authors. The 'other' variants were used most of the DMs suggesting contrast, which equalled 42% of the 26 tokens suggesting contrast.

Table 5.17

Distribution of the discourse markers in a cross-tabulation of origin and usage

		Irish		Anglo-Irish		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Emph.agr.	sure	82	61	46	19	128	34
	surely	14	10	141	57	155	41
	other	38	28	60	24	98	26
	Total	134		247		381	
Emph.neg.	sure	27	77	30	64	57	70
	surely	6	17	8	17	14	17
	other	2	6	9	19	11	13
	Total	35		47		82	
Reinf.agr.	sure	41	80	22	42	63	61
	surely	0	0	17	32	17	16
	other	10	20	14	26	24	23
	Total	51		53		104	
Contrast	sure	6	43	2	17	8	31
	surely	2	14	5	42	7	27
	other	6	43	5	42	11	42
	Total	14		12		26	
Total	sure	156	67	100	28	256	43
	surely	22	9	171	48	193	33
	other	56	24	88	25	144	24
	Total	234		359		593	

Moreover, the Irish authors seemed to use primarily *sure* in affirmative declarative clauses while the Anglo-Irish authors used *surely* more. This was also the case with the interrogative clauses. In negative declarative clauses all of them seemed to favour the use of *sure* which gave a total of 72% of the tokens representing that type of clause. There is also an overall high percentage of *sure* as an emphatic marker of negation in all periods, with a total of 70%. *Sure* is also the DM that seems to be favoured as a reinforcing element of agreement, with a peak in the nineteenth century at 68%. The DM that shows the highest percentage as emphatic markers of agreement is *surely* with 41%, followed by *sure* with 34%. The 'other' variants are mostly used in tokens suggesting contrast.

Table 5.18 below is included to illustrate the distribution of the discourse markers in a cross-tabulation of clause position and usage.

Table 5.18

Distribution of the discourse markers in a cross-tabulation of clause position and usage

		Initial		Medial		Final		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Emph.agr.	sure	117	64	3	30	9	5	129	34
	surely	22	12	3	30	130	69	155	41
	other	45	24	4	40	49	26	98	26
	Total	184		10		188		382	
Emph.neg.	sure	55	82	1	100	1	7	57	70
	surely	7	10	0	0	7	50	14	17
	other	5	7	0	0	6	43	11	13
	Total	67		1		14		82	
Reinf.agr.	sure	60	73	0	0	3	14	63	61
	surely	0	0	0	0	17	81	17	16
	other	22	27	1	100	1	5	24	23
	Total	82		1		21		104	
Contrast	sure	8	32	0	0	0	0	8	31
	surely	6	24	0	0	1	100	7	27
	other	11	44	0	0	0	0	11	42
	Total	25		0		1		26	
Total	sure	240	67	3	27	13	6	256	43
	surely	35	10	3	27	155	69	193	33
	other	83	23	5	45	56	25	144	24
	Total	358		11		224		593	

Table 5.18 shows that the majority of the occurrences of *sure* as an emphatic marker of agreement occur in initial position, with 91%. *Sure* is also the DM that is favoured clause initially as it occurs in this position in 94% of the tokens with *sure. Surely* used as an emphatic marker of agreement occurred most frequently in final position. The 'other' variants occurred in either initial or final position when used as emphatic markers of agreement. Most of the DMs that were used as emphatic markers of negation occurred clause initially, however, some of the tokens with *surely* and the 'other' variants occurred in final position. *Sure* as a reinforcing element of agreement primarily occurred clause initially, counting 95%. Most of the 'other' variants that were used as reinforcing elements were also placed clause initially. In contrast, *surely* was only placed finally in this usage. There was only one occurrence in medial position in this usage. All of the occurrences of *sure* and the 'other' variants, as well as 86% of the occurrences with *surely* that were suggesting contrast were placed clause initially. All in all, did *sure* and the 'other' variants tend to occur clause initially, while *surely* was favoured in the final position.

It starts at 51% in the eighteenth century and increases in the nineteenth and twentieth century with a peak in the twentieth century where *sure* scores 77%. The 'other' variants

occur most in final position in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but *surely* is used most in the twentieth century with 98%. The DM *sure* represents only 6% of the occurrences in final position.

The corpus consists mainly of dramas with only a few prose texts and novels. Consequently, the analyses considering the genres will be problematic. However, *surely* is the DM that is used the least in both prose and novel, while the 'other' variants are used most with 56% and 69%.

5.3 Summary

To sum up the outcome of the analyses, *sure* seemed to be the DM that was used most often in this corpus followed by *surely*. The Anglo-Irish authors represented 61% of the tokens. There were also more tokens from the twentieth century than from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but *sure* was primarily used in the nineteenth century. Drama was clearly the best represented genre in the corpus and 83% of the tokens were extracted from that genre. Male authors represented 88% of the tokens and most of the texts in the CIE, which indicates that gender is a questionable variable in this study. More texts by female authors should be analysed to get a better study of the use of *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants as DMs in female vs. male language. When looking at the characters' use of the DMs, male characters used *sure* more than the females with 48% against 42%, while female characters used *surely* more than the male. *Sure* tends to occur in clause initial position, while *surely* seems to occur mostly in clause final position. The 'other' variants occurred more in clause medial position. Most of the DMs seemed to act as an emphatic marker of agreement, which made up 64% of the tokens. *Sure* was the DM used most as an emphatic marker of negation and as a reinforcing element of agreement, *surely* was used most as an emphatic marker of agreement, and 'other' variants were used most for suggesting contrast.

The binomial step-up/step-down showed that the clause position was the most significant factor for both *sure* and *surely*. However, *sure* occurred mostly in initial position while *surely* occurred mostly in final position. Factors that were not significant in the analysis of *sure* were period and type of clause. Insignificant factors in the analysis of *surely* were the character's gender and type of clause. The most significant factor in the analysis of the 'other' variants was the period and the insignificant factors were type of clause, gender and origin of the authors.

Finally, the cross tabulation indicated that *sure* is used in the majority of the occurrences by the Irish authors, regardless of the period. The Anglo-Irish authors used the

'other' variants most in the first two periods, but *surely* was used most in the twentieth century. The female authors used *sure* and the 'other' variants most, while the male authors changed the use of DMs from the 'other' variants in the eighteenth century to *sure* in the nineteenth century and *surely* in the twentieth century. The Irish authors used *sure* in 61% of the tokens of emphatic markers of agreement. *Sure* was also the DM used most often by Irish authors as an emphatic marker of negation and as a reinforcing element of agreement. Anglo-Irish authors seemed to favour *surely* as an emphatic marker of agreement. They also used *surely* most in affirmative declarative and interrogative clauses, while the Irish authors mostly used *sure*. All of the authors seemed to favour the use of *sure* in negative declarative clauses. The use of *sure* represented 70% of the DMs used as emphatic marker of negation. Moreover, *sure* was the DM that occurred most clause initially, the 'other' variants occurred most in final position in the eighteenth and nineteenth century while *surely* occurred most in the twentieth century. Finally, the 'other' variants of *sure* are mostly used in the tokens extracted from the novels and the prose.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter will compare and discuss the previous studies of *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants to the results of the analyses of the DMs in *A corpus of Irish English*. I will discuss the significance of the various factor groups based on the tables and descriptions given in chapter 5, and the representation of the results in the binomial step-up/step-down analyses and the cross-tabulation. The results of the various analyses will also be discussed and compared to previous studies that were introduced in chapter 3. The discussion will take the different variants of the DMs into account.

6.1 Discussion of the findings

The significant factor groups in the binomial step-up/step-down analyses varied from *sure*, *surely* and the 'other' variants. In the analysis of *sure*, the significant factors were clause position, origin, genre, gender, characters' gender, and usage. The significant factors in the analysis of *surely* were clause position, origin, period, genre, gender, and usage. Finally, in the analysis of the 'other' variants, the significant factors were period, genre, characters' gender, clause position, and usage. The authors' origin was a significant factor in the analyses of *sure* and *surely*. The discussion of this factor will be continued in section 6.1.1.1. The usage that was considered significant in all of the analyses is also an aspect of use that has been included in dictionaries, previous studies and other descriptions of the feature. According to the *Oxford dictionary of English grammar*, a DM may signal or emphasise the direction of a conversation. The outcome of Amador Moreno's study (2006) also emphasised the meaning the DMs might have in a clause. This factor will be discussed further in section 6.1.1.7. Clause position was also a significant factor in all of the binomial analyses. The clause position of the DMs has also been considered and analysed in the previous studies, but it has also been included in descriptions of *sure.* Further discussion of this factor will be included in section 6.1.1.6. The genre in which the DMs occurred most frequently was drama, which was also the most oral genre in the corpus. This factor was therefore a reason to include the character's gender as a factor group. Another reason was to see if there were similarities concerning the gender of the authors and the characters. The period was a significant factor in the analyses of *surely* and the 'other' variants. The nineteenth century was the only period where there were texts from the novel and prose genres. Drama was the only genre

represented in the eighteenth and twentieth century. Further discussion of period as a factor will be presented in section 6.1.1.2. All of the factors will be discussed further in the subsections of 6.1.1, either they are considered significant or not.

The different variants of the factors, usage and type of clause, were added to help signal the direction that the statements took. The most common usage has been as an emphatic marker, where it places emphasis on a positive utterance. That also corresponds to the outcome represented in previous studies, which indicates that *sure* frequently is used as an emphatic marker of agreement. A DM has also been described as a feature which may refer back to previous discourse (Andersen 2001: 40). This can be observed in contexts where the DMs are used as reinforcing elements of 'aye' or 'yes' or another form of agreement, or where the DMs are used to emphasise a response to a previous utterance, either positive or negative. The DMs that are used to suggest contrast can also be observed as a reaction to previous discourse.

In the introduction to this paper, the OED was used to describe the DMs. The OED stated that *sure* could be used to qualify a statement, and in Standard English it was described as "assuredly, undoubtedly [and] for a certainty" (OED). Although the use of *sure* in Irish English differs to that of Standard English, results indicate that its meaning is similar. According to the OED, *surely* can also be used to emphasise a statement. In the introduction it was assumed that *surely* would also be used as a positive emphatic marker. Based on the results from the analyses of *surely* (e.g. table 5.8), it was used as an emphatic marker of agreement in 80% of the cases where it was used as a DM. Consequently, the statements and dictionary descriptions that were included in the introduction are confirmed in this study.

6.1.1 Factor groups and relevance

In the following section I will discuss the relevance of the factor groups in relation to the analyses as well as previous studies. Some of the factors were considered significant in all of the analyses, some of them were only relevant in one or two of them, and some of them were considered insignificant in relation to their distribution.

6.1.1.1 Origin

The first factor group that was included in this study was the origin of the authors. The authors' origin was found as significant in the binomial analyses of *sure* and *surely*, and was also considered a significant factor when it was tested with the chi-square test. The chi-square test indicates that this factor is noteworthy on its own. Authors of Anglo-Irish and British

origin represented 61% of the overall distribution of the DMs, but they tended to use *surely* more than *sure* or any of the 'other' variants. The authors of Irish origin, however, were responsible for the majority of the occurrences of *sure*. In the binomial analysis of *sure*, authors of Irish origin used it 0.7 times per 1000 words as opposed to authors of British origin who used it 0.3 times per 1000 words. The analyses of *surely* indicated that Anglo-Irish authors used it 0.8 times per 1000 words, while those of Irish origin only used it 0.1 per 1000 words. The 'other' variants were used to the same extent by authors of both origins, which is why this factor did not affect the distribution of the DMs.

Although the use of *sure* in the early modern English should be noted, the distribution of *sure* among the authors of Irish origin can indicate that its use has originated from Ireland.

6.1.1.2 Period

Based on the initial distributional tables, the increase of the DM could be explained the amount of texts in the different periods. When considering the total amount of DMs per 1000 words, in the eighteenth century, there were 0.9 occurrences of the DMs per 1000 words. In the nineteenth century there were 1.1 occurrences per 1000 words, and 1 occurrence per 1000 words in the twentieth century. The binomial step-up/step-down analyses indicated how many times each of the DMs occurred per 1000 words in each of the centuries. Period was considered a relevant factor in the analyses of *surely* and the 'other' variants. *Surely* was only used 0.02 per 1000 words in the eighteenth century, but more than 0.7 times per 1000 words in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The 'other' variants were used more in all of the centuries, but the analysis indicated a great increase from the eighteenth century to the other centuries here as well. The chi-square test of the distribution of the DMs by period gave a significant result as well. This indicates that there is a considerable difference in the distribution by period.

A question that might be asked is why there were no examples of the DMs in the texts from the medieval period, the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. A factor that may influence that is the texts and the genres that are represented here. However, the lack of DMs in these periods may also be an indication of when they became a more widespread linguistic feature of Irish English.

6.1.1.3 Genre

As the CIE is a dramatic corpus more or less, the distribution of the DMs by genre illustrated in table 5.4 is somewhat imprecise. If considering the distribution of the DMs per 1000

words, there are 0.3 occurrences per 1000 words in the novel genre. In the prose genre there are 0.2 DMs per 1000 words, and finally, there are 1 occurrence of the DMs per 1000 words in drama. Although there are less novel and prose texts to analyse compared to the drama genre, the amount of DMs per 1000 words give an indication of its distribution. The high number of DMs in the drama texts corresponds to the assumption included in the hypotheses. The binomial analyses revealed that genre was a significant factor for all of the DM variants. *Sure* occurred 0.6 times per 1000 words in the drama genre, and only 0.1 and 0.3 in the novel and prose genres. *Surely* was also used most in the drama genre followed by prose and novel, but the 'other' variants were primarily used in the novel and prose genres.

6.1.1.4 Gender

Gender was a significant factor in the binomial analyses of *sure* and *surely*. The results illustrated that *sure* was mostly used by the female authors. *Surely* was predominantly used by the male authors. However, according to the chi-square test, the authors' gender was not a significant factor. More than 500 of the tokens were extracted from texts by male authors, which equalled 88%. That was an expected number as there were only three female authors represented in the CIE. However, out of the 73 tokens extracted from texts by female authors, 45% were with the DM *sure*. *Surely* was the DM that occurred the least in these texts. While the male authors also favoured the use of *sure*, *surely* was used in 36% of their tokens. Based on these results, *sure* seems to be the most accepted DM among both genders, while *surely* and the 'other' variants may be more gender dependent. The binomial analysis of *sure* indicated that it was used more in texts by female authors, where it occurred 0.9 times per 1000 words. The male authors used *sure* 0.4 times per 1000 words. *Surely* was mainly used by the male authors. Gender was not considered a significant factor in the analysis of the 'other' variants.

6.1.1.5 Characters' gender

This factor was included to see whether stereotypical use would affect the distribution of the DMs. The results of this analysis are not fully consistent with the analysis of the authors' gender. Female and male characters tend to favour the use of *sure*, just as the male and female authors. However, *surely* occurs in 46% of the utterances by female characters, which is in contrast to the distribution by female authors who preferred *sure* as a DM. Occurrences of the DMs outside dialogue stood for only 9% of the tokens, which indicate that *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants are typical discourse markers. The binomial analysis indicated that the

character's gender was relevant in the analyses of *sure* and the 'other' variants. However, *sure* was used to the same extent by male and female characters and less in the narration. That outcome tells more about where the DM is used than who uses the DM. The 'other' variants were used more in the narration followed by its use by the male characters.

6.1.1.6 Clause position

The hypothesis stating that *sure* would primarily occur clause initially was confirmed in the analyses of *sure*. *Sure* stood for 67% of the DMs that occurred in initial position. That is consistent with the findings in this study, as well as the description of *sure* in *A dictionary of Hiberno-English* that stated that it could be used as an "emphatic opening to a sentence" (Dolan 2006: 231). According to the description of *sure* in *A first glossary of Hiberno-English,* which also described *sure* as an opening word (Christensen 1996: 125). *Surely* was the DM that occurred most clause finally, representing 69%. The 'other' variants were best represented clause medially. Based on these results, it is reasonable that the clause position was the most significant factor in the analyses of *sure* and *surely.* Moreover, this indicates that *sure* is a DM that is used as an opening word, as stated in Irish dictionaries as well as in previous studies. Walshe's comment that *sure* is "frequently used between the subject and the verb" (2009: 122) do not correspond to the findings of this study, which placed *sure* in medial position in only 3 of the tokens with *sure* or 1%. *Surely* was expected to appear after all obligatory elements. However, the 'other' variants, which are combinations with *sure*, tend to occur in medial position. If the 'other' variants were considered as part of the distribution of *sure,* the spread could turn out differently. Walshe also stated that *sure* may be placed in final position which counted for 5% of the tokens with *sure* in this study. That *sure* could be placed finally was confirmed even though that was not a frequent outcome.

Aijmer's study of *surely* was also described in the third chapter. She focuses on *surely* as an adverb and not a DM, but the descriptions and the use she has included will be compared and discussed in relation to this study nevertheless. Aijmer found *surely* in initial position in more than half of all occurrences (2008: 138), while it was found in final position in only 7 out of 57 cases (2008: 137). That is in clear contrast to the findings in this study, where 80% of the occurrences of *surely* were found in final position. This suggests that Irish English differs from other varieties in its use of *surely* as well. Only 18% of the occurrences of *surely* were found in initial position.

The clause position was one of the factors that were considered significant in all of the analyses. As the first distributional tables indicated, *sure* is favoured in initial position, where

it occurs 0.8 times per 1000 words. *Surely* occurred 0.8 times per 1000 words in final position and 0.9 times clause medially. Finally, the 'other' variants were mainly used in final position. Whether these different distributions are due to the combinations and variants of *sure*, or if they are used differently according to their contexts or meaning, is a question that has to be discussed in relation to the other factors.

6.1.1.7 Usage

The hypothesis concerning the usage of the DMs was based on previous studies. It was assumed that *sure* would mainly be used as an emphatic marker. However, it was also suggested that *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants could take on different meanings. The overall representation of the DMs indicates that they are typical emphatic markers. In the introduction, *sure* was also described as an emphatic marker. Based on dictionaries and the outcomes of previous studies, that was the expected outcome of these analyses as well. Moreover, 64% of the overall tokens turned out to be emphatic markers of agreement and only 14% as emphatic markers of negation. Only 4% of the tokens turned out to suggest contrast. Amador Moreno also stated that most of the examples where *sure* and *surely* occurred as markers tended to have an emphatic force (Amador Moreno 2006: 144). Walshe's study also indicates that *sure* is primarily used as an emphatic marker. Consequently, the outcome of this study of the CIE corresponded to the previous studies and the hypothesis. *Surely* and *sure* were both used mostly as emphatic markers of agreement with 34% and 41%, which might indicate that they appeared in similar contexts or at least take on similar meanings. Some examples of *sure* in MacGill's novels implied contrast as well (Amador Moreno 2006: 145). This study of CIE showed that 4% of the overall tokens suggested contrast, but the majority of those examples occurred with 'other' variants of the DMs than *sure* and *surely*. Nevertheless, 31% of the tokens suggesting contrast were with *sure* and 27% with *surely*. The DMs used as reinforcing elements of agreement occurred a total of 18%, with *sure* representing 61% of them.

This factor has also been considered significant in the analyses of all of the DMs. The analysis of *sure* indicated that it was preferred as a reinforcing element of agreement, but was also used as an emphatic marker of agreement or negation. *Surely* was used mostly to suggest contrast followed by emphatic marker of agreement and negation. Finally, the 'other' variants were used to suggest contrast followed by emphatic marker of agreement and reinforcing element of agreement.

6.1.1.8 Type of clause

This factor group was considered insignificant in the binomial analyses of the DMs, which indicates that the DMs were equally distributed across the various clause types. The chi-square test was carried out based on table of the distribution of DMs by clause type. This test did also indicate that the factor group was insignificant. The DMs mainly occurred was the affirmative declarative clause, which made up 83% of the overall tokens. The least amount of tokens occurred in the interrogative clauses. This may be studied in relation to the distribution of *sure* as reinforcing and emphatic markers of agreement. The high percentage of the DMs occurring in affirmative contexts indicates that *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants are essentially positive and affirmative markers.

6.1.1.9 Binomial analyses

The binomial analyses indicated which factors were the most and the least significant for each of the DMs. The factor that was the most significant in the analysis of *sure,* was clause position. It is most likely to occur in initial position as anticipated. Clause position was also the most significant factor in the analysis of *surely*. However, *surely* is more likely to occur clause medially or finally, which indicates a difference between the two variants. The most significant factor in the binomial analysis of the 'other' variants was the period. The distribution of these DMs decreased from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, while the use of *surely* increased and the distribution of *sure* remained more or less the same.

The origin of the authors was also significant in the binomial analyses of *sure* and *surely*, but the two DMs differed here as well. The Irish authors favoured *sure*, while the Anglo-Irish authors preferred *surely*.

The usage of the DMs was significant in all of the analyses, which was expected considering descriptions that was included in the introduction and findings in the previous studies. *Sure* was expected to primarily occur as an emphatic marker of agreement, but also as an emphatic marker in general. There were four different usages that the DMs could be coded as, but the usage that occurred most often per 1000 words was the emphatic marker of negation. *Surely* and the 'other' variants were used most to suggest contrast, but they were also used as emphatic markers. According to the studies by Amador Moreno and Walshe, the DMs would predominantly have an emphatic force.

6.1.1.10 Cross-tabulation of factors

The cross-tabulation analyses indicated which combination of factors that gave significant results. Combinations that were illustrated with tables in chapter 5 were origin and period, origin and usage, and clause position and usage. The cross-tabulation of origin and period illustrated how *sure* was mostly used by the authors of Irish origin, regardless of the periods. This may be an indication that the DMs have occurred in the transfer from Irish to Irish English, and is not a linguistic feature originating from English. The use of *surely* increased as the number of tokens by the Anglo-Irish authors increased. There were only eleven occurrences of the 'other' variants in the twentieth century, which might be an indication that *sure* and *surely* have replaced them to some extent.

The cross-tabulation of origin and usage illustrated some clear distinctions in the use of *sure* by the Irish authors. *Sure* was the DM that was used most in all of the usages except for suggesting contrast where both *sure* and the 'other' variants occurred six times. The Anglo-Irish authors varied more concerning which DM they favoured for each usage.

The last table that was included illustrated the cross-tabulation of usage and clause position. There were very few occurrences clause medially, and with only two exceptions were all of the occurrences that occurred clause medially emphatic markers of agreement. The combination that gave the highest numbers was emphatic markers of agreement in initial clause position, which is in corresponds to previous statements (i.e. Dolan 2006: 231). *Sure* was also the DM that was used most by the Irish authors clause initially and as an emphatic marker of agreement. The authors of Irish origin used predominantly *sure* in affirmative declarative clauses, but *sure* was also used frequently in negative declarative clauses. The Anglo-Irish authors preferred *surely* in affirmative declarative clauses, and *sure* in negative declarative clauses. These results are also consistent with the diversity of the use of DMs by the Anglo-Irish authors compared to the authors of Irish origin.

When analysing the combination of usage and clause type, the combination of the DMs as emphatic markers of agreement in affirmative declarative clauses was definitely the most frequent combination.

6.1.2 Further research

If the time had not been so limited, it would be interesting to see whether the results found in this study would correspond to a study of another corpus. Moreover, it would be interesting to see whether these DMs occur more or less than other DMs in Irish English. The corpus used has been problematic considering two of the factors: text genre and the author's gender. CIE

is without a doubt a dramatic corpus, with some other genres presented in various periods. The three genres that were part of this study were drama, novel and prose, however, the last two were only present in the 19th century. For further research it might have been interesting to study the use in the other genres to see if genre was a significant factor in the use of the DMs. CIE is also a corpus of male authors with only three exceptions. This made it problematic to give a clear indication of the male and female use of the DMs. It would therefore be interesting to study some dramatic texts or others by female authors to compare with this study. The distribution of the Irish English DMs could also be studied in other corpora, e.g. *ICE-Ireland* (Kallen & Kirk 2008), *The Limerick corpus of Irish English* (Farr et.al. 2002), the *Northern Ireland transcribed corpus of speech* (Kirk 2004), or *The corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (McCafferty & Amador Moreno in preparation).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has focussed on the use of the Irish English discourse markers *sure*, *surely*, and the 'other' variants: *to be sure*, *sure enough*, *no sure* and *but sure. A corpus of Irish English* was used as corpus, which allowed for a diachronic study of the DMs. They have been analysed in relation to eight independent variables, both internal and external. This study has also been compared to previous studies by Amador Moreno (2006), Walshe (2009) and Aijmer (2009). *A dictionary of Hiberno-English* (2006), the *Oxford English dictionary* (1989)*, The hamely tongue* (1995), *English as we speak it in Ireland* (1910/1979)*, A concise Ulster dictionary* (1996) and *A first glossary of Hiberno-English* (1996) were used as references to give a concise description of the DMs.

When the factors were tested with the chi-square test, authors' origin, period, genre, gender, clause position and usage were found significant. In the binomial step-up/step-down analysis of *sure* were clause position, origin, genre, gender, characters' gender and usage the factors that were found significant. *Sure* was primarily used in initial position and by authors of Irish origin. It occurred most in drama, in texts by female authors and in within dialogue. *Sure* was used most as an emphatic marker of negation, but occurred a lot as an emphatic marker of agreement and as a reinforcing element of agreement.

In the binomial analysis of *surely* were the significant factors clause position, origin, period, genre, gender and usage. *Surely* occurred most in final position in the corpus, but medial position was weighted highest. *Surely* was favoured by the male Anglo-Irish authors and occurred most in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Most occurrences were also found in drama. There were most occurrences of *surely* as an emphatic maker of agreement, however, the DM suggesting contrast was weighted highest.

The significant factors in the binomial analysis of the 'other' variants were period, genre, characters' gender, clause position and usage. The 'other' variants were weighted highest in the eighteenth century. The genres that were weighted highest were prose and novel. The 'other' variants were used most in the narrative, followed by the use by male characters. The DMs primarily occurred in initial and final position, but the final position was weighted highest. They were mainly used as emphatic markers of agreement in the corpus, however, the DMs suggesting contrast were weighted higher.

The cross-tabulation analysis illustrated the distribution of the DMs in combinations of factor groups. Considering the combination of origin and period there were most occurrences of *sure* by the Irish authors in the 19th century. *Surely* was the DM that was preferred by the Anglo-Irish authors, and that peaked in the 20th century.

The previous studies that were used as references, all indicated that *sure* was a typical Irish English DM. There were frequent occurrences of the *sure* in Walshe's study (2007: 121) of Irish English in films. Amador Moreno's study also indicated the frequent usage of the DM. Moreover, *sure* was generally used as an emphatic marker and then again, mostly as a positive marker.

The discussion included a comparison of the results, with references to the previous studies. A hypothesis that was stated in chapter 4 questioned the differences in use by authors of Irish and Anglo-Irish origin. The analyses have confirmed that there are differences considering the use of *sure* and *surely*. *Sure* was predominantly used by the Irish authors and *surely* was mostly used by the Anglo-Irish authors. The authors' origin was not significant in the analysis of the 'other' variants. There was no significant diachronic change in the use of *sure*. *Surely* occurred only a few times in the eighteenth century, but occurred frequently in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The period was also the most significant factor in the binomial analysis of the 'other' variants, as it decreased significantly from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

The results of the binomial analyses also confirmed the hypothesis that *sure* would occur clause initially. *Sure* was frequently used as an emphatic marker as well, both as a marker of agreement and of negation. *Sure* was also used as a reinforcing element of agreement. Results that supported the outcome of Amador Moreno and Walshe's studies.

The authors' gender and the characters' gender were also considered significant in the analyses of the DMs. The female authors were found to prefer *sure*, while the male authors preferred *surely*. *Sure* occurred similarly by both female and male characters. The 'other' variants were mostly used in the narrative, but also in discourse by male characters. This distribution indicated that there is a gender difference in the use of the DMs.

Another hypothesis was that the DMs would occur most in oral genres. *Sure* and *surely* were both used most in the drama. The 'other' variants were also used a lot in drama, but novel was weighted highest in the binomial analysis. However, the novels and prose contain many dialogues as well, which makes the CIE a rather oral corpus.

The hypothesis assuming that *surely* would occur clause initially was contested in this study. In contrast to the distribution in Aijmer's study, did *surely* occur most in the final

clause position. The usage of *surely* that was weighted highest was suggesting contrast, which was in agreement with the outcome of Aijmer's study. *Sure* was assumed to occur most as an emphatic marker of agreement, which was also the most frequent usage in the corpus. However, *sure* as an emphatic marker of negation was weighted highest of the usages. The final hypothesis stated that *sure, surely* and the 'other' variants would occur most frequently in affirmative declarative clauses. In all of the binomial analyses, the clause type was found not significant, which indicates that there is not much difference in the distribution considering this factor group.

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Referat

Denne oppgaven tar for seg bruken av de irsk-engelske diskursmarkørene *sure* og *surely* i tillegg til andre varianter som *to be sure*, *sure enough, but sure* og *no sure*. *A corpus of Irish English* (CIE), som består av tekster fra middelalderen til 1900-tallet, har blitt brukt som materiale for denne studien. Markørene har blitt hentet ut av tekstene ved hjelp av Wordsmith tools. Diskursmarkørene ble analysert i henhold til faktorer som sjangeren tekstene tilhører og perioden tekstene representerer. Analysen tar også opphavstedet til forfatteren, forfatterens kjønn og karakterenes kjønn i betraktning, samt plasseringen diskursmarkøren har i delsetningen og betydningen diskursmarkøren har der. De analyserte diskursmarkørene ble videre analysert med programmet Goldvarb og kji-kvadrat tester.

Tidligere studier som blir brukt som sammenligningsgrunnlag og diskusjon er Amador Morenos studie av irsk-engelske lingvistiske trekk i noveller av Patrick MacGill, Walshes studie av irsk-engelsk i film, og Aijmers studie av *surely* i britisk . I tillegg har ordbøker blitt brukt som referanseredskap i analysen.

Resultatene bekreftet at *sure* var en typisk emfatisk diskursmarkør som blir brukt for å vektlegge positive utsagn. Diskursmarkørene ble også brukt for å vektlegge negative utsagn, forsterke positive utsagn eller bruken av 'ja', eller for å foreslå kontrast. Det var også forskjeller med tanke på de andre faktorene.