Actually in English Non-native Speakers' Performances

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Kim, Yu-Kyung. 2005. Actually in English Non-native Speakers' Performances. SNU Working Papers in English Language and Linguistics 4, 22-40. This study considers actually as a discourse marker and investigates it in non-native speakers' conversations. Also present study discusses what the common and different features of actually are displayed in NNSs' data as compared with native speakers' data. Like NSs' usages, actually in NNSs' data is displayed in three major types of sequential environments, informings, self-repair, and topic movement. This paper specifically looks into those three environments of actually in NNSs' conversations. (Seoul National University)

**Keywords:** discourse marker, actually, NNSs' data, Qualitative findings

1. Introduction

English native speakers frequently use some expressions such as *y’know, like, I mean, actually, well, right* in everyday language use. All of them are termed as 'discourse markers', which have been studied under various labels including discourse connectives, discourse operators, pragmatic connectives, sentence connectives, and cue phrases (Fraser 1999). Fraser defined discourse markers as a pragmatic class, lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases. He also pointed out that they have procedural meaning and their more specific interpretation is negotiated by the context, both linguistic and conceptual. Even though all the expressions are termed as 'discourse markers', each of them has different meanings and functions.

In this paper, we will specifically inquire into actually in spoken context. In contrast with the previous studies focus on the English native speakers' (hereafter NSs) data, the present study analyzes discourse marker, *'actually',* in English non-native speakers'
(hereafter, NNSs) data. Moreover, this study will investigate the characteristics of 'actually' produced by NNSs and examine whether the distinctive features of actually produced by NSs' data are similar to those of actually produced by NNSs' one or not. Especially, we look into actually in three major types of sequential environments, informings, self-repair and topic movement (Clift 2001). After we compare NSs' use and with NNSs' use in naturally occurring conversations, we clarify the common features and the differences between them. If there are any differences, we should answer the following two questions, What are the differences? and Why are the differences generated? The next section of this paper works toward reviewing actually in general, and then presents a discussion of the main environment of actually in NSs' data.

2. Literature review

We firstly look into the general definition of actually before introducing the specific functions of actually in its three major sequential environments. According to collins COBUILD English dictionary, actually can be used in the following situation.

1. To indicate that a situation exists or happened, or to emphasize that it is true.
   - One afternoon, I grew bored and actually fell asleep for a few minutes.
2. When we are correcting or contradicting someone.
   - No, I'm not a student. I'm a doctor, actually.
3. When we are politely expressing an opinion that other people might not have expected from you.
   - Do you think it's a good idea to socialize with one's patients? -actually, I do, I think it's a great idea.
4. To introduce a new topic into a conversation.
   - Well, actually, John, I rang you for some advice.¹

As we can see above, actually generally has the meaning of emphasizing, contradicting, unexpectedness, and topic movement. Another reference to actually deals with it as an emphasis or content disjunct (Quirk et al. 1985). As an emphasis, actually is classified into a group which consists mainly of items such as

¹ Quoted from collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners. 3rd edition. (2001)
certainly, clearly, definitely, indeed, surely, etc. that can also function as disjuncts expressing the comment that what is being said is true.' (1985: 583) Quirk et al. claim that 'when these emphasizers are positioned next to a part of the communication, without being separated intonationally or by punctuation, their effect is often to emphasize that part alone.' (1985: 584) The use of emphazizer is following.

(Example)
He actually sat next to her.
They will surely object to his intervention.2)

As a content disjunct, actually belongs to the type which represents degree of truth. Quirk et al. propose that 'disjuncts present a comment on the truth value of what is said, expressing the extent to which, and the conditions under which, the speaker believes that what he is saying is true.' (1985: 8.127) Quirk et al. subdivided the group of degree of truth into three main group. Among them, actually is involved in the group that states the sense in which the speaker judges what he says to be true or false. Also Quirk et al. suggest that 'there is often a reference to the reality or lack of reality in what is said.' (1985: 8.127)

Oh (2000) investigates actually and in fact, which have been regarded as 'interchangeable without leading to any significant differences in the meaning of the containing utterances.'(2000: 243) She provides an analysis of tokens from the Switchboard Corpus and the Brown Corpus. She proposes that actually is especially frequent in spoken discourse and the core meaning of actually is unexpectedness. Moreover, actually tends to be associated with a denial of expectation, and thus often produces contrastive meaning. Even though she notifies that 'this is only a tendency and not an exclusive type of association, the core meaning of unexpectedness helps the interlocutors to search for the otherwise nontransparent relevance of the utterance with respect to the entire discourse.' (2000: 267)

The most significant reference to actually which we will consider
in this paper is made by Clift (2001) in discussing a placement where it is displayed. Clift points out that the most general characterization of *actually* is as a marker of contrast and revision. She, however, proposes that 'such a broad characterization cannot capture the subtleties of its use.' (2001: 286) Thus she focuses on two of the possible placements of *actually*, the beginnings and ends of TCU. Considering its placement, she examines *actually* in three major types of sequential environments, informings, self-repair and topic movement.

First, Informings, a major sequential environment where *actually* occurs, are marked as new in variety ways. According to the placement of *actually*, TCU-final or TCU-initial, the patterns of informings are differently shown in conversation. In TCU-final, *actually* marks information as informative and marks a counterinforming, or simply marks information as noteworthy. In TCU-initial, *actually* is presented as a change of mind token and counterinformings.

Secondly, *actually* in self-repair is also distinctive in the light of the placement of it. *Actually* placed in TCU-final position characterizes the outer limit of a TCU stated upon the abandonment of a prior one. *Actually* placed in TCU-initial position, however, embarks upon a new topical trajectory. One motivation for this shift may be grounded in prior international trouble.

Thirdly, in topic movement, TCU-final *actually* introduces material that is clearly topically disjunctive with prior talk. In contrast, TCU-initial uses mark the introduction of touched-off material that is heard as potentially topically relevant because of having been triggered. Clift remarks the most general characterization of *actually* is as a marker of contrast and revision. However, this simple distinction cannot catch detailed attributes of *actually*. Thus, she claims that the apparent distinctions between TCU-final and initial placement of *actually* provide preliminary demonstration that the speakers are sensitive to the placement of *actually* to accomplish different activities in talk.

As can be seen in the above, *actually* in spoken context have the meaning of contrast, revision, and unexpectedness. Even though the methodological concepts are not same, the general idea of *actually* is condensed into contradiction and unexpectedness.
3. Data

The data excerpts presented in this paper are drawn from 50 minutes of naturally occurring conversational interaction among Korean NNSs in spontaneous discussion group. Participants in this conversation are undergraduate students at Seoul National University, Korea. The group members are regularly changed but most of them have been to abroad more than three months and two of them, who are near-native speakers, had lived in U.S. more than two years. The group members are upper intermediated, advanced level students and their TOEIC scores vary between 915 and 990. The discussion is usually proceeded by three or four students at once and they prepare the topic of that day in regular sequence. The topic is usually about social issues, narrative story of their personal experiences, and a cultural life. It should be noted that the pause or silence shown in this discourse are not exactly same as NSs' since there is a strong possibility that the pause or silence is displayed because of their fluency problems of English speaking. Thus, we will not greatly concern about pause in this paper.

4. Analysis & findings

4.1 Frequency

The total number of tokens of *actually* in NNSs' data is shown in Table 1 with reference to the placement of it. As can be seen in Table 1, the distribution of *actually* is shown in three different positions and TCU-initial is the most frequent position of *actually* in our data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement</th>
<th>TCU-initial</th>
<th>TCU-medial</th>
<th>TCU-final</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>22(78.57%)</td>
<td>5(17.85%)</td>
<td>1(4.54%)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast with NSs' data in Clift (2001), NNSs did not
frequently use *actually* both TCU-initial and TCU-final. NNSs in our data mainly use TCU-initial *actually* and rarely use TCU-final *actually*. It also should be noted that even though the frequency of *actually* in its placement is not considered in Clift (2001), there should be comparable number of *actually* in TCU-initial and TCU-final. However, in NNSs' data, TCU-initial *actually* is overwhelmingly shown as compared with TCU-final *actually*. Thus, we can not compare *actually* in NNSs' data with it in NSs' data according to its placement. We will focus on the meanings and functions of *actually* in NNSs' conversations. Based on these findings we can say that *actually* in NNSs' data has more or less different usage from NSs' *actually*.

Clift points out that *actually* is displayed in three major types of sequential environments: informings, self-repair and topic movement. The frequency of each type in NNSs' data is shown in Table 2 in the light of the placement of *actually*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequential environment</th>
<th>Informings</th>
<th>Self-repair</th>
<th>Topic movement</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TCU-initial</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCU-medial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCU-final</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that informings are the most frequently used by NNSs of the three. Moreover, informings have all the placement of *actually*, even TCU-final, and the rest of sequential environments are only presented in TCU-initial position. Since the entire sequential environments do not appear in TCU-final position, although one exists in informings, we cannot compare NNSs with NSs according to the placement. We, however, largely focus on the three major sequential environments of *actually* and match the usage of *actually* between NNSs and NSs.
4.2 Qualitative findings

4.2.1 Informings

Clift (2001) proposes that one of the major sequential environments where actually occurs is informings. He discusses informings of actually in a variety ways such as question elicited informings, counterinformings, unelicited informings and a change of mind token. Even though informings are the central usage of actually, the environment and the characteristics of actually in informings can be various according to the interlocutors who participate in the discourse. In NNSs’ data, actually in informings is shown in three different environments, the first one is question-answer sequence, the second one is counterinformings, and the last one is change of mind token. Even though each of them does not exactly same as NSs’ actually, they can be explained in similar way to NSs’ data.

4.2.1.1 Q-A sequence

Clift (2001) proposes that question elicited informings shown in TCU-final have a question which prefers a yes or no response in the sequence. In question elicited informings, actually is shown in a negative answer to a question that is built to prefer yes. In NNSs’ data, however, there is no preference relationship between a question and an answer. actually in our data is shown in simple question answer sequence and it is placed in TCU-initial position as a response of prior question. Even though the placement is different, actually in both data is equally presented as a response to a question of the prior turn. The main different point of actually between NNSs and NSs is whether a question in the prior turn is elicited by the speaker or not. In excerpts (1) and (2), we can see actually in simple question answer sequence.

In (1), They are talking about their high school life. S and C graduated from the foreign language high school and those two talked to the group members their memorable events when they were high school students.
(1) Foreign language high school
01 C: I really envy you guys (.) and language school
02 S: why
03 (0.9)
04 C: it means a lot of memories
05 H: yah it was fun
06 C: yeah
07 M: um hm
08 →C: actually I-I learn in French in my high school but (.) it was
09 (0.1) it was very bad class in high school it's just memorizing
10 some words or grammars (0.2) and just testing that
11 H: even if you go to foreign language high school it doesn't mean
12 that you really lea(h(r(h)n that foreign language [hhehheh]
13 S: [hhehheh]
14 M: hhehhehhehhhh but anyway you have you have better (.)
15 H: yeah
16 M: circum-circumstances
17 H: um
18 M: better teachers (.)[also]
19 H: [um hm

C starts to talk about his envy of S and C. Then S asked why he envies those students and C subsequently answered to that question. In line 2, S asked the question as a first pair part why he envies foreign language high school students. C responses to that question in line 4 and 8. This means that he is giving information to the members why he envies foreign language high school students. After quite a long pause in 3, C answered a reason for the prior questions a second pair part, which is the first version, in line 4. H in 5 agrees C’s prior turn and then C responses to H with 'yeah'. In 7, M presents his understanding of the talk and then the first version of SPP is over. In line 8, C says another reason as a second version of SPP of 'why' in 2 with a TCU-initial actually. This response marked by actually is not an answer to the prior elicited question. It simply provides information of the reason why he really envies foreign language high school students. However, this actually marked response is more elaborated one than the prior answer in 4. Thus, actually in this example functions to provide more elaborated informings to the prior simple question in TCU-initial position.

In (2), M enters into conversation of a rally which was recently held in Kwanghwamun because of nasintungkupcye.

(2) rally
01 M: oh I want to ask you (.) if you go back to your (.) uh high
school period (0.3) if you are uh high school student uh will
you participate in that rally() uh there are about four hundreds
(0.2) students (0.1) and if you get the message (0.3) to get the
message(,) will you join?
H: what is the rally really about the (0.2) I don't know the
(0.3)
M: uh actually someone says it was for () uh cherish memory ()
cherish memory ceremony you know there ah there are some
students who who did suicide
H: uh hm
M: because of uh study () and it was one reason, and the second
reason was uh (0.5) to protest against uh (0.2) new new high
scho- new university entrance exam, () the government will
put more rate um high school scores not uh CSAT call it SAT
hhhehhhhand the third one was uh to be cut their hair by
teachers (0.1) yeah
(0.2)
C: about the hair
M: hair

He asks a question whether the group members will join the rally or not. From 1 to 4, M starts talking about the rally related with the high school students and asks a question. Before the response is made by someone, in 5, H makes a repair initiation because she has an understanding problem that she does not exactly know about the rally. In the following turn, M makes repair as successive elaborations of his prior turn. Thus, the response of M's question in 4 is delayed and in 7 M gives information of the rally with TCU-initial actually. Line 7 is not only informings but also an elaboration of the information of his prior turn. Like (1), the question in 5 is also not elicited by the speaker but displayed as a simple question which includes H's understanding problem. TCU-initial actually leads a answer of the prior question and elaborates information about rally.

actually in these two examples is displayed in simple informing situations that just give some new information to the questioner who requests that information. In contrast with NSs' use of actually in question elicited informings, actually in NNSs' data marks a response to the simple question and it elaborates information to the prior turn. Although question elicited informings in NSs' discourse are shown in TCU-final, NSSs' actually is placed in TCU-initial position. Moreover, actually in simple question answer sequence does not show preference to the question with 'yes' or 'no'. Basically, since the characteristics of the question which preceded
actually is different, actually in two different data is distinguished by their meaning and function.

4.2.1.2 Counterinformings

Clift (2001) points out that TCU-initial actually to counter a claim or proposal of another's is rare and highly marked. actually which has the meaning of counter informings in TCU-initial position is usually preceded by traditional dispreferred marker 'well' in turn initial and sometimes surrounded by pausing, audible inbreathe buffering oppositional and confrontational stance. In NNSs' data, actually in counterinformings are nearly same as NSs' it in terms of its oppositional meaning. However, in NNSs' discourse, counterinforming actually is shown in TCU-initial position and it appears as counter informing marker to the prior turn without 'well' or noticeable pause which mitigates confrontational position. This can be characteristics of NNSs' use of actually in counterinformings although its meaning is same as NSs' actually. In (3), we can see counterinformings in NNSs' discourse.

In (3), M tells a story to his discussion group members about his drinking experience when he was a high school student.

(3) drinking experience
01 M: uh it was uhh (.) when I was a (0.2) when I was in first grade
02 (.)uh I was drinking with my friends, (.) uh guys and girls I
03 think about twenty (.) twenty students were drinking together
04 (.) in the pub
05 S: first year? /first ( )?
06 M: yah yah
07 H: [how how can you go in
08 C: in the Pu(h)b hhuhhhh
09 K: that is allowed
10 H: that is allowed?
11 K: their places are allowed that's true
12 (0.2)
13 →M: actually it's NOT allowed but we just we just went there and
14 they (.) the owners just accept it
15 K: [yeah yeah I mean yeah
16 H: mm
17 M: I think we drink a lot (0.1) we drink a lot and then we: went
18 to riverside (.) because to (0.1) to wake up [thhehhhhhhhhhhhhhh]

From 1 to 3, M starts to tell a story of his drinking experience with reference to the people who drank with him and where he drank. In 4, S makes repair initiation as a repetition of problematic
phrase and in 5 M produces a repair as a response that solves S’s problem in the prior turn. Since H thinks ‘in the pub’ is problematic in M’s prior talk, H asks M how he could go to the pub because it is illegal to go to drink as a high school student. Before M answers to H’s question, K formerly says ‘that is allowed’ in 8. But K’s response is insufficient to the prior question for the reason is not shown. Thus in 9, H makes a repair initiation for understanding problem as a repetition and in 10 K makes repair as an elaboration of his prior response although it is still insufficient to be an answer to H’s question. After short pause in 11, M makes counterinforming to the prior proposal of K by using actually in TCU-initial. M negates K’s prior turn with stressed NOT in 12 and H shows receipt of the information in 15. Finally the trouble source is solved by the understandable explanation made by M and K accepts it as more accurate information than his, ‘yeah yeah’ in 14.

NNS’s use of actually in counterinformings is similar to NS’s one in terms of its meaning in the discourse. However, there are some different points that should be noted in here. Unlike the NS’s data investigated in Clift(2001), NNS data shows that they counter a claim of another’s in their interaction more directly and they do not use a buffering marker ‘well’ in confrontation although there is short pause. Moreover, even though Clift(2001) suggests TCU-final actually is only to be shown as a confrontation of another speaker’s proposal with negative expression, in NNS’s data, however, TCU-initial actually is also provided as an objection marker to the prior turn with a negative form and TCU-final actually is not shown even once.

4.2.1.3 Change of mind token

Clift points out that actually displays a revision of the speaker’s prior turn as a change of mind token in TCU-initial position. She proposes that after a collaborative closing-down of some interactional business, the initiator of that closedown, actually, reopens the topic. In other words, a topic is reopened by a speaker with an actually-prefaced turn after that same speaker has initiated the closing down that topic. She also claims that actually is heard
as registering a change of mind, undoing the commitment expressed in the speaker's previous turn. This use of TCU-initial *actually* is a thought or an idea which has just occurred to the speaker. However, when turn-initial *actually* is marked just after a TCU-initial conjunction, the conjunction prefacing *actually* characterizes the assertion being made as a conclusion arrived at some time before. *Actually* in turn-initial position registers very strongly that the speaker has just revised a prior talk of his or her own. This change of mind token is also shown in NNSs' discourse but their usage is different from NSs' *actually*.

In (4), the group members discuss choosing their topic. Both M and E firstly propose a newspaper as a source of topic selection.

(4) Topic selection
01  M: I think the best way is () to get the topic from
02  E: newspapers
03  M: These days newspapers
04  E: Yah= 
05  M: Yah
06  E: =that's true (2.0) then () the topic is very current things
07  M: um hm
08  (0.2)
09  E: like uh
10  M: Or:
11  →E: POLITics and culture something but (0.3) actually just I
12  want to talk about some general: topic
13  M: uh huh
14  E: like a religious problem
15  M: Or we can also get=
16  E: It's easier
17  M: =Yeah topics from movie or books
18  E: um hm um hm

E agrees with M's opinion of newspaper and then she elaborates her idea of topic from newspapers in 6. We can find that E's turn is not finished yet in 6 because she continues her talk in 9 and 11. In 10, M attempts to talk about another source of topic but it is prevented by E in 11. In 11, E produces *actually* marked just after a TCU-initial conjunction, 'but'. It means that she revises her talk with an opposite conjunction prefacing *actually* in the same turn. NSs use *actually* with conjunction to revise their prior turn as following excerpt.

(26) Milk
1D And then of course I had to take her over to the vet uh:m .hh
2 to have uh:m: e-injection to take the milk away:y.
In (26), D revises his prior turn by using a confrontational conjunction prefacing actually in 5. It shows that the first interaction between D and L is finished and D in 5 reopens previous topic with TCU-initial actually. In (4), however, the interaction between M and E is not completed until showed actually in 11 and it is still continued to present E’s opinion what she really want to say about their topic. Thus, in such case, E does not reopen the previous topic but continue her turn in 11. actually in this case also functions as a revision marker of the speaker’s mind but it is different from NSs’ actually in that their interaction is not yet finished and the placement of actually is not in the next turn of revised TCU but in the same turn of it. In NNSs’ discourse, there are no instances of change of mind token actually which does not follow a conjunction such as so, but. Although some different points exist between NSs and NNSs, both of them have the basic meaning of change of mind token, revision, and it means that NNSs in this discourse already know the core meaning of actually but they use it in different placement of their turn.

**4.2.2 Self-repair**

Clift (2001) investigates actually in self-repair with reference to its placement. TCU-final actually in self-repair shows that it has parenthetical character that a speaker cuts off from what she or he has began to say insert a TCU that conveys information that hearably belongs either before or after what was about to be said. In other words, the right-hand limit of this parenthesized information is marked by TCU-final actually. TCU-initial actually positioned in self-repair serves to deviate the topic from trajectory that is started and then abandoned. In TCU-initial position, actually marks a restart and the initiation of a new topical tack. actually in self-repair is different according to the placement of it. In NNSs’ data, however, there are no instances of actually placed in
TCU-final position. TCU-initial actually in self-repair is inserted between trouble source and the outcome of repair.

In (5), E is a storyteller of the best seller book, The Da Vinci Code. She explains the content of that book to the group members.

(5) The Da Vinci Code.
01  jesus Christ marry marriage so he put lots of clue uh kind of cold =
02  M: um hm
03  E: =to his
04  M: [pictures
05  E: [yeah yeah grand ma-master pieces like last supper =
06  M: um hm
07  E: =and Monalisa smiles something like that so: it was very
08  interesting and it's a kind of shock because ( ) I'm catholic
09  and when I was (1.0) since I was young I read some
10  bibles and I trust it (0.6) but it's actually it's not true no I- i- i
11  don't totally uhh (0.1) trust the book but you know it's kind of very shock shocking so
12  C: And the ( ) the book make you believe it you know a lot of facts in there
13  M: Um hm
14  E: Yah but I think it can be possible it can be possible not ( ) one hundred percent trust
15  but it can be possible and ( ) some facts of the bible cannot be true (2.0) but before
16  before reading I I trust whole fact of the the bible
17  M: Uh huh
18  E: One hundred percent so it changes

From 7 to 10, E is talking about her feeling after she reads the book. In 9, after an oppositional conjunction 'but' which indicates a reversion of state, E makes a repair by using cut-off and then actually placed in TCU-initial is shown. actually in this case implies that there will be a reversed state of prior TCU. After actually in TCU-initial position, E negates her prior repair TCU. In NSs’ discourse, actually placed in TCU-initially launches a new topical trajectory and one motivation for this shift may be grounded in prior interactional trouble. As we have seen, however, NNSs’ TCU-initial actually in self-repair is not caused by the prior interactional trouble. In (5), E continues to tell a story of the book as a narration and self-repair is made to revise her prior TCU. In other words, the trouble source is grounded not in prior international turn but in their prior TCU in the same turn. Moreover, TCU-initial actually in self-repair does not launch a new topical line but only reverse its prior TCU in the same turn. However, NNSs’ use of actually in self-repair also can be a change of state token as Clift proposed. Thus, even though NNSs use TCU-initial actually in different way, the basic meaning of it is the same as NSs’ usage.
4.2.3 Topic movement

Topic movement is also one of the major environments to be examined in Clift (2001), including both topic shift and topic change. While topic shift involves a move from one aspect of a topic to another, topic change launches a new line of talk. Clift (2001) claims that TCU-final actually marks the outer limit of a TCU introduced to change from one topic to another in talk. In contrast, TCU-initial actually marks the introduction of touched-off material that is potentially relevant. Thus, she claims that topic change occurs in TCU-final and topic shift occurs in TCU-initial. In non-native data, topic movement is similarly shown in environments of native speakers’ use of actually. We will examine topic change and topic shift in NNSs’ discourse.

4.2.3.1 Topic shift

Topic shift means that the introduction of touched-off material that is heard as potentially topically relevant because of having been triggered (Clift 2001). It usually occurs in TCU-initial position and the shifted topic is relevant to the prior topic. In NNSs’ data, we can find that actually signals a shift in the topical direction of the speaker’s talk.

(7) Stories about high school life
01 C: so I just (0.5) have memorized to start dancing at that time
02 M: um hm
03 (1.0)
04 C: and actually dormitory is my (0.2) favorite thing() its only favorite thing in my high
05 school because (0.7) it was first time () I live without my parents without my family
06 so() I just enjoyed it hhhhhh so() I like it
07 (1.7)
08 M: okay
09 (2.0)
10 S: did-did you take a test to enter that () high school?

In (7), C is talking about his unforgettable memories when he was a high school student. In line 1, C is talking about dancing as one of the memorable things in his high school life. After a pause in 3, C continuously talks his high school life but he makes topic movement with TCU-initial actually although there is a conjunction ‘and’ before it. It is noteworthy that C uses ‘and’ before actually
even in topic shift situation. Topic shift usually shows a change related to the prior talk. In this situation, it is reasonable to use 'but' instead of 'and'. C, however, makes a narrative story of his personal experiences in this discourse and dormitory thing is one of his memorable things in high school. Thus, he uses 'and' because he continuously gives his story of high school life. Cliff (2001) suggests that TCU-initial actually serves to mark what follows as relevant to the prior talk, but constituting a shift of direction. Even though the topic movement occurs in 4, the topic is related to the prior topic in that they are all included in the memorable high school life. In other words, the dormitory story in 4 could be a subtopic of the main topic, 'high school life'. Thus, TCU-initial actually in this example serves as a topic movement marker but it indicates not topic change but topic shift in terms of its relevance to C's prior turn.

Both topic change and topic shift are shown in our data. Topic shift marked by actually is placed in TCU-initial as Cliff discussed but topic change completed by actually is somewhat different from NSs' one in terms of its placement in TCU. On the surface, actually in topic change seems to be placed in TCU-final but it is essentially placed in TCU-initial in that the new topic introduced by the speaker does not precede to actually in their TCU. The new topic appears after actually in the next turn rather than preceding it. In NNSs' data, actually in topic movement is similarly shown of its meaning, but the placement is different from NSs' actually.

4.2.3.2 Topic change

Topic change is different from topic shift in that topic change is clearly disjunctive with prior talk. Cliff proposes that topic change occurs in TCU-final position. In (6), the group members are talking about religion and plastic surgery. From line 1 to 7, they are talking about going to church on weekdays.

(6) Religion
01 M: But I think (0.7) I feel (0.9) I feel different (0.5) if I go weekdays [huhhhuhhhhhhh
02 J: [huhhuhhhuhhhuhhh
03 M: Because Sunday you know Sunday: is very (.) very related with religious day
04 J: Um hm
05 (7.0)
06 M : I think (.) we were talking about this
After 7, the topic is changed by C and they begin to talk about plastic surgery. Since religious problem and plastic surgery is not relevant at all, we can say that this is a topic change. In this case, actually is shown in TCU-final position as a topic change marker. In 8, C attempts to produce a new topic with breaking a silence but M intervenes between 8 and 10 with completing his prior talk in 6. In 10, finally he makes topic change with latching sign of his prior turn. Even though it seems that actually in 8 is TCU-final, in fact, it also can be a TCU-initial actually unless M’s turn intervenes between 8 and 10. Moreover, the reason why actually in TCU-final is called topic change marker is that actually in TCU-final position tags along with the new topic in a one TCU. Thus, even if actually in this example placed in TCU-final, its placement is different from NSs’ actually considering a placement of new topic whether it is placed before actually or after actually. Clift claims that topic change occurs not in TCU-initial but in TCU-final. Even though the topic change in this example externally seems to be placed in TCU-final, it is substantially placed in TCU-initial position with respect to the placement of new topic.

6. Conclusion

So far, we have examined NNSs’ use of actually with comparing to NSs’ data in Clift (2001). Even though there exist some different points such as its placement, environment, the core meaning of actually, ‘revision, contrast, unexpectedness’, is similarly shown in NNSs’ discourse. Considering the placement of tokens, we can conclude that NNSs rarely use TCU-final actually and TCU-initial actually is overwhelmingly displayed. In terms of its activity in NNSs’ discourse, informing is the most frequent usage of it and self-repair is the second one and the last one is topic movement.
Main characteristics of *actually* in NNSs’ data might look like Table 3.

Table 3. * Actually in NNSs’ data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
<td>simple informing token in Q-A sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>counter-positional informing token as counterinforming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>change of mind token: revision of own prior TCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-repair</td>
<td>revision of the speaker’s prior TCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic movement</td>
<td>disjunctive topic change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nondisjunctive topic shift</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for informing, the activity of *actually* is similarly shown as NSs’ use of it except for the placement. Firstly, in contrast with NSs’ use of *actually* in question elicited informings, *actually* in NNSs’ data marks a response to the simple question and it elaborates information to the prior turn. Secondly, NNSs’ use of *actually* in counterinformings is similar to NSs’ one in terms of its meaning in the discourse although they counter a claim of another speaker in their interaction more directly. Thirdly, *actually* in change of mind token functions as a revision marker of the speaker’s mind but it is different from NSs’ *actually* in that their interaction is not yet finished. In self-repair, the trouble source is grounded not in prior international turn, as proposed by Clift (2001), but in their prior TCU in the same turn. Moreover, TCU-initial *actually* in self-repair does not set up a new topical line but only reverse its prior TCU in the same turn. *Actually* in topic movement is shown in two ways, topic change and topic shift. Clift (2001) pointed out the placement of *actually* determines a distance between prior talk and current talk. In NNSs’ data, both topic change and topic shift are shown but the placement is not exactly same as NSs’ discourse. As mentioned above, *actually* in NNSs’ data is used as a marker of contradiction, unexpectedness and topic movement. English NNSs’ use of *actually* is similar to NSs’ in terms of its basic meaning. However, their use of *actually* is limited with respect to its
placement in TCU structure and the function of actually is not exactly same as NSs’ one. This is because NNSs have a tendency to speak more directly in that they want to make their opinion understandable to the hearer. Moreover, NNSs already have known the meaning of actually following dictionary very well but they might not acquire the real usage of it in conversation as NSs do. Overall, even if each of the activity in NNSs’ data has different points from NSs’ data, especially its placement, they hold a core meaning of actually in common.

References


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