

***Actually* in English Non-native Speakers' Performances**

Yu-Kyung Kim

(Seoul National University)

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 emphazier or content disjunct (Quirk et al. 1985). As an emphazier, *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 emphaizers 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 emphaizer 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

2) Quoted from Quirk et al.(1985) A comprehensive grammar of the English Language. London: Longman

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 1. Frequency of *actually* in its placement

Placement	TCU-initial	TCU-medial	TCU-final	Total
Frequency	22(78.57%)	5(17.85%)	1(4.54%)	28

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 2. Use of *actually* in NNSs' data

Sequential environment	Informings	Self-repair	Topic movement	Total
TCU-initial	14	5	3	22
TCU-medial	5	0	0	5
TCU-final	1	0	0	1
Total	20	5	3	28

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 of 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 [hhehhhehh
 13 S: [hhhhhhhhah
 14 M: hhehhhehhhhhh 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 *Kwanghwamwun* because of *nasintungkupcy*.

(2) rally

- 01 M: oh I want to ask you (.) if you go back to your (.) uh high

- 02 school period (0.3) if you are uh high school student uh will
 03 you participate in that rally(.) uh there are about four hundreds
 04 (0.2) students (0.1) and if you get the message (0.3) to get the
 05 message(.) will you join?
 06 H: what is the rally really about the (0.2) I don't know the
 07 (0.3)
 08 →M: uh *actually* someone says it was for (.) uh cherish memory (.)
 09 cherish memory ceremony you know there ah there are some
 10 students who who did suicide
 11 H: uh hm
 12 M: because of uh study (.) and it was one reason, and the second
 13 reason was uh (0.5) to protest against uh(0.2) new new high
 14 scho- new university entrance exam, (.) the government will
 15 put more rate um high school scores not uh CSAT call it SAT
 16 hhhehhhand the third one was uh to be cut their hair by
 17 teachers (0.1) yeah
 18 (0.2)
 19 C: about the hair
 20 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 NSSs' 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 NSSs' 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 inbreath 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 uh (.) 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 ac[cept 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 [hhhehhhhhhhehh=

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 in 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.

NNSs' use of *actually* in counterinformings is similar to NSs' one in terms of its meaning in the discourse. However, there are some different points that should be noted in here. Unlike the NSs' 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 NNSs' 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 : news[papers
 03 M : [These days newspapers
 04 E: Ya[h=
 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: O::r
 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 awa:y.

- 3L
 4 you ?do:.. [Yes I suppose
 5D →But (.) *actually* the milk wasn't too bad because of course it
 6 hadn't been stimula[ted.
 7L [No:, No:, .hh
 (Clift 2001)

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 Cliff 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 hhhehh so(.) I like it

07 (1.7)

08 M: okay

09 (2.0)

10 S: di-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. Clift (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 Clift 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. Clift 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 [hhhhhuhhhhhh
 02 J: [hhuhhhhhhhuhh
 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

- 07 (1.0)
 08→ C: You- you know *actually*=
 09 M: =before she came [he(h)re(h)
 10 C: [I wanna ask you (.) you know its plastic surgery things
 11 J: um h(h)m(h)
 12 C: if you guys have positive (.) or negative something like that
 13 J: Umm:: (.) follows the conclusion
 14 (1.0)
 15 M: hehhe there was no [conclusion
 16 J: [no conclusion

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 NNSs' *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 NNSs' 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

Activity	
Informing	simple informing token in Q-A sequence counter-positional informing token as counterinforming change of mind token: revision of own prior TCU
Self-repair	revision of the speaker's prior TCU
Topic movement	disjunctive topic change nondisjunctive topic shift

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

- Clift, Rebecca. 2001 Meaning in interaction: THE CASE OF *actually*. *Language*, VOLUME77, NUMBER 2.
- Collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners. (2001) 3rd edition. London: Collins
- Fraser, B. 1999. What Are Discourse Markers? *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 931 - 952
- Oh, Sun-Young. 2000. *actually* and in fact in American English: A database analysis. *English Language and Linguistics* 4: 243 - 268.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum., G. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Yu-Kyung Kim
yk0072@snu.ac.kr