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Actually: function, position and prosody

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Several studies have been devoted, partly or wholly, to the different uses of the adverb *actually.* Although there is considerable agreement on the main discourse functions *actually* can perform, there is little consensus on which subtypes to distinguish, and how these subtypes, and the functions they perform, are related to the formal properties of *actually.* Consequently, conclusions concerning the relation between the various functions of *actually* and its position and prosodic realization are often contradictory, and the overall picture is still incomplete. On the basis of data from the *International Corpus of English – Great Britain*, this article presents the results of a systematic (qualitative and quantitative) investigation into the function, position and prosody of *actually*, and the way in which these factors interact. It is demonstrated that (i) by classifying the many functions of *actually* identified in previous studies into three major types (propositional, discourse-pragmatic and discourse-organizational) and (ii) by appealing to additional functional factors, such as scope, strength and orientation, to distinguish a limited number of subtypes, it is possible to detect strong correlations between the functions of *actually* and its formal (positional and prosodic) features.

Keywords: actually, adjunct vs. disjunct, discourse marker, linear position, prosody

1 Introduction

A considerable number of studies have been devoted (partly or wholly) to the different uses of the adverb *actually.* One thing these studies have in common is that they provide (detailed) discussions of the many functions *actually* can perform. Apart from this, however, they all focus on different aspects of *actually.* Some distinguish different types of *actually* (e.g. adjunct vs. disjunct (Aijmer 1986); propositional vs. discourse marker (Lenk 1998)), whereas others look at the discourse marker use only (e.g. Smith & Jucker 2000; Clift 2001) or do not distinguish any types at all (e.g. Watts 1988; Tognini-Bonelli 1993). Some studies investigate the relation between the type (e.g. Aijmer 1986; Taglicht 2001; Oh 2000) or function (Clift 2001; Aijmer 2002; Haselow 2012, 2013) of *actually* and its position in the clause. Occasionally, prosody

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and its relation to the type/function of *actually* is taken into consideration (Aijmer 1986, 2002; Taglicht 2001).[1]

Although there is general agreement on the main discourse functions of *actually* (counterexpectancy, contrast, elaboration, pragmatic softener, topic shift indicator), there is little consensus on how to (sub)classify these functions. Moreover, conclusions concerning the relation between the functions of *actually* and its position and/or prosodic realization are often contradictory. As a result, the overall picture that emerges from these studies is still confusing and incomplete.

The current article aims to fill some of these gaps by providing a systematic, corpus-based investigation into the function, position and prosody of *actually.* Use will be made primarily of data from the spoken component of *The International Corpus of English – Great Britain* (ICE-GB; see Nelson *et al.* 2002). The approach taken is both qualitative and quantitative, with all examples being analysed in terms of their discourse-pragmatic, discourse-organizational and/or semantic function, as well as their (clausal or extra-clausal) position and prosodic behaviour. In this way we were able to test some of the previous claims concerning the relation between the functional and formal properties of *actually*, while, hopefully, also providing new insights in the way these properties interact.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of previous accounts of the function, position and prosody of *actually.* Subsequently, section 3 describes our data and methodology. Next, in section 4, we present our findings, looking at three different correlations: between position and prosody (section 4.1), between function and position (section 4.2) and between function and prosody (section 4.3). In section 5 we propose a new classification of *actually*, linking function to position and, subsequently, to prosodic realization (section 5.1); this is followed by a discussion of the main tendencies (section 5.2). Section 6 concludes the article.

2 Previous accounts of *actually*

The adverb *actually* occurs very frequently, especially in spoken language (Aijmer 1986: 120). As can be seen from example (1), it is also highly multi-functional[2] and positionally flexible. In addition, as shown in sections 2.1 and 4 below, *actually* exhibits a considerable degree of prosodic variation.

(1) (a) He **actually** said something totally different (realis) (Aijmer 1986: 120)
(b) I didn't **actually** speak to her (emphasizer) (Aijmer 2002: 257)
(c) You know Gerry **actually** refers to my mother's bedroom as the boudoir (incredulity) (Aijmer 2013: 110)

[1] In addition, *actually* has been studied from the point of view of genre (Aijmer 2013) and stance style (Biber & Finegan 1988), sometimes in comparison to similar adverbials (in particular *in fact*; e.g. Oh 2000; Aijmer 2013). Finally, some studies focus on (or include) a discussion of the historical development of *actually* (Powell 1992; Traugott & Dasher 2002). These aspects will not be dealt with in this article.

[2] The functions mentioned in example (1) are those proposed by Aijmer (1986, 2002, 2013).

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(d) He's quite a bit older than me … **Actually**, he is thirty-five (explanation) (Aijmer 1986: 123)
(e) Joe and I set it between us – **actually**, Joe set the paper (self-correction) (Aijmer 1986: 123)
(f) No **actually** you go down to the Fulham Road … (other-correction) (Aijmer 1986: 124)
(g) Bloody good cherries **actually** (personal opinion) (Aijmer 1986: 126)
(h) This is very interesting **actually** (mainly phatic) (Aijmer 2002: 272)
(i) I don't think I was determined to get married **actually** (rapport) (Aijmer 1986: 126)

However, although the kinds of functions indicated in these examples recur in much of the literature, (sub)classifications of the various uses of *actually* differ, as do observations concerning the relation between function, position and prosodic realization. In what follows some previous literature on the different aspects of *actually* is discussed.

2.1 The functions of actually

A distinction is typically made between propositional *actually* (functioning as an adjunct) and the discourse marker *actually* (functioning as a disjunct) (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985; Aijmer 1986; 2002, 2013; Biber & Finegan 1988; Hoye 1997; Lenk 1998; Oh 2000; Taglicht 2001). On its propositional use *actually* is regarded as having a modal function, indicating realis ('in reality'). This use has also been referred to as truth-insistent (Taglicht 2001), epistemic (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 152), or evidential (Powell 1992: 85). In addition, propositional *actually* has been analysed as an emphasizer or intensifier (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583; Aijmer 1986, 2002, 2013; cf. Taglicht's (2001) scalar use). Examples of these two uses can be found in (1a, b), as well as in example (2):

(2) (a) A: What's happened to your finger?
B: Well I've told a lot of people that I dropped an Anglo-Saxon cross on it but what I **actually** did was slam it in a car door. (realis) (adapted from Taglicht 2001: 2)
(b) … called Wilfred Evans – who's **actually** a very nice chap (emphasizer) (Aijmer 1986: 122; 2002: 253)

However, when it comes to the functions of *actually*, most attention has been given to its use as a disjunct, i.e. as a discourse marker. With this use, *actually* can have a host of functions, the most basic one being that of signalling 'discrepancy' (Smith & Jucker 2000: 208) or 'adversativity' (Aijmer 2013: 107), e.g. counterexpectancy, surprise, disagreement, objection, other-correction, change of mind, etc. (see examples in (3)). A related function is that of pragmatic softener, where *actually* functions to weaken a face-threatening act (Aijmer 1986, 2002, 2013; Tognini-Bonelli 1993; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Oh 2000; Haselow 2013) (see examples in (4)).

(3) (a) A. How was the bus ride?
B: **Actually**, we went by train. (other-correction) (Taglicht 2001: 1–2)

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(b) A: so where have YOU been
B: er… well **actually** this summer, I took a trip to .. Greece, with my parents, (counterexpectancy) (Smith & Jucker 2000: 231)

(4) (a) A: so what part of Hong Kong, what's wha- what language do you speak, like Mandarin or .. [Cantonese]
B: [uh we speak] Cantonese.
A: oh.
B: and English .. **actually**. (softener) (Smith & Jucker 2000: 228)
(b) And uhm I was **actually** kind of relishing **actually** sort of getting to June and and just getting free and just thinking I'll get a job in a shop (apology, concession) (Aijmer 2013: 109)

Other functions include the expression of the speaker's personal opinion (as in example (5a); see also (1g)) and establishing rapport (establishing and maintaining contact; as in example (5b); see also (1i)), as well as the addition of relevant material (elaboration, e.g. through explanation or justification; see example (1d)) and a phatic use (example (1h)).

(5) (a) I **actually** think he did rather neglect sabre, didn't he. (personal opinion) (Lenk 1998: 162)
(b) I was thinking **actually** (rapport) (Aijmer 1986: 127–8)

Finally, *actually* may have a discourse-organizational function, indicating a change or shift in topic (Aijmer 1986, 2013; Lenk 1998; Oh 2000; Smith & Jucker 2000; Clift 2001; Taglicht 2001):

(6) (a) No it was wonderful. We were travelling oh we'd just left the Ashram **actually.** We were travelling with some <unclear-word> third class very important people (topic shift) (Aijmer 2013: 113)
(b) well he's the one who went to Vietnam – and then that that was too much for his system and for … about three or four years he didn't work afterwards – and now he's become a carpenter – Eileen says he seems quite happy and he's just got married again – **actually** he's still only twenty-six – he's on his second marriage and he's twenty-six (topic shift) (Lenk 1998: 178)

Several other, minor, (sub)functions have been identified, leading to the (non-exhaustive) list of possible functions of propositional *actually* and *actually* as a discourse marker in table 1.

In many cases assigning one of these functions to actual corpus data is relatively straightforward; nevertheless, the long list provided in table 1 also turns out to be problematic. Firstly, there seems to be considerable overlap between certain functions (Tognini-Bonelli 1993; Lenk 1998), which makes it difficult to determine which of the functions is the most appropriate (e.g. change in perspective vs. topic shift; concession vs. softening, rapport vs. phatic use). This also applies to some of the examples mentioned above. To give just a few examples: in (2b) *actually* could just as well be

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Table 1. *Functions of* actually

Propositional functions (adjunct)	Discourse functions (disjunct)
realis / truth-insistent / contrastive	counterexpectancy (objection, rejection, correction)
emphasis / intensification (scalar)	change in perspective / postural change
indicating similarity / adaptor word	topic shift / digression
surprise	contrast / emphasis
	newsworthiness
	personal opinion
	elaboration (explanation, clarification, justification)
	surprise / incredulity
	concession
	self-repair / change of mind
	reformulation
	rapport / common ground / establishing intimacy
	afterthought / 'come to think of it'
	pragmatic softener / hedge
	filler / phatic use

seen as indicating counterexpectancy, surprise or personal opinion; example (5a), classified by Lenk (1998: 162) as an expression of personal opinion, is analysed by Aijmer (1986: 127) as an example of softening; and example (6a), apart from signalling a change in topic, could also be regarded as elaboration or be given a 'come to think of it' interpretation. Secondly, the use of *actually* can fulfil several functions at the same time, as illustrated in example (7) for *actually* in initial position:

(7) *(Sports commentator)*
Meanwhile on the triple jump we're back with Jonathan Edwards
There's the big clapping all down the runway that was pioneered by Willy Banks
| And **actually** he's competing here tonight
| The world record holder
Again Jonathan Edwards <took> takes off way behind the board (ICE-GB: S2A–007–044)

In this example *actually* introduces a self-interruption, signalling a digression (change of direction within topic). It is used to introduce newsworthy information, which may be assumed to be unexpected, and could even be taken to express (mild) surprise on the part of the speaker (the idea of a pioneer potentially evoking the idea of a bygone era).

It will therefore come as no surprise that in previous studies, different functions have been assigned to the same (or very similar) examples. Aijmer (2013: 103) therefore suggests it may be better to regard *actually* as having 'a meaning potential organized around several core functions', such as adversativity. The question that remains is exactly what these core functions are, and how they correlate with formal properties of *actually* like (extra-)clausal position and prosodic relation.

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2.2 *The position of* actually

As pointed out by Aijmer (1986, 2002), *actually* can occur in all clausal positions; the question therefore arises whether there is a correlation between the many functions of *actually* and the position it takes in the clause: is every use of *actually* appropriate in all positions, or does the function of *actually* place constraints on where it can occur in the clause? Aijmer (2002: 253) observes that '[f]rom the point of view of meaning/function there is also little to distinguish between *actually* in different positions'; likewise, Oh (2000: 266) concludes that 'there is no one-to-one correspondence between position and function' (see also Watts 1988: 251, 253–4; Lenk 1998: 166; Smith & Jucker 2000; Simon-Vandenbergen & Willems 2011).

However, if we restrict ourselves to the two main uses of *actually*, some general tendencies on placement have been observed. Thus, propositional (adjunctive) *actually* appears in medial positions, whereas as a discourse marker (disjunctive) *actually* prefers initial and final position, although it can also appear in (parenthetical) medial position (Aijmer 1986, 2002; Taglicht 2001). Aijmer (1986, 2002), for instance, states that

> when *actually* is placed medially, it hedges the proposition or a single element. When *actually* is placed initially or finally it is a discourse particle with textual or interpersonal function. (Aijmer 2002: 253)

There is, however, no consensus on this point. According to Oh (2000), for instance, *actually* may have different functions in medial position (see also Lenk 1998): one with a local scope (realis or emphasizing/intensifying; e.g. examples (2a, b)), the other with a global scope (contradicting expectation; e.g. examples (4b) and (5a)). In other words, whereas the propositional use of *actually* is restricted to a medial position, *actually* as a discourse marker can appear in any position.

As far as the relation between the position of discourse marker *actually* and its many functions is concerned, only some broad tendencies have been mentioned. Thus, for Aijmer (2002) disjunctive *actually* in utterance-initial position 'plays a role for the development of discourse and serves as a discourse particle with cohesive function' (Aijmer 2002: 257; e.g. examples in (3)), whereas in utterance-final position it functions as a floor-holder, emphasizing the relationship between speaker and hearer (Aijmer 2002: 258; e.g. example (5b)). Similarly, in his discussion of utterance-final *actually*, Haselow (2012, 2013) identifies a specific effect of this position on the interpretation of *actually*, namely a stronger illocutionary effect, expressing higher degree of speaker involvement (see also Lenk 1998: 169). Finally, Clift (2001) recognizes clear differences in function between *actually* at the beginning and at the end of a turn (or turn constructional unit).

2.3 *The prosodic realization of* actually

Only a few of the studies dedicated to *actually* provide an account of its prosodic features, either in relation to its function, or in relation to its position. Aijmer (1986: 122) mentions that whereas adjunctive *actually* can be stressed, but does not usually

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carry a tone, discourse marker *actually* may (but need not) carry a tone. Taglicht (2001: 6), on the other hand, points to a difference in prosody between the two propositional uses of *actually.* In its modal function, indicating realis (what Taglicht refers to as its truth-insistent use; see example (2a)), *actually* is typically more prosodically prominent than any element in the rest of the sentence, and may carry a tone. With its emphasizing use (Taglicht's (2001) scalar use; see example (2b)), *actually* is always less prosodically prominent than what follows (even if *actually* itself is still stressed). Taglicht (2001: 6) provides the following examples (where capitalization indicates prosodic prominence):

(8) (a) NO one had actually disoBEYED any order. (scalar *actually*)
(b) well I don't ACtually do it like THIS. (truth-insistent *actually*)

In addition, Taglicht (2001: 6) observes (in a footnote) that in its scalar use, *actually* can be completely lacking in prosodic prominence. Unfortunately, there is very little by way of actual prosodic analysis to justify these claims.

As for discourse marker *actually*, Aijmer (2002: 262–5) finds several correlations between discourse function, position and prosody. She distinguishes six possible prosodic patterns, all of which are related to one or more discourse functions (and some to specific positions). These can be summarized as follows:

– Pattern A: separate tone unit in initial position (fall rise) – anticipating resistance
– Pattern B: separate tone unit in initial position (simple fall) – elaboration, clarification
– Pattern C: initially without (nuclear) stress – weak contrast
– Pattern D: integrated in final or post-head position; rising tone with a preceding fall tone – available information, establishing common ground
– Pattern E: integrated, nuclear tail with a preceding fall tone – *actually* less important than in Pattern D
– Pattern F: inserted as a separate tone group with a rise or fall-rise tone – afterthought

Of these six patterns, three are prosodically integrated and three are prosodically non-integrated; this distinction is, however, not further pursued. Watts (1988: 253–4), on the other hand, explicitly claims that the prosodic (non-)integration of *actually* does not affect its function (see also Taglicht 2001: 4–5). Here again, however, the prosodic analysis is not very precise, and the inventory is far from complete. Moreover, as we will see below, the correlations are not always supported by our data: the difference between patterns A and B was not corroborated by our data, nor was that between patterns D and E (for which we offer a different explanation), while pattern F was hardly attested in our sample.

3 Data and methodology

The data for this study was drawn from the spoken part of the British Component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB version 3.0; see Nelson *et al.* 2002), which

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Table 2. *Dataset per position*

	Retrieved	Coded
Initial	86	82
Medial	201	192
Final	86	82
Total	372	**356**

contains approximately 640,000 words from various text types: private conversations, telephone calls, business meetings, classroom lessons, public broadcast discussions and commentaries, court hearings and parliamentary discussions. ICE-GB is particularly convenient for a prosodic analysis because the transcription of the spoken data is accompanied by audio files suitable for an auditory and instrumental prosodic analysis.

The corpus contained approximately 700 tokens of *actually* in various positions. All the examples in the initial position (pre-main clause) and in the final position (post-main verb) that were suitable for a prosodic analysis were collected, comprising 82 examples of *actually* in initial position and 82 in final position. As for the medial position (see below), 201 randomly selected examples were collected, out of which 192 were included in the final analysis (the remaining examples were either mistakes in the corpus or unsuitable for prosodic analysis). In total, 356 examples were analysed (see table 2).

Each example was coded for function, position and prosodic features.[3] Function was assigned on the basis of context, whereby particular use was made of the various subfunctions of *actually* proposed in the literature. We soon realized, however, that for the coding of functions we could not just rely on the many functions that had been suggested in the literature, no matter how valid these may be to account for the use of *actually* in particular examples. Firstly, as we saw in section 2.1, there are simply too many cases where more than one function seems to be appropriate. Secondly, the sheer number of these, sometimes overlapping, functions makes it unlikely that any correlations between specific functions and well-defined prosodic patterns can be detected. We therefore decided, by way of hypothesis, to classify the many subfunctions into four broad types, and to see if any correlations could be found between these types, their positions and their prosodic realization. These four main types were defined as follows.

Type 1: Discrepancy–Counterexpectancy

With this use, *actually* indicates a change in perspective (e.g. Aijmer 2002: 252), or a break with what has been said before (Tognini-Bonelli 1993: 204–5), indicating a

[3] Coding for function and prosody was, in the first instance, done separately: one of the authors coded the data for function, the other author took care of the prosodic coding. The prosodic coding was repeated twice over a period of several months; agreement was over 90 per cent. Coding for function turned out to be difficult without having access to prosodic information, as, obviously, prosody often provides a cue to the speaker's intention. After conflating the results, both authors were involved in the final classification of the data for function.

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discrepancy in propositional attitude with that on the floor (Smith & Jucker 2000: 208). It can be described as 'a general-purpose signal for a counterclaim', indicating that what is to come is not shared (Tognini-Bonelli 1993: 204; Lenk 1998: 160; Smith & Jucker 2000: 222). Finally, it can also be used to indicate surprise/incredulity on the part of the speaker, or to add relevant information (elaboration; Aijmer 1986, 2002). Type 1 *actually* cannot appropriately be replaced by *really* or *in reality*, but may be paraphrasable as *in fact* or *as a matter of fact.*

Type 2: Topic shift

This function, also mentioned by many authors (e.g. Aijmer 2013: 113; 2002: 252; cf. Lenk 1998; Oh 2000; Smith & Jucker 2000; Clift 2001; Taglicht 2001) can take various guises. It may either disrupt the discourse by introducing a new topical direction, but it may also indicate a smaller shift, or a digression, still relevant to the previous discourse. More specific functions are 'change of mind' (e.g. Aijmer 2013; Clift 2001) and 'come to think of it' (Aijmer 1986, 2002).

Type 3: Weak discrepancy

With this use, *actually* is used to indicate mild discrepancy or counterexpectancy, There is a break with the preceding discourse (contrast, rejection, correction), but this is indicated in a less confrontational, less face-threatening, manner than in Type 1. Type 3 functions of *actually* therefore include mitigation (pragmatic softener) and concession. In addition, Type 3 *actually* can be used to share an opinion and to establish speaker–hearer rapport (Aimer 1986, 2002), and may on occasion even be considered to be phatic.

Type 4: Propositional use

Here *actually* is used to indicate a discrepancy between reality and what appears to be the case; in other words, it is concerned with the truth value of the proposition of which it is part. It has two main uses: a truth-insistent use (contrastive) and an emphatic use (emphasizing or intensifying what is to come, typically a verb; e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583; Aijmer 1986, 2002, 2013). With this use, *actually* functions as an adjunct and can be replaced by *really*/*in reality.* Minor uses include indicating surprise and *actually* as an adaptor word (Aijmer 1986: 122).

The four types, with the general and more specific functions subsumed under them, and the codes used, are presented in table 3.

The three positions were defined with respect to the clause expressing the proposition that *actually* was part of or was used to comment on. The initial and final positions, illustrated in (9) and (10), are relatively straightforward:

(9) (a) **Actually** planning it started in 1978. (ICE GB: S2A–032 043)
(b) And **actually** he's competing here tonight. (ICE GB: S2A–00 044)

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Table 3. *Functions of* actually: *four broad classes*

Type/definition	Functions	Coding
Type 1:	- clear indication of discrepancy	T1-discr-count
Discrepancy–	- objection, rejection	T1-discr-contrad
counterexpectancy	- other-correction	T1-discr-oth-corr
	- surprise/incredulity	T1-discr-surpr
	- elaboration	T1-elab-clar
	• clarification	T1-elab-expl
	• explanation	T1-elab-just
	• justification	
	- mitigation (of a strong counterclaim/ other correction);	T1-mit
	- self-repair	T1-self-rep
	- self-correction	T1-self-corr
Type 2:	- new topic	T2-new
Topic shift	- slight shift	T2-slight
	- digression	T2-digr
	- change-of-mind	T2-CoM
	- come-to-think-of-it	T2-CtToi
Type 3:	- weak indication of discrepancy	T3-discr-count-weak
Weak discrepancy	- mitigation	T3-mit
	- polite other correction, mild rejection	T3-discr-oth-corr-weak
	- surprise	T3-discr-self-corr-weak
	- personal opinion	T3-surpr-weak
	- rapport, phatic use, filler	T3-opinion
		T3-phatic
Type 4:	- indicating reality, truth-insistence (also in n WH-questions)	T4-real
Propositional/		T4-emph
realis	- emphasizing/intensifying what follows, typically a verb (also in n WH-questions)	T4-WH (real or emph)
	- indicating contrast/correction	T4-contr
	- indicating surprise	T4-surpr
	- adapter word	T4-mit
		T4-sim

(10) (a) It's usually quite expensive **actually**. (ICE GB: S1A–029 094)
(b) Very nice present **actually**. (ICE GB: S1A–022 172)

The medial position was defined as any of the following:

(11) *Pre-main verb*
… and that **actually** worked out very well. (ICE GB: S1A–021 223)
… the paradigm shift that is **actually** occurring. (ICE GB: S1A–096 091)
I found it very difficult to **actually** get involved. (ICE GB: S1B–044 010)

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(12) *Pre-auxiliary, pre-modal*[4]
I **actually** wasn't allowed to have uh five years' grant. (ICE GB: S1A–034 098)

(13) *be-actually-going-to*
She was **actually** going to pay more in a tiny flat … (ICE GB: S1B–03 055)

(14) *Pre-copular*
The employers in the country that **actually** are up to quota is minimal. (ICE GB: S1B–062 114)

(15) *Post-copular*
It's **actually** quite attractive. (ICE GB: S1A–061 254)

(16) *'Post-head' (parenthetical; Aijmer 1986: 127)*
It's more important **actually** than the geographical position of the warehouse. (ICE GB: S1B–064 085)

The prosodic analysis was done in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2019). It included the identification of the tonal contours associated with the target and with the material in its immediate environment. In essence, the goal of the prosodic analysis was to identify the prosodic prominence (in terms of pitch accents) and the prosodic phrasing (in terms of boundary tones) of each example. The analysis made use of the ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) annotation system (Beckman *et al.* 2006), following the by now widely accepted framework of Pierrehumbert (1980), further developed in the Autosegmental-metrical model (AM) (Ladd 2008).[5] Additionally, the analysis relied on the extensive literature from outside the AM model when it comes to the interpretation of pauses, the identification of breaks and boundaries, and other cues indicating various intonation domains (e.g. Crystal 1969; Bolinger 1989; Cruttenden 1997; Gussenhoven 2004).

We followed Pierrehumbert (1980) and Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986) in assuming the Intonational Phrase (IP) domain to comprise pitch accent tones (T*), phrase tones (T-) and boundary tones (T%). The IP is thus intonationally defined in terms of a complete tonal contour (tune), modulated by the combination of these different types of tone. Accordingly, the data were coded for each of these tones, and classified according to the tonal contour. Additionally, the analysis of the examples in the medial position was extended to include the coding of two prominence patterns with respect to *actually* and the following element (in most cases the main verb): the strong–weak pattern versus the weak–strong pattern.

4 Findings

In this section we will present the findings of our analysis, looking at the correlations between position and prosody (section 4.1), function and position (section 4.2), and function and prosody (section 4.3).

[4] There were no examples of pre-modal *actually* in the dataset.

[5] In addition, the PoLaR system (Ahn *et al.* 2021) was used to make the ToBI analysis more precise in Praat. The annotation itself, however, was done in standard ToBI.

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Table 4. *The distribution of prosodic realizations with respect to position*

	Separate IP	Pitch accent		No pitch accent	No stress	Tone unclear
Initial (82)	28 (34.1%)	(L)H*L	43 (52.4%)	7 (8.5%)	–	–
		H*H	1 (1.2%)			
		H*	3 (3.7%)			
		Total	**47 (57.3%)**			
Medial (192)	2 (1.0%)	H*	73 (38.0%)	86 (44.8%)	6 (3.1%)	4 (2.1%)
		H*L	5 (2.6%)			
		L*	14 (7.3%)			
		L*+H	1 (0.5%)			
		L+H*	1 (0.5%)			
		Total:	**94 (49%)**			
Final (82)	4 (4.9%)	H*H-H%	1 (1.2%)	**Final fall:**	–	–
		H*L-L%	3 (3.7%)	L-L% 39 (47.6%)		
		L*L-L%	4 (4.9%)	L% 1 (1.2%)		
		Total	**8 (9.8%)**	**Total: 40 (48.8%)**		
				Final rise:		
				L-H% 29 (35.4%)		
				H-H% 1 (1.2%)		
				Total: 30 (36.6%)		

4.1 The relation between position and prosody

For each position, a variety of prosodic realizations were found, as shown in table 4.

In initial position, *actually* was almost always pitch accented, with only 8.5 per cent of the examples being realized without a pitch accent (some appearing in the strongly reduced form [kʃi]). Of the pitch-accented initial occurrences, 34.1 per cent were separate Intonational Phrases, with two different contours: falls (H*L-L%; see figure 1),[6] which formed the large majority (25 instances); and fall-rises (H*L-H%, see figure 2), of which there were only three instances.

Of the remaining 47 items in initial position, 44 (53.6%) formed the so-called Intermediate Phrase (Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986), the prosodic domain that consists only of a pitch accent (T*) and a phrase tone (T-); due to the lack of a boundary tone, these occurrences were interpreted as being integrated in the overall IP domain. By far the most prominent realization was a combination of a high pitch accent H* and a low phrase tone L-, i.e. a falling contour but without an IP boundary (figure 3).

The results for the medial position show an almost even distribution of accented (49.0 %, mostly H*) and unaccented (47.9%) instances of *actually*; in a few examples *actually* was realized as completely unstressed (and often strongly reduced; 3.1%). More importantly, however, we found evidence for two distinct prosodic patterns for

[6] What appears to be a rising pitch contour at the end of the *actually* domain is not an actual final rise but a pitch track error that occurred due to the low sound quality of the data.

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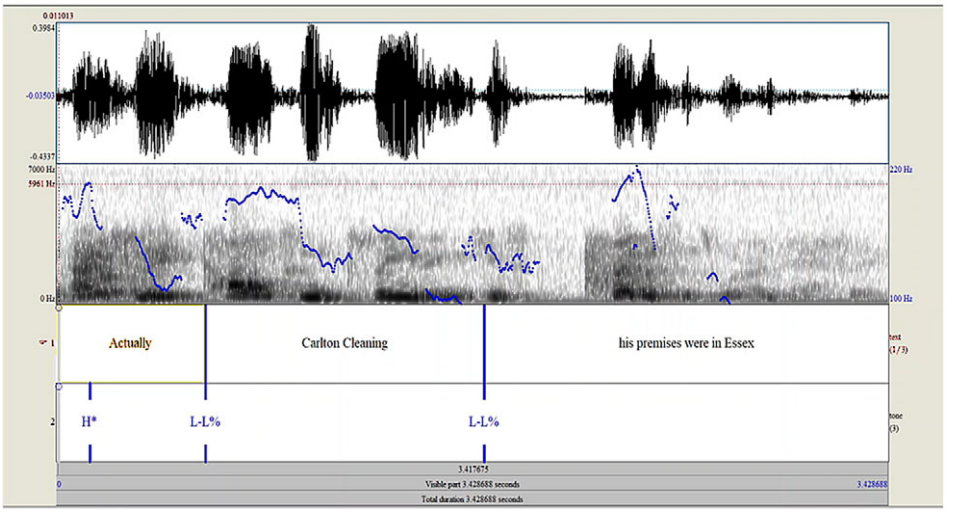


Figure 1. *actually* in the initial position realized as a separate IP with a falling contour (ICE-GB: S1B-064 073)

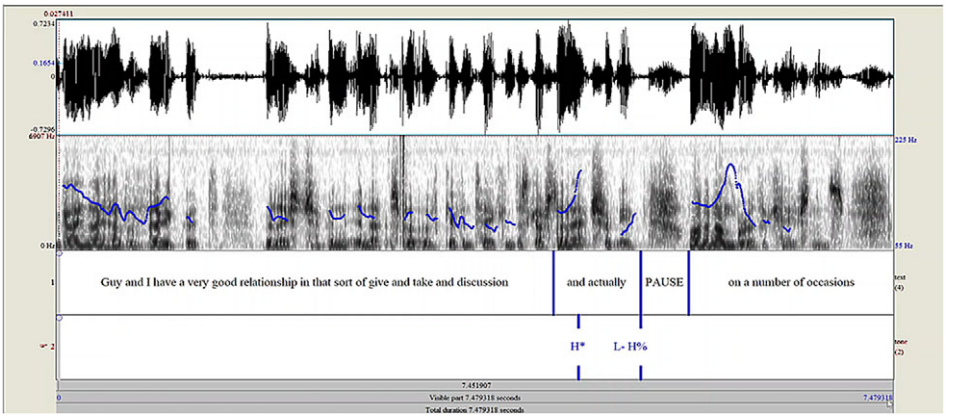


Figure 2. *actually* in the initial position realized as a separate IP with a falling–rising contour (ICE-GB: S1B-064 073)

actually and the immediately following word (usually the main verb) (cf. Taglicht 2001: 6). The first pattern is what we refer to as the strong–weak pattern (SW) where *actually* carries a high pitch accent (strong) and the following word is unaccented (weak). The second pattern is the weak–strong pattern (WS), i.e. the word following *actually* carries the high pitch accent, with *actually* either being unaccented or having a pitch accent weaker than that of the following word. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the two realizations in examples from the dataset. The large majority of the examples in the medial position, 71.8 per cent, were realized in the weak–strong (WS) pattern, whereas only 19.8 per cent of the medial instances formed a strong–weak (SW) pattern. Of the

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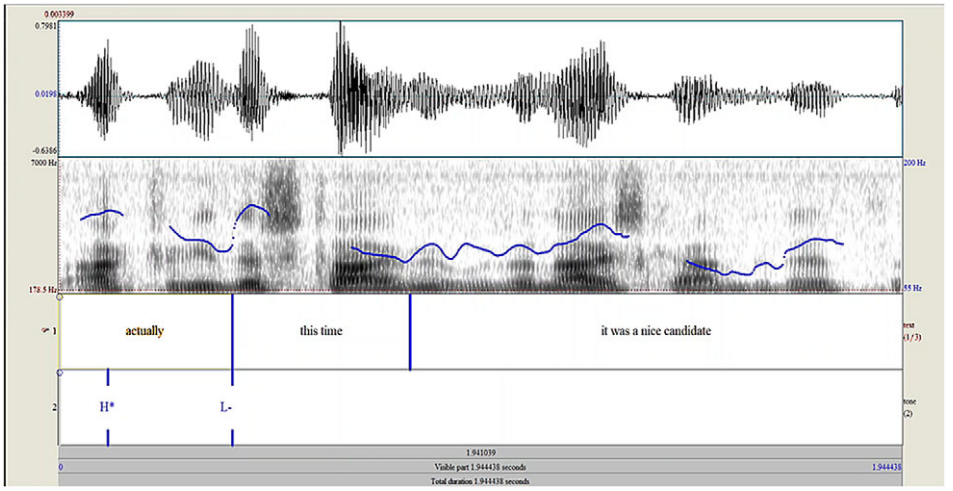


Figure 3. *actually* in initial position realized as an Intermediate Phrase with a falling contour (ICE-GB: S1B-029 052)

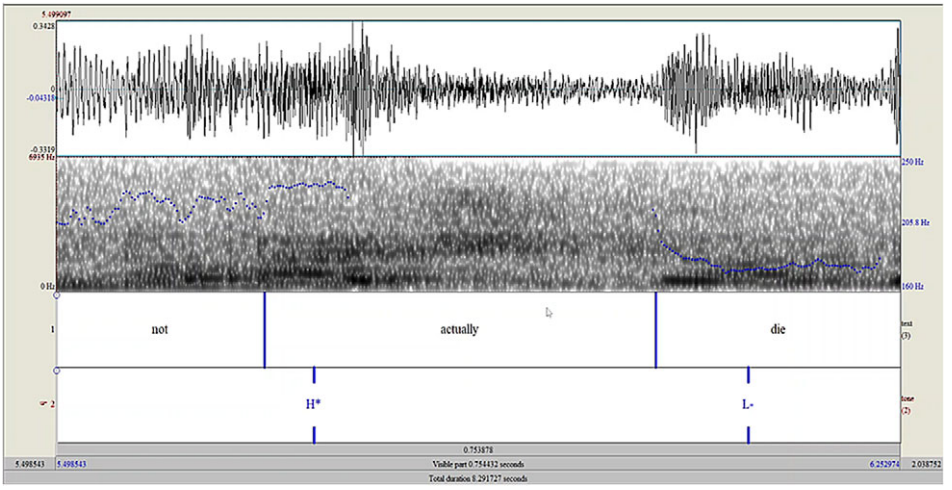


Figure 4. *actually* in the medial position realized in a strong–weak pattern (ICE-GB: S1B-009 125)

remaining examples, two instances formed a separate IP, while in the others the stress pattern could not be established (mostly due to the poor quality of the audio recordings).

In final position, *actually* was in the majority of cases realized as part of the post-nuclear tune, as a final tail (95.1%); the large majority of these tails were unaccented (85.3%), some even entirely deaccented. The tail realizations were more or less evenly distributed between final falls (57.3%) (figure 6) and final rises (37.8%) (figure 7).

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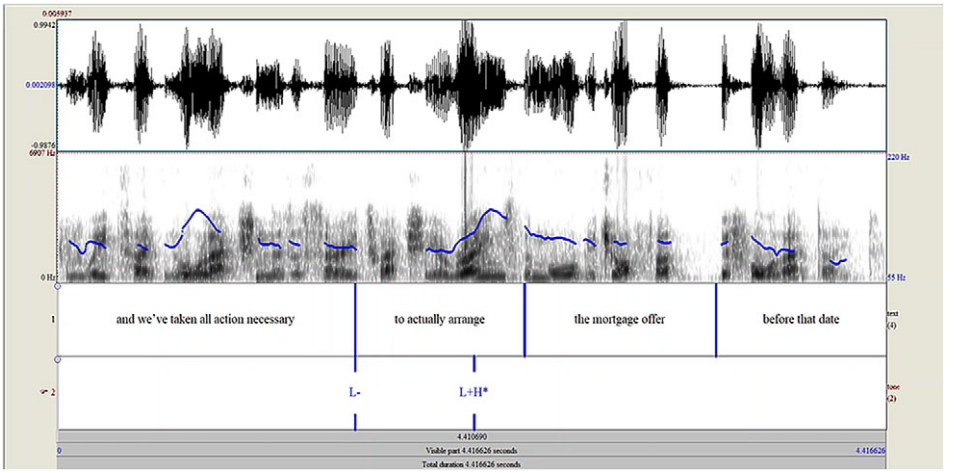


Figure 5. *actually* in the medial position realized in a strong–weak pattern (ICE-GB: S1B-061 159)

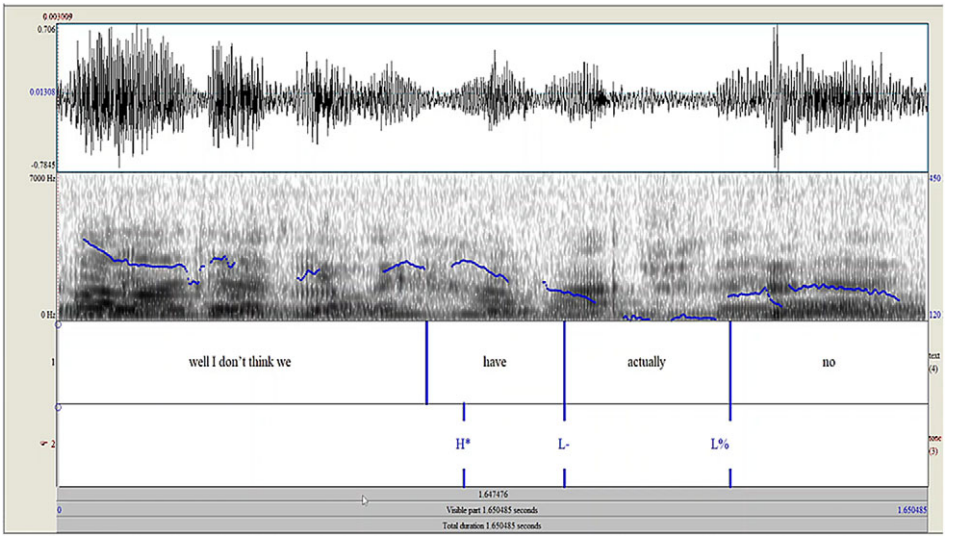


Figure 6. *actually* in the final position realized as a post-nuclear falling tail (ICE-GB: S1A-064 122)

The main tendencies when it comes to the relation between position and prosody can thus be summarized as follows:

1. In initial position, *actually* was almost always stressed. In about a third of the cases it formed a separate IP, in the other cases the preferred pitch contour being H*L.
2. In medial position, *actually* was prosodically integrated, with a more or less equal number of accented or unaccented instances. In addition, two stress patterns could be found, one in which the main stress was on *actually* (SW), the other in which the main stress was on a following element (WS).

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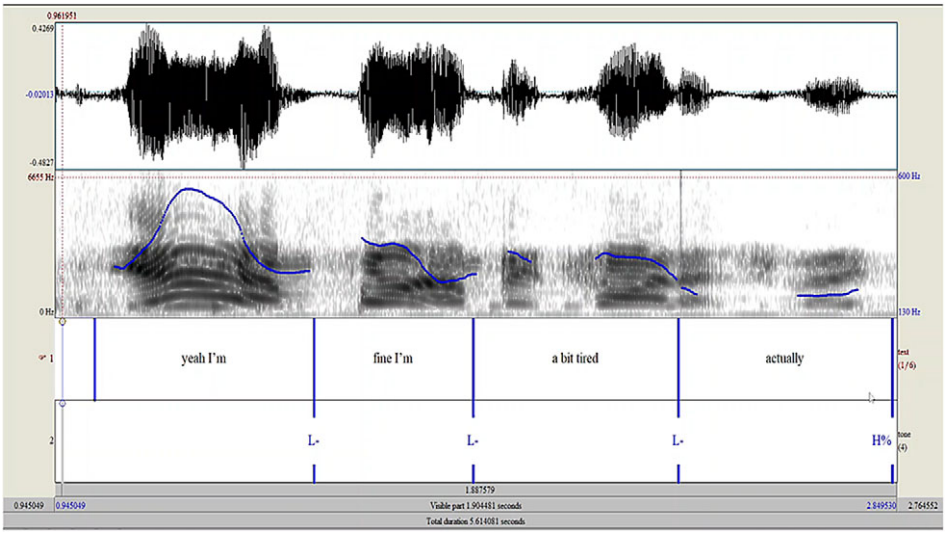


Figure 7. *actually* in the final position realized as a post-nuclear rising tail (ICE-GB: S1A-064 122)

3. In final position, *actually* was typically integrated and unaccented, ending either in a fall or in a rise.

4.2 The relation between function and position

Our findings confirm that there is no one-to-one relation between the many different (sub)functions of *actually* and its position in the utterance. However, when we restrict ourselves to the four broad classes distinguished in section 3, some patterns do emerge. An overview of the main function of *actually* in the three positions is given in table 5.

As can be observed from table 5, T2, *actually* as an indicator of topic shift, was by far the least frequent of the four major functions. This can partly be explained by fact that speakers are generally cooperative, and as such do not generally change topic in

Table 5. *The distribution of main functions with respect to position*

	T1	T2	T3	T4		
				emph	real	??
Initial (82)	65 (79.2%)	9 (11%)	6 (7.3%)	—	—	2 (2.4%)
Mid (192)	1 (0.5%)	—	4 (2.1%)	153 (79.7%)	31 (16.1%)	3 (1.6%)
Final (82)	3 (3.7%)	5 (6.1%)	70 (85.4%)	—	—	4 (4.9%)

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the middle of a conversation (Grice's (1975) Maxim of Relation). Partly, however, it has to do with the way we coded the data. As mentioned before, *actually* can fulfil different functions at the same time. In most of these cases, however, the different functions belonged to the same broad type. In cases of topic shift, however, we found that it often combined with one of the discourse-interpersonal functions included in T1. We therefore decided to only include in T2 those cases where *actually* quite unequivocally functioned to indicate a change in topical direction, as in (17), where the speaker introduces a new (sub)topic.

(17) A: Well he's not really but he ha he just hasn't eaten anything for about two weeks now <,,>
He's opening his mouth very wide just now
B: Yeah
It's that same old problem
Oh dear
A: I can't bear it <,,>
Oh [name] please eat something <,,>
B: Oh **actually** Dad asked me if <,> Sarah had phoned me on Sunday
I thought funny thing to ask <,> (ICE-GB: S1A–023 116–023)

As for the initial position, we see that here *actually* was used predominantly as a strong indicator of discrepancy or counterexpectancy (79.2%), with an additional nine occurrences of topic shift (11%). There were only six examples (7.3%) where *actually* in initial position served as a weak indicator of discrepancy (T3; see example (27) below). Generally speaking, we can say that *actually* in this position has backward orientation, typically indicating strong contrast with some element from (or inferrable from) the preceding discourse.

In the medial position, most occurrences of *actually* (153; 79.7%) were what in the literature have been referred to as propositional uses with an emphasizing/intensifying/scalar function (e.g Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583; Aijmer 1986, 2002, 2013; Taglicht 2001). In addition, we found 31 cases of realis *actually* (16.1%). More importantly, however, we found that whereas the realis use was indeed propositional (see also section 5.2), and was restricted to this position, this did not apply to the emphasizing uses. Instead, what has been described in the literature as the emphasizing propositional use was found to indicate discrepancy/counterexpectancy in very much the same way as most (integrated) initial uses of *actually.* In other words, the discourse marker use of *actually* could be found not only an initial position, but also in medial position (cf. Lenk 1998; Oh 2000). This conclusion was supported by the fact that, since realis *actually* (expressing epistemic modality) is part of the proposition, it falls within the scope of (predication) negation, with *actually* following the negator (cf. Taglicht 2001: 2, 6; see also section 5.2). The discourse marker use of *actually* is not constrained in the same way (Taglicht 2001: 2, 4–5). Instead, when the medial *actually* signals discrepancy, it is not part of the proposition and may therefore also precede the negator with little difference in meaning (compare *I actually don't LIKE her* to *I don't actually LIKE her*). Since the evidence for this difference between realis and discourse marker

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actually comes to a large extent from prosody (with the two uses corresponding to different prosodic patterns for *actually* and the following verb), we will discuss this further in the next section.

As will be clear from table 5, there is a strong correlation between final position and the weak use of discourse marker *actually* (T3). This might seem surprising, given that the final position of the clause is typically reserved for salient, focal information (principle of End Focus; see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1357). As noted in section 4.1, however, final *actually* typically appears as a post-nuclear tail. This particular combination of position and function can be explained by the fact that whichever function *actually* in final position seems to be associated with has usually already been expressed in, or become clear from, the preceding sentence. It therefore seems wrong to conclude that *actually* functions to indicate discrepancy, counterexpectancy, surprise, topic shift, etc. in this position; we can only confirm that final *actually* appears in these contexts. Partly because of this, *actually* in final position often performs another kind of function, e.g. a mitigating, social or phatic function, as illustrated in example (18), where the speaker agrees with the previous speakers, and where *actually* seems to have a social, almost phatic function:

(18) A: It goes with the mat better than that
That's the green
B: This is becoming to look greener which is
C: Uhm it is too
A: Yes yes, it is **actually** (ICE-GB: S1A–086 293)

Finally, in those cases where *actually* in final position indicates a shift in topic, we are dealing with a digression, after which the main topic is resumed. An example is given in (19), where a sports commentator interrupts his commentary on the match to provide background information about a player:

(19) And Argentina bring it clear
They'll break in the near side with García just on the halfway line
Three red shirts converge on him and the red shirts win out
It's back with Saba who's an interesting character **actually**
He's played for Dinamo Tbilisi …. (ICE-GB: S2A–014 062–066)

Summing up, we found the following correlations between the function and position of *actually*:

1. The discourse marker use of *actually* was found in all three positions
   a. in initial position, it was typically used to indicate strong discrepancy (contradiction, rejection, correction), as well as surprise/incredulity;
   b. in final position, discourse *actually* was strongly associated with the weaker expression of discrepancy and counterexpectation, was with mitigation, concession, mild surprise. We also found the social and phatic uses here;

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c. in medial position, the discourse marker use of *actually*, indicating discrepancy, counterexpectancy, surprise or mitigation, was also the predominant use.

2. The only propositional use of *actually* was the realis use; this use was restricted to the medial position.
3. When used to indicate topic shift, *actually* occurred mostly in initial position, where it indicated either a shift (rather than a complete change) in topic, or a minor digression; in final position, this use of *actually* functioned only to indicate minor digressions.

4.3 The relation between function and prosody

No systematic relations could be found between the many (sub)functions of *actually* and its position or prosodic realization. As mentioned before, this is largely due to multifunctionality of *actually*, with many overlapping and co-occurring functions. Nevertheless, the results, shown in table 6, make it possible to identify some general tendencies.

Given the correlations found in the previous section between position and prosody (section 4.1) and function and position (section 4.2), it is not surprising that we could also identify some tendencies in the relation between function and prosody. Thus, as shown in table 6, separate IPs were used predominantly to code strong discrepancy/counterexpectancy (T1) and topic shift (T2). In those cases where *actually* was prosodically integrated, both functions were expressed predominantly by a falling tone (H*L). Weak discrepancy, on the other hand, was found to strongly correspond to a lack of accent; in final position, there often was a tone (falling or rising), but this was simply because *actually* occurred in the post-nuclear tail of a larger IP (for further discussion, see examples (22) and (23) below).

When used as a discourse marker in medial position (T4-emph), *actually* was often accented, typically as H* (28.9%), sometimes L* (6.5%); in most cases, however, it did not have any accent (58.8%), and in some cases it was even entirely unstressed (3.9%). When used as a realis marker (T4-real), *actually* was always accented, almost always carrying a high tone (83.9%). In both cases, *actually* has narrow scope, usually over the following verb. The two uses differ, however, in the accent pattern used: where the realis use always exhibits the SW pattern, i.e. with the main stress on *actually*, the discourse marker use is characterized by the WS pattern, with the main stress on some following element (usually a main verb). This WS pattern could be found in all unaccented cases of medial *actually*, as well as in 91.5 per cent of all accented cases.

Some examples are given in (20) and (21). In (20), *actually* clearly indicates truth insistence, emphasizing the truth of the first part of the preceding sentence (*it's not the people that are covered*) and highlighting the contrast with the second part (*but the workplaces*). In (21), on the other hand, *actually* signals discrepancy (surprise), but is itself completely unstressed, with the following verb carrying the main accent (see also discussion in section 5.2).

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Table 6. *The distribution of main functions with respect to prosody*

		T1 (69)	T2 (14)	T3 (80)	T4		
					emph (153)	real (31)	?? (9)
Separate IP		23 (33.3%)	6 (42.8%)	2 (2.5%)	1 (0.7%)		2
Pitch accented	H*L	39 (56.5%)	4 (26.6%)		5 (3.2%)		
	H*H	1 (1.4%					
	H*	3 (4.3%)		2 (2.5%)	43 (28.9%)	26 (83.9%)	2
	L*				10 (6.5%)	4 (12.9%)	
	L*H					1 (3.2%)	
	L-H*						1
	H*H-H%		1 (7.1%)				
	H*L-L%	1 (1.4%		1 (1.3%)			1
	L*L-L%			4 (5.0%)			
Unaccented	No tone	1 (1.4%)	1 (7.1%)	7 (8.8%)	84 (54.9%)		
	L-L%		1 (7.1%)	37 (45.4%)			1
	L-H%	1 (1.4%)	1 (7.1%)	25 (31.3%)			2
	L%			1 (1.3%)			
	H-H%			1 (1.3%)			
Unstressed					6 (3.9%)		
Tone unclear					4 (2.6%)		

(20) So it's not the people that are covered but the workplaces which could imply that the people themselves are NOT ACtually [H*] covered nowhere near the rate at which he is suggesting (ICE-GB: S1B–058 094)

(21) I can **actually** reMEMber a new Harold Baker on the main stage at the Crucible (ICE-GB: S1B–050 042)

In final position, we can also identify an extra factor determining the exact pronunciation of *actually.* As shown in table 4 above, *actually* in this position has two main prosodic realizations: an unaccented fall (L-L%) and an unaccented rise (L-H%), both associated with the expression of weak discrepancy; as mentioned before, this may be due to the fact that any sense of disagreement, objection, correction etc. will have already been expressed in the preceding utterance (the proposition itself). What we found instead was that *actually* in this position seems to be for additional interactional purposes: it has a forward-looking function, serving to either encourage or discourage the hearer to respond. Examples are given in (22) and (23), respectively.

(22) A: How are you?
B: Yeah I'm fine
I'm a bit tired **actually** [self-correction]
A: Yeah?
B: Bit fazed yeah
I'm doing stupid things
(ICE GB: S1A–099 251–256)

In (22) final *actually* is realized with a rising intonation (figure 6), and is used as a means of encouraging a response from the hearer (and as such typically triggering a response). Additionally, our analysis of the corpus data strongly suggests that this particular interactional use of *actually* expresses specific discourse functions, such as surprise, digression, or self-correction.

The second use of final *actually* was found to indicate finality, thereby discouraging any response from the hearer (example (23)); here *actually* is realized with a final fall (figure 7). In these cases, too, there are specific discourse functions accompanying this use of *actually*, such as (strong) personal opinion, rejection, downtoning/mitigation, or use as pragmatic softener.

(23) *(Discussion on the four different perspectives taken in Frankenstein)*
A: So … do we decide here for the purpose of this exercise that it's our eyes
B: Uhm we haven't got much of a choice
A: Well I don't think we have **actually** [strong personal opinion]
No
No
I think perhaps, having decided …
(ICE-GB: S1A–064 120–125)

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In sum, we have been able to identify the following general tendencies when it comes to the relation between function and prosody:

1. Type 1 (strong discrepancy) was strongly typically expressed as a separate IP, or, in those cases where *actually* is prosodically integrated, with an H*L accent.
2. Type 2 (topic shift) was also typically expressed as a separate IP, or, when integrated, with an H*L accent. In those cases where *actually* with this use was unaccented, it indicated a (minor) digression.
3. Type 3 (weak discrepancy) was typically expressed without an accent. In final position (i.e. in the majority of cases), it did, however, typically have a falling or a rising tone, indicating finality and encouragement, respectively.
4. Type 4 (originally the propositional use) was found to have two different functions corresponding with different stress patterns:

a. The realis (propositional use) was always the most prosodically prominent element in the sentence (typically carrying a high tone);
b. The 'emphasizing' (discourse marker) use was expressed with an accent or without, but never carried the main accent (which typically went to the following verb).

5 Classification and discussion

5.1 Classification

From the preceding section, we can conclude that there is indeed no one-to-one relation between the many (sub)functions of *actually*, its position in the clause and its prosodic realization. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe some (strong) tendencies and patterns if:

– we restrict ourselves to three basic functions: one propositional use (realis/truth-insistence), and two discourse-maker uses (discrepancy/counterexpectancy – further divided into a strong and a weak use – and topic shift);
– we assume that position is triggered by function, as well as by additional factors such as scope (see sections 2.2, 4.2 and 4.3), strength (sections 3.1, 4.2 and 4.3) and orientation (backward versus forward; sections 4.2 and 4.3);
– we assume that prosody is determined by both function and position.

This results in a classification that differs in three important aspects from the previous literature on the functions of *actually* discussed in section 2.1. Firstly, our findings suggest that there is no evidence for the emphasis/scalar/intensifier use of propositional *actually* (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583; Aijmer 1986, 2002, 2013; Taglicht 2001). Instead, this (sub)function was reclassified as a discourse use for the simple reason that with this use *actually* (i) is not truth-insistent, and as such it does not seem to have a propositional function; and (ii) seems to perform the same discourse

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functions as discrepancy/countexpectancy *actually.* The only difference seems to be their (local) scope. We therefore analysed these as clause-medial discourse marker occurrences. A second difference with much of the existing literature is that we regard discrepancy/counterexpectancy as a single, broad category that includes many of the various previously proposed subfunctions. Finally, unlike many previous studies (e.g. Lenk 1998: 174, 179; Oh 2000: 257; Clift 2001; Taglicht 2001; Aijmer 2013: 113), the topic shift function was identified as a separate function, i.e. separate from the discrepancy/counterexpectancy use, for those cases where there is no link to the topic of the preceding discourse and thus no indication of discrepancy.

This leads to a final classification based on distinguishing three maximally different functions: realis/truth insistence (propositional), discrepancy/counterexpectancy (interpersonal) and topic shift (discourse-organizational). The differences between these uses are summarized in table 7.

5.2 Discussion

Let us end this article with some comments on the functions distinguished in table 7. In our analysis, only realis *actually* is regarded as an adjunct (paraphrasable as 'in reality'), i.e. as part of the main proposition. It will be clear, however, that realis *actually* is not a prototypical propositional adjunct, as it does not affect the truth value of the proposition: it is truth-insistent rather than truth-conditional. Nevertheless, since it is used to emphasize the truth of an assertion, it has generally been regarded as propositional (e.g. Lenk 1998: 157; Taglicht 2001: 2; Oh 2000: 252–3; Aijmer 2002: 252–6). This conclusion is supported by the fact that *actually* belongs to a particular subclass of truth-conditional adverbs, with which it can be coordinated or contrasted, e.g. *potentially*, *virtually*, *nominally*, *theoretically*, etc., as shown in (24):

(24) any agreement, arrangement or conduct which **ACtually or poTENtially** affects trade in the Community (BNC-BYU; Davies 2004)

Its truth-insistent and (implicitly or explicitly) contrastive nature results in the adverb being the prosodically most prominent part of the proposition, resulting in the use of the SW pattern. Further proof for the propositional nature of adjunct *actually* can be found in the fact that it falls within the scope of predicational negation, as illustrated by the following examples:

(25) (a) … and that target appears to become, to die slightly, I mean not **ACtually** die, but become wasted. (ICE-GB: S1B–009 125)

(a)′ ??… and that target appears to become, to die slightly, I mean **ACtually** not die, but become wasted. (adapted)

In (25a), the negator scopes over the combination of *actually* and *die*, with *actually*, in turn, scoping over the verb. This leads to an interpretation in which the speaker asserts that what takes place is not quite dying (as expressed by *actually*), but something

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Table 7. *A comprehensive classification of* actually

Function	Scope	Strength	Orientation	Position	Prosody
realis propositional	narrow	–	–	medial	• +int; tone (pitch accent) • most prominent element (SW pattern)
discrepancy interpersonal	narrow	weak or strong	–	medial	• +int; tone (pitch accent), no tone, reduced • not the most prominent element (WS pattern)
	wide	weak	forward • discouraging response • encouraging response	final	• +int; no tone (no pitch accent) – falling boundary tone – rising boundary tone
	wide	strong	backward	initial	• ±int; tone (pitch accent + possibly a phrase/boundary tone) (fall, rise)
topic shift disc.-org.	wide	strong	backward	initial	• ±int; tone (pitch accent + possibly a phrase/boundary tone) (fall, rise)
		weak	backward	final	• ±int; no pitch accent (no phrase boundary); (fall, rise)

similar. In (25a′), on the other hand, *actually* scopes over the negator, which scopes over the verb; this leads to a different interpretation, with the speaker stressing (insisting) that no dying event took place – a reading incompatible with the context.

The second main use of *actually* is as a discourse marker indicating (weak or strong) discrepancy. With this use, *actually* has a pragmatic, interpersonal function, with the speaker indicating that the current proposition deviates in some way from what has been said before. This is confirmed by the fact that, as a discourse marker, *actually* is generally assumed to be non-truth-conditional and as such outside the scope of negation. This means that the position of *actually* (clause-initial, medial or clause-final) does not affect the scope of negation (cf. Taglicht 2001: 4–5); semantically speaking there is therefore no difference between the sentences in example (26):

(26) (a) I haven't been WELL **actually** (ICE-GB: S1A–092 006)
(a)′ I **actually** haven't been WELL (adapted)
(a)′′ **Actually** I haven't been WELL (adapted)

As shown in table 7, four subclasses of discourse marker *actually* can be distinguished, depending on two more functional factors: scope, strength and orientation. Starting with the wide-scope uses of discourse marker *actually*, we find that these typically appear in a peripheral position within the clause. Whether *actually* will appear in initial or final position is determined by (i) the strength, or urgency, with which the discrepancy is expressed, and (ii) whether it is directed towards the previous discourse (backward looking) or subsequent discourse (forward looking).

Thus, in clause-initial position, *actually* is backward looking, typically indicating strong contrast with (part of) a proposition in the preceding discourse; its function is to indicate right from the start that what follows will deviate in some way from what has been said before. This use is strongly associated with expression as a separate IP (see figures 1 and 2), or with a falling tone (H*L) tone (see figure 3). Occasionally, however, initial *actually* appears in unaccented form, as in (27), where it indicates weak backward-looking discrepancy (in this case elaboration; explanation).

(27) But working in this group uhm it's different in terms of uhm the way that you have to dance. **Actually** [əkʃi] you have to be much more honest about what you're doing (ICE-GB: S1A–002 123–124)

In final position, *actually* is associated with a lack of urgency, resulting in a weak expression of discrepancy, leading to the absence of any accent. As pointed out in section 4.3, however, unaccented final *actually* is in most cases expressed with a final tone, being in the post-nuclear tail of a larger IP. This results in an additional, forward-looking, discourse-regulating function, in that its tone indicates whether the addressee is invited to respond (rising tone) or not (falling tone) (see examples (22) and (23) above). Occasionally, final *actually* can also take the form of a separate IP, as in (28).

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(28) That was pretty GOOD **actually** (L*L-L%) (ICE-GB: S1A–064 053)

Although the speaker expresses counterexpectancy or surprise here, this seems to be coded by means of a strong high accent on *good*, with *actually* being added more as an afterthought, confirming the sense of surprise.

Actually in medial position has been described in some detail in section 4.3. With this use, *actually* is not truth-conditional, and does not fall within the scope of negation. Thus, semantically speaking, there is no difference between (26a′) (here repeated as (29a)) and (29b′):

(29) (a) I **actually** haven't been WELL (ICE-GB: S1A–092 006; adapted)
(a)′ I haven't **actually** been WELL (ICE-GB: S1A–092 006; adapted)

As we have seen, *actually* with this use can be unaccented (even completely unstressed) or accented, but never carries the most prominent tone (WS pattern).

Finally, discourse marker *actually* can also have a discourse-organizational function, indicating a shift in topic (without any clear implication of counterexpectancy, correction or rejection). We did not find many cases where the speaker introduced a completely new topic; instead, *actually* was typically used to signal a shift in, or (minor) digression from, the current direction of the discourse. In this function, *actually* typically appears in clause-initial position, where it always carries a tone. An example is given in (30), where *actually* has a distinctive pitch accent, while smoothly transitioning into the rest of the clause (no prosodic boundary), leading to an interpretation along the line of 'by the way, come to think of it':

(30) **Actually** [H*L- (L%)] do you realise something. If this is recorded and kept filed they'll have… (ICE-GB: S1A–017 341)

In final position, discourse-organizational *actually* function is used when the preceding sentence starts a (minor) digression (see example (19)) or resumes a previous discourse topic, as exemplified in (31). In both cases *actually* may, but need not, be pitch accented.

(31) (Context: a group of friends are going to listen to a tape recording; meanwhile they are discussing where one can buy certain goods cheaply)
A: I mean I was going to go to Dubai I can get things like electrical good <unclear word>
B: I'm a student now
I have to economize
Keep telling myself
C: So what's happening with this tape **actually** [L*L-L%]

6 Conclusion

In this article we have used spoken data from the ICE-GB corpus (Nelson *et al.* 2002) to come to an in-depth analysis of the function, position and prosody of *actually*,

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looking in particular at the way its various functional and formal features interact. In accordance with previous studies, we found that there is no straightforward, one-to-one relation between the many (sub)functions of *actually* distinguished in the literature, its position in (or vis-à-vis) the clause, and its prosodic realization. Nevertheless, we were able to identify a number of strong tendencies by (i) concentrating on four main functions of *actually*, (ii) including a number of additional semantic and pragmatic factors, and (iii) assuming that the prosodic features of *actually* are determined by both function and position.

As for the functions of *actually*, we made a distinction between a single propositional use (realis/truth-insistence) and two discourse marker uses (one interpersonal use, discrepancy, and one discourse-organizational use, topic shift). In doing so, we redefined what has so far usually been regarded as a propositional use (emphasis) as a discourse marker use in medial position. The additional factors included in the classification were scope (narrow versus wide), strength (or urgency: weak versus strong) and orientation (backward- versus forward-looking). As for the relation between all these functional properties and the formal behaviour of *actually*, we were able to establish that, on the whole, different combinations of functional features can be correlated with different positions, and that functional properties and position together correlated to different prosodic realizations (defined in terms of tone (pitch accent), pattern (SW versus WS), prosodic integration and boundary tones (falling versus rising)). This resulted in the classification presented in table 7.

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