

The role of prosodic criteria in the grammaticalisation discussion

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In Wichmann et al. (forthcoming) it was argued that phonological criteria for grammaticalisation have been recognised but are largely ignored in most studies on the grammaticalisation of individual items. There are several reasons for this neglect. One is that historical corpora do not provide us with information on phonological realisations, while we do have morphological, syntactic and semantic-pragmatic evidence. The second is that the few studies which have looked at the phonological realisation of specific items in synchronic data have come up with a rather diffuse picture. However, Wichmann et al. (forthcoming) concluded from a detailed corpus-based study of *of course* that prosodic evidence can be obtained but that because of the complexity of the interaction between various factors, such as lexical content, scope, position, information structure and text structure, results are not easily interpreted as providing evidence for grammaticalisation.

In this paper we take a closer look at the place of prosody in the criteria for grammaticalisation. Rather than giving a description of a specific item we will attempt to bring together results of prosodic studies in the context of grammaticalisation of adverbs into discourse markers, to see where we stand. We will examine the following aspects:

- (i) which prosodic factors need to be taken into account to obtain a full picture of the status of a specific item?
- (ii) is there a hierarchy among these factors in the sense that some are more clearly indicators of grammaticalisation than others?
- (iii) what is the relationship between prosodic and non-prosodic factors?

Reference

Wichmann, A, A.-M. Simon-Vandenberg, K. Aijmer (forthcoming). How prosody reflects semantic change: a synchronic case study of *of course*.