# On some postpositional elements in Danish<sup>1</sup>

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#### Abstract

This paper investigates the distribution of a number of postpositional elements in Danish. The main findings are the following:

- (i) Some postpositional constructions are used for abstract notions such as temporal relations rather than literal, spatial relations.
- (ii) The head nouns of postpositional complements are often semantically bleached nouns such as *sted* 'place', *vej* 'street', *vegne* 'streets' (an archaic plural form of *vej*).
- (iii) Some postpositional elements have the function of adding referents to or subtracting them from a set of referents.
- (iv) There is not always free variation between the prepositional and postpositional construction. This is because there is often a semantic difference between the two constructions, and because the preposition and the postpositional element differ in what kinds of complement they can select.

#### 1. Introduction

Given that Danish is a VO language, it is of no surprise that it is a prepositional language. There are, however, some elements which could be classified as postpositions or which have certain postpositional properties. A preposition occurs before its complement; a postposition occurs after it. In other words, postpositional and prepositional phrases presumably have the same hierarchical structure, but differ in their linearization.

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This paper deals with elements that could be regarded as postpositions. Note I do not make the claim that they are in fact postpositions; rather my goal here is to bring some data to bear to point out that they might be analyzed as such.

In the Danish literature, only few remarks are made on postpositions. Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 37, 437) do not examine or discuss postpositions in any greater detail (apart from whether the genitive -s is an enclitic postposition). Similarly, neither Christensen & Christensen (2009) nor Diderichsen (1976) make any mention of the term 'postpositions', although Diderichsen does mention a number of fixed constructions that involve some kind of adpositional/adverbial/particle/adjectival element following the noun (Diderichsen 1976: 228). To my knowledge, apart from scattered remarks on postpositional constructions (Falk & Torp 1900: 313; Hansen 1967: III, 210, 213–214; Mikkelsen 1911: 370–371), no detailed description exists.

Two main aspects of these postpositional constructions will be examined. The first aspect is how **productive** these postpositional constructions are. This concerns the complement that can be selected by the postpositional element.<sup>2</sup> The second aspect is whether there is **free variation** between the prepositional and postpositional construction. This is relevant given the assumption that all postpositional elements are formally identical to their prepositional counterparts.<sup>3</sup> The elements I tested for postpositionhood

Some properties of *rundt* suggest that it could be a postposition: For instance, *Jorden/verden* + *rundt* can satisfy the requirement that *bo* 'live' takes an adpositional phrase, see (i) and (ii), and due to the fact that it can modify nominals, just like other adpositional phrases, see (iii):

- (i) Nikolaj [...] bor verden rundt på Airbnb[...]
   N. lives world around on Airbnb
   'N. lives all around the world, using Airbnb'
   (https://www.euroman.dk/kultur/nikolaj-og-hans-kareste-bor-verdenrundt-pa-airbnb-vi-har-fundet-en-alternativ-made-at-leve-pa)
- (ii) Alle mine venner bor **jord-en rundt**[]

  All my friends live Earth-the around

  'All my friends live all over the world'

  (Oral data from a focus interview in Nielsen & Kristensen 2010: 28)

I refer to the constituent preceding the postpositional element as the complement of that element, although I do not necessarily claim that the postpositional element is indeed a postposition.

If one accepts this assumption, that would leave potential postpositions that do not have a prepositional counterpart out of consideration. For instance, *rundt* 'around' in its typical use is a verb particle and not a preposition, i.e. it has no prepositional counterpart. But in *Jorden/verden rundt* 'all around the world', *rundt* might be a postposition, taking the preceding nominal as its complement.

are assigned the category 'præposition' in *Retskrivningsordbogen* (Dansk Sprognævn 2012), the official spelling dictionary of Danish.

The data to be discussed are mainly from the Danish text corpus *KorpusDK* and from Google searches. In KorpusDK, I primarily used a code that searched for strings containing a noun followed by the postpositional element in question and by some punctuation character. This method is not bulletproof. On the one hand, it yielded many irrelevant results, and on the other hand, it did not extract all examples of postpositional constructions; more specifically, not all potential complement types would be extracted. Thus, various other codes were also used.

In the following, when relevant, I use the term P-ELEMENT to be neutral with respect to the categorial status of the element in question, including elements that may be particles.

## 2. The data and some preliminary analysis

## 2.1 Verb particle or postposition?

In order to render the postpositional status of a P-element plausible, cases of non-postpositional uses are to be excluded. One such case is that of verb particle constructions where the particle is formally identical to uncontroversial adpositions, such as *igennem* 'through':

(1) Han læste bog-en igennem. *He read book-the through* 'He read through the book.'

This is a problem given that the object always precedes the particle in Danish (Diderichsen 1976: 184ff, 236ff; Vikner 2017). In order to distinguish between verb particle constructions and postpositional constructions, a number of tests may be conducted. It is important to keep in mind that the

(iii) Flygtningestrømme verden rundt taler deres barske sprog

Refugee.waves world around speak their harsh language
om en misbrugt frihed [...].

about a misused freedom

'Refugee waves all over the world tell their own tale about a misused freedom [...].'

(KorpusDK)

Moreover, *Jorden/verden* can be regarded as the Ground element, which is cross-linguistically realized as the complement of the adposition (Svenonius 2007). If the above considerations are on the right track, *Jorden/verden rundt* is possibly a postpositional phrase.

tests may falsify or render either structure more probable, but logically, the falsification of either structure does not imply that the other is present.

One way of distinguishing particles and postpositions would be to interpolate some element between the nominal and the P-element (without fronting the nominal). In verb particle constructions, manner adverbials may intervene between the nominal and the particle, as pointed out in recent works couched in the Diderichsen tradition in Danish linguistics (Heltoft 1992: 33–35 and Jørgensen 2014: 98–99). For instance, *ud* is uncontroversially a particle, and an adverbial may therefore intervene between the nominal and the particle:

(2) Han smed Peter **hurtigt** ud. *He threw P. quickly out* 'He quickly threw P. out.'

Assuming that postpositions do not strand without fronting of the complement, parallel to **pre**position stranding, nothing can intervene between the complement and the postposition. If the test of inserting an adverbial yields a grammatical result, the P-element in question is most likely not a postposition. Thus, *igennem* in (1) is most likely not a postposition:

(3) Han læste bog-en **hurtigt** igennem. *He read book-the quickly through* 'He quickly read through the book.'

Contrast this with (4), where an adverbial cannot intervene:

(4) \* Hun sov hele forestilling-en **tungt** igennem. *She slept whole play-the deeply through* 'She slept deeply through the whole play.'

This indicates that *igennem* is plausibly not a verb particle in (4).

Another way of distinguishing particles and adpositions is to test for constituency. It is well-known that a preposition and its complement conform to constituency tests, whereas the object and the particle do not (Svenonius 2003). Assuming that prepositions and postpositions behave alike, the topicalization test in (5) and (6) indicates that *igennem* in (1) and (5) is not a postposition, whereas it is not a particle in (4) and (6).

(5) *	Bog-en	igennem	læste	han.
	Book-the	through	read	he

It is, however, not always a trivial matter to distinguish verb particles from postpositions.<sup>4</sup> In this paper, we will see both more convincing as well as doubtful cases of what seem to be postpositions.

## 2.2 Postpositional P-elements and their distribution

In this subsection I show the distribution of a number of P-elements that exhibit postpositional properties. The following division of P-elements is based on their formal properties, i.e. being prefixed with an *i*- (Section 2.2.1), as well as their semantics, i.e. adding or subtracting one or more referents to/from a set of referents (Section 2.2.2). Moreover, a group of P-elements do not belong to either of those groups (Section 2.2.3).

#### 2.2.1 I-prefixed P-elements

In Nguyen (2019), I discuss a group of P-elements that are near-synonymous, at least when used as prepositions. They can be divided into *i*-prefixed P-elements and non-*i*-prefixed elements:<sup>5</sup>

Non-i-prefixed P-elements	<i>i</i> -prefixed P-elements	
Blandt 'among'	Iblandt 'among'	
Gennem 'through'	Igennem 'through'	
Mellem 'between'/'among'	Imellem 'between'/'among'	
Mod 'toward'/'against'	Imod 'toward'/'against'	

In particular, the P-elements *nær* 'near' and *foruden* 'without' are difficult to analyze, and I have to leave them out of the discussion. Likewise, the P-element *inklusive* 'including' is not discussed either. When it follows a pronoun, the pronoun can either be in the Nominative or the Oblique case. In the KorpusDK data, it seems that the Nominative case is used when the pronoun is linked to the subject, whereas the Oblique case can be used when the pronoun is linked to any syntactic function.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The *i*-prefixed P-elements seem to be the result of univerbation processes, i.e. the diachronic formation of one element out of more elements. Thus, diachronically, these P-elements (maybe except for *igennem*) consist of a preposition *i* plus one or more elements, see *Den Danske Ordbog* 'The Danish Dictionary'.

The members of both groups can be used prepositionally, but only the *i*-prefixed P-elements can be used postpositionally (see also Hansen 1967, III: 213–214), although I found no convincing cases of postpositional uses of *iblandt* and *imod*.

#### 2.2.1.1 Igennem 'through'

The complement of postpositional *igennem* is mostly headed by nouns which denote a time span or have a duration (as noted by Falk & Torp 1900: 313). For instance, a book has a duration in the sense that it has a plot with a certain time frame, see (7), and a night lasts an unspecified number of hours, see (8), etc. The complement also often contains the adjective *hele* 'whole', as in (9).

- (7) [...] havde han ikke ladet hende optræde, som hun gør had he not let her appear as she does hele bog-en igennem.

  whole book-the through
  - "... would he not have let her appear, as she does all the way through the book."
- (8) [...] ved at opholde sig i samme seng **en nat igennem**. by to stay REFL in same bed a night through 'by staying in the same bed throughout a whole night.'
- (9) [...] at selskab-et [...] giver os ret **hele vej-en igennem**. that company-the [...] give us right whole street-the through 'that the company agrees with us all the way through.' (i.e. 'throughout all this time')
- (10) [...] mange nye fisk, vil ind fra der stå many new fish that will stand from in Østersøen sommer-en igennem. The.North.Sea summer-the through 'many new fish that will come in from The North Sea throughout the summer.'

( - are from KorpusDK)

In (9), *vejen* 'the street' indicates a time span or a process, throughout which the given event takes place. It is only when *vejen* precedes *igennem* that it is used in this way. If *vejen* follows *igennem*, it cannot mean 'process' or denote a time span. It can only mean 'street':

(11) #/\* Hun kede-de sig **igennem hele vej-en**She bore-PAST REFL through whole street-the

Intended: 'She was bored all the way through/throughout the whole time.'

The prepositional counterparts of (8) and (10) are slightly degraded, whereas the prepositional counterpart of (7) is grammatical (it is not clear to me whether there is a semantic difference between (7) and (14)):

- (12) ? [...] ved at opholde sig i samme seng **igennem en nat**. by to stay REFL in same bed through a night 'by staying in the same bed throughout a whole night.'
- (13)? [...] mange nye fisk, der vil stå ind fra

  many new fish that will stand in from

  Østersøen igennem sommer-en.

  The.North.Sea through summer-the

  'many new fish that will come in from The North Sea throughout the summer.'
- (14) [...] havde han ikke ladet hende optræde, som hun gør had he not let her appear as she does igennem hele bog-en.

  through whole book-the

(Compare (12) to (8), (13) to (10) and (14) to (7).) In any case, there is not always free variation between the prepositional and postpositional construction.

# 2.2.1.2 Imellem 'among'/'between'

The complement of postpositional *imellem* can be realized as a regular nominal (15) as well as a pronoun (16) (the latter cannot be the complement of postpositional *igennem*):

- (15) [...] det kommende økonomiske samarbejde, **DDR**the upcoming economic cooperation East. Germany

  og Vesttyskland imellem.

  and West. Germany between

  'the upcoming economic cooperation between East Germany and West Germany.'
- (16) [...] at følge embedsmænd-ene-s forklaringer og

  to follow officials-the.PL-GEN explanations and
  de modsigelser, som kommer til **udtryk dem imellem.**the contradictions that come to expression them between
  'to follow the officials' explanations and the contradictions that come
  to light between them.'

(KorpusDK)

Both (15) and (16) allow for prepositional use of *imellem*:

- (17) [...] det kommende økonomiske samarbejde **DDR**the upcoming economic cooperation East.Germany

  og Vesttyskland imellem.

  and West.Germany between

  'the upcoming economic cooperation between East Germany and West Germany.'
- (18) [...] at følge embedsmændenes forklaringer de og to follow officials-the.PL-GEN explanations and the modsigelser, som kommer til udtrvk imellem dem. contradictions that come expression between them to 'to follow the officials' explanations and the contradictions that come to light between them.'

*Imellem* in its **pre**positional use means either 'among' or 'between', in which case it can denote either a spatial or an abstract relation between a number of referents. The **post**positional construction of *imellem*, however, can typically only denote some kind of personal relationship between the referents. In this case, *imellem* takes animate referents as its complement, metonymic extensions included. Thus, inanimate referents, such as trees, cannot be realized as the complement of postpositional *imellem* (unless the trees are endowed with some sort of animacy):

- (19) \* træer-ne imellem

  trees-the between/among

  'among/between the trees'
- (20) imellem træer-ne between trees-the 'between the trees'

The asymmetry in semantics between the prepositional and postpositional constructions means that they are not interchangeable.

#### 2.2.2 P-elements which add or subtract referents

The common denominator of this category of postpositional P-elements is that they presuppose a set of referents. These P-elements add referents to or subtract them from this set. This should become clear in the following.

### 2.2.2.1 Fraset 'except for'

I found one postpositional example of *fraset*, which is the perfect participle form of the archaic verb *frase*. In this example, *fraset* excludes the genre *kirkemusikken* 'the church music' from a set of music genres:

(21) [...] den myreflittige [...] komponist,

the hardworking componist

der skrev i alle genrer, kirkemusikk-en fraset.

that wrote in all genres, church.music-the except.for

'the hardworking componist who wrote in all genres, except for the church music genre.'

(KorpusDK)

Prepositional *fraset* can take nominals (22) as well as clauses (23). Postpositional *fraset* can only take nominals, see (21) above, but not clauses, see (24) below.

(22) Alle, **fraset professionelle syltetøj-s-fabrikanter**, *Everybody, except.for professional jam-LINK-manufacturers* kan således deltage. *can therefore participate* 'Everybody, except for professional jam manufactures, can therefore participate.'

(23) Men fraset, at de nærmeste medarbejdere kun har But except for that the closest co-workers only have positivt at sige om den 58-årige [...] er der [...] positive to say about the 58.year.old is there 'But disregarding the fact that the closest co-workers only have positive things to say about the 58-year old, there is ...'

((22) and (23) are from KorpusDK)

(24) \* Men at de nærmeste medarbejdere kun har positivt

But that the closest co-workers only have positive

at sige om den 58-årige [...] fraset er der [...]

to say about the 58.year.old except.for is there

Intended: 'But disregarding the fact that the closest co-workers only have positive things to say about the 58-year old, there is ...'

## 2.2.2.2 Med 'with'/'including'

*Med* 'with'/'including' can take nominals when used postpositionally, and the whole construction, which is quite archaic, is almost always prefaced with *og* 'and':

- (25) Og Herren-s ild [...] fortærer ikke blot ofr-et,

  And Lord-GEN fire consumes not just offering-the
  men altr-et med.
  but altar-the including

  'And the fire of the Lord not only consumes the offering, but the altar
  too.'
- (26) [...] hold øje med døtre-ne, ja og **vor hustru med**. *keep eye with daughters-the, yes, and our wives including* 'keep an eye on the daughters, yes, and keep an eye on our wives as well.'

(KorpusDK)

Note that an elliptical analysis in which *med* takes a deleted complement is not tenable. This is because the non-elided source is difficult to reconstruct without a change of meaning. In (27), the alleged deleted complement is realized overtly:

(27) # Hold øje med vor hustru med døtre-ne / dem. Keep eye on our wife with daughters-the / them 'Keep an eye on our wife with the daughters/them.'

The difference between (25) and (27) is that in (25), it is *vor hustru* that is added as a referent, whereas it is *døtrene* or *dem* that is added in (27). The fact that it is hard to reconstruct a well-formed non-elided source renders the elliptical analysis less plausible.

With respect to *med* in its prepositional use, it usually means 'with', e.g. *Jeg danser med ham* 'I am dancing with him'. This does not correspond to its meaning when used postpositionally. Thus, the prepositional and postpositional construction are not interchangeable, compare (25) and (28):

(28) #/\* Og Herren-s ild [...] fortærer ikke blot ofr-et. And Lord-GEN offering-the fire consumes not iust men med altr-et. altar-the but with Intended: 'And the fire of the Lord not only consumes the offering, but the altar too.'

#### 2.2.2.3 *Undtaget* 'except for'

*Undtagen* 'except for', but not *undtaget*, is categorized as a preposition in *Retskrivningsordbogen*. One difference between *undtagen* and *undtaget* is that the former is identical to the supine form of the verb *undtage* 'except', whereas the latter is identical to the perfect participle. Assuming that *undtagen* is correctly classified as a preposition, there is no a priori reason why *undtaget* cannot be an adposition.

I found some postpositional instances of only *undtaget*, not of *undtagen*. Two of these are given below:

(29) [...] Kamal Nath meddeler, at det gør KNreports that DEMdo u-landene [...] også, developing.countries-the also, de u-lande undtaget. to nævnte developing.countries-the except.for. two mentioned 'KN informs that so do the developing countries, except for the two mentioned developing countries.'

(KorpusDK)

(30) Der er totalt konsensus (**mig undtaget**) om, at [...] *There is total consensus me except.for PREP that* 'There is a consensus (which does not include me) that ...' (http://mitsaakaldtlesbiskeliv.dk/author/admin/page/14/)

Again, an elliptical analysis is not plausible, for the same reasons as for *med*. It is difficult to reconstruct the unelided source; see the attempts of reconstructing the non-elided source of *mig undtaget* in (30):

- (31)\* Mig blev undtaget.

  Me was exempted

  Intended: 'I was exempted.'
- (32) Jeg er undtaget. *I am exempted*'I was/have been exempted.'
- (33) # Nogen har undtaget mig fra konsensus.

  Somebody has exempted me from consensus

In (31), the alleged unelided source is ungrammatical. In (32), the pronoun is not in the same case as in (30). As for (33), the both the meaning and the word order deviate from that of (30): Semantically an action is implied in (33), whereas no action is implied in (30). In terms of word order, the pronoun precedes *undtaget* in (30) but follows it in (33). For these reasons, an ellipsis analysis is less plausible.

*Undtaget* can also be used prepositionally, but there does not seem to be any semantic difference between the prepositional and postpositional construction. When used prepositionally, it can take prepositional phrases as complements in addition to nominals:

- (34) Alle var fyret [...], **undtaget fire mand** [...]. *Everybody was fired, except.for four man* 'Everybody was fired, except for four men.'
- (35) Overalt blev jeg berørt, **undtaget i mit skød**. *Everywhere was I touched*, *except.for in my lap* 'I was being touched everywhere, apart from in my lap.'

(KorpusDK)

One difference between *undtaget* and *fra-set*, diachronically 'from-seen', is that the verbs from which they are formed, are not equally productive: The verb *undtage* 'exempt' is still in use, whereas the verb *frase* 'disregard' is no longer in use. One could imagine *undtage(n)* developing in the same direction as *frase* to be devoid of verbal content.

It is an open question whether the constructions involving *undtaget* and *fraset* are postpositional phrases or absolute participial constructions. First, Kobayashi (2012: 25–28) argues that verbs, and thus participles, do not have to be present in English absolute constructions. This leaves open the option of analyzing all constructions involving P-elements in this section as absolute constructions. Second, Kobayashi rejects both the postpositional phrase analysis and the absolute analysis. Here I take no stance on this question.

#### 2.2.3 Other P-elements

#### 2.2.3.1 *Fra* 'from'

Postpositional *fra* is used with *sted* 'place', *vegne* 'streets' and *vej* 'street', where *vegne* is an archaic plural form of *vej*.<sup>6</sup>

- (36) Der lugter af mad **et eller andet sted fra**. *EXPL smells of food one or another place from* 'There is a smell of food coming from somewhere.'
- (37) [...] der er bud efter hende **alle vegne fra.**there be.PRES call after her all streets from 'There are many people who want to contact her.'
- (38) Lige da hun var trådt ind af dør-en. Right when she stepped into of door-the. was overlæge-n styrtende den anden kom vei fra. chief.surgeon-the running the other wav from 'Just as she came inside by the door, the chief surgeon came from the other direction.'

((36)–(38) are from KorpusDK)

There seems to be a slight meaning difference between the prepositional and postpositional use. Compare the translations of (36) and (39):

Interestingly, these nouns can be used in nominal adverbials without being introduced by prepositions (Larson 1985; Nguyen 2018). In English, such an instance would be *He* went that way.

(39) ? Der lugter af mad **fra et eller andet sted**. 'there is a smell of food coming from some other place (than this place).'

Focusing on the P-complement headed by *sted*, it is indefinite in (36) and (39). If it is definite, the complement can most often only follow *fra*:

- (40) \* Jeg kommer det smukkeste sted fra

  I come the most.beautiful place from
- (41) Jeg kommer **fra det smukkeste sted.** 'I am from the most beautiful place.'

### 2.2.3.2 Over 'over'/'throughout'/'all over'

Postpositional *over* is primarily used with various time units, e.g. *sommeren/vinteren over* 'throughout the summer/winter', *weekenden over* 'throughout the weekend', *julen/påsken over* 'throughout Christmas/ Easter' and *natten over* 'overnight'. It is also used in *kloden over* 'all over the world' and its synonymous variants *verden/Jorden over*. See examples below:

- (42) [...] tunneler, der er bygget **klod-en over**.

  tunnels that are built world-the throughout

  'tunnels that are built all over the world.'
- (43) Læg et stykke klipfisk [...] i vand **natt-en over**. *Put a piece clipfish in water night-the over* 'Put a piece of clipfish into some water, and leave it overnight.'
- (44) [...] og så ligger sne-en jo **jul-en over**. and then lies snow-the PART Christmas-the over 'and then the snow will stay over the course of the Christmas days.'

  (KorpusDK)

In the postpositional construction, the given event takes place throughout the whole given time span, see (45). This is not implied in the prepositional construction (46):

(45) Han var hjemme **jul-en over**. He was home Christmas-the over 'He was at home for the whole Christmas time.'

(46) Han var hjemme over jul-en.

'He was at some point home during Christmas time.' (not necessarily for the whole Christmas time)

Julen over presupposes an event that takes place over the whole given period of time, whereas over julen does not presuppose this. In this light, it is of no surprise that postpositional igennem 'through' (Section 2.2.1.1) is often combined with a complement containing the element hele 'whole', since the postpositional construction presupposes that the given event lasts throughout the whole denoted time span.

The semantic contrast between the prepositional and the postpositional construction seems to be similar to that of adverbials such as *hele mandagen* 'all day Monday' and *om mandagen* 'on Monday', where the former presupposes that the given event takes place throughout Monday, and the latter presupposes that the event takes place on Monday:

- (47) Han var hjemme hele mandag-en. *He was home whole Monday-the* 'He was at home all day Monday.'
- (48) Han var hjemme om mandag-en.

  He was home on Monday-the

  'He was at home on Monday.' (not necessarily for the whole day)

Note that the same semantic notion also applies to spatial relations, e.g. *Jorden over*, which means something like 'all over the world': Whatever is predicated applies to the **whole** world.

## 3. Summary

I have examined a number of elements which could be regarded as postpositions. The following patterns can be observed:

- i. In some cases, the postpositional constructions are used for abstract notions such as temporal relations rather than spatial relations.
- ii. The head noun of the postpositional complement is often semantically bleached nouns such as *sted*, *vej*, *vegne* (an archaic plural form of *vej*).
- iii. The postpositional elements *med*, *fraset* and *undtaget* have the function of adding referents or subtracting them from a set of referents.
- iv. There is not always free variation between the prepositional and postpositional construction. This is because there is a semantic difference

between the two constructions and because the P-element selects different types of complements, depending on its position.

The last point raises the question whether the differences between preand postpositional use is related to similar phenomena, such as that of attributive adjectives in Romance languages, where the meaning depends on the order of the adjective and the noun.

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