

## Doubling left syntactic positions in Danish

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### 1. Introduction

In Danish, the semantic content of CP-spec (or ‘fundamentfeltet’ in the Danish syntactic tradition, cp. Bjerre et al. 2008) often appears in a double form: an anaphoric element (unstressed pronoun or adverb) preceded by a content element, ranging from a deictic pronoun up to full semantic representations:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Ham der, han er komplet tosset  
Him there, *han* is completely mad  
The person over there is completely mad
- (2) Hunden, den har mavepine  
Dog-the, *den* has stomach-pain  
The dog has pains in the stomach
- (3) I torsdags, der var vi på Moesgård  
On Thursday, *der* we were at Moesgård  
On Thursday we went to Moesgård
- (4) Hvis du ikke stopper nu, så ringer jeg til politiet!  
If you not stop now, *så* call I to police-the  
If you do not stop now, I’ll call the police

The construction is also found in subordinate clauses; here, the subject (which in modern Danish is in an IP-spec-position) doubles:

- (5) Jeg fortalte ham at mester han sikkert bliver helt stiktosset hvis han sagde sådan  
I told him that boss-the *han* certainly becomes completely mad if he said so  
I told him that the boss will be completely mad if he said so
- (6) De mure som mester han forlangte revet ned igen, var ikke så dårlige igen  
The walls that boss-the *han* demanded torn down again were not so bad for-that-matter  
The walls that the boos wanted to have torn down again, were not so bad for that matter
- (7) Når mester han forlangte noget lavet om, så skulle det ske her og nu  
When boss *han* demanded something done again, then should it happen here and now  
When the boss wanted something remade, it should be carried out right away

Much of this sounds very colloquial in native ears, but the construction is also present in

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<sup>1</sup> The anaphoric element is underlined and repeated in *italized* form in the direct gloss. Since these anaphoric elements often have a special meaning, no attempt is made to translate them in the glosses. Their meaning may be deduced from the tables in sect. 3.

certain sectors of high style as well, cp. this quote from a much-used church hymn:

- (8) Det kendes på os som lysets børn / at natten hun er nu omme (N.F.S. Grundtvig, ca. 1826)  
It be-known on us as light's children that night-the *hun* is now over  
Let it be known by us as children of the light that the night is now over

The construction is also found in the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, Norwegian and Swedish, cp. Johannessen 2014. Johannessen 2014 offers a full overview of the distribution of both the main clause structure and the subordinate clause structure, showing that the construction is present within the whole Mainland Scandinavian area.

Since much grammar writing has a strong written language bias, such constructions with evidently synonymous elements juxtaposed are normally written off as 'bad style' or 'merely spoken language', cp. Hansen 1983. Indeed, the construction is spoken language, but as I shall try to argue, it holds an interesting key to the syntax of spoken Danish, being able to shed light both on the prosodic features of modern Danish (synchronically) and on the development of the functional syntax (historically). The line of the argument follows John Du Bois' concept of Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 2003), extended with the observation that adverb phrases alternate with noun phrases in CP-spec in Danish.

In the absence of a suitable term I shall use the term 'doubling' to refer to such constructions below. Johannessen 2014 uses the term 'left dislocation' for this construction; but since this term is often connected with contrastive meaning, an implication which many of my Danish examples do not fulfill, I have preferred the term 'doubling'. The doubling itself consists of two elements: a referential part and an anaphoric part. They will be referred to with these terms.

## 2. The construction in Danish grammar

The fact that pronouns (resuming NP's) and single adverbs (resuming adverbial clauses or phrases) may be inserted after a heavy introductory element, is discussed at length in Falk & Torp (1900: 275-277) with a wealth of examples from the literature. The first reference grammar of Danish syntax, Mikkelsen 1975, mentions the construction only briefly under the heading of "Pleonasm" (Mikkelsen 1975:744, 747). Many interesting stylistic observations are found in Albeck (1939: 162), who finds the origins both in emphatic expressions and in improvising orality. Paul Diderichsen (1941:50-58) argues that the (pro-)nominal and adverbial element occupy the same position in the syntax, i.e. what we now call 'fundamentfelt', aka CP-spec. In his modern Danish syntax (Diderichsen 1962), the construction is mentioned briefly (p. 178 & 194-5) without much further ado. The most recent reference grammar of Danish, Hansen & Heltoft 2011, deals with the construction in many details under the heading of 'extraposition'. After an account of the formal aspects (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1827-1836), they give an account of semantics and style (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1836-1840), where they emphasize the connection to topic and focus.

In general the construction is supposed to be suspect in writing, but the problem is not serious enough to worry the traditional guides to improved written form (e.g. Oxenvad 1951, Hansen 1965, Jacobsen & Jørgensen 1988, 1995).

## 3. The details of the construction

Basically all kinds of constructions that are possible in a CP-spec may also appear in the doubling. Danish allows all nominal constructions - subjects, objects and predicates - to appear here. Furthermore, most adverb types with the exception of negations and other

operators may have their place here as well. The infinite verb element (the VP node) may also be found here, normally accompanied by all its sister constructions. Other possibilities are clauses and small clauses, cp. Jørgensen 2000:81-83, Lundskær-Nielsen et al. 2011: 207-8. There is a strong consensus that the CP-spec position is filled with the preferred argument, cp. Du Bois 2003. In the case of Danish (and probably many other languages as well), we also have to take a whole range of circumstantial adverb phrases into consideration for the CP-spec of the main clause.

The anaphoric element shows concord to the referential part. The anaphor is a personal pronoun (unstressed) when the referential part is an NP (including the infinite VP, the nominal clause and the small clause, all referred to with *det*), whereas the equally unstressed adverbs *så* and *da* are used when the referential part is an adverb phrase or an adverbial clause. It is crucial that these elements are all unstressed, a fact pointing to their purely anaphoric status.

In nominal reference the pronouns follow the modern distribution:

<i>Referent</i>	<i>Expression</i>
Personal referent	♀: <i>hun</i> (oblique: <i>hende</i> ); ♂: <i>han</i> (oblique: <i>ham</i> )
Non-personal referent	Utrum: <i>den</i> ; neuter: <i>det</i>
Nominal clausal referent	<i>det</i>

In older variants of Danish, where three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter) were still maintained, another distribution was used. In this version, which corresponds to the descriptions in the two earliest grammars of Danish, Kock 1660 and Pontoppidan 1668<sup>2</sup>, animateness is not taken into account:

<i>Referent</i>	<i>Expression</i>
Masculine gender referent	<i>han</i> , obl. <i>ham/hannem</i>
Feminine gender referent	<i>hun</i> , obl. <i>hende</i>
Neuter gender referent	<i>det</i>
Nominal clausal referent	<i>det</i>

The construction seems from the beginning to be reserved for statements; we never find it in e.g. element questions:

- (9) \*Hvorfor, så har du ikke taget bogen med?  
 Why *så* have you not brought book-the with?  
 Why didn't you bring the book?

It also is remarkable that doubling in the subject construction proper in main clauses does not occur; only the CP-spec may double:

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<sup>2</sup> Reprint in Berthelsen (1915) 1979

- (10) \*Så må detektiven han have fundet ud af at slette sine egne spor  
So must detective-the *han* have found out of to remove his own traces  
So the detective must have found out how to remove his own traces

This fact may be a clue to the use of the construction. What really fills out the CP-spec function in a statement, must in Danish be an anaphorical element. If for some discursive reason you need a non-anaphoric element in this function, it must be doubled, calling the attention to the (stressed) referential point of departure in the mind of the listener before we enter the sentence proper with the (unstressed) anaphorically element; but as I have mentioned, there is no evident need to see this as contrastive meaning. Thus, spoken Danish tends to display a topic-focus structure quite neatly and relate it to a prosodic pattern departing from an unstressed element and moving towards stressed elements. By associating the topic with anaphorical meaning (and lack of stress) the split between the contextual functions is clearly spelled out.

In clauses the doubling only occurs with the subject, unless the whole sentence switches to declarative (= main clause) word order (Hansen & Heltoft 2011:1675-1708):

- (11) Jeg sagde til dig at den bog den har jeg smidt ud  
I told to you that that book *den* have I thrown out  
I told you that I threw that book out

The doubling of the subject is probably best understood in the light of Barry Blake's statement that the subject is a grammaticalisation of the topic (Blake 1994:31-32), a statement in agreement with the theory of Preferred Argument Structure.

Interestingly enough, the doubling has entered the multiethnolect of Aarhus, where even deictic pronouns may call for doubling:

- (12) Ham han vil ikke hjælpe dig  
Him *han* will not help you

In this context this aspect will not be pursued any further. In her master's thesis Ditte Zachariassen (Zachariassen 2012) has made a thorough analysis of her findings from this field.

As I shall demonstrate in the following sections, the concept of Preferredness may vary, both historically and pragmatically. The limit between what is considered well enough prepared to go without doubling is varying quite much in my data, both in a synchronic dimension and in a pragmatic dimension.

#### 4. The historical dimension

The construction is found quite frequently in Medieval Danish. Here are some early examples from a religious text, the Legend of Saint Christina from the Cambridge fragment (presumably high style):

- (13) Fyr æn sancta cristina toc thæt brøth thā bath hun til war hærræ (...)

(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 283, slightly simplified<sup>3</sup>)

Before that saint cristina took that bread, *tha* prayed she to our lord  
Before saint Cristina took the bread, she prayed to the lord

- (14) Annæn dagh thær æftær tha com hænnæ fathær oc wildæ hethræ sinæ guthæ (...)  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 283, slightly simplified)

Second day there after *tha* came her father and would honour his gods  
On the second day after this, her father came and would honour his gods

- (15) Hærræ thin dottær. war frughæ hun skændæ thæm allæ i syndær oc castath them ut i gatæ

(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 284, slightly simplified)

Master, your daughter, our lady *hun* violated them all into pieces and threw them out in street  
Master, your daughter, our lady, destroyed them all completely and threw them into the street

In this case we find an adverbial clause, an adverbial phrase and a subject as referential elements, that is, the same range of elements as in Modern Danish. The *tha* adverb inserted to resume the sentence, has an interesting semantic content. It does not belong to any traditional class of adverb, its meaning being illocutionary, according to Hansen & Heltoft 2011:1840.

Certain late Medieval sources use the doubling so frequently that a closer analysis of the system is possible. A quantitative analysis of the occurrences of different doubling situations in one source, “Jesu Barndoms Bog” printed by Gotfred af Ghemen 1508<sup>4</sup>, gives the following figures:

Non-anaphoric CP-spec with doubling	31
Non-anaphoric CP-spec without doubling	28
Anaphoric CP-spec	80

Most of the non-anaphoric CP-spec’s with doubling are initial adverbial clauses:

- (16) then tid herodes oc iøderne hørde thet tha wore the sorgfulle (...)  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 383, slightly simplified)

the time Herod and jews-the heard it, *tha* became they sorry  
When Herod and the jews heard this, they began to worry

- but a few are NP’s:

- (17) (...) oc elizabeth thin fæncke hon scal fødhe een søn i sin allerdom (...)  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 379, slightly simplified)

and Elizabeth your female-relative *hun* shall give-birth-to a son in her age

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<sup>3</sup> In all quotations from Uldaler & Wellejus 1968 the indicators of philological restitution have been omitted; otherwise the book is quoted literally.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from Uldaler & Wellejus 1968:379-83.

and Elizabeth your female-relative shall give birth to a son at her age

The vast majority of the non-doubled non-anaphoric CP-spec's are single nouns and proper names (the end of CP-spec is marked by a [□]):

- (18) Josep [□] spurde om hon wiste hwat thet betyde  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 380, slightly simplified)  
Joseph asked if she knew what it meant

Only twice is a more heavy construction found without doubling:

- (19) (..) paa hemmelin [□] sage mange menniske iij skøne soler (...)  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 382, slightly simplified)  
on heaven-the saw many people three beautiful suns  
In heaven many people saw three beautiful suns
- (20) Ther guts søn føder wor [□] thedis een skøn ny stierne for alle menniske  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 382, slightly simplified)  
When God's son born was appeared a beautiful new star to all people  
When God's son was born, a beautiful new star appeared to all people

Since proper names and simple NP's may be seen as closely related to the speech situation (Togebj 1997, 2003), we may conclude that the doubling occurs when the material for the CP-spec is preferred, but still not too well bound by the context. Note that the doubling does not occur in (19) and (20), both of these referring to matters that are very topical in the context. Thus it seems as if the doubling is an obligatory device for situating remote CP-spec material in the discourse.

Jesu Barndoms Bog also contains a rare specimen of a doubling in a clause (the the below), incidentally alongside with a doubling in the main clause (the tha):

- (21) Som the helige iij konighe the komme til byen tha slo the theris pawlun op oc rede  
them til (...)  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 383, slightly simplified)  
As the holy three kings *they* came to town-the *tha* stroke they their dwelling up and  
made themselves ready (...)  
When the holy three king came to the town, they found their dwelling and prepared  
themselves (...)

The picture we find in the late medieval sources seems to be that doubling took place quite frequently, probably along the same patterns as in modern spoken Danish. Whenever a potential topic was not well enough situated in the discourse, it was doubled so that the sentence could start from an unstressed anaphoric element. At the time of the Reformation (after 1525), when printing evolved, the doubling was used more cautiously in purely written sources. Doubling is found in prose when the referential element is very long, like this (admittedly: somewhat excessive) quote from Hans Thomissøn's short history of psalm singing in his hymn book from 1569 representing an adverb phrase:

- (22) For det andet / effterdi at mange omgaaes saa met Guds Ord / at de enten icke forstaa  
det / men læse eller siunge det uflitteligen met en forfængelig mundklammer: (lige

som hine Papistiske Prester / Muncke oc Nunner fremsnurre deris Læsning oc sang / den de icke forstaa) heller oc vanbruge det til nogen Ketterj oc falsk Lærdom at bestyrcke / som Papisterne / Gendøbere / Sacramenterer / Antinomi oc andre Sophister oc Suermere giøre: Da vil Paulus at wi icke saaledis / men i all Visdom skulle Christi ord anamme oc beholde (...)

(Thomissøn 1569: c[viii], v)

For the second, since that many handle thus with God's word that they either not understand it, but read or sing it undiligently with a vain mouth-use: (like as those popish priests, monks and nuns forward-rolle their lecture and song which they not understand) else or abuse it to some heresy and false doctrine to reinforce like the catholics, anabaptists, [heretic I], [heretic II] and other sophists and phanatics do: *da* will Paul that we not thus, but in all wisdom should Christ's word appreciate and keep (...)

Secondly, because many deal with the word of God in such a way that they either do not understand it, but read and sing it carelessly, in a vain use of the mouth (like those popish priests, monks and nuns that recite their reading and song, which they do not understand) or else abuse it for the purpose to reinforce heresy and false doctrine, like catholics, anabaptists, (), () and other sophists and phanatics do, Saint Paul wants us to, not to do like this, but appreciate and preserve the word of Christ in due wisdom (...)

Likewise after a nominal element:

- (23) Thi huo som vaar en Arrianer oc nectede Christi Guddom / hand enten tagde stille / naar disse ord bleffue siungen / eller oc han sang / Ære være Gud Fader ved Sønnen (...)

(Thomissøn 1569: d[i], v)

Since who was an Arrian and refused Christ's divinity, *han*<sup>5</sup> either kept silent, when these words were sung, or else he sang, Glory be God Father through son-the (...)

Since if a person adhered to Arian and refused that Jesus was divine, he would either keep silent at these words, or he would sing 'Glory to God the Father through the son (...)

- but Thomissøn may also use quite long referents without doubling (the end of CP-spec is marked by a [□]):

- (24) (...) oc effterdi ieg da bleff fororsaget / til at underuise Ungdommen ocsaa om danske Psalmer ret at siunge udi Kirckerne / oc der fattedis icke alleniste Noder til mange Psalmer / men ocsaa mange skøne Psalmer som Lutheri sidste tydske Psalmebog dog indeholdt [□]: begynte ieg da at beflitte mig her om (...)

(Thomissøn 1569: dii, v - diii, r)

... and since I then was caused to teach youth-the also about Danish psalms right to sing in churches-the, and there was-a-lack-of not only notes to many psalms but also many beautiful psalms that Luther's last German hymnbook indeed contained, began I therefore to occupy myself here about ...

... and since I at that time had to teach the youth how to sing Danish psalms in the

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<sup>5</sup> The original text spells *hand*, correpsounding to modern *han*.

churches in the right way, and notes were lacking, not only for many psalms, but also for the beautiful German psalms by Luther in his last hymnbook, I had to work on the matter.

This tendency has prevailed in prose texts up to the present day.

Although proper prose style thus tried to do without it, the doubling construction found an interesting loophole in poetry. The unstressed syllable did good services to the regulated kind of verse prosody that was developed in the early 17th century, delivering an extra weak syllable when needed, but the doubling was found already in the unregulated verses of the previous centuries. An example from 'Rimkrøniken' (late 15th century):

- (25) Alle the som trodhe poo christ / them wille ieg altidh forhettæ  
(Uldaler & Wellejus 1968: 190, Ericberg fragment, slightly simplified)  
All they that believed in Christ / *them* would I always persecute  
I would always persecute those people that believed in Christ

- from the folk ballad manuscripts of the 16th century:

- (26) Syffuert hand haffuer en fuolle  
(DgF 3 version A v. 1)  
Sivert *han* has a fole  
Sivert has a fole

- (27) Møtte udi denn grønne lundt / ther stannder minn iomffrues gaardt  
(DgF 70 version B v. 26)  
Middle in the green wood, *ther* stands my mistress's house  
In the middle of the green wood stands the house of my mistress

- from the early Lutheran psalm books (here Thomissøn 1569):

- (28) Den lille Fuel hand fluer saa høyt / Oc Værit bær under hans Vinge  
(Thomissøn 1569: 317)  
The little bird *han* flies so high / and weather-the supports under his wing  
The little bird flies so high and the weather carries his flight
- (29) Naar wi skulle til vort Fæderne Land / Oc skillies ved dette ælende; / Da befaler ieg  
GUd min Siel i Haand (...)  
(Thomissøn 1569:317-8)  
When we shall [go] to our fathers' land / and depart from this misery / *da* commands  
I God my soul in hand  
When we shall go to the land of our fathers / and leave this misery / I will put my  
thrust in God

The metrical poetry of the baroque period (here Thomas Kingo, 1634-1703) maintained the use of the construction, as I mentioned:

- (30) Vort Time-glas det alt nedrinder, (...)  
(Kingo 1939-74 vol. III p. 101)  
Our hour-glass *det* already runs-out

Our hour-glass is running out

- (31) O Gud, mit Hierte det er rede / Med Tak at bryde himlens Slot, (...)  
(Kingo 1939-74 vol. III p. 101)  
Oh God, my heart *det* is ready / with gratefulness to break heaven's castle  
Oh God, my heart is ready to enter the castle of heaven with gratefulness
- (32) Ja, denne Dag, som nu mod Natten qvelder, / Hand skyder mig i hu, / Hvor nær mit  
Hoved nu / Mod Graven holder.  
(Kingo 1939-74 vol. III p. 89)  
Yes, this day that now towards night-the moves / *han* pushes me in mind / how near  
my head now / against grave-the leans  
Yea, this day moving towards night reminds me how near my head is to be leaning  
against the grave

- and all the way up to modern times it may be found in Danish versification:

- (33) Men i vor Lade, paa vor Lo, / der har vi nu Guds Gaver (...)  
(N.F.S. Grundtvig, 1783-1872, quoted from Billeskov-Jansen 1967 vol.  
II:127)  
But in our barn, on our threshing-room / *der* have we now God's gifts  
But in barns and in threshing-rooms we now have the gifts of God
- (34) Når din hals er en hal meter nedløbsrør / og din tunge er som en galosche / når din  
drøvel er stor som en briosche / så'r det oganet, der er løvet tør (...)  
(Poul Henningsen, 1894-1967, quoted from Billeskov-Jansen 1966: 171)  
When you throat is a half meter [of] drainpipe / and your tongue is like a boot / when  
your uvula is big as a briosche / *så*-is it organ-the that is run dry  
When your throat is like half a meter of drainpipe, and your tongue is like a boot,  
when your uvula is like a big bun, then it is the organ that has gone dry

## 5. Modern spoken language usage

In Modern Danish main clauses the construction is only found in statements. When asking element questions, it does not occur. It is absolutely frequent also in more formal spoken style, cp. the following quotes from the resignation of former prime minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt on the night after the recent elections.<sup>6</sup> Ms. Thorning-Schmidt uses the construction quite frequently, both after initial (adverbial) clauses:

- (35) Som I ved - kære venner - så er socialdemokratiet ikke et parti med de nemme  
løsninger  
As you know - dear friends - *så* is Socialdemocratic-party-the not a party with the  
easy solutions  
As you know, dear friends, the Socialdemocratic Party is not a party with easy  
solutions.

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<sup>6</sup> The speech is found at this web address:  
(<http://www.politiko.dk/nyheder/se-thornings-afskedstale>).

- (36) Var der en lygtepæl, så var der en plakat  
Were there a lamppost, *så* was there a poster  
In every lamp post there was a poster

- after initial adverb phrases:

- (37) Men kære allesammen, i aften, så rakte vores fælles indsats ikke så langt som vi håbede  
But dear everybody, to night, *så* reached our joint effort not so far as we hoped  
But dear all, on this night our joint efforts did not reach as far as we hoped

- (38) men hver eneste dag så har ansvaret været mit  
but each every day *så* has responsibility-the been mine  
but each and every day, the responsibility has been mine and mine alone

- after full NP's:

- (39) Vores venner hos det radikale venstre, de har ikke fået det valg som jeg synes de fortjener  
Our friends at the “radikale venstre”, *de* have not had the election that I thought they deserve  
Our friends from the “radikale venstre” [the other party in the coalition] have not had the election they deserved

-and in a clause:

- (40) Vi må erkende i aften at de partier der peger på Lars Løkke de har et flertal  
We must realize to night that the parties that point to Lars Løkke [leader of the Daish opposition] *de* have a majority  
We have to face the fact that the parties that prefer Lars Løkke make up the majority

But the doubling is not applied consequently; you may find several examples without doubling, e.g. an initial heavy adverb (end of CP-spec marked with  $\square$ ; in parenthesis my suggestion what could have been added):

- (41) og til alle Danmarks store piger og unge kvinder  $\square$  vil jeg sige direkte  
(og til alle Danmarks store piger og unge kvinder der vil jeg sige direkte)  
And to all Denmark's big girls and young women will I say directly  
And to all big girls and young women in Denmark I will say directly

- a full NP:

- (42) resultaterne  $\square$  taler for sig selv  
(resultaterne de taler for sig selv)  
results-the speak for them selves  
The results speak for themselves

- an adverb and a non-doubled subordinate clause:

- (43) Imorgen ☐ vil jeg gå til dronningen og erklære at regeringen ☐ træder af  
 (Imorgen der vil jeg gå til dronningen og erklære at regeringen den træder af)  
 Tomorrow will I go to queen-the and declare that government-the steps back  
 Tomorrow I will go to the queen and declare that the government resigns

In oral style, one may use the doubling more frequently than ms. Thorning-Schmidt does, but obviously the construction is not considered to be improper *per se* in this speech. The doubling is used quite inconsequently through the speech, sometimes present, as in (35)-(40), sometimes not, as in (41)-(43), dependent on style rather than grammar. As may be seen from the video, ms. Thorning-Schmidt has a manuscript, but treats it rather freely in the situation; we have a contrast between a pronounced oral style (where many doublings will be acceptable) and a formal style leaning on the formulations from a manuscript (without doublings). Hence the penduling between these two points is a natural consequence.

## 6. Conclusion

The importance of the construction is the emphasis on the anaphoric element in the sentence construction, cp. John Du Bois. In main clauses this anaphoric element may be almost anything in the CP-spec position. In clauses, this restriction does not hold. The subject of a clause is in a normal subject position, and yet it may double if the necessary content does not fit the demand for an anaphoric element.

The device seems to be a simple functional one: the sentence needs a topic well situated in the context on which the content of the focus may be developed. Such a topic must be anaphoric and hence stressless. If this topic is not well enough situated, it may be given in a full referential (stressed) form at the beginning of the sentence, but with a resumptive element right before the topic domain is finished. Different varieties of Danish follow this simple pattern; but to varying degrees. The stronghold of the doubling construction is clearly the spoken language. For different reasons the written language has tried to find other ways than the doubling, but also here you may find clear traces of the procedure. An interesting theme in the development is the borderline between what is sufficiently topical to avoid doubling. The comparison between Jesu Barndomsbog and the speech by the resigning prime minister demonstrates that the actual delimitation of what needs doubling in order to appear closely enough bound by the situation may vary considerably, although all the time maintaining a boundary between what is supposed to be topical in the given situation, and what is not.

## References:

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The resignation speech by Helle Thorning-Schmidt is quoted from this webpage (seen at 21.6.2015): <http://www.politiko.dk/nyheder/se-thornings-afskedstale>

b) Secondary sources

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