

A FUNCTIONAL AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS  
OF ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES ENDING IN *-ANT* AND IN *-ENDE*  
IN FRENCH AND DANISH, RESPECTIVELY\*

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1. Subject, aim and background material of the paper

In contemporary French and Danish there exist forms ending with *-ant* and *-ende*. In grammars, these forms are described in the chapters dealing with the syntax of the verb. It is said that they can be used as participles and as verbal adjectives, i.e. as attributive adjectives or as predicative adjectives. I shall examine what is traditionally called the attributive uses of these forms.

The translation of these attributive adjectives from Danish into French presents some difficulties. Numerous oddities of translation are to be found even at the upper levels of Institutes of Higher Education in Denmark. Below I shall give examples of major types of not quite acceptable translations found. As it is one of the aims of this paper to try to understand why the errors are made, the irregularities will not be fully commented upon immediately. In

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this section, I shall only give some Danish sentences and some not quite acceptable translations, and show in what way these translations might be considered rather odd.

(1) The sentence *han gjorde en afvaergende handbevaegelse* (which in the wider Danish context meant *he made a gesture to keep [him] away*) was found translated into "il fit un geste repoussant" (which may correspond to *he made a repulsive gesture* in English).<sup>1</sup> Although the French translation is syntactically correct, it cannot be said to be the appropriate translation of the Danish sentence. A possible French translation would be *il fit un geste pour [le] tenir à distance*.

(2) The Danish *de arbejdende kvinder* (which, in isolation, may mean (a) *the women belonging to the wage-earning class* or (b) *the women who are working at present*), was translated into "les femmes travaillantes" (lit. the women working). As a translation of the meaning (a), the French translation given might puzzle some Frenchmen because the attributive adjective *travaillant(e)* is not frequent in present-day French. Depending upon the context, it might seem advisable to translate the Danish example into *les femmes qui appartiennent à la classe des salariés*. As a translation of the meaning (b), we shall see below the reason why the French translation found cannot be used. A possible translation would be either *les femmes qui travaillent* or *qui sont en train de travailler*.

(3) The Danish *en leende pause* (which may mean *a pause full of laughter* or *a pause during which everybody laughs*) was translated into "une pause riante" (lit. a pause laughing). This translation might be considered undesirable because the adjective *riant(e)* is usually used only with such nouns as *visage (face)*, *yeux (eyes)* and synonyms, *nature (nature)*, *prairies (meadows)* and synonyms, *idées (ideas)* and synonyms. Possible translations would be *une pause pleine de rires*, *une pause où tout le monde s'esclaffa*, *une pause où chacun manifesta sa gaieté*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Odd translations of Danish examples into French are given in inverted commas. These are also used for French and Danish elements which could be considered odd in some way or other. We have tried all through to give English equivalents of the quoted examples. This is done in brackets. Such equivalent translations are sometimes literal translations, (lit.). They are given in order to mark the oddity of the French or Danish examples. The brackets may contain an English translation or equivalent alone, or French and English equivalents of a Danish example. They are separated by an oblique stroke:/. For much of the material given in brackets, the translations given are to be considered approximations because of lack of context. As this article was written for non-Danes, I have decided not to give Danish equivalents of the French examples.

(4) The Danish *et triumferende øjekast* (*a triumphant glance*) was translated into "une oeillade qui triomphait" (lit. a glance which triumphed). This French translation (and perhaps also the English literal translation of it) has a somewhat peculiar ring. A correct translation would have been *une oeillade triomphante*.

It appears furthermore that French people hesitate when having to decide as to what might be called Agreement or Concord of a given *-ant* form as in, for example, *une voix vibrant(e) de résolution* (*a voice vibrating with resolution*).

In this paper, I propose to examine some of the problems connected with these attributive adjectives by first summarizing and commenting upon what some current (and I suppose representative) grammars have to say on this topic (§ 2).

This should enable us to see that it would perhaps be preferable not to describe the present participle and its attributive uses together, in the chapter of the grammar dealing with the syntax of the verb.

This survey should also enable us to see that the translation deviations and the hesitations of French people mentioned above are perhaps due to the descriptions given at present in grammars.

The aim of this paper is to try to describe how the elements ending in *-ant* and in *-ende* are used as attributive adjectives in contemporary French and Danish. Consequently, this paper should be considered an attempt to take into account the meaning of these forms when they determine nouns. It should also be considered an attempt to link grammar and dictionary.

I have chosen to make this description within the framework of André Martinet's functional theory in order to determine whether this theory can be applied to a contrastive analysis.

It is generally acknowledged nowadays that contrastive analysis may improve the teaching of foreign language. I have chosen to make a 'non-oriented' analysis, i.e. I shall first describe the use of the *-ant* attributive adjective (§ 3), then that of the *-ende* attributive adjective (§ 4). I shall not describe here what is traditionally called the 'apposition', let two French examples suffice: *et les flammes montaient tout droit, rassurantes, dans l'air immobile* (Roblès, E. 1974 : 54) (lit. and the flames rose straight up, calm(ing), in the air) and *c'est cette crise nullement neuve, parfois dormant et couvant des siècles* (Morin, E. 1965 : 113) (*it is this crisis, far from being new, sometimes sleeping and smouldering for centuries*). This procedure gives us the possibility of regrouping similarities as well as differences in the use of these attributive adjectives in the two languages (§ 5). Although it has not been my sole aim to try to improve teaching practices on this topic, I have nevertheless kept in mind students of French in Denmark.

I have based the article on the data of a French corpus of about 8,000 pages,

and of a Danish corpus of about 4,000 pages, taken from contemporary writers, journalists and scholars. Most of the examples of *-ant* and *-ende* forms given here are taken from the approximately 1,000 examples per language I gathered in the corpora. A few were constructed with my French and Danish interlocuteurs. I also quote some adjectives found in dictionaries.

I have also sought to elicit the reactions of eight French academic people (four living in Denmark, four living in France) and of four Danish academic people. I have found that there is a risk of over-influencing people when they are made conscious of the fact that they are being interviewed about linguistic phenomena. The answers people give when asked whether a particular sentence is acceptable or not may not always correspond to their linguistic behaviour in normal situations. I have endeavoured, therefore, to observe their reactions in more or less spontaneous conversations.

With regard to the descriptions given in grammar books, I have selected as references M. Grevisse (1964), K. Togeby (1965) and J. Pedersen *et al.* (1970). These three grammars are being used by students of French at Institutes of Higher Education in Denmark. For Danish I have chosen to refer to P. Diderichsen (1946) and to Aa. Hansen (1967), which are the grammars usually consulted by Danish students of French. I have also used various dictionaries, which will be mentioned as we proceed.

Finally, I should like to say that the translation of this article made it clear to me that the often repeated theoretical point of view that 'translation is impossible' is very nearly true, because when translating we do not only translate meaning, we also have to translate conventions. When translating this article from the French language and conventions into English for international readers, it was difficult for me to decide whether I should readjust the whole article and adopt a current Anglo-Saxon structuring system of numbers (i.e. 1., 1.1., 1.1.1., 1.1.2., etc.) or whether I should retain my original system which contained only a few indications of structuring according to prevalent French tradition. Presuming that the English article would also be read by people who are used to reading French articles, I have chosen to use a mixed approach. I have endeavoured to mark the presentation of the different items in such a way that references are facilitated.

As to formal definitions expressed by means of symbols, the reader should not expect to find these here. In this respect I should like to refer to an article written by Michael J. Reddy, in which he says (1969 : 243) 'The idea that human language, or any adequate model thereof, has a mechanism specifying some strings as *formally* correct and others as formally incorrect *on the basis of the way in which they connect concepts* mistakes the very nature of human knowledge and communication'.

In passing, I shall add to this statement that not only does the idea mistake the very nature of human knowledge and communication, but it ought to be

taken with a grain of salt. First, it can certainly not be said to apply to all situations of linguistic communication — we need only think of the difference between written and oral communication and, also, of all that happens when we, in given situation or context 'play with language' for example. Second, the idea can certainly not be said to apply to all elements in language in its broadest sense — we need only think of all the neologisms and transfers from class to class that happen constantly in given context or of all the cases where we can choose between several ways to communicate our linguistic needs. And third, correctness and incorrectness can only be conceived of if there exists one and only one linguistic standard or norm, but *language changes because it functions* and such a standard does not exist — it is then, as regards some linguistic elements nearly impossible to give formal rules.

## 2. Grammatical works consulted.

### 2.1. General descriptions found.

I shall now quote and comment upon the contents of the grammars mentioned above.

The explanations given in these grammars often correspond to one another by and large. In order therefore to avoid too many translated citations from the five grammars selected, I have chosen in the following to quote the grammar of Grevisse when what he writes corresponds in the main to what is found in the other grammars cited. I shall then quote, in brackets, the chapters in which the corresponding explanations can be found in the other grammars. I have also chosen sometimes not to give translated quotations in inverted commas, but to render, roughly, what the grammarians cited have said about a special item. I shall also then quote, in brackets, the chapters in which the explanations can be found in the different grammars.

Generally speaking, as has been mentioned on page 39, the difficulties seem to arise from the fact that the forms ending in *-ant* and *-ende* are generally described together in the chapter dealing with the syntax of the verb. In addition, it is usually implied that they can *at one and the same time* assume the verbal function *and* the adjectival function in a given sentence. Diderichsen, P. is the only grammarian cited who emphasizes that 'the participles cannot generally have both the verbal and the adjectival function at one and the same time' (1946 : § 27c).

The reader may be further reminded of the remarks of Otto Jespersen: 'in each separate case in which the word is used in actual speech it belongs definitely to one class and to no other' (1924 : 62).

a. It has been said about the two participles that 'The participle is the adjectival form of the verb: it participates in the *nature* (my italics) of the verbs and in that of the adjective' (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 766; Diderichsen, P.

- 1946: § 27c; Hansen, Aa. vol. 3, 1967: 97). And it has been stated that 'as an adjective, the present participle has the value of a qualifier (however, it retains something of the *nature* (my italics) of the verb)' (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 769; Hansen, Aa. vol. 3, 1964: 99).
- b. An artificial distinction between the 'verbal adjectives' and the other adjectives is created by attributing to them verbal characteristics. It is sometimes asserted that they can be used in an active sense, a passive sense or a sense which is neither active nor passive. Examples like *ombres flottantes* (*floating shades*), *couleur voyante* (*glaring colour*), *laesende ung pige* (*jeune fille qui fait des études ou qui lit/young girl who studies or who reads*), etc., are quoted (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 770; Togeby, K. 1965: § 636; Diderichsen, P. 1946: § 27a; Hansen, Aa. vol. 3, 1967: § 97 - 99).
- c. The grammarians cited try, then, to differentiate the adjectives from the present participle by saying that they express 'a *state* (my italics) without limitation in time' (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 772; Pedersen *et al.* 1970: § 153.2.; Diderichsen 1946: § 27a; Hansen, Aa. vol. 3, 1964: 99), whereas the present participle is said 'to express *action*' (my italics) (Grevisse, *ibid.*; Pedersen *et al.*, *ibid.*; Diderichsen, *ibid.*; Hansen, *ibid.*)
- d. As for French, it is said that 'As an adjective, the present participle ... agrees in gender and in number with the noun to which it refers either as an attributive adjective or as a predicative adjective' (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 769; Togeby, K. 1965: § 632; Pedersen, J. *et al.* 1970: 153.1.). Togeby, K. 1965) says in § 632 that 'the verbal adjective and the present participle differ from one another by the fact that the verbal adjective is an adjective proper which agrees in gender and number'.
- e. French grammars draw up a partial or complete inventory of 'verbal adjectives' that are distinct from the present participle through their orthography. This refers to forms like *adhérent/adhérent, communiquant/communicant, fatigant/fatigant*, etc. (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 771; Togeby, K. 1965: § 632; Pedersen, J. *et al.* 1970: § 153.2.).

These statements raise the fundamental question whether all the *-ant* and *-ende* forms can be used as attributive adjectives or, in other words, whether all these forms are elements which can be regarded as possible dictionary entries.

They raise the further question whether the concepts of *state* without limitation in time and that of *action* seen above are adequate criteria. According to what has been quoted above (cf. a., b., and c.) the forms ending in *-ant* and *-ende* are to be considered 'verbal', i.e. belonging to the verbal class when they express *action* — and they are to be considered 'nominal', i.e. belonging to the class of nominals when they express *state*. In the following, I shall use the terms 'verbality' for 'action' and 'nominality' for 'state'. I shall return to these questions later on, but in this respect, I can

mention that the student who translated *et triumferende smil* (cf. p. 39, ex. 4) into "une oeillade qui triomphait" explained his translation by saying that, in his opinion 'a smile was to be considered a state limited in time', and accordingly he did not dare to use the form *trionphant*. It was impossible for me to disagree with him on this point.

This example of odd translation shows furthermore that adjectives in *-ant* cannot be said to be equivalent to a relative clause in all cases. This can apply to *-ende* adjectives also.

Examples of this type and others mentioned on p. 38 made me want to try to tackle the problem from a different angle.

## 2.2. Can all *-ant* and *-ende* forms be used as attributive adjectives?

Grevisse does not take the problem into consideration.

According to Togeby, K. (1965: § 942), all the *-ant* forms are usable. He adds in this paragraph, to be found in the chapter on word formation, that 'even as purely *nominal* (my italics) derivations, the *-ant* forms seem to be *more verbal* (my italics) than other derivations'. He then mentions forms like '*admirant — admiratif — admirateur*' (*admiring — admiring — admiring*). It is however difficult to understand why he quotes the form *admirant* in this section on word formation, '*Adjectival suffixes*' (my italics) (p. 812), because there exists no adjective 'admirant' in present-day French — i.e. there exists no dictionary entry 'admirant' — whereas there exist entries for adjectives like *souriant* (*smiling*), *reconnaissant* (*grateful*), *marquant* (*prominent, outstanding*), etc.

It is also difficult to understand what Togeby means when he uses the comparative 'more verbal' to describe the *-ant* suffix. It is not to be said whether he means that adjectives ending in *-ant* 'express more action' than adjectives ending in *-eur* and *-if* for example like *flatteur* (*flattering*) which is formed from the verb *flatter*, but whose ending is not *-ant*. The same question could apply to an English adjective like *expressive* (*éloquent, expressif*) (from the verb *express*/*exprimer*), for which it is difficult to say that it 'expresses less action' than an adjective like *admiring* (from the verb *admire*/*admirer*). And besides, there are cases for which we cannot say whether the *-ant* and *-ende* forms express 'action' or 'state', like i.e. *dormant* (*sleeping*) and *sovende* (*dormant/sleeping*).

According to Pedersen J. *et al.* (1970: § 153.2.), few *-ant* forms can be used as adjectives, but they do not state which of them. They observe in the same paragraph that 'a Danish present participle often corresponds to a relative clause in French' and that 'the verbal adjective should be avoided when it expresses action limited in time'.

For Danish, Diderichsen, P. (1946: § 27c) mentions that it is only when

participles have specific meanings that they can be used as attributive adjectives. The matter is not further explored, however. Hansen, Aa. (vol 3, 1964: 100) mentions that the present participle as an attributive adjective is more frequently used in written language. He does not state whether all present participles can be used.

The French attributive adjective having to agree in gender and number with the noun it qualifies, the question of knowing which *-ant* forms can be used as attributive adjectives has to be resolved. The problem does not present the same difficulties in Danish because the Danish *-ende* forms have only one ending, i.e. *-e*.

The question is, then, whether the 'nominality' and the 'verbality' of these forms can be of any use when one wishes to determine which *-ant* and *-ende* forms can be used as attributive adjectives.

### 2.3. 'Nominality' or 'verbality' of *-ant* and *-ende* forms

This is not the place to comment on the numerous studies in which the concepts of 'nominality' and 'verbality' of nouns and adjectives, etc., are dealt with.

However, I shall now briefly show that the problems presented by the adjectives described here cannot be solved by looking at their 'nominality' or 'verbality'. This applies to the forms when viewed out of context and can also apply to them when they are linked to nouns as attributive adjectives.

First, I shall demonstrate that it is not possible to determine the degrees of 'nominality' and 'verbality' for *-ant* and *-ende* forms when taken out of context. Forms such as

*menaçant* (*threatening*), and  
*talende* (*parlant/speaking*)

would seem to suggest action and consequently to express 'verbality'. This reasoning is undoubtedly due to the fact that these forms have invariably been described in the chapters dealing with the syntax of the verb, as has been demonstrated above. But, in fact, when out of context, we cannot distinguish whether the forms belong to one or the other category. Neither can we say whether they are present participles or adjectives. Second, I shall demonstrate that when linked to nouns, as in:

- a) *des paroles menaçantes* (*threatening words*)
- (b) *une foule menaçante* (*a threatening crowd*)
- (c) *et talende eksempel* (*un exemple parlant/an enlightening example*)
- (d) *en talende person* (lit. *une personne parlant/a person talking*; in some contexts: *un sujet parlant/a speaker*)

we have to acknowledge that it is also difficult to decide whether the adjectives express an action or a state.

In (a) it cannot be said that 'words' can perform the action of threatening

somebody in the literal sense of the verb. The example is equivalent to *une parole comminatoire* (*a threat word*).

In (c) it cannot be said that an 'example' can perform the action of talking in the literal sense of the verb. Rather it is an 'example' that reinforces the evidence of an argument.

In both examples, the *-ant* and *-ende* forms ought, then, to be considered 'nominal', if we wanted to make use of this criterion.

Apart from the nominal agreement of the *-ant* adjective, neither of the forms can be considered 'verbal', if this term is taken in its traditional sense of 'performing an action'. It should be remembered here that this is the meaning which is frequently suggested in grammars (cf. also p. 41 and 42).

As to examples (b) and (d), they can, when submitted out of context, have two meanings.

In (b), the 'foule menaçante', might be a concrete crowd which is actually uttering threats at somebody. If we disregard the nominal agreement of the *-ant* adjective, the form ought, then, to be viewed in its 'verbality', if we wanted to make use of this criterion. The 'foule menaçante' might, however, also be a 'crowd' conceived of as an abstract entity whose threats are potential but not actually uttered. The *-ant* adjective ought then to be viewed in its 'nominality', if we wanted to make use of this criterion.

The same applies to example (d). Out of context, the 'talende person' might be a person who is in the process of talking. The *-ende* form ought, then, to be viewed in its 'verbality', if we wanted to make use of this criterion. The 'talende person' might, however, also signify the 'speaker', in the 'speaker vs recipient' context. The 'talende person' is, then an abstract entity. The *-ende* form ought then to be viewed in its 'nominality', if we wanted to make use of this criterion. In all four examples, only a wider context or a given situation could decide the question.

The above examples show that:

1. When isolated from the context, it is not possible to determine whether these forms are 'nominal' or 'verbal'.
2. When they are attributive adjectives, their sense may vary according to the nouns they qualify.
3. As soon as the present participle is transferred into the category of attributive adjective, this form may either acquire a figurative meaning which separates it definitively from that of the participle (exx. (a) and (c)) or it may undergo an individual semantic development (exx. (b) and (e)).

This new meaning I suggest to call 'shifted' meaning.

These three points led me to the conclusion that it is not possible to describe exhaustively the infinite variety of possible contextual combinations. They also led me to the conclusion that even if it were possible to determine the 'nominality' and the 'verbality' of these forms, problems that it would be

interesting to explore theoretically, one would have to describe all the attributive uses of them within one and the same chapter in the grammar, e.g. the chapter on word formation. It is indeed difficult to see how it would be possible to guide the users of the grammars if it was decided to describe the adjectives *menaçant* and *talende* used with nouns like *parole* and *eksempel* in the chapter dealing with nominals (i.e. nouns, pronouns, etc.), and the same forms used with nouns like *foule* and *person* in the chapter dealing with the syntax of the verb.

These arguments also apply to dictionaries for which, in addition, the cost of having to set up separate entries would be much too high.

In the same vein, it should be pointed out that it would be desirable to establish more of a dialogue between grammarians and lexicographers.

#### 2.4. 'Nominality' or 'verbality' of the prepositional complements

I shall here quote and comment upon what is said about the complements introduced by a preposition (viz. *de résolution*, cf. p. 39) in the grammars cited, in which opinion differs.

I need perhaps not say that this type of complement represents undoubtedly one of the most contended subject within the field of syntax. The terms found, the definitions given and the viewpoints vary a great deal and, as it is not possible to present here a thorough discussion of the subject, I have for the time being chosen to call them 'prepositional complements'. Sometimes, I have chosen not to translate the terms which I have found.

Grevisse (1964), Togeby (1965), Diderichsen (1946) and Hansen (1967) consider these complements verbal and nominal. Pedersen *et al.* (1970) consider them purely verbal.

Grevisse, M. (1964: § 772) says that the *-ant* form is a present participle when it has 'un objet indirect ou un complément circonstanciel, pourvu qu'il exprime une action'. He adds that an *-ant* form followed by 'un complément indirect ou surtout d'un complément circonstanciel' often expresses a state, 'un fait habituel, une caractéristique'.

Togeby, K. (1965: § 637) states that 'the *-ant* form is frequently used when followed by prepositional complements'. He goes on to say that 'since adjectives can also be determined by prepositional complements, the verbal adjective can also be used with these complements'. He adds that the verbal adjective 'often precedes a prepositional complement introduced by *de*, and other prepositions as well'.

Pedersen, J. *et al.* (1970: § 153.2.) consider them purely verbal. They state that these complements confer the status of verb upon the *-ant* form.

Diderichsen, P. (1946: § 27c) says, that the present participle can have a direct object, but he does not comment upon the prepositional objects. In

§ 87, he comments upon the elements the 'nexus' construction may consist of. He adds that in such constructions the participles may often be viewed as conjunctions.

Hansen, Aa. (vol 3, 1967: 102) says that the 'implied elements' ('de forudsættende led') precede the present participle. On p. 103, he states that the 'belonging elements' ('de tilhørende led') follow the present participle. He includes the direct object among these elements.

Both writers observe that this type of construction belongs under written language and is considered epistolary and rather pompous. My investigation of types of construction like *to af lykke stralende øjne* (lit. deux de bonheur brillant yeux/two with happiness shining eyes) has not been completed and is not included here, mainly because, in my corpus, such examples proved to be few and far between.

It might be appropriate to mention at this point that the *-ant* and the *-ende* forms are considered verbal by these grammarians when followed by a direct object (Grevisse, M. 1964: § 772; Togeby, K. 1965: § 632; Pedersen J. *et al.* 1970: § 153.2.; Diderichsen, P. 1946: § 27c).

These statements raise the problem of deciding when the prepositional complements are to be called verbal and when they are to be called nominal.

Again, this is not the place to comment upon the problems raised by these complements. However, it will be seen that, in a synchronic description, it is certainly not justifiable to say that they are purely verbal.

First, I shall comment upon the adjectives *fou* (*crazy, mad*) and *traet* (*fatigué/tired*). Like many other adjectives, they can be used without a complement. They may also be followed by prepositional complements. The adjective *fou* can be followed by *d'amour* in *fou d'amour* (*mad with love*). The adjective *traet* may be followed by *af sin kone* (*de sa femme/of his wife*). This, however, has not led any grammarian to deal with *fou* and *traet* in the chapter of the grammar dealing with the syntax of the verb.

In functional terminology, such complements are said to be *nominal non-specific expansions* i.e. their realization does not depend on the nominal (A. Martinet *et al.*<sup>2</sup>) and is never obligatory. The nature of the expansion may vary, i.e. it may express manner, time, space, etc.

Second, I shall comment upon the adjectives *apte* (*fit*) and *opsat* (*désireux/desirous*). They are both adjectives that *cannot* be used without a prepositional complement. The complement of *apte* is invariably introduced by *à*, e.g. *apte à la lutte* (*fit for the fight*). The complement of *opsat* is invariably introduced by *på*, e.g. *opsat på at lære* (*désireux d'apprendre/desirous to learn*). In passing, it might be mentioned that the Danish adjective *opsat* also occurs in a collocation like *opsat*

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to present here the details of all the expansions in the functional theory. The few examples given should, however, give a rough idea of this procedure.

*hâr* (hair that has been 'put up'). The adjective is not synonymous with *opsat pâ*; it does not require any expansion and ought to form a separate entry in the dictionary.

In functional terminology, such complements are said to be *nominal specific function*, i.e. they are characteristic of the nominal. They are of course obligatory. From a diachronic point of view *apte* and *opsat* could be called verbal. The prepositional complements would then be considered verbal. Nevertheless, in the traditional synchronic descriptions, these adjectives are generally not considered verbal either.

Furthermore, the fact that they could be considered verbal from a diachronic viewpoint, has not led grammarians to describe such adjectives in the chapter of the grammar books dealing with the syntax of the verb. This procedure would be open to criticism in many respects — the traditional description of the *-ant* and *-ende* adjectives underlines it.

What has been said above leads to the conclusion that the prepositional complements of the *-ant* adjectives, in a synchronic description, have to be considered as follows:

1. as *nominal non-specific* expansions, as in e.g. *des personnages ignorants à faire pleurer* (persons whose ignorance can make one cry). The adjective *ignorant* (illiterate, ignorant) like many others, does not require an expansion, as in e.g. *des personnages ignorants* (illiterate persons).
2. as *nominal specific function*, as in e.g. *des personnages ignorants des questions d'ensemble* (persons ignorant of general questions). The adjective which is involved here is the adjective *ignorant de*. It does not mean *illettré, ignare* (illiterate, ignorant), but *qui n'a pas la connaissance de quelque chose* (viz. who does not have the knowledge of something). It requires the specific expansion which is characteristic of it. In the present case this expansion is introduced by *de*.

## 2.5 Conclusions

It appears from all that has been said above that the traditional descriptions of these adjectives are based upon their formal similarity to the present participle and upon a diachronic point of view (cf. p. 42, e.). But these descriptions do not answer the fundamental question they raise, i.e. whether all *-ant* and *-ende* forms may be used as attributive adjectives and — if so — whether they may be used with all categories of nouns. Above we have seen these forms described by means of verbal characteristics (cf. p. 41, a. and p. 42, and b., c.). Thus, an artificial distinction between these adjectives and the others is set up. This distinction is further intensified by questionable concepts like 'state without limitation in time' and 'action', the latter being then understood as 'limited in time'.

Below, I shall try to establish whether all present participles may be used as attributive adjective and, if so, how.

I shall adopt a different point of view without, however, trying to determine degrees of 'nominality' or 'verbality' for the forms. We have just seen that it is either impossible or useless at the pragmatic level to determine such degrees. I shall not attempt to draw up an inventory of these adjectives ending in *-ant* and *-ende*. During the four years that I have studied these forms I have found that new transfers occur constantly. And I shall not attempt to set up classes of verbs producing these adjectives. The verbal roots of *-ant* and *-ende* adjectives collected in the corpus are not limited to any of the traditional verb classes like transitive, intransitive, perfective or imperfective classes, cf. the examples given in this paper.

From the functional viewpoint of dynamic synchrony which I have adopted (Martinet 1975<sup>2</sup>), I shall now attempt to bring out features that allow the recipient to identify *-ant* and *-ende* forms as attributive adjectives. This should enable us to find some principles concerning the use of the *-ant* and *-ende* adjectives as attributive adjectives.

I am applying the notion of *class transfer*<sup>3</sup> in an attempt to define the conditions under which transfers from the verbal to the adjectival class can take place. A transferred element may result in a *fixation* as in, for example, *les Grands d'Espagne*, where *grand* is no longer an adjective but a noun. The same is seen in i.e. the well-known Oxford term, *the Greats*, (for the final B. A. examination).

## 2.6. The compatibilities of the adjectives ending in *-ant* and *-ende*

I shall consider attributive adjectives ending in *-ant* and *-ende* linguistic elements

- A. that are transferred from the verbal class to the adjectival class
- B. that belong to the unlimited class of linguistic elements that can be inserted in the dictionary
- C. that can be used as qualifiers to determine nouns, to which they are subordinate and that can be used without any expansion
- D. that — in French, are placed *before* or *after* the noun qualified with which they agree and — in Danish, are placed *before* this noun and whose agreement is not marked
- E. that can be modified by adverbs which modify adjectives; such adverbs are placed *before* the attributive adjective in French and in Danish; as

<sup>3</sup> A. Martinet *et al.* Lucien Tesnière comments on this phenomenon as follows: "It is essential to keep in mind that it is a syntactical phenomenon which consequently goes beyond the morphological data with which we have the bad habit of reasoning in syntax" (1959 : 365).

to the adverbs that can modify verbs *and* adjectives, they are placed before the *-ant* and the *-ende* adjectives; the adjective ending in *-ant* is not compatible with the negation *ne ... pas* (*not*); the adjective ending in *-ende* is compatible with the negation *ikke* (*not*), which is placed *before* the adjective (in passing, we may note that a form ending in *-ende* followed by *ikke* — this is the normal position of *ikke* when it modifies verbs — sounds odd, as in “spisende ikke sit brød” (lit. *mangeant ne pas son pain/ eating not his bread*)).

F. that in most cases adjectives ending in *-ant* may receive a non-specific expansion and, in some may receive a specific expansion; the expansions are generally placed after the adjective when it is placed after the noun; being placed before the noun qualified, the adjective ending in *-ende* cannot receive expansion placed after it; (the form ending in *-ende* can, however, receive an expansion placed before it (cf. p. 47), but the investigation of these occurrences has not been completed); the adjectives ending in *-ant* and in *-ende* cannot receive a direct object.

I shall not describe here the present participles ending in *-ant* and in *-ende* in French and Danish. I shall, however, distinguish them from the adjectives mentioned above and say that I consider the present participles linguistic elements

- a. that are not transferred from the verbal to the adjectival class
- b. that do not belong to the class of linguistic elements that can be inserted in the dictionary
- c. that cannot generally be used without any expansion as qualifiers to determine nouns
- d. that, consequently, cannot be placed before a noun in French and not after a noun in Danish
- e. that cannot be modified by adverbs which modify adjectives; as to the adverbs that can modify verbs and adjectives, they are placed after the *-ant* the *-ende* forms when these are used as present participle
- f. that the French present participle may receive a direct object, or specific expansions which are generally placed after the participle; that the Danish present participle may receive a direct object, or specific expansions

What has been said here about the compatibilities of these two classes of elements will be exemplified throughout the article.

### 3. The *-ant* attributive adjective.

#### 3.1. The three groups of forms.

I had noticed that the present participle most frequently differed from the adjective ending in *-ant* by its meaning (cf. p. 38). I wanted to get this point verified by French speakers. The conversations I had with the French interlo-

cutors mentioned on p. 40, their spontaneous reactions and their opinion on the matter confirmed my own observation. On the basis of this and of what has been said by my French interlocutors, I have divided the forms ending in *-ant* into three groups:

*Group 1.* This group consists of forms like *poignant* (*poignant*), *pantelant* (*panting*), *sanglant* (*bloody, cruel*), *florissant* (*flourishing*), etc. The basic verb of these adjectives does not exist any longer or is in the process of disappearing. These adjectives have resulted in fixations. My French interlocutors spontaneously added nouns to them, to form nominal syntagms of the type *une histoire sanglante* (*a cruel story*). The adjectives in *-ent*, *-ant*, *-gant*, etc., as well as *puissant* (*powerful*), *savant* (*learned*), etc. as listed in modern grammars (cf. p. 42, e.) belong to this group and ought not to be considered present participle in synchronic descriptions.

*Group 2.* This group consists of forms like *retentissant*, *persévérant*, *reconnaissant*, *amusant*, *charmant*, etc. The basic verb still exists, and on the basis of their meaning, these forms can be divided into two subgroups, each having different compatibilities.

*Group 2a:* *retentissant* (*resounding*), *persévérant*, (*persevering*), *reconnaissant* (*recognizing*), *amusant* (*amusing*), *charmant* (*charming*), which are present participles.

*Group 2b:* *retentissant* (*known far and wide*), *persévérant* (*steadfast, constant, etc.*), *reconnaissant* (*grateful*), *amusant* (*comic, amusing*), *charmant* (*delightful, charming*), which are adjectives with a figurative or a ‘shifted’ meaning.

With these forms my French interlocutors either formed participial phrases of the type *une histoire amusant tout le monde* (*a story that amuses everybody*) — or nominal syntagms of the type *une histoire amusante* (*an amusing story*). We may note that in the participial phrase, we cannot leave out the direct object *tout le monde*. The utterance ‘J’ai entendu une histoire amusant’ (lit. *I heard a story amusing*) is not possible.

*Group 3.* This group consists of forms like *marchant* (*walking*), *lisant* (*reading*), *visant* (*aiming*), *jouant* (*playing*), *chantant* (*singing*), *poussant* (*pushing*), *appelant* (*calling*). Most of my French interlocutors did not form nominal syntagms with these forms but participial phrases of the type *visant un but très précis, elle arriva à ses fins* (*Aiming at a very specific goal, she succeeded*).

#### 3.2. The transfers

We shall now see how the transfers of the forms from Group 3 to Group 2b take place, i.e. the transfers from the verbal class to the adjectival class, in the attributive function.



We find that the problem consists in distinguishing the present participle from the attributive adjective. In French the attributive adjective is usually placed after the noun it qualifies. This position is also the usual position of the *-ant* attributive adjective and can be the place of a participial phrase which can be introduced by a present participle. The two forms being identical when the attributive adjective is a masculine singular form, they could be mistaken. But, as they frequently have different meanings, they should be distinguished from one another.

This is evidenced by the following example: *afin d'avoir un gage de réussite et lui faire donner ce retentissant camouflet sur la joue du général* (Peyrefitte, R. 1970 : 288) (so as to have a token of success and having the general given a resounding buffet on the cheek). The writer has presumably preferred the anteposition of the adjective *retentissant* because he wished the adjective to be identified as an attributive adjective — which means 'something which is spoken much about, known far and wide'. The postposition of this form of the masculine singular would have led to a syncretism. The reader may have wondered whether the buffet 'resounded' (i.e. made noise) on the general's cheek or whether it was 'a buffet which was spoken much about'.

Syncretisms were extremely rare in the corpus.

It should be noticed that the distinction between the participle and the adjective in the position after the noun could have been made in the spoken language by using stress and intonation. The adjective can receive a stress and a rising intonation on its first syllable: *un camouflet 'retentissant sur la joue du général* and it can be followed by a slight pause. The participle, on the other hand, cannot receive a stress on its first syllable and so cannot be uttered on a rising intonation. The sentence can be uttered with a very slight pause after the noun but without a pause after the participle.

The transfers of the present participle to the adjectival class take place under very specific conditions. The conditions under which such transfers can take place will now be explained. The conditions are divided into two groups.

#### A. Compounds

In order to study these transfers, I shall take the forms *appelant* (calling), *galopant* (galloping), *chantant* (singing), *marchant* (walking), *couchant* (setting), as examples.

For many of my French interlocutors, and perhaps for many other speakers of French, some of these forms belong solely to Group 3.

However, these forms have been transferred to the adjectival class as attributive adjectives in synthemes (cf. Martinet 1967 : 134 and Martinet 1975a : 200). A *syntheme* is a significant unit which can be semantically ana-

lysed as two (or more) significant units but which, syntactically, keep the same relations with the other elements of the utterance as the monemes with which it can be exchanged. There are two types of synthemes: the *derivate* and the *compounds*. A *moneme* is a two-sided element. One side is the 'signifié', which is the meaning or the value of the moneme. The other side is the 'signifiant' by means of which the 'signifié' is manifested phonetically (Martinet 1967 : 16).

The compounds found are types like *canard appelant* (decoy duck), *partie appelante* (appellant), *phthisie galopante* (galloping consumption), *basse chantante* (walking bass), *aile marchante* (leading wing of, say, a political party), *soleil couchant* (setting sun). The adjective is most commonly put after the noun, but anteposition can also be met as in i.e. *un flagrant délit* (flagrante delicto or (caught) in the act or red-handed).

There exists quite a number of these compounds, but they are not always commonly known as some of them belong under 'language for special purposes'. They are usually included in French dictionaries and those of them that belong under 'languages for special purposes' should be included in terminology banks.

We can see that all these compounds are synthemes from the fact that they can be replaced by monemes, as may be seen for example in *canard appelant* for which can be substituted *appeau* (decoy) and with *partie appelante* which can be exchanged with *appelant*, etc.

We cannot add qualifiers or modifiers to one constituent element of the compound without making nonsense of it. The compound *un canard appelant* may be qualified by *très beau*: *un très beau canard appelant* (a very beautiful decoy duck). The moneme *canard*, however, cannot be qualified on its own. The sentences "J'ai vu un canard gris appelant." (lit. I saw a duck grey calling) or "j'ai vu un canard très appelant." (lit. I saw a very calling duck) are not possible.

The addition of a non specific expansion after *appelant* can sometimes create a syncretism (cf. p. 00). The sentence *j'ai vu un canard appelant dans l'étang* may be translated and understood in two different ways: either as *I saw a decoy duck in the pond* or as *I saw a duck calling in the pond*. A proper analysis remains, however, necessary and only the context or the situation could decide the meaning.

If an expansion to the verb *appeler* (call) like *au secours* (for help) is added to the sentence, the form is present participle. (It should be noted that this verbal expansion is not obligatory). In the sentence *J'ai vu un canard appelant au secours dans l'étang* (I saw a duck calling for help in the pond), the *-ant* form is verbal. If we substitute the feminine *cane* for the masculine form *canard*, we get *une cane appelant au secours dans l'étang*, where there is no 'agreement' of the form *appelant* with the noun *cane*: it is the entire participial

phrase *appelant au secours dans l'étang*, that qualifies *une cane*, and *appelant* is present participle.

It is important to note that the nouns in the compounds are characterized by the fact that they do not belong to the semantic category 'human' and that the category 'animate non-human' is not very frequent.

Those adjectives whose use is restricted to compounds can only qualify a limited number of nouns respectively. The adjective *dormant*, for instance, may qualify *eau* (water), *pont* (bridge), *châssis* (frame), *vantail* (leaf or light of windows and doors, etc.), *lignes* (lines in the military sense). The adjective *couchant* (setting) may qualify *soleil* (sun) and *chien* in the idiom *faire le chien couchant* (to fawn).<sup>4</sup> We could call this type of attributive adjectives *bound adjectives*.

Some of these compounds may happen to enter into common use. The compound *phtisie galopante*, became commonly known, presumably because this disease was frequent in the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century. The adjective may then gradually loosen its link with the noun and develop semantically in an independent way. It can then be used in syntagms. We could call this type of attributive adjectives *free adjectives*.

The following examples of this development were found in: *un réflexe contre la démocratie galopante* (Curtis, J. -L. 1967 : 211) (a reflex against galloping democracy), in: *dû au style d'André Lacaze, style direct, galopant et très argotique* (Le Nouvel Observateur n° 707 : 73) (due to the style of André Lacaze, a direct, galloping and very slangy style), and in *la multiplication galopante des cliniques sexologiques* (Le Monde 22 - 29.8.1975 : 9) (the enormous increase in the number of sex clinics).

In these examples we note that the nouns qualified, as was the case with the compounds, do not belong to the semantic categories 'human' or 'animate non-human'. We note also that the meaning of *galopant* may display slight variations according to the noun it qualifies.

With time, the adjective may acquire more and more semantic autonomy and be used very freely. This is what has happened with adjectives such as *courant* (current, common, etc.), *marquant* (prominent, outstanding, etc.), *suivant* (following, etc.).

Fixed transfers may lead to borrowings in other languages, as is the case with e.g. *dormant law* (*loi inappliquée*), *dormant warrant* (*mandat en blanc*). It may be noted that the collocations may be different from the French collocations (cf. above).

## B. Nominal syntagms

These forms can also be transferred from Group 3 to Group 2b when included in a nominal syntagm. However, the forms generally receive one or several

<sup>4</sup> The information concerning *dormant* and *couchant* is taken from the dictionary *Le petit Robert*.

formal or syntactic mark(s) which make it clear that they are attributive adjectives.

- Agreement in gender and/or number with the noun it qualifies: *à côté de la carafe transpirante* (Pagnol, M. 1957 : 354) (near the perspiring jug).
- Position before the noun: *il y a de proliférantes richesses dans la culture du monde bourgeois moderne* (Morin, E. 1965 : 111) (there are proliferating riches in the culture of the modern bourgeois world).
- Linking it to adverbs which modify the adjectives: *l'une des expériences les plus authentiquement festoyantes recommence* (Le Nouvel Observateur n° 607 : 10) (one of the most authentically festive experiences recommences), *la conversation retombe en des domaines plus anodins, quoique toujours hautement esthétisants* (Curtis, J.-L. 1967:174) (the conversation slips back to more trivial matters but remains however highly aesthetic).

All these marks enable the recipient to distinguish the adjective from the present participle. The adjectives *transpirant* (perspiring) and *festoyant* (festive), do not appear in the *Grand Larousse de la langue française*, or in *Le petit Robert*, or in the *Lexis*. The adjective *proliférant* (proliferating) is to be found in the *Grand Larousse de la langue française* as an adjective. The quotation given is from Paul Valéry and dates from 1945.

I have found isolated examples which contain adjectives that do not appear in the above-mentioned dictionaries for which no agreement is possible because the noun qualified is masculine singular and in which we do not find the adjectival marks mentioned above as in *une fouine provoquant un émoi caquetant dans un bruit de plumes* (Prou, S. 1973 : 89) (a weasel provoking a cackling flutter amidst a noise of feathers). The identification of the adjective *caquetant* is nevertheless ensured by the figurative meaning conferred on it by *émoi* (flutter), which cannot very well be said to 'cackle'.

The nouns of the nominal syntagms into which the *-ant* forms may also be transferred are characterized by the fact that they do not, as was case with the compounds, belong to the semantic category 'human'. These transfers are not frequent.

By using these attributive adjectives with nouns belonging to semantic categories with which it would be difficult to link the purely verbal feature 'able to perform the action conveyed by the verb' (*consumption*, for instance, cannot literally *gallop*), a figurative or 'shifted' meaning is conferred on them. This meaning may present slight variations according to the nouns with which they are linked.

In this respect it is interesting to note that the adjective *rieux* is used to qualify a person who is much given to laughter, whereas the adjective *riant* is used only with the types of nouns mentioned on p. 38, which do not belong to the semantic category 'human'.

The adjective *travailleur* is used to qualify a person who works a great deal.

In present-day usage, a relative clause is used to qualify a person who works or who belongs to the wage-earning class. The adjective *travaillante* (cf. p. 38 in 'femme travaillante') is considered odd by many French people. I have heard it but it is difficult to say whether this transfer will become common or whether it will disappear.

The adjective *grimpeur* is used to qualify the birds whose feet make them able to climb. It is used to form the compound *oiseau grimpeur* where the noun belongs to the semantic category 'animate non-human'. The adjective *grim pant*, however, can be used with nouns like *rosier* (rose bush) or *plante* (plant) to form compounds like *rosier grim pant* (climbing rose) and *plante grim pante* (creeper or climbing plant). The nouns in these compounds belong to the category 'inanimate'.

In fact, the *-ant* adjectives are only used as attributive adjectives with nouns belonging to the semantic category 'human' when the adjectives belong to Groups 1 and 2b and when their meaning is figurative. This is what is found in *un garçon brillant* (a gifted boy), *un homme fascinant* (a fascinating or an attractive man).

It should be noted that the basic verbs of Group 2b can have two or several meanings, among which a figurative one. The verb *fasciner* i.e., may mean (a) 'to master, to immobilize by the sole power of the eyes' (i.e. *hypnotize*) or (b) 'fig. to dazzle by beauty, ascendancy, high reputation' (i.e. *attract* (quoted from *Le petit Robert*, item *fasciner*)).

### 3.3. Agreement of the *-ant* form followed by expansions

The forms we have seen above agree with the nouns qualified because they had been transferred to the class of adjectives. This agreement is not due to the liaison of the final /t/ of the adjective when followed by a vowel.

It was mentioned on p. 39 how French people hesitate when 'having to decide whether the participle agrees with the noun or not' as some of them commented upon their difficulties.

In fact, agreements exist which may be regarded as unwarranted. However, such agreements contribute to proving the existence of *-ant* adjectives whose meaning, collocations and specific use are not known by all French speakers, as was seen above.

Their hesitation seems to come from what is taught in grammars. When informed that the present participle is the adjectival form of the verb and that it may assume the verbal as well as the adjectival functions (cf. p. 41), the speakers are led to believe that all present participles may be used as adjectives.

The reasoning found in the grammars quoted here, and the fact that it is always given in the chapter dealing with the syntax of the verb, mask the

fact that the present participle and the *-ant* adjective are, in most cases, distinct from one another through their meanings and their compatibilities. The difference in meaning might be slight but most frequently it is obvious. This means that *choosing* one or the other is not arbitrary (cf. Martinet 1966: 271 - 282 or Martinet 1967: 25 - 27).

I shall first examine the case of *vibrant* (*vibrating, throbbing, eager, rousing, etc.*). According to what meaning we want to convey, we may either make it agree with the noun to which it is an attributive adjective or use the participle.

By making it agree with *voix* (voice) as in *il a une voix vibrante de résolution* (he has a voice trembling with firm resolve), we mean that this voice betrays deep emotion, which is one of the meanings of the adjective. To this adjective we are free to add a non-specific expansion, which does not in any way affect its attributive status.

If we use the participle, we mean that concrete vibrations which suggest 'firm resolve' occur in the voice. However, it may be noted that this choice implies the realization of a specific expansion which can be added to the verb *vibrer* and which is introduced by *de*. The sentence "Il a une voix vibrant" (lit. he has a voice vibrating) is not possible.

Some 'mistaken' agreements found may reflect the /t/ liaison vacillation. This is what happened in the following example: *Signifiant et signifié [sont] séparés par une barrière résistante à la signification* (Mounin, G. 1968: 11) (lit. the signifiant and the signifié [are] separated by a barrier which resists the meaning, viz.: *the signifiant and the signifié [are] separated by an impenetrable barrier*). In fact, this agreement proves that there exist adjectives distinct from the present participle at the meaning level. The writer makes the form agree with the noun, presumably, because he is aware of the existence of the adjective *résistant*, synonymous with *fort* (strong), *solide* (solid) etc., and because he knows that the verb *résister* (to resist) may be followed by an expansion introduced by *à* (to). However, the *-e* may be regarded as being contrary to ordinary usage because the adjective *résistant* is hardly ever used with this expansion of the verb. The adjective, which does not have the same meaning as the participle, is used in syntagms like *vêtements très résistants* (very hard-wearing clothes), etc.

I do not describe here the use of the *-ant* form that is made in what is traditionally called the 'apposition'. But, in passing, I finally want to examine the two pairs of examples given in § 8 of the decree of the 9th February 1977 of the French Ministry of Education:

'La fillette, obéissant à sa mère, alla se coucher'  
(The little girl, obeying her mother, went to sleep)

'La fillette, obéissante à sa mère, alla se coucher'  
(The little girl, obedient to her mother, went to sleep)

'J'ai recueilli cette chienne errant dans le quartier'  
(I have picked up this female dog straying in the neighbourhood)

'J'ai recueilli cette chienne errante dans le quartier'  
(I have picked up this stray (female) dog in the neighbourhood).

The French Ministry of Education has commented on these examples as follows: "Depending on the intention, usage permits the *-ant* form to be used without agreement in the participial form, or with agreement in the adjectival form which corresponds to it. We shall permit both uses in all cases". The English translation of the first pair shows that the meanings conveyed by the *-ant* adjective and the participle differ. Apart from the fact that the meanings conveyed by the *-ant* forms of the second pair also differ, they are interesting in another respect.

There exist compounds, formed with the adjective *errant*, like *chien errant*, *chevalier errant* (*knight-errant*), *chevalerie errante* (*knight errantry*), *Juif errant* (*Wandering Jew*). They are certainly known by all French people from fairy-tales and similar sources.

In *Le petit Robert* the adjective *errant* of *chien errant* is followed by the subsequent annotation 'fin XVII.; adj. part. de *errer*, de *errare*'. The meaning given is 'who is walking around, who has no fixed place'. The synonyms given are *vagabond* (*stray*), *égaré* (*lost*), *perdu* (*lost*), *flottant*, (*floating*), and *fugitif* (*fugitive*). The adjective *errant* of the other compound is followed by the subsequent annotation "XII.; p. prés. de l'a [ncien] v [erbe] *errer* 'marcher, aller', du bas latin *iterare* 'voyager'". The meaning given after *chevalier errant* is 'qui ne cesse de voyager' (*who keeps on travelling*). No synonyms are given. The entry of this *errant* is marked '1.' and ends with 'REM'. 'Le mot n'est pas distingué de *errant* 2' (the word is not distinguished from *errant* 2.), which is the one seen above. This means that the two adjectives are considered synonymous.

What should be noted, however, is the fact that the adjective *marchant* (lit. walking), which can be used in the compound *aile marchante* (cf. p. 53), would certainly not be accepted by a French Board of Examiners in a sentence like "J'ai recueilli une chienne marchante dans la rue" (lit. I have picked up a (female) dog walking in the street).

This is evidenced by an example like: *Je revois Mme Lemaire marchant sur les tables* (Beauvoir, S. vol. I, 1963 : 50) (*I recall seeing Mrs. L. walking on the tables*), in which *marchant* does not agree with the feminine *Madame Lemaire*.

These examples show that French people do not necessarily go into the details of a syntactic or semantic analysis when writing. This is perhaps due to the fact that they are not always aware of the syntactic and semantic differences between the participle and the adjective ending with *-ant*.

The examples also show that phonic factors may provoke 'agreements' that may be regarded as contrary to normal usage.

It should not be necessary, finally, to say that the age of, the knowledge of and the imaginativeness about their own language of my French interlocutors were decisive as to their use or non-use of these attributive adjectives. There remains to be made a stylistic analysis of the attributive uses of the *-ant* adjectives.

The hesitations of some Frenchmen and the irregularities met with prove, however, that the participle and the adjective are almost always distinct from one another. If it were not so, only the participle would be used and there would be no hesitation.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in paintings, we find the *-ant* adjective when it is fixed. This is what we have in the title of a painting which is attributed to Van Dyck *Trois musiciens ambulants* (*Three Rambling Musicians*) (Onieva, A. J., 1970 : 90). And, we have the participle when the *-ant* form has not been transferred from Group 3 to 2b, i.e. in *Femme cousant* (*Sewing Woman*) by Cézanne (Faure, E., 1964 : 160), or when the *-ant* adjective has not yet loosened its links to the noun of the compound, i.e. *Paysans chantant* (*Singing Peasants*) from the painter Van Ostade (Onieva, A. J., 1970 : 98). Such titles constitute the rare cases where we find the present participle without an expansion.

### 3.4. The dictionaries

The syntactic and semantic constraints by which the transfers are bound restrain the number of the transfers.

Transferred *-ant* adjectives very often become fixed. They often have a meaning which differs from that of the present participle and their collocations may be very restricted.

These adjectives, then, are generally recorded in the French dictionaries cited in an entry distinct from that of the verb. Their current collocations, and the syntemes they have formed, are usually mentioned.

However, in a translation class, the students should be told that not all existing *-ant* adjectives are recorded in ordinary French-Danish dictionaries. In Blinkenberg A. og Høybye P. (1964), for instance, the compound *aile marchante* is not recorded.

### 3.5. Recapitulation

Through the viewpoint of dynamic synchrony, I have illustrated above:

1. that the *-ant* forms can be divided into three groups: *Group 1* consisting of adjectives, *Group 2* consisting of *Group 2a*, whose forms are to be considered present participles, and *Group 2b*, whose forms are to be considered

- adjectives — and *Group 3* consisting of forms that are commonly identified as present participles (p. 51 ff.)
2. that transfers of *-ant* forms from *Group 3* into *Group 2b* are done frequently in compounds (p. 52 ff.) and sometimes in nominal syntagms (p. 54 ff.)
  3. that the *-ant* adjectives whose use is restricted to compounds can only qualify a limited number of nouns (p. 54 ff.)
  4. that the forms belonging to *Group 2b* may become fixed in common use (p. 54), and that the adjective of a compound can gradually loosen its links with the noun and be used in syntagms (p. 53)
  5. that *-ant* adjectives are most frequently used as qualifiers with nouns that belong to other semantic categories than the category 'human', (p. 56 ff.) also illustrated that the *-ant* adjectives can be used as qualifiers with nouns that belong to the semantic category 'human' when they have become fixed in common use and belong to *Group 1* and *2b*, (p. 56 ff.)
  6. that the choice of the adjective and of the present participle is not arbitrary; this was evidenced through examples of unwarranted 'agreements', (p. 57 ff.).

The examples found in my corpus showed that the *-ant* attributive adjectives often have a figurative meaning and that they can have a 'shifted' meaning.

In grammars, it would be advisable not to describe the *-ant* attributive adjectives in the chapter dealing with the syntax of the verb so as not create confusion between the present participle and the attributive adjective. It could be described under the heading of word formation, within the section of transfers. The reader may then be referred to the dictionary because in grammar books it is not possible to describe all the meanings and the collocations these adjectives may have. In French grammars for non-Frenchmen, it would perhaps be advisable to recommend that neological transfers (cf. p. 56) should not be made.

#### 4. The *-ende* attributive adjective

4.1. I had noticed that the present participle could differ from the adjective ending in *-ende* by its meaning (cf. p. 38 ff.). I wanted to get this point confirmed by Danish speakers. The conversations I had with the Danish interlocutors mentioned on p. 40, their spontaneous reactions and their opinion on the matter confirmed my own observation.

On the basis of this and of what has been said by my Danish interlocutors, I have divided the forms ending in *-ende* into three groups:

*Group 1.* This group consists of forms like *aldrende* (*vieillissant/ageing*), *standende* (*en cours, actuel, etc./standing, etc.*), *glubende* (*féroce, farouche, etc./ferocious, fierce, etc.*), etc. The basic verb of these adjectives does not exist

any longer or is in the process of disappearing. These adjectives have resulted in fixations. This group also consists of forms like *formuende* (*riche/rich*), *forrygende* (*terrible, fantastique, etc./terrific, fantastic, etc.*), *nuvaerende* (*actuel/present, etc.*), *umaelende* (*muet/dumb, etc.*), *kodaedende* (*carnivore/carnivorous*), *klaverspillende* (*qui joue du piano/who plays piano*) etc. As a verbal root does not exist, these forms are adjectives. My Danish interlocutors spontaneously added nouns to them, to form nominal syntagms of the types *en glubende appetit* (*un appétit de loup/a ravenous appetite*) and *et forrygende vejr* (*un temps affreux/a terrible weather*).

*Group 2.* This group consists of forms like *taenkende* (from the verb *taenke*: *penser/think*), *draebende* (from the verb *draebe*: *tuer/kill*), *arbejdende* (from the verb *arbejde*: *travailler/work*, *skurrende* (from the verb *skurre*: *grincer/jar etc.*) The basic verb still exists and, on the basis of their meaning, these forms can be divided into two subgroups:

*Group 2a:* *taenkende* (*pensant/thinking*), *draebende* (*tuant/killing*), *arbejdende* (*travaillant/working*), *skurrende* (*grinçant/jarring*), which are present participles.

*Group 2b:* *taenkende* (*doué de raison, qui a la faculté de penser/who is gifted with the power of reasoning, who can think*), *draebende* (*ennuyeux, tuant/boring, killing*), *arbejdende* (*qui appartient à la classe des salariés/belonging to the wage-earning class*), *skurrende* (*grinçant, dissonant/jarring, caustic, offensive*), which are adjectives with a figurative or a 'shifted' meaning.

With these forms, my Danish interlocutors mostly formed nominal syntagms of the type *et taenkende individ* (*une personne intelligente, sensée/an intelligent person, a sensible person*). When asked, they sometimes said that these forms could perhaps also be used in the type of construction *to af lykke strålende blå øjne* (cf. p. 47), but declared that such constructions sounded heavy.

*Group 3.* This group consists of forms like *skillende* (from *skille*: *séparer/separate*), *spaerende* (from *spærre*: *fermer, obstruer/close, obstruct*), *glattende* (from *glatte*: *aplanir, lisser/flatten, smooth*), *organisierende* (from *organisere*: *organiser/organize*), etc. The Danes with whom I spoke were doubtful about these forms. They hesitated to form nominal syntagms with them (one of them said 'You could have *et udglattende tonefald*' (lit. *un ton conciliant/a smoothing over tone*) and they were reluctant as to form the type of construction, which is not described here.

#### 4.2. The transfers

It should be noted that the adjectives of *Group 1* of the type *klaverspillende* (from *spille*: *jouer/play* + *klaver/piano*) is practically unlimited because it is

nearly always possible to form such syntemes in Danish. However, this type of adjectives cannot be called transfers as there is no verbal root such as 'klaverspille'.

#### A. Nominal syntagms

The forms of Group 3 may be transferred to Group 2b by placing the *-ende* form before the noun it qualifies.

Since the Danish attributive adjective is placed before the noun, the *-ende* form becomes an attributive adjective when in this position. It also acquires the compatibilities of this adjective (cf. p. 49 ff).

Below are some of the examples found:

- (a) *I det moderne samfund må de skillende vægge falde* (Bredsdorff, T. 1967 : 40) (*Dans la société moderne, les cloisons qui séparent [les] classes doivent tomber/In modern society, the barriers which separate [classes] must fall*)
- (b) *en varm protest mod det spærrende mørkesyn* (Fog, M. 1964 : 24) (*une ardente protestation contre un pessimisme qui obstrue l'horizon [a fierce protestation against a pessimism which obstructs the horizon]*)
- (c) *Når 'Medicinsk Forum' har ønsket en kommenterende betragtning* (Fog, M. 1964 : 17) (*Lorsque 'M. F.' a demandé des commentaires/When 'M. F.' has asked for commentaries*)
- (d) *Helle gjorde en glattende bevægelse ned ad sin kjole* (Kampmann, G. 1975 : 42) (*H. lissa sa robe d'un geste de la main/H. smoothed her dress with a movement of the hand*)
- (e) *Iarmen af de skrålende børn* (Topsoe, W. 1975 : 41) (*le bruit des enfants criards ou qui crient/outcry of the noisy children or the noise of the children that shout*).

The *-ende* adjectives of these examples do not appear in H. Juul-Jensen (1918) or in L. Jacobsen (1975).

The transfers into nominal syntagms, which are very frequent, are characterized by the fact that the nouns qualified do not often belong to the semantic category 'human', but they do exist (cf. ex. (e)).

Depending upon the context or the situation, the attributive adjective may have a figurative or a 'shifted' meaning. In example (a) e.g., the locative function *i det moderne samfund* (*dans la société moderne/in modern society*) confers a figurative meaning upon the adjective *skillende* (lit. *séparant/dividing*) and the noun *vægge* (*murs/walls*). In Danish, dividing walls in the concrete sense, i.e. between rooms, are called *skillevægge*.

In example (e), the adjective *skrålende* can be interpreted in two ways. The children may be either children who, generally speaking, make a great deal of noise or children who are screaming at present. Only a wider context or a given situation would allow the question to be settled.

It may be appropriate to recall here what has been said on p. 42. Even

if we could find out, in the present case, that the form *skrålende* with *børn* (*enfants/children*) is 'more verbal' because the noun belongs to the semantic category 'human' than the form *skrålende* with let us say *dagspresse* (*newspapers*) in i.e. *den skrålende dagspresse protesterede mod de høje skatter* (*the howling press protested against the high taxes*), we would have to describe the two attributive uses of *skrålende* within one and the same chapter in the grammar and to give one entry in the dictionary.

Compared with a language like French, the amount of transfers of present participles to the attributive class is extremely high. This explains why the Danish corpus is only half the size of the French one. Reading 4,000 pages was enough to interpret the questions related to these attributive adjectives.

The fact that the transfers from Group 3 into 2b are very frequent, that they do not always have a figurative meaning and that their collocations are seldom restricted to some few nouns reduces the amount of fixations.

But they can occur, as is the case in i.e. *løbende* (from *løbe: courir/run*). In present-day usage this form is mostly used as equivalent to *en cours* (*standing*), *courant* (*current*), etc., with nouns like *sager* (*affaires/affairs*), *budget* (*budget/budget*), *forhandlinger* (*débats/debates, discussions*), *kontrakter* (*contrats/contracts*) and similar nouns. This adjective, however, is not used with *vand* (*eau/water*). The French synteme *eau courante* (*running water*) is in Danish rendered by *rindende vand* (from the verb *rinde: couler/run*). The adjective *rindende* is also used with *øjne* (*yeux/eyes*) in *rindende øjne* (*yeux chassieux/rheumy eyes*).

The following examples show that the transferred adjective acquires the compatibilities of the attributive adjective (cf. p. 49 ff)

1. It can be modified by adverbs which modify adjectives and such adverbs are placed before the adjective: *på den mest overraskende måde* (Vad, P. 1970 : 5) (*de la manière la plus surprenante/in the most surprising manner*)
2. It can be modified by adverbs which modify verbs and adjectives and such adverbs are placed before the adjective:

*Mette sagde 'Mor græder' i et sagligt konstaterende tonefald* (Kampmann, C. 1975 : 24) (*'Maman pleure' constatée M. d'un ton empreint d'objectivité/ 'Mummy is crying', M. stated in a matter-of-fact tone of voice*).

#### B. Compounds

It seems that the *-ende* forms of Group 3 are principally transferred into Group 2b into syntagms, without being linked to one or just a few specific nouns. They can develop from this use and become fixed in specific uses. This means that they are then linked to relatively few nouns and that they acquire specific meanings, often figurative or 'shifted'. It also means that the noun and the adjective may form a compound.

The adjective *fortællende* (from *fortælle: raconter/tell*) can be used in i.e.

*fortaellende digt* (poème narratif/narrative poem), *fortaellende nutid* (présent historique/historic present), and similar syntagms or synthemes. The latter example should be considered a syntheme as it is not possible to determine one of the constituent elements. The syntagm "en meget fortaellende nutid" (lit. un présent très racontant/a very telling present) sounds odd. The adjective *fortaellende* can also be used to-day in the compound *fortaellende jeg* (le je narrateur/the narrative I) which is certainly a syntheme. Further examples of this development were mentioned on p. 63. It should be noted that the nouns qualified rarely belong to the semantic category 'human'.

As was the case in French, the age of and the imaginativeness about their own language of my Danish interlocuteurs were decisive as to their use or non-use of these attributive adjectives. A stylistic analysis of the attributive uses of the *-ende* adjectives, which Hansen, Aa. has begun (vol. 3, 1967 : 101), remains to be done.

It is undoubtedly significant that, when faced with *-ende* forms without a noun, my four Danish interlocutors often spontaneously added nouns to them in order to form a nominal syntagm. This seems to indicate that there is apparently a strong tendency at present to use these forms attributively. It may be going too far to say that the present participle seems to be in the process of disappearing in contemporary Danish when used in the constructions which are not described here (cf. p. 47). On the other hand, *-ende* forms are often used in constructions of the type *komme smilende* (arriver en souriant/arrive smiling), *sige graedende* (dire en pleurant/to say through tears), etc.

It is also interesting to note that in Spanish, for instance, *-ante* and *-ente* forms are not nowadays used in the verbal function. Bouzet, J. (1964 : 207) says about these forms that 'they do not exist for all verbs' and that 'this is the reason why they are no more entitled to be listed in the conjugation tables than the other verbal derivatives'.

#### 4.3. The dictionaries

The insertion in the dictionaries of the type of forms belonging to Group 1, like *klaverspillende* is generally done when the syntheme has become fixed. The syntheme *ködaedende* (lit. köd/viande/flesh+aedende/mangeant/eating), which means *carnivorous* (*carnivore*) for example, is found recorded under the entry of the first moneme, *köd*.

It has been seen above that the transfers are very frequent but that the transferred forms are not frequently fixed. Consequently, in the contemporary Danish dictionaries referred to, these adjectives are only found recorded when they have acquired specific meanings and are used with specific nouns, viz. when the transfer has led to fixation.

The item is usually to be found under the heading of the verb, at the end of the article and separated from the equivalences given for the verb. Sometimes the adjective has a separate heading, like *løbende*. In both cases they are marked with 'part.', 'adj.', 'part. adj.' or 'part. i saerlige anvendelser' ('specific uses of the participle'), etc. Such notations may be found within the same dictionary.

However, in a translation class, the students should be informed that some *-ant* forms are sometimes given as equivalent to *-ende* adjectives, although these *-ant* forms are participles that have not yet been transferred to the adjectival class. In Blinkenberg, A. og Thiele, M. (1937) and in Blinkenberg, A. og Høybye, P. (1975), the forms *funktionant* and *exerçant* are given as equivalent to *fungerende* (from *fungere*: *fonctionner*, etc./*function*, etc.).

#### 4.4. Recapitulation

Through the viewpoint of dynamic synchrony, I have illustrated above

1. that the *-ende* forms can be divided into three groups: *Group 1* consisting of adjectives, *Group 2* consisting of *Group 2a*, whose forms could be considered present participles, and *Group 2b*, whose forms are to be considered adjectives — and *Group 3* consisting of forms that could be considered present participles,
2. that transfers of *-ende* forms from Group 3 into Group 2b are done very frequently in nominal syntagms (p. 62 ff.),
3. that the adjectives in *-ende* can develop and become fixed in specific uses, i.e. in compounds (p. 63 ff),
4. that *-ende* adjectives are frequently used as qualifiers with nouns that belong to other semantic categories than the category 'human', but that this category can be found (p. 62)

The examples found in my corpus showed that the *-ende* attributive adjectives can have a figurative or a 'shifted' meaning.

In grammars, it would be advisable not to describe the *-ende* attributive adjectives in the chapter dealing with the syntax of the verb because this would create confusion between the participle and the attributive adjective. It could be described under the heading of word formation, within the section of transfers. The reader may then be referred to the dictionary because in a grammar it is not possible to describe all the meanings these adjectives may have. It should be stressed, however, that contemporary dictionaries only contain those *-ende* attributive adjectives which are considered fixed in Danish.

## 5. Regrouping of similarities and differences; corollaries

The material discussed so far is here regrouped and summarized.

## 5.1. RECAPITULATORY TABLE

*-ant* attributive adjective

*-ende* attributive adjective

I. GROUPS OF FORMS AND TRANSFERS<sup>5</sup>

<i>Gr. 1:</i> always adj.	<i>Gr. 1:</i> always adj.
<i>Gr. 2:</i> (pres. part.: 2a) adjectives: 2b	<i>Gr. 2:</i> (pres. part.: 2a) adjectives: 2b
<i>Gr. 3:</i> (pres. part.) <i>Transfer from 3 to 2b:</i>	<i>Gr. 3:</i> (pres. part.) <i>Transfer from 3 to 2b:</i>
a) <i>Compounds:</i> postposition & anteposition to the noun <i>Noun:</i> sem. cat. 'human' not represented	a) <i>Nominal syntagms:</i> anteposition to the noun; <i>Noun:</i> all. sem. cats.
Frequent	Very frequent
b) <i>Nominal syntagms:</i> with marks of the attributive adjective	b) <i>Compounds:</i> anteposition to the noun
<i>Noun:</i> sem. cat. 'human' not frequent	<i>Noun:</i> sem. cat. 'human' not frequent
Not very frequent	Rare
In principle, transfers a) and b) always possible	In principle, transfers a) and b) always possible
In practice, syntactic and semantic factors restrict the transfers	In practice, no restrictions
Not frequent	Frequent

## II. MEANING AND FIXATION OF TRANSFERS

Often figurative meaning, sometimes 'shifted' meaning (depending upon context)	Figurative or 'shifted' meaning (de- pending upon context)
Fixation of transfers very frequent, leading to entry in dictionaries	Fixation of transfers not very fre- quent, leading to entry in dictio- naries only if fixation is clear.

<sup>5</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the text: gr.: group; cat.: category; adj.: adjective; pres. part.: present participle; sem.: semantic.

## III. COLLOCATIONS

*Sem. cats. of nouns qualified:*

- 'abstract'
- 'inanimate'
- 'animate non-human' not  
very frequent
- 'human' only if adj. has a  
figurative meaning (gr. 1 & 2b)

Collocations may be very restricted  
(usually included in dictionaries)

*Sem. cats. of nouns qualified:*

- 'abstract'
- 'inanimate'
- 'animate non-human'
- 'human'

Not necessarily any collocations (so-  
metimes included in dictionaries)

## 5.2. Corollaries

It should be emphasized that since the interpretation of the *-ant* and *-ende* attributive adjectives depends on the context (cf. p. 44 ff.), it is not possible to give hard-and-fast rules of translation but some general principles can be suggested. The transfer in French and Danish of present participles to attributive adjectives is always possible in principle. But the conditions under which it occurs in both languages characterize and differentiate the use of these attributive adjectives in French and Danish.

It is clear that because of the high frequency of *-ende* attributive adjectives and the relative rarity of *-ant* attributive adjectives, it will be necessary to resort to other constructions in French. The characteristics of both attributive adjectives should be taken into account when translating:

1. The *-ant* attributive adjective generally has a very precise figurative meaning. The *-ende* attributive adjective may have different meanings. Consequently an *-ant* adjective does not always correspond to an *-ende* adjective (cf. exx (1) and (2), p. 38).
2. The collocations of the *-ant* attributive adjective are very often restricted and the nouns that are qualified do not often belong to the semantic category 'human'. The collocations of the *-ende* attributive adjectives are not always restricted. Consequently an *-ant* attributive adjective cannot always be used as equivalent to an *-ende* attributive adjective (cf. exx. (2) and (3), p. 38).
3. The concept of state without limitation in time is a concept which is much too relative and vague to apply in practice. Consequently an *-ant* attributive adjective may correspond to an *-ende* attributive adjective (cf. ex. (4), p. 39).
4. The compounds are more frequent in French than in Danish. Consequently a Danish compound does not always correspond to a French compound:



*rosier grim pant* (climbing rose) → *klatreroser*, *corps enseignant* (teaching staff) → *laererstab*, etc.

Finally, in all cases in which corresponding attributive adjectives in *-ant* and *-ende* do not exist, other elements should be used. Because of the part played by the context in both languages, it is extremely difficult to make a list of all possible translations. Although it is my experience that it is preferable not to suggest one or two translations in print, because the role played by the context is often fundamental for translation, these numerous possibilities have here been illustrated throughout.

Non-native speakers should be told that if they do not wish to deviate from what might be called 'standard French', they should use only the *-ant* adjectives that they find recorded in French dictionaries and make sure of their meanings (cf. *repoussant* (cf. ex. (1) p. 38) and of their possible collocations (cf. *riant* (cf. ex. (3) p. 38)).

It should also be explained to them that when the present participle is transferred to the adjectival class, the change in meaning may be either substantial or slight. This can also apply to transfers in Danish. It should again be explained to them in what manner the transfers occur in both languages.

Finally, it should be explained that the choice of the participle and of the attributive adjective — provided the latter exists in French — is determined by what one chooses to express. Above we have seen examples of adjectives whose meanings differ substantially from that of the participle. There exist, however, some *-ant* adjectives whose meanings do not differ from that of the participle, like e.g. *luisant* (shining). In those cases, and when the form is followed by a non necessary expansion, one may use either the participle or the adjective, as in e.g. *des yeux luisant/luisants de bonheur* (eyes shining with happiness). I have, however, noticed that there is a strong tendency to use the adjective when the non-specific expansion expresses manner.

### Some conclusions

The functional viewpoint of dynamic synchrony has enabled me to point at the conditions under which the present participles are transferred to the adjectival class in French and Danish. This viewpoint has enabled me to outline the differences between French and Danish as regards the transfer of the present participles.

In French, the participle is most frequently transferred into compounds. In these compounds the *-ant* attributive adjective usually qualifies a limited number of nouns. Such compounds may become fixed in common use; in the course of time, the *-ant* adjective can, then, loosen its links to the noun of the compound and be used freely in nominal syntagms.

In Danish, the movement is of an opposite nature. Here the present participle is most frequently transferred into nominal syntagms. In the course of time the *-ende* adjective may, then, become fixed in compounds whose collocations may be limited to few nouns.

Some of the questions which this study leaves open is to establish how transfers become fixed in language and how we are to deal with neologisms in dictionaries and terminology banks.

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