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.

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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 has gjorde en afvejende håndbevægelse (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). 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 arbejdsende 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’esclaffe, une pause où chacun manifeste sa gaité, etc.

1 Old 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 blik (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 triumphaute.

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 resolution (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 example suffice: et les flammes montaient tout droit, ressurgissant, dans l'air immobile (Robbe, E. 1974 : 54) (lit. and the flames went straight up, calm[ing], in the air) and c'est cette crise nullement neuve, parfaitement et contant 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 1,600 examples per language I gathered in the corpora. A few were constructed with my French and Danish interlocutors. 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. Tøgøbye (1956) and J. Pedersen et al. (1970). These three grammars are being used by students of French in 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 38, 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: § 270).

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: 82).

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.
mention that the student who translated _et triumferende smil_ (cf. p. 39, ex. 4) into "une oeillade qui triomphe" 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 _triumphant_. 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 — admirauteur_ (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 _convaincant_ (smiling), _reconnaissante_ (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_ (eloquent, _expressif_ (from the verb _expresser/exprimer_), for which it is difficult to say that it expresses less action than an adjective like _admiring_ (from the verb _admirer/admirer_).

And besides, there are cases for which we cannot say whether the -ant and -ende forms express 'action' or 'state', like _dormant_ (sleeping) and _sévère_ (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: § 27e) mentions that it is only when
particules have specific meanings that they can be used as attributive adjectives. The matter is not further explored, however, Hansen, Ana. (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 -ант 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 'verbalness' of these forms can be of any use when one wishes to determine which -ант and -ende forms can be used as attributive adjectives.

2.3. 'Nominality' or 'verbalness' of -ант and -ende forms

This is not the place to comment on the numerous studies in which the concepts of 'nominality' and 'verbalness' 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 'verbalness'. 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 'verbalness' for -ант and -ende forms when taken out of context. Forms such as

menaçant (threatening), and

talende (praising)

would seem to suggest action and consequently to express 'verbalness'. 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 eksempl (an example)
(d) en talende person (lit. 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 '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 -ант 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 -ант 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 -ант adjective, the form ought, then, to be viewed in its 'verbalness', 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 -ант 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 'verbalness', 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 (d)).

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 'verbalness' 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 grammar if it was decided to describe the adjectives menant and talende used with nouns like parole and esclarmi 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 and absolutely 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 tout d'un complément circonstanciel' often expresses a state, 'un fait habituel, une caractéristique'.

Togeby, K. (1965: § 837) 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, An. (vol 3, 1967: 102) says that the 'implied elements' ('de forudsættende led') precede the present participle. On p. 163, 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 of lykke strødende æjne (lit. deux de bienheureux 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 traut (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 traut may be followed by av sin kone (de son femme /of his wife). This, however, has not led any grammarian to deal with fou and traut 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.) 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 (désirer, désirer). 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 (désirer d'apprendre, désirer to learn). In passing, it might be mentioned that the Danish adjective opsat also occurs in a collocation like opsat...
hår (hair that has been "put up"). The adjective is not synonymous with oppe på; 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 oppe på 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 ignorant 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, ignorant (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.

2.6 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. 43, 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, 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 adjectives 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 verbal 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), 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 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).

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
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 ike (not), which is placed before the adjective (in passing, we may note that a form ending in -ende followed by ike - this is the normal position of ike when it modifies verbs - sounds odd, as in “épisode ilk 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 participles
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 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 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, -ant, etc., as well as poignant (powerful), savant (learned), etc. as listed in modern grammars (cf. p. 42, etc.) 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 amusante 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 amusante’ (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 arrive 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 2 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 reniement campagnard 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 reniament 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 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 campagnard reniement 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 : 290). A syntheme is a significant unit which can be semantically ana-
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), volet (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 faint). We could call this type of attributive adjectives bound adjectives.

Some of these compounds may happen to enter into common use. The compound phléisse 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: d’un style d’André Lecaxe, style direct, galopant et très érotoïque (Le Nouvel Observateur n° 707: 73) (due to the style of André Lecaxe, a direct, galloping and very slangy style), and in multiplication galopante des cliniques écologiques (Le Miroir 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 formal or syntactic mark(s) which make it clear that they are attributive adjectives.

a. Agreement in gender and/or number with the noun it qualifies: à côté de la corbeille transpirante (Pagnol, M. 1957: 284) (near the perspiring jug).

b. Position before the noun: il y a de proliférantes riches en la culture du monde bourgeois moderne (Morin, E. 1965: 111) (there are proliferating riches in the culture of the modern bourgeois world).

c. Linking it to adverbs which modify the adjectives: l’une des experiences les plus authentiquement festoyantes reconnues (Le Nouvel Observateur n° 707: 10) (one of the most authentically festive experiences recognized), la conversation rebondit en des domaines plus anodins, quelque 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 fourmi provocant un émoi capricieux dans un bruit de phonés (Prou, S. 1973: 89) (a wensel provoking a cockling flutter amidst a noise of feathers). The identification of the adjective capricieux is nevertheless ensured by the figurative meaning conferred on it by émoi (flutter), which cannot very well be said to "tickle".

The nouns of the nominal syntagms into which these and 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 riant 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. 36 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 grimper 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 grimpan, however, can be used with nouns like rossier (rose bush) or plante (plant) to form compounds like rossier grimpan (climbing rose) and plante grimpan (creeping or climbing plant). The noun in these compounds belong to the category 'animate'.

For this reason, 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, ascendance, 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, rowing, 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 vibrante' (lit. he has a voice vibrating) is not possible.

Some 'mistaken' agreements found may reflect the /j/ liaison vacillation. This is what happened in the following example: Significant et signifié sont séparés par une barrière résistante à la signification (Mounin, G. 1968: 11) (lit. the significant and the signifié are separated by a barrier which resists the meaning, viz.: the significant and the signifié are separated by an impenetrable barrier). In fact, this agreement shows 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)
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 was 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 couvant (Sewing Woman) by Cézanne (Faure, B., 1964: 160), or when the -ant adjective has not yet loosened its links to the noun of the compound, i.e. Paysans charpentiers (Slaving 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 Høvbye 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. 49, 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 I. This group consists of forms like aldrænde (vielaldrænde) stendende (en onr, aktuel, etc./standing, etc.), glubende (fierce, farouche, etc./crucial, 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 from formations. This group also consists of forms like formændande (rich/riche), fornyende (terrible, fantastique, etc./terrific, fantastic, etc.), vurtaende (actual/present, etc.), unenelende (murel, dumb, etc.), klogende (carnivore/carnivore), klavertollende (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 appetit de lapin/a ravenous appetite) and et fornyende vejr (un temps affreux/a terrible weather).

Group 2. This group consists of forms like tænkte (from the verb tænke: penser/think), draebende (from the verb draebe: tuer/kill), arbejende (from the verb arbejde: travail/working), 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: tænkte (pensant/thinking), draebende (tuen/ killing), arbejende (travaillant/working), skurrende (grinchant/jarring), which are present participles.

Group 2b: tænkende (doul de raison, qui a la faculte de penser/who is gifted with the power of reasoning, who can think), draebende (enemies, tue/ killing), arbejende (qui appartient à la classe des salarids/belonging to the wage-earning class), skurrende (grinchant, 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 tænkte individ (une personne intelligente, sensible/ intelligent person, sensible person). When asked, they sometimes said that these forms could perhaps also be used in the type of construction to of bykke striblade blå auge (cf. p. 47), but declared that such constructions sounded heavy.

Group 3. This group consists of forms like skilte (from skille: séparer/separate), sparrende (from sparer: former, obstruer/joose, obstruct), glattende (from glide: oplænir, lasser/flatten, smooth), organiseringende (from organisering: organiseringe, 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 adjattende 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 klavertollende (from spille: jouer/ play + klavertollend/ piano) is practically unlimited because it is
nearly always possible to form such synthemes in Danish. However, this type of adjectives cannot be called transfers as there is no verbal root such as 'klaverspill'.

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 skrålende vække falde* (Bredecroft, T. 1967: 40) (Dans la société moderne, les enfants qui s’élèvent [les] classes doivent tomber) In modern society, the barriers which separate [classes] must fall.

(b) *en fornem protest mod det spreevede mørke* (Fog, M. 1964: 24) (une ardent 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 gittende bevegelse 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) *larmen af de skrålende børn* (Topoek, W. 1975: 41) (le bruit des enfants criarde ou qui crient) the noise of the noisy children or the noise of the children that shout.

The -ende forms 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 attributive skrålende (lit. s’élevant/dividing) and the noun vække (murs/calls). In Danish, dividing walls in the concrete sense, i.e. between rooms, are called skillesegge.

In example (c), 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 *dagpresse* (newspapers) in i.e. *den skrålende dagpresse protestere mod de høje skatter* (the hunting 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. *tønde* (from *tøbe*: couvrir/run). In present-day usage this form is mostly used as equivalent to *en couvre (covering)*, *courent* (current), etc., with nouns like *sager* (affaires/affaires), *budget* (budget), *forhandlinger* (debates/discussions), *kontrakter* (contracts) and similar nouns. This adjective, however, is not used with *vand* (water). The French syntHEME *eau courante* (running water) is in Danish rendered by *rindende vand* (from the verb *rinde*: couvrir/run). The adjective *rindende* is also used with *øyne* (yeux/eyes) in *rindende øyne* (yeux chaussez/reveux 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) (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 sags *Mar groder i et sagnet konstaterende tornfald* (Kampmann, C. 1975: 24) (Maman pleure* constate 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.
fortællende digt (poème narratif/narrative poem), fortællende 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 fortællende nutid” (lit. un présent très racontant/a very telling present) sounds odd. The adjective fortællende can also be used to-day in the compound fortællende jeg (je 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 interlocutors were decisive as to their use or non-use of these attributive adjectives. A stylistic analysis of the attributive use 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 emilende (arriver en souffrant/ arrive smiling), sige græleende (dire en pleureun/soy through tears), etc.

It is also interesting to note that in Spanish, for instance, -ente 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 klaveropitende is generally done when the syntheme has become fixed. The syntheme bødæleende (lit. bød/viande/eat + ædelende/meaningful/eating), which means carnivorous (carnivores) for example, is found recorded under the entry of the first moneme, bød.

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 bøndende. In both cases they are marked with ‘part.’, ‘adj.’, ‘part. adj.’ or ‘part. i aavigel. anvendelse’ (‘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 fætterbund and bætterg are given as equivalent to fungerende (from funge: function, etc.) fætterbund, 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 that 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ant attributive adjective</th>
<th>ende attributive adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gr. 1: always adj.</td>
<td>Gr. 1: always adj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. 2: (pres. part.: 2a)</td>
<td>Gr. 2: (pres. part.: 2a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective: 2b</td>
<td>adjective: 2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. 3: (pres. part.)</td>
<td>Gr. 3: (pres. part.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer from 3 to 2b;</td>
<td>Transfer from 3 to 2b;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Compounds: postposition &amp; anteposition to the noun</td>
<td>a) Nominal syntagma: anteposition to the noun;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very frequent &amp; in principle, transfers a) &amp; b) always possible</td>
<td>Not very frequent &amp; in principle, transfers a) &amp; b) always possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In practice, syntactic and semantic factors restrict the transfers</td>
<td>In practice, syntactic and semantic factors restrict the transfers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Meaning and Fixation of Transfers

Often figurative meaning, sometimes ‘shifted’ meaning (depending on context) | Figurative or ‘shifted’ meaning (depending on context)

Fixation of transfers very frequent, leading to entry in dictionaries | Fixation of transfers not very frequent, leading to entry in dictionaries only if fixation is clear.

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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:
Finally, in all cases in which corresponding attributive adjectives in "ant" and "ante" 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. "reposant" [cf. ex. (1) p. 38] and of their possible collocations (cf. "rivier" [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 these cases, and when the form is followed by a non-necessary expansion, one can use either the participle or the adjective, as in e.g. "les yeux luisants/luisants de bonheur" (eyes shining with happiness). I have, however, noticed that their 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 "ante" 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.

REFERENCES


**Dictionaries**

*French:*


*Danish:*


*Danish - French:*
