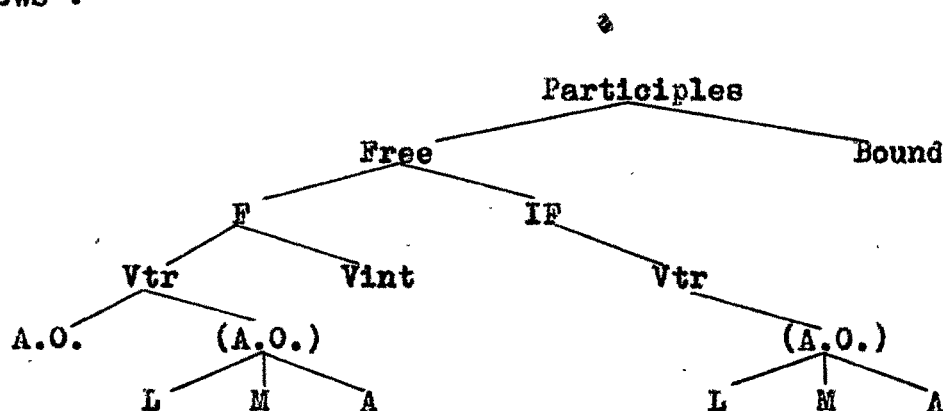


CHAPTER VI

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PARTICIPLES

The participles have been classified into ten groups on the basis of distributional and syntactic criteria. The classification can be diagrammatically represented as follows :



where F represents Final, IF Initial and Final, A.O. = Accusative Object and (A.O.) represents, it is functioning as subject or object of main clause, L = locational or directional adverbial, M = Modal and A = Agentive Adverbial. Bound participles refer to those participial constructions which are used as complements to another verb :

er hielt seinen dicken Kopf nach einer anderen

Seite gewandt

(64)

Here gewandt fills an obligatory slot.

The first division into free and bound participles does not subcategorize the corresponding verbs, since it is

the verb in the main clause which determines whether the participle is bound or free. The verbs which take bound participles - as found in the corpus - are :

finden	-	sie fand Herrn Gruenlich <u>eingeknistet</u>	(60)
fuehlen	-	er fuehlte sein Wesen <u>geweitet</u>	(285)
sich fuehlen	-	er fuehlte sich, <u>versucht</u> zu beten	(289)
halten	-	er haelt die Haende <u>gefaltet</u>	(156)
halten	-	er hielt den Kopf <u>gewandt</u>	(64)
"	-	er hielt die Augen auf den Beschauer <u>gerichtet</u>	(189)
"	-	er hielt mit einer Hand den Schiffer- knoten <u>erfasst</u>	(297)
liegen	-	da lag das alte Haus <u>wohlverschlossen</u> in Dunkelheit	(28)

The second division is made according to the position of the participle. Some participles occur (in language) only finally and some occur both initially as well as finally. All intransitives in BUDDENBROOKS occur only in final position. The transitives occur in both types. The same verb can occur in two or three groups. (vide for instance the verb stuetzen in different tables at the end)

The groups which occur with relatively higher frequency are transitive verbs with the accusative object present either as a member of the participial construction or as a member of the main clause (Groups I, VI, VII, VIII) :

die Haende vor sich gefaltet, blickte der Senator
... (233)

sehr befriedigt von diesem Vorschlage, lehnte
sich Thomas zurueck. (115)

233 can be resolved into

der Senator faltete die Haende vor sich
der Senator blickte ...

while 115 can be resolved into

dieser Vorschlag befriedigte Thomas
Thomas lehnte sich zurueck.

The transitives have been further divided into those with Accusative Object present within the participial and those where it is not. For the sake of clarity a further division has been made on the basis of the type of adverbial present, whether Locational or Directional, Agentive or Modal.

A comparison of the occurrence of the accusative object and position of participle shows that there is direct correlation between the two. Where the accusative object occurs as part of the participial construction only the final position is possible :

Antonie, ... den huebschen Blondkopf ein wenig vom
Gesichte des Grossvaters abgewandt, blickte ... 1
(Antonie, the pretty blond head turned a little away
from the face of the grandfather, looked ...)

+ Antonie, abgewandt den hiebschen Blondkopf ...

die Arme ausgebreitet und den Kopf zur Seite geneigt,

... eilte er

96

(the arms spread out and the head inclined to the side, ... he hurried)

+ Ausgebreitet die Arme und geneigt den Kopf ...

Transformations into constructions with preposition 'mit' and participle.

The preposition mit (with) carries in German two readings in the main, one where the associated nouns enjoy equal status with respect to the action being described as in :

Herr Breuer geht mit seinem Kind spazieren.

(Mr. Breuer takes a walk with his child).

Here child and Mr. Breuer are both taking a walk. This distinction becomes important in certain situations :

Ich lerne bei einer Lehrerin Deutsch.

Ich lerne mit einer Lehrerin Deutsch.

The second sentence means that I am learning German and the teacher is also learning German. Similarly

Ich wohne bei meinem Freund (I am living with my friend)

Ich wohne mit meinem Freund. (I am living with my friend)

The first sentence implies that the place belongs to my friend or at least he is paying the rent. In the second sentence both pay the rent and have equal status.

The second reading associated with mit involves an element of instrumentality :

Ich fahre mit meinem Fahrrad

(I am riding on my cycle - literally "I am travelling with cycle).

The transformations considered are possible only if the participle, its accusative object and the main verb are associated with such an element of instrumentality :

Mit dem Blondkopf ein wenig abgewandt blickte sie ...

1

(With the blondhead turned a little away she looked)

The usage becomes funny if instead of head we are talking of legs

+ Mit einem Bein ueber das andere geschlagen,
blaetterte er

30

(with one leg thrown over the other, he thumbed ...)

Also speaking and head go together :

Mit dem Kopf ein wenig zur Seite geneigt,
sprach er ...

12

(With the head inclined a little to the side
he spoke)

Where the main verb and the accusative object of the participle do not show close association of the above type doubts arise as to the grammaticality of the transformation :

Ich stand mit dem Ruecken gegen die Jacht

gestuetzt

31

(I stood with the back supported against the yacht).

Acceptability increases with the verb sitzen (sit) in the place of stehen (stand) :

...sass er, mit dem Ruecken dem Salon zugewandt,

fertig angekleidet

84

(he was sitting ready dressed, with the back turned toward the salon)

Frequently deletion of the participle makes the construction acceptable :

+ Mit einem Bein ueber das andere geschlagen, sass er

Mit einem Bein ueber dem anderen sass er

(with one leg over the other he was sitting)

+ Josephine, mit dem blutleeren Kopf in die Kissen

gewuehlt, verschied

32

(Josephine passed away, with the bloodless head burrowed into the pillows)

Josephine mit dem blutleeren Kopf in den Kissen

verschied

(Josephine passed away with the bloodless head in the pillows)

Relative-clause transformation

In all the columns from 2 to 9 the relative construction is possible exhibiting the predominantly attributive usage of

the participial. The four cases in the corpus where the relative clause transformation is not possible are :

singend, geblendet und dem altvertrauten Raume
ganz entfremdet, umschritt man ... 221

(singing, blinded and completely estranged from
the old trusted room, one stepped)

floessten ihm, zum Gegenstand eines Examens
erhoben, einen verzweifelten widerwillen ein. 207

(raised to the object of an examination, filled
him with a despairing aversion)

welcher, malerisch, in seinem langen Mantel gehuellt,
gleichfalls die schraege Strasse hinauf zur Sitzung
strebte 78

(who likewise strove up the steepy street to the
session, covered picturesquely in his long
overcoat)

denn Erika war, verglichen mit anderen heirats-
fahigen Maedchen, ja im Nachteile 170

(for Erika was after all at a disadvantage,
compared to other marriageable girls)

In 221 the use of the indefinite pronoun man eliminates the relative clause, 207 and 170 are both conditional phrases and hence the relative clause transformation is not possible. 78 is negative, because the matrix-clause itself begins with a relative pronoun. The last case exemplifies interesting

syntactic restrictions among conjunctions. Consider the following possible transformations :

er, der die Ellenbogen in legerer Weise erhoben hielt, schnitt ... 9

er schnitt ..., indem er die Ellenbogen in legerer Weise erhoben hielt.

(he who was holding his elbows raised in an easy manner, cut ...)

(he cut, keeping his elbows raised in an easy manner)

die Augen, die mit stumpfem Ausdruck auf einen Gegenstand gerichtet waren, roeteten sich 180

die Augen, roeteten sich, indem sie mit stumpfem Ausdruck auf einen Gegenstand gerichtet waren, ohne ihn zu umfassen

(the eyes became red, while they were directed with dull expression on an object without comprehending it)

The use of the relative pronoun der and conjunctions like indem are frequently determined by semantic considerations. But in contrast the nonacceptability of the following transformations shows that syntax has an equal role :

+ den Alten ..., der, der den Kopf zur Seite geneigt hielt, ... las 24

(the old man ..., who, who held the head turned sideways, was reading)

Possible is : den Alten ... der, waehrend er den Kopf zur
Seite geneigt hielt, ... las.

+ waehrend er, waehrend er sich in gebueckter
 Haltung auf seinen Stock stuetzte, neben ihm
 auf die Strasse ... 79

(while he, while he supported himself in bent
 posture on his stick, on the street beside
 him ...)

+ indem er, indem er sich hoeftlich gebueckt hielt,
 zwei Schritte ... 120

(in that he, in that he held himself bent
 politely, two steps)

The embedding within a minor clause is possible, apart from
 other considerations, only if there is no duplication of the
 same conjunction or relative pronoun. A telescopic sequence
 of two minor clauses with the same pronoun or conjunction is
 however possible :

den Alten ..., der las, der den Kopf zur Seite
 geneigt hielt, ... 24

(the old man who was reading, who was holding
 his head inclined sideways)

Group VI provides the maximum number of instances where only
 relative clause transformation is possible. This group is
 differentiated from II, III, and IV only in that in the
 former the participle can take initial or final position,

whereas for the latter only final position is possible. For all these groups the accusative object is present, but functions as subject or object of the main clause. It seems therefore that coupled with the freedom to take front or back position there is the restriction to relative clause transformation only. In other words where front or back position is possible, the adjectival or nominal character is stronger than the verbal and due to this factor there are greater chances for only relative clause being possible.

Correspondingly in Group I, where the accusative object is present as a member of the participial, the verbal character is stronger and hence transformations with der, indem and waehrend are more frequently possible. The subject of the main clause in all the constructions in Group I are persons while the accusative objects of the participle occur as follows :

head - 16 times hand - 7 times legs - 4 times
upperbody, arms, knees, look, back, chin, each twice
dress, finger, shoulders, eyebrow, elbow, shoe,
hair, abdomen, hat, cheek, mouth corners, face,
boot - each once

It is therefore not surprising that the transformations apply to most of the constructions equally. Where indem and waehrend are not possible, it is seen that either the action described by the participle is beyond the control of the subject-person :

den dicken und dunklen Stoff seines Ueberziehers
mit feinen, silbernen Regentropfen betaut 253
(the thick and dark material of his overcoat
bedewed with fine silvery drops)

or there is no simultaneity in the actions of the main verb
and the participle :

das roetliche Haar aufs beste frisiert, streckte
...die Hand entgegen 40

Here the dressing of the hair took place at an earlier time
than the stretching of the hand towards the husband.

Relative clause construction with possessive pronoun

With few exceptions the participials in Group I relate
to posture (Haltung) and the corresponding relative clause
can be constructed with the additional verb halten :

der den Kopf und Oberkoerper ein wenig abgewandt
hielt 194

But where halten does not suit as in 40 above, other
paraphrases are possible :

Die Konsulin, deren roetliches Haar aufs beste
frisiert war, ...

(The consul's wife, whose red hair was dressed
in the best manner)

It is also possible to use the relative pronoun as follows :

Die Konsulin, die ihr roetliches Haar aufs beste
frisiert hatte

Die Konsulin, die ihr roetliches Haar aufs beste
hatte frisieren lassen

The use of the possessive pronoun corresponds to the constituent sentence :

ihr roetliches Haar war aufs beste frisiert.

Here the agent who dressed the hair is not mentioned and frisiert functions merely as an adjective which mentions the state in which the hair was. But while using the possessive-pronoun one has to decide the subject of the verb dress :

who had dressed her red hair in the best manner

who had had her red hair dressed in the best manner.

The consequence of using the relative pronoun is therefore to stress the active sense of the participle, while the possessive relative pronoun reflects the passive sense.

Adverbials

The adverbials which feature in the participial constructions are all with very few exceptions prepositional phrases. NO CLAUSE OF A HIGHER ORDER HAS BEEN EMBEDDED MEDIALY IN ANY PARTICIPIAL. For instance it is :

den Kopf in die Hand gestuetzt

222

(the head supported on the hand)

and not :

den Kopf in die Hand, die zwar aristokratisch,
aber gerade nicht ganz sauber war, gestuetzt

(the head supported on the hand, which was to be sure aristocratic, but not quite clean)

Medial embedding in a participial is however possible :

die Aufgabe, die man mir zugeteilt hatte,
erledigt, ging ich nach Hause.

(the task, which had been assigned to me, done
I went home).

Minor clause expansions at the final position have been used, though infrequently :

gefolgt von dem durchdringenden Geschrei des neuen
Familien-gliedes, das ploetzlich erwacht war, ... 42

(followed by the penetrating cries of the new
family member, which had suddenly woken up)

Agentive adverbials predominate in the constructions (vide Group VI). In spite of the presence of the preposition von (by) it is not always possible to expand the participial into a minor clause in passive voice, as illustrated in the following examples :

184

+ worauf sie zur Kirche zogen, wobei ihnen von dem
Geschrei des neuen Familiengliedes gefolgt
wurde, ... 42

worauf sie zur Kirche zogen, idem ihnen das
Geschrei des neuen Familiengliedes folgte
(whereupon they marched off to the church, while
the cries of the new family member followed them)

+ der von diesem Vorschlag sehr befriedigt
wurde, ...

115

der von diesem Vorschlag sehr befriedigt war
(who was very satisfied by this proposal)

The auxiliary werden (to be - passive) carries an
element of simultaneity and this acts as a restriction at
times :

+ Die Konsulin, die vom Schrecken ..ermattet wurde,
sah leidend aus.

103

(the consul's wife, who was dulled by shock,
looked suffering.)

+ Ihr Gesicht, das von den schwarzen Spitzen umrahmt
wurde, erschien

104

Ihr Gesicht, das von den schwarzen Spitzen umrahmt
war, erschien

(her face, which was framed by the black lace,
appeared)

More often both werden (to be - passive) and sein
(to be - active) are possible :

Nun kam Thomas, der von Herrn Marcus begleitet 105
wurde

Nun kam Thomas, der von Herrn Marcus begleitet
war

(Now Thomas came, accompanied by Mr. Marcus)

A listing of the verbs classified into various groups is given in the pages following (Tables 21 - 29). A listing of the participial constructions is given on page 260 and following.

¹⁸⁴ Dr. Brinker, Germanistisches Institut, Aachen, informed me that he has found the failure of such passive of the verb folgen to be due to the feature inanimate of the agent.

The ellipsis of the auxiliary in the minor clause

Silesian poets introduced the habit of dropping the auxiliary (have or be) when it followed immediately the participle II, especially in direct speech, but it has not taken root and as a rule this practice is more avoided than followed. (GRIMM, *ibid*). THIERFELDER (173) in fact recommends a moderate usage of this practice to keep the auxiliary from becoming too obtrusive, particularly in cultivated prose and rhetoric. DUDEN (§6805) draws attention to the fact that, although the auxiliary is omitted at times for the sake of melody, it is incorrect to drop the auxiliary if misunderstanding regarding the tense form can arise :

Der Tierarzt liess sich das Tier, das sein
Assistent bereits untersucht hatte, noch einmal
vorfuehren. (The vet had the animal, which his
assistant had already examined, brought forward.)

Here deleting hatte is wrong because then untersucht can be construed as present tense. Similarly in

Er begab sich, nachdem er den Auftrag erhalten
hatte, und in den Besitz der Unterlagen gekommen
war, zum Bahnhof. (He betook himself, after he
had received the order and 'was' come into
possession of the documents, to the station.)

deletion of hatte is wrong, as then it would be presumed

that the auxiliary war has been omitted in order to avoid repetition. DUDEN (page 109) remarks, that the auxiliary werden should not be omitted to form das Zustandspassiv when the passive of an action-verb is to be described :

Die Sperre ist heute wieder aufgehoben worden
 (nicht :Die Sperre ist heute wieder aufgehoben.)
 (The blockade has been removed today. Not : the
 blockade is today removed).

Out of the fifty-two occurrences of auxiliary deletion from the whole of BUDDENBROOKS only one concerns itself with direct speech. (vide Grimm's comment referred to on page 208). Relative clauses with direct relative pronouns accounted for 33 out of the 52 and with preposition cum relative pronoun for 5. The remaining 14 are accounted for by temporal clauses 11 (nachdem 3, sobald 1, als 2, wann 2, wenn 1, wo 1, da 1), comparative clause (wie 1) and that-nominal clauses 2 (dass 2).

Empirical findings seem to suggest therefore that relative clauses preponderate over other types in such elliptical minor clauses. The listing of verbs which participate in these clauses shows that although transitive verbs form a large group, even intransitives occur. The majority of the ellipses concerned the past perfect auxiliary had (42 out of 52) : Schlage ...den er damals empfangen
 den er damals empfangen hatte

To test whether there is any association between rhythm and the deletion of the auxiliary the stressed-unstressed syllables have been marked as is done for metre in poetry. It is readily seen that taking only stress-pattern it is not possible to explain or predict the auxiliary deletion employed by MANN.

The following list includes all sentences from BUDDEN-
BROOKS in which the auxiliary has been omitted :

- 44 (Frau) die ihm niemals ein grosses Glueck, niemals
einen grossen Schmerz bereitet

— ' — — ' — ' — ' —
' — ' — ' —

- 44 (Frau) die aber viele lange Jahre mit klugem Anstand
bei ihm ausgehalten

— — — ' — ' — ' — — ' —
' — — ' ' — — —

- 296 (Pedanterie) die sich mit den Jahren seiner bemaechtigt

— ' — — ' — ' — — ' —

- 255 (Schlage) den er damals empfangen

— — ' — — ' —

- 266 (Zimmer) das man ihm eingeraeumt

— — ' ' — ' —

- 193 (Gedicht) das er mit Ida auf dem Altan in der zweiten
Etagc sorgfaeltig erlernt

— ' — ' — ' — — ' — —
— ' — — ' — — — ' —

- 192 (Telegramm) das sie erbrochen

— ' — ' —

- 132 (Firmenschilds) das er ererbt

— ' — ' —

171 (Hoffnungen) die ihr, der Mutter, fehlgeschlagen

— ' — ' — ' — ' —

185 (Buddenbrook) der bekannt

' — '

185 (Buddenbrook) der zu Grabow Ratsherr gewesen

' — ' — ' — — ' —

185 (Buddenbrook) der sich "sehr gut gestanden"

' — ' — — ' —

208 (Musikstuecks) das er von seiner Mutter und Herrn
Pfuehl gehoert

— ' — ' — ' — — ' '
— ' —

277 (Stimme) die er noch nie gehoert

— ' — ' — ' —

242 (die Haelfte des Geldes) das ich hineingesteckt

— ' — ' — ' —

10 (einen Bissen) den er auf seiner Gabel komponiert

— ' — ' — ' — — — ' —

341 (Getriebe) das er im Ruecken gelassen

— ' — ' — — ' —

332 (Schnitten) die er von der Tuer aus zurueckgelegt

— ' — — ' — — ' — ' —

130 (Gerda) die bislang unter fliegender Hitze gelitten

— — ' ' — ' — — ' — — — ' —

157 (Baeren) den ein Verwandter des Pastors irgendwo im
inneren Russland geschossen

— ' — ' — — ' — — — ' —
— — ' — — ' —

158 (Schmeichelei) die ihr das Leben gesagt

— ' — ' — — ' —

45 (Getuemmel) in dessen Mitte er gestanden

— ' — ' — ' — ' —

38 (Geschaeftsbrieft) die etwa der Sohn an den Vater
und Kompagnon aus Stockholm oder
Amsterdam geschrieben

— ' — ' — — — ' — —
— — ' — ' — — ' — —
— ' —

216 (sie) die eben auch da draussen so hoerbare Allotria
getrieben

— ' — — ' ' — — ' — — — '
— — — ' —

239 (Haube) die die alte Dame sonntags getragen

' — ' — ' — ' — — ' —

33 (Reisen) die er mit seiner Gattin unternommen

— ' — ' — ' — — ' —

190 (dessen) der ihn seinen Nachfahren ueberliefert

— ' ' — ' — — — ' —

215 (Abend) den er in einem Tingeltangel fuenfter Ordnung

verlebt

— ' — ' — ' — ' — ' —
' — — ' — —

169 (Mitgift) die er vertan

— ' — ' —

293 (Mauern) in denen er sich mit Willen und

Bewusstsein eingeschlossen

— ' — ' — — ' — — —
— ' — ' —

309 (Zeitungsartikel) wie zur Zeit des Geschaeftsjubi-

laeums seine Dienste gefeiert

' — ' — — ' — —
— ' — ' — —

212 (Tempo) mit dem Kai sich ihm genaehert

— ' ' — ' — ' —

294 (Welt) von der er in jungen Jahren dies und jenes

Stueckchen gesehen

— ' ' — ' — ' — ' —
— — ' —

182 sobald sie ausgesprochen

— ' — ' — ' —

265 nachdem er verwirrt und ratlos Frau und Kind begruept

— ' — ' — ' — ' — ' —

126 nachdem sie eine besorgte Erkundigung ueber die
Anfechtungen eingezogen

— ' — ' — — ' — — ' — — ' — —
' — ' — ' — ' — ' —

20 nachdem sie die Handkuesse aller in Empfang genommen

— ' — — ' — — ' — — ' — — ' —

13 als er aber geendet

' — ' — — ' —

251 als Pastor Prinsheims letzte Amen verklungen

— ' — ' — ' — ' — — ' —

153 da der Fruehling gekommen

' — ' — — ' —

153 (er) von dem laengst soviel gesprochen

— ' ' — ' — ' —

153 (er) der seit langen Jahren erwartet, ersehnt worden

' — ' — ' — — ' — — ' ' —

302 dass sie bewegte und arge Schicksale gehabt

— ' — ' — — ' — ' — — — ' —

326 dass er diese Stunde seines Amtes gewaltet

— ' — ' — ' — ' — — ' —

184 wann er die Frieseln und wann die echten
Blattern gehabt

' — — ' — — ' — ' — ' — — ' —

184 wann er vom dritten Boden auf die Darre gestuetzt

' _ _ ' _ ' _ _ _ ' _ _ '

267 (Manoever) welches er seiner Gesellschaft und sich
selbst zu Ehre und Vorteil unternommen

' _ _ ' _ _ ' _ _ _ _ '
_ ' _ _ _ ' _ _ _ ' _

131 wo man einander ein wenig kennengelernt

_ ' _ ' _ _ _ ' _ ' _ _ _ '

54 wenn der Konsul Geschaefte gemacht

' _ _ ' _ _ _ ' _ _ _ '

203 was er soeben gespielt

_ ' _ _ ' _ _ '

250 was er verloren

_ ' _ _ ' _ _

237 was sie gehoert

_ ' _ _ '