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PHRASE-WORDS AND PHRASE-DERIVATIVES

CHARLES R. LANMAN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE TRUE CHARACTER of a linguistic phenomenon sometimes fails to be clearly recognized, for no deeper reason than this, that no one has taken the trouble to describe it and propound a good name for it. An apt designation, if it be clear and self-explaining, suggests at once a category in which many seemingly unrelated facts find unity.

'While we were breakfasting' is English. 'He broke his hip by falldowning' is not. Why? because the combination 'break fast,' as is shown by the pronunciation and by the fact that it is under the domain of a single accent, has become what may fitly be called a 'phrase-word,' while 'fall down' has not become a phrase-word. Derivatives of phrase-words may be styled 'phrase-derivatives.' Phrase-words and phrase-derivatives are common in English and Sanskrit and Pāli. These designations may suggest to Anglicists and Indianists and others the interesting task of collecting the facts and studying them. A few examples may be given.

English.—Lady Macbeth's 'Letting I-dare-not wait upon I-would.' Boswell's 'A plain matter-of-fact man.' From a phrase-adjective, good-for-nothing, comes the abstract goodfor-nothing-ness. So straightforward-ness. From the phrase-word et-cetera has been formed the adjective etceter-al: as in 'the etceteral term of an equation.' And from pro rata (in proportion) has been made the verb to prorata (assess proportionally). The phrase so-and-so is as truly a word as is its precise Sanskrit equivalent *asāu*. Hence it is entirely licit to give it a genitive inflection and say 'so-and-so's oxen.'

Differing from this in degree rather than in kind are the examples given in the 'funny column' of the newspaper. Thus: 'Is that puppy yours or your little brother's?' 'It's both-of-us's.' St. Mark, narrating the betrayal of Jesus, says: 'And one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear.' A modern lad renders it: 'He cut off the servant of the high priest's ear.' For other examples,

with interesting comment, see *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, by J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge (Macmillan, New York, 1901), p. 188-¹

On account of their especial clearness as examples may be cited several derivatives. Sir James Murray quotes from Haliburton (1855) the agent-noun *comeout-er*. (See the verb *come*, sense 63 m!!!) Similar is the quite recent coinage, *standpatter*, from *stand pat*, 'take a position that just suits the exigency.' So *standoffish* and *standoffishness*. Sir Walter Scott (1821), in *Kenilworth* (ii.), has: Married he was . . . and a cat-and-dog life she led with Tony. Professor E. S. Sheldon tells me of the Old French *comfaitement* and *sifaitement* (*qualiter*, *taliter*) from the phrase-words *com-fait* and *si-fait* (*qualis*, *talis*).²

An ecclesiastical council of the sixth century enjoined that if the presbyter could not preach, a deacon should read a homily. Each homily began with the words 'Post illa verba textus' (after those words of the text), and so a homily became known as a *postil*, and the verb *postillare* was coined as *Mediaeval Latin* for 'read a homily, postillate.' Whether the judicial sentence of 'hanging by the neck,' *suspensio per collum*, was once so frequent as to make a standing abbreviation for it needful, I do not know. The dictionary does in fact book 'sus. per coll.' as such a shortened form, and Thackeray (Denis Duval, i) writes: None of us Duvals have been *suspercollated* to my knowledge.

From Greek and Latin I have not made collectanea. The prior part of tautologous etc., like that of the Greek *ταυτο-λόγος* etc., represents a phrase, *τὸ αὐτό*. Herodotus speaks of 'the people who live beside a river (*παρὰ ποταμῶ*)' as *οἱ παραποτάμιοι*. And the title of *Iliad* 22 is *μάχη παραποτάμιος*, quite literally, 'Alongtheriver-ish Combat.' I presume that *ἐνύπνια* are literally

¹ [H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (New York, 1919), p. 229, quotes *inter alia*: 'That umbrella is the-young-lady-I-go-with's.'—ED.]

² So the modern *quelque* is a phrase-word. In older French we find *quel* + noun + *que* + verb: see Sheldon in *The Romanic Review*, vol. 10, pages 233-249, and especially 247ff. An unprinted 'doctor dissertation' (of 1906) by John Glanville Gill on *Agglutination as a process of word formation in French* may be consulted in the Harvard Library. French *oui*, 'yes,' was originally *o* (from Latin *hoc*) + the personal pronoun *il*. See A. Tobler in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 23. 423. Cf. the geographical name *Langue-doc* (Provençal *oc* 'yes,' from Latin *hoc*), and the antithetic *langue d' oil*.

'in-a-dream (things),' τὰ ἐν ὑπνῷ ὁρώμενα; and that ultramundanus is a derivative from the phrase-word ultra-mundum. So ultramontanus is from ultra-montem, and not (as the dictionary says) from ultra+montanus.

Sanskrit.—In so early a record as the Rigveda, we find a luculent example of the genesis of a phrase-word. At 9. 1. 5 occurs the couplet:

tuām áchā carāmasi Unto thee do we go
tád id ártham divé-dive. For this very purpose day-by-day.

But at 8. 2. 16, *vayám . . tadídarthāh*, the phrase has crystallized into a single word, a possessive compound, under one single accent, 'we, having-this-very-purpose,' that is, 'we, intent on this.' Whitney, at 1314, under the heading, 'anomalous compounds,' registers 'agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases.' Most familiar is *itihāsas*, 'story,' from *iti ha āsa*, 'thus, indeed, it was.' Hence *āitihāsikas*, 'story-teller.' So from *iti ha* comes *āitihyam*, 'tradition.' From *na asti*, 'non est (deus),' comes *nāstikas*, 'atheist.' From *punar uktam*, 'again said,' comes *pāunaruktyam*, 'tautology.' Quite frequent in ritual books are designations of hymns, made (like Te Deum) from their first words: so *āpohiṣṭhīyam* (sc. *sūktam*), 'the-Since-ye-are-(kindly-)waters-ish (hymn),' for Rigveda 10. 9, which begins with *āpo hí ṣṭhā mayobhūvah*.

Pāli.—In Pāli, the coinage of phrase-words and phrase-derivatives runs riot, as does the coinage of denominatives in the 'English' of Thomas William Lawson. In so old a text as the Dīgha (1. 132), one who greets you with 'Come, and welcome' is called an *ehi-sāgata-vādī*, literally, 'a-“Come-Welcome”-sayer.' Nothing could be simpler. The Mahā-vagga (1. 6. 32) tells how, before the Order was established, a monk was summoned to live the Holy Life by the Buddha himself, and with the simple words, 'Come hither, monk' (*ehi, bhikkhu*). Such a one is called a 'Come-hither-monk (monk)' at Visuddhimagga, 2. 140, and his ordination is 'Come-hither-monk-ordination,' *ehi-bhikkhu-upa-sampadā*. The Majjhima (1. 77. 29), describing a monk who is slack in observing the rules of propriety, says he is not a 'Come-hither-venerable-Sir-man' or a 'Wait-a-bit-venerable-Sir-man,' *ehibhadantiko, tiṭṭhabhadantiko*,—here using derivatives of the

phrases *ehi, bhadanta!* and *tiṭṭha, bhadanta!* The Religion or Truth is called (at 1. 37. 21) the 'Come-see-ic Religion,' the *ehipassiko dhammo*, from *ehi, passa*, 'Come, see.' A *gaṇa* to Pāṇini (2. 1. 72) gives *ehi-svāgata* and other similar ones.

I suppose that *anto gharam*, 'in the-house,' is strictly a phrase, in which *anto* governs *gharam*. So *anto vassam*, 'in the-rains.' But the whole phrase has won the value of a substantive, 'rainy-season,' so that the combination *antovass-eka-divasam*, 'on a day in the rainy season,' is entirely natural.

The Dhamma-saṅgaṇi uses the phrase *ye vā pana . . aññe pi atthi . . dhammā*, 'or whatever other states there are.' (So at § 1, page 9, line 22: cf. pages 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, etc.) The commentary, Attha-sālinī (at § 328), quoting § 1 of the text, speaks of these as the *ye-vā-panaka* states, the 'etceter-al' states, the 'whatever-other-al' states. The Visuddhi-magga speaks once and again (book 14) of the 'four etceterals,' the *yevāpanakā cattāro*.

Phrases containing inflectional forms sometimes occur in derivatives in such a way as not to offend against logic and grammar. Thus *lābhena lābham nijigimsano* means 'desiring-to-win gain by gain.' The abstract therefrom, *lābhena-lābham-nijigimsana-tā* (in Visuddhi, 2) is quite logical. So *idam-atthi-tā*.

Per contra.—Although *tayo ca saṅkhārā*, 'and three saṅkhāras' (nominative), is quite *en règle*, the Paṭisambhidā (at 1. 26, p. 97: ed. Taylor), having occasion to speak of them in the genitive, inflects the whole as a crystallized phrase, and says *tayo-ca-saṅkhārānam*. In view of this procedure (although very striking, it is easily intelligible), Taylor would have been wholly justified in adopting the ungrammatical lectio difficilior of his mss. S. and M., at p. 58, *catasso-ca-vipassanāsu*. In fact he reads the strictly grammatical *catūsu ca vipassanāsu*. The Dhammapada Commentary (at 3. 38) says that the Teacher gave instruction by a story 'with reference to' (*ārabhha*) 'three groups of persons' (*tayo jane*: accusative). The title, however, *tayojana-vatthu*, is a compound of *-vatthu* (story) with *tayojana-*, the 'stem' of the crystallized phrase *tayo-jane*.

So-called 'compounds' of which the prior member is a gerund are, strictly speaking, phrase-words. The famous collocation,

paṭicca samuppādo, ‘origination by-going-back-to (a prior cause),’ that is, ‘dependent origination,’ is entirely normal as two words, but it becomes in fact a unit, that is, a single phrase-word. So *paṭicca-samuppanno*, etc. Compare *Buddhe (dhamme, saṅghe) avecca-ppasādo*, at Majjhima 1. 37. The Dhammapada Commentary, at 4. 230, tells of a devout layman who asked his wife about the other Paths, and then at last ‘the question with-a-stepping-beyond, the question with-a-trans-scending,’ the *atikkamma-pañha*, or ‘the transcendent question.’ ‘Ah,’ says she, ‘if you want to know about *that* question, you must go to the Teacher and put it to *him*.’ The beautifully veiled phrase means of course the question about Arahatsip.

Examples might easily be multiplied. Let these suffice to tempt some Pāli student to systematic study of these curious and interesting linguistic phenomena.