Like many another language, Khmer makes frequent use of constructions involving two loose-knit constituents standing in semantic opposition to one another. The constructions themselves may be verbal or nominal while their constituents may be single items or phrases. The antithesis in question—that is to say, the linkage between the two terms of such constructions—may be coordinate or alternative depending on the particular terms used and their context. Common examples from modern Khmer are /cèen còol/ 'to go out [and/or] go in', /tòoc thum/ 'to be little [and/or] big', /slìiāk pëok/ 'to put on a lower garment [and] put on an upper garment', /sèeh kuu/ 'odd [or] even', /cwèen sdam/ 'left [and/or] right', and /wijel pnum/ 'lowlands [and/or] highlands'. Instances of phrasal constructions are mentioned hereafter. The semantic value of all such constructions is often greater than the sum of their parts, and their investigation from this point of view is of considerable interest in its own right. What I am exclusively concerned with here, however, is the manner in which the members of these constructions are ordered.

Conspicuous in the art, ritual and literature of Southeast Asia is a dualism which in most cultures and in most of its
manifestations appears to lie some distance below the surface of human consciousness. While the peoples of the region are consistently hardly ever able to explain it, most scholars involved in Southeast Asian studies recognize certain instances of this dualism when they encounter them. Common examples of the type of feature I refer to are the orientation of habitations, sanctuaries and mausoleums; the use of certain colors in the graphics, rites of passage and the romance; the traditional manner in which men and women bind on the sarong or its equivalent; attitudes toward the head, feet and other body parts; and the differentiation of the dramatis personae in the wayang orang according to sex or function.

Dutch scholars seem to have been the first to acknowledge the existence and significance of this dualism in Southeast Asia, and undertook its investigation during the first two or three decades of this century. Outside their small circle, however, response to this work was for the most part lukewarm. Today it seems to be the fashion to grant that dualistic features are present in greater or lesser number in most Southeast Asian cultures, to take them as self-evident, and to suppose that nothing else need be said or done about them. As a result, apart from earlier Dutch work on Indonesia, next to nothing has been done toward examining dualism in specific Southeast Asian cultures or for the region as a whole. Indeed, there is good reason to regard the subject as one of our blind spots.
Properly speaking, investigation of this matter falls within the jurisdiction of anthropologists. At the same time, it should be clear that psychologists and art historians concerned with symbolism as well as students of religion, drama and literature would also have much to add to our understanding of it. Except in one respect, to be mentioned toward the end of this paper, it cannot be said to come within the purview of linguistics.

As briefly as possible, the dualism in question here is a conception of the universe in terms of polar opposites, commonly denominated by anthropologists as a male or positive principle and a female or negative principle. It must be emphasized from the outset that binary cosmological analyses are by no means peculiar to Southeast Asia or even to Asia as a whole. Rare indeed are the corners of the world where evidence of such conceptions cannot be found. Much of the difficulty the researcher encounters in coming to grips with Southeast Asian dualism arises, in fact, from the circumstance that precisely the same order of ideas is seen not only as underlying many sectors of Hinduism and Buddhism (not to mention Mazdaism, Islam and Christianity) but also as constituting the ideological basis of the *yin-yang* philosophy of China. Moreover, much the same sort of dualism is especially well developed in many cultures of the Pacific. To make matters even more embarrassing, what we find in specific Southeast Asian cultures is not a coherent system of dualistic ideas but only what appear to be fragments of former systems, some of which may have
be fairly elaborate. It is only by reassembling ostensible fragments from several neighboring or related cultures that we can begin to synthesize an earlier and fuller system from which they may or may not have derived and which brings us closer to understanding their symbolic value. Unfortunately, after two millennia of heavy outside influences on the cultures of Southeast Asia, it may be too late to hope for much success in separating fragments of putative local systems from elements brought from India and China or elsewhere.

The case of Cambodian dualism seems to be typical. What we are left to deal with is a narrowly circumscribed set of stereotypes involving polar patterns of expression now relegated to a symbolic function which is only dimly perceived if perceived at all. It will have to suffice here to mention that the basis of the dualism that can be inferred from these selected remains is essentially taxonomic: at one time it presumably responded to man's urge to classify and thereby understand all things coming within his field of observation. One of the early manifestations of the spirit of scientific inquiry, this reading of sexual polarity into the organization of the cosmos was probably inspired by knowledge of natural phenomena close to home, notably the distinctive sexual rôles in human society and the cycle of plant life. What the precise line of development may have been, if it is generally similar in Cambodia and other parts of Southeast Asia, we shall probably never know. For purposes of exposition we can do no better than to postulate a set of polar opposites
fundamental enough to presuppose others and at the same time provide impetus for extension.

At the hypothetical outset, knowledge of the interdependent sexes in man's own society must by an easy stretch of the imagination have led to early recognition of sex among mammals and in particular recognition of the striking sexual parallel between man and other creatures. From eventual perception of zoological sex in general it would have been inevitable that early thinkers with a penchant for animism would extend this parallel to the vegetal world and beyond. For members of cultures on a certain level of development it is difficult not to see in the life and growth of plants, especially those plants on which man is dependent, a close analogy to the life and growth of man and animals. The animistic outlook merely carries the analogy one step further to encompass features of the environment we deem inanimate. Eventually, in any case, a short chain of sexual antitheses is fixed

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{female person} & : \text{male person} \\
\text{female animal} & : \text{male animal} \\
\text{female plant} & : \text{male plant} \\
\text{female thing} & : \text{male thing}
\end{align*}
\]

It is unlikely that this attribution of sex to plants, objects, and selected features of the environment was ever metaphorical or "poetic." On the contrary, the parallels seen so far probably involved a less-than-abstract transference of categories which cast a new and helpful light on man's relationship to his world.
The emerging concatenation of ideas, which of course was partial-
 demonstrable, was a form of empirical knowledge which attested
an ordered universe in which all beings and things fulfilled a
role which was theirs by reason of some propriety held to be in-
nate and natural.

Once the basic parallels were grasped, the chain of polar
associations extended itself. Overriding grammatical categories,
typical attributes of the sexes must have been recognized early
and somehow endowed with sex themselves or at least as manifesting
as:

little : big
weak : strong
fecundity : virility
germination : impregnation

As the process of analogizing gathered momentum the inventory of
antitheses took in salient features of the landscape and environ-
ment:

earth : sky
moon : sun
water : fire

Moreover, the original parallels carrying the germ of virtually
limitless expansion, sex could be ascribed to anything capable of
classification. Polar pairs already in the developing system gave
rise to new pairs:
left : right
night : day
black : white
cold : hot
clow : high
descent : ascent
heavy : light
wet : dry

In all the paired associations mentioned above and hereafter the member on the left is to be construed as female or feminine, that is to say belonging to or identified with the female or negative category; the member on the right, conversely, is male.

While the pairs in the parallel chains follow no particular order of priority or logical progression, at an early period the possibility of vertical as well as horizontal relationships must have been seen. Left is horizontally related to right as its "natural" opposite; but, more than this, left is vertically related to earth or moon or black in the sense that all are members of the same category. Each category, then, can be represented by any one of its members; also, any member can be represented by any other member of the same category. With perception of this nicety a rudimentary symbolism becomes possible.

Predictably, ambiguities and apparent contradictions were accepted into the scheme; these can usually be explained by reference to underlying associations. Nor was it always necessary t
have an explicit antithesis or logical counterpart for cosmologi-cal gender to be imputed to a single idea:

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<tr>
<td>issue</td>
<td>maturation</td>
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<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>(non-blood?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come forth</td>
<td>to penetrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-mana?)</td>
<td>mana</td>
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In addition, readjustments in the original inventory may have multiplied the complementary pairs taken into the system:

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<tr>
<td>black (of earth)</td>
<td>blue (of sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red (of blood)</td>
<td>green (of plants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groundwater</td>
<td>rainfall</td>
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Meanwhile thought must have returned again and again to the physical environment, reaching out to the macrocosmos to pick up new associations and ring the changes on the old:

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<td>setting sun</td>
<td>rising sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>east</td>
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<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>head⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dusk</td>
<td>dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midnight</td>
<td>noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark, shade</td>
<td>light, bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td>south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decay</td>
<td>growth</td>
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old age : youth
valley : hill
downstream : upstream
to fall : to rise
to recede : to advance

Finally, a limited number of abstractions and quasi-ethical associations developed out of this concrete core:

bad : good
difficult : easy
wrong : right
pain : pleasure
bad luck : good luck
odd : even
ineffective : effective
cowardly : brave
impure : pure
profane : sacred
common : royal
inferior : superior
low-priced : high-priced
covert : overt
sour : sweet

For a unified theory of dualism in Southeast Asia there is no lack of evidence that more sophisticated antitheses were introduced into the system under the influence of such extraneous
conceptions as animism, mana (already implicit in attitudes toward the east and the head), magic, and astrology. These culminated, as in India and China, in the idea of a cosmic order (ṛta) in which the male and female principles, susceptible to manipulation by experts, are in perfect balance—disorder, whether local or universal, resulting from an excess of one over the other. Establishment of a "natural" order of things (dharma) became an artistic as well as a moral and political goal, while from here it is but a short step to the Taoist ideal of harmony, which has exerted such a concrete and pervasive influence on East Asian art and letters.

For specific Southeast Asian cultures, however, the notional apparatus that can be inferred from available evidence appears to be limited to local concerns, that is, one culture gives emphasis to certain features of the total system while a neighboring culture gives emphasis to others, without discernible rhyme or reason, though a universal preoccupation with man and woman and the baffling differences between them admits a common stock of elementary antitheses. In Cambodia the heaviest emphasis seems to have been placed on high versus low position, on certain colors, on right and left, and on the cardinal points. The uninitiated may well wonder how these cosmological genders are manifested, particularly since I have said earlier that they are "conspicuous" in the art, literature and ritual of the area. A few examples of their occurrence will have to suffice.
In sculpture, painting and drama it is usual for groups of figures to be so disposed that "male" (that is, heroic, divine, auspicious) subjects are on the right while "female" (evil, common, inauspicious) subjects are on the left. Commoners may also be represented as occupying a lower physical plane than gods or kings. Characters of negative function will be depicted with at least their visages in dark, notably black or red, colors while heroes and other agents of good are shown in white or blue.

In ritual and numerous acts of a ritual nature the officiant, as in India and China and so many other parts of the world, faces east. He reserves his right hand for ritually pure functions, his left for ritually impure functions. Prayer and spells have greatest efficacy during the morning hours. *Mana*, at once the medium and the agency of supernatural power, emanates from the east, while the dead (and in some cases even the aged) are held to travel westward into their universal abode. Houses and public buildings are oriented on the east, tombs and mausoleums face west. The sleeper in premodern Cambodia lay, on his back, with his right side to the east and his head to the south. Underlings, particularly on ceremonial occasions, take positions behind their superiors, and the correct signal of respect in the presence of a magnate is to lower oneself to the ground.

The traditional literature of Cambodia verbalizes these same ideas and many more of like kind. As in our own culture, the hero or heroine rides a white horse, the miscreant a black one. The
vanished principal and his suite travel westward into the limbo of exile in order to enter the realm of danger and death, to undergo supreme tests and transformation, and to make a climactic westward return in which all is set to rights and good order is enjoyed forever after. A bird-call coming from the west, north or left presages evil. All the virtues distinguishing the man of destiny may be condensed into possession of certain magic powers or artifacts. One character may be represented as sitting or standing with his back to another, a sure sign of rejection and antipathy.

In the first paragraph above antithetical constructions were described briefly, and it was explained that we are concerned here only with the way in which members of these constructions are ordered. In the light of what has been said so far by way of necessary background, it can now be advanced that there is some evidence that Khmer has been partial to the female + male order in antithetical constructions. All of the examples cited in the opening paragraph show this partiality, while other examples are given below. It may be well to mention that this phenomenon first came to my attention several years ago in the course of work on the Middle Khmer ប្របាក /cbap/ or "codes of conduct." Outside this genre I have not yet examined it in any detail. Some months ago I did, however, have the opportunity to work hurriedly on a 2-item wordlist with three Khmer-speaking informants. This ef-
fort showed quite convincingly that sensitivity to the ordering of this type of construction is all but lost in the modern language and is still alive only in a few fossil expressions such as /k̃ən nɪəŋ/ 'to be difficult [and/or] easy, i.e. of whatever difficulty', /jʊp ʊŋəj/ 'night [and/or] day, i.e. at any hour', and /cɪŋ dɔn cɪŋ taa/ 'grandmother [and] grandfather', plus those mentioned in the first paragraph. This suggests that if fuller evidence is to be sought it will have to be looked for in the older literature.

There are at least two, and possibly four, types of interference which operate against the regularity of this apparently favored female + male order.

In the first place, it is fairly clear that if a preferred order of antithetical constructions can be argued at all for India and China, that order is not geared to cosmological gender but to what might be termed relative auspiciousness, with the propitious constituents standing first. Thus in Khmer prose texts it is common for antithetical constructions involving Sanskrit or Pāli loans to observe the Indic order, e.g. sukhā dukkha /sok tuk 'bliss [and/or] woe'. In the same way heñā ṭaya /heəŋ scoj/ 'good luck [and/or] bad luck', both terms of which are Chinese loans, follows the Chinese rather than the Khmer order.

In the second place, one or both members of an antithetical construction may be subject to overriding metrical requirements: preordained rhyme may cause a reversal of the preferred order.
both praṭau dāṁā prusa srT /prodaw teṇh proh sṛèej/ (P 2c)

to teach all males and females' and doḥ srT prusa /tōh sṛèej

proh/ (P 3b) 'whether females or males' the ordering of /proh/

and /sṛèej/ fulfills metrical requirements. As a result, neither

of these occurrences can be adduced as evidence for or against

the hypothesis of a preferred female + male order. For all that,

should not be forgotten that it is precisely the most gifted

poets that would succeed in accommodating a preferred order to

the meter. In oy ḍōṇa pāpa puṇya /qaoj ḍyōn baap bon/ (A 28a) 'so

as to know [the difference between] evil and good' we have a case

in which the meter brings about an inversion of the favored Indic

order, /bon baap/ 'good [and/or] evil'. This particular verse

rhymes with sgā'la dosa nīna guṇa /skoel tōoh nṛṇa kun/ (A 28b)

to recognize [the difference between] sin and virtue', where

the identical inversion is seen. The preferred order of this Indic

antithesis crops up further on in sgā'la guṇa nīna dosa /skoel

nṛṇa tōoh/ (A 38d) 'to recognize [the difference between] vir-

tue and sin', where the ordering is independent, that is to say

not determined by metrical requirements. The one exception to

this rule of evidence concerns antitheses between transposable

verses, e.g. caṁa guṇa oy dukkha l caṁa pāna kīT sukha /coṇ kun

daaj tuk l coṇ baan kaṅāj sok/ (PUB 12ab) 'to desire merit [but]

tive sorrow l to desire to attain to bliss' may be a case in

point: here the female + male order prevails over the Indic order

/sok tuk/ 'bliss [and/or] sorrow') even though the impact of the

lines would not have been lessened had verse b come before a.
A third type of interference operating against the favored female + male order may for want of a better term be called economic. In māsa pră'ka srūva 'ana kārā /mīēh prak srow qaŋkāor/ (P1a) '[your] gold and silver, [your] paddy and husked rice' we may have a double illustration of this. Both /mīēh/ and /prak/ appear to be loans from Austronesian, and their order here is independent. Gold and silver in nearly all cultures that assign cosmological gender to them are male and female respectively, and we should expect /prak mīēh/ in an independent context. That we have /mīēh prak/ instead may reflect the preferred order in Austronesian or may simply be referable to the higher value and greater desirability of gold. By the same token the recurrent antithesis sē caŋkāra /sraac cōnkaar/ 'sawah and ladang, wet [and/or] dry fields', which does follow the expected female (wet, groundwater) + male (dry) order, may have survived longer or may be more properly explained on grounds of the greater frequency and economic importance of ricefields. As for /srow qaŋkāor/ unhusked [and/or] husked rice', both terms of which are Mon-Khmer, the order here may be imputable either to the sequence of production, that is the temporal precedence of paddy, or to the assignment of fruits to the female principle. This latter association, which I have not been able to confirm, is perhaps seen in comparing raka ja'ka thnām sī mū sūa /rook cuk tnam sii mluu slaa/ (P16d) 'go get tobacco to smoke [or] betel-and-areca to chew', wherein /mluu slaa/ shows dependent order, with sūa mū sī by cryēka /slaa mluu sii qaooj crīēk/ (P12a) 'partake of areca-
and-betel [after] cutting them small', where the preferred /s\ləa luu/ is independent of the meter. I suspect that the areca nut, being the fruit of the palm, was formerly deemed female (contrary to the case in Indo-European) while the enveloping leaf of the betel pepper was seen as male.

A fourth type of interference might be called euphonic. When monosyllable having primary stress is coupled with a dissyllable (regularly with primary stress on its main syllable, weak stress on its presyllable), the construction is more agreeable to the ear if the monosyllable stand first so that the two stressed syllables are separated by the presyllable. The /sraək cəmkaar/ and /srəow qənkaar/ cited above illustrate this principle, which may be operative in the texts used here.

Evidence of partiality for female + male ordering in antithetical constructions which has been collected so far is already so abundant that space forbids my giving more than a sampling of it here. I include a few cases illustrating the contradictions and ambiguities encountered.

3. **Man : woman.**

It is surprising that for this most basic of all antitheses I have no cases from metrically independent contexts in the sources used here. The most that can be done is to contrast such occurrences as do\ să prusa do\ šrī /təh prəh təh sə\əj/ (KC 40a) 'whether male or female' (cf. the verse already quoted from P 2c)
with such occurrences, considerably more frequent, as khñh₃ prusa phañh dañh₃ tāya /knom srāej proh phoŋŋ teŋ laaj/ (DK 24b) 'all slaves, female and male alike', khñh₃ prusa go krap₃ /knom srāej proh kōo krāb₃eaj/ (DK 51b) 'female and male slaves, cows and buffaloes', and the verse already cited from P 3b. With these may be grouped such antitheses as mē 'ū /maae qōow/ (P 9a) 'mother [and] father' and mē tāya 'ū buka /mdaaj qōow puk / (DK 27b) 'mother [and] father', which are similarly dependent yet, thanks perhaps to the versatility of the poets, conform to the female + male order.

2. Big: little.

sruka tūca dham phañh /srok tōoc thum phoŋŋ/ (K 23e) 'villages both small and large'.

tūca dham oy criəka ceŋa /tōoc thum qaaοj cr̥iəg ceŋŋ/ (P 12c) 'whether small or large, slice [them] into several parts'.

3. Much (many): little (few).

tica cr̥aŋa mina stāya /tēc cr̥aaŋ min sdaaj/ (DK 98b) 'whether it is little or much, have no regrets'.


kuŋ khlāca kuŋ hāŋa nāŋ sa /kom kłaac kom hfięŋ nah/ (P 10c) 'be not fearful, be not overbold'.

5. High: low.

All collected occurrences are dependent but suggest partiality for the female + male order. Contrast oy tīŋa khbaŋ sa dāpa
qaaq dýŋ kpuh ttíep/ (RN 20g) 'so as to know [the difference between] high and low' with tíña dāpa tíña kha'lsa /dýŋ ttíep dýŋ puh/ (DK 18c) 'know the low, know the high'. Note also jæña tæi cæøŋ daŋj/ 'lower [and] upper limbs' at V 31b and thoka thlaŋ thaiok tlaŋj/ 'low [and/or] high priced' at XX 14a and 31c. Such asæs as tūca pæva næŋa nayya /dɔoc bawu nýŋ níjeŋj/ (RN 27c) 'like servant and master' and kænæŋ gæn kælpa mælsa /kæm kæm kæmp mæh/ (P 73a) 'the slave threatens to slay the master', while conforming to female + male ordering, are as dependent on the sense as on the meter. Independent, however, is the ordering of pe pT sliækælæ'ka ca'læ/a /baæs pæøæj sliæk pæok cæh/ (S 131a) 'if [your] lord wear lower and upper garments [that are] old'. This is paralleled by dependent expressions such as swra cuh swra tæña /sùuar coh sùuar laaŋj/ (S 56c) 'to inquire down, inquire up (i.e. in all quarters)' and bækya tæma bækya cuña /pæión daaæm pæión coŋj/ (PUB 10b) 'first words, last words', which uses /daaæm/ 'stock, trunk, root' in the sense of 'beginning, source' and /coŋj/ 'end, tip, top' in the sense of 'last'.

5. Senior: junior.

Growth to the zenith of maturity is male, age beyond that point is female. Such fixed expressions as paña pũña /boŋ pqoön/ older [and] younger siblings' may be so ordered because of the social precedence of elders, and are certainly interpreted in this light today. The fact remains that they also conform to the favored female + male order. Contrary evidence is seen in a few dependent expressions such as kmwya næŋa mæ /kæmæŋ nýŋ níjeŋj/ (P
1c) 'nephew/niece [and] uncle', which place the younger member first.

1. **Light** : heavy.

nā dhīna'na nā srāla /nīe tūn nīe sraal/ (K 26g) 'this is heavy, that is light'. The identical passage occurs at RN 34c.

2. **Dry** : wet.

The sole independent example found so far is dāṃña srē camkāra graña /teen srae camkār kroon/ (VP 30c) 'living off all sawah and ladang'. Dependent occurrences are exemplified by doḥ dhvē srē camkāra /tōh twēe srae camkār/ (P 36a) 'whether [you] till sawah or ladang' and dhvē srē kum cola camkāra /twēe srae kom caael camkār/ (P 41b) '[if you] till sawah, neglect not [your] ladang'. In dhvē srē prāṃña srē vassā /twēe srae pran srae woēhsaa/ (KK 27b) 'tilling sawah of the dry season or those of the rainy season' we have an inversion of /woēhsaa/ and /pran/ for the meter's sake.

3. **Outside** : inside.

Parallel to knuña krau pandāya /knoŋ kraw bontīeŋ/ (T 22b) 'inside [and/or] outside the citadel' is the dependent verse riena gita knuña krau /rīen kit knoŋ kraw/ (PUB 3c) 'study and ponder the inside [as well as] the outside' or 'learn to consider the interior and exterior [of all things]'.

10. **Hither** : thither.

Movement hitherward seems to have been viewed as penetration and hence assigned to the male principle, while movement thither-
ard was viewed as emergence or issue and assigned to the female
principle. Note the fossil expression dau ṇā maka ṇā /tēw naa
ook naa/ 'go somewhere, come somewhere (i.e. go back and forth,
all over)' as well as the transposable verses ge prō kum ˈālə dau
ge oy hau kum ˈālə maka /kēe prāae kom qaal tēw l kēe qāaq j haw
kom qaal mook/ (DK 13ab) 'If someone sends [you] forth hasten
not to go, [if] someone summons [you] hasten not to come'. On the
same basis the opposition near : far is nearly always expressed
as chāaya jita /cṇaaj cit/ 'to be far [and/or] near' but cannot
be illustrated with any except dependent occurrences, e.g. doh
čōra dau chāaya jita /tōh daaer tēw cṇaaj cit/ (P 26a) 'if [you]
go abroad to any distance', 'ita ge raka ćōra chāaya jita /qēt
kēe rook daaer cṇaaj cit/ (P 45d) 'oblige them not to go any dis-
tance to seek [you]', and ćīnā chāaya ćīnā jita /dyn cṇaaj dyn
cit/ (PUB 5e) 'know far, know near (i.e. thoroughly)'. The one
inversion encountered in my limited data is ćīnā hātī jita
chāaya /nyn nīeṇ cit cṇaaj/ (DKūn 34b) 'with (toward) [your]
kinsmen near or far'.

11. Day : night.

Parallel to independent kra ya'pa thāai brwya ćōra chāaya
/kroa jup ćēa prūaaj daaer cṇaaj/ (P 23d) 'the bother by night
[or] day, the nuisance of going far' is the dependent verse doh
ya'pa brīka kum gītā ṇāya /tōh jup pr̄yk kom kīt nīeṇj/ (P 24b)
'whether at night or morn, deem this not a menial chore'.

This is one of the most productive areas encountered so far. Except for the cases involving Indic or Chinese loans previously noted, the order in independent contexts is invariably bad : good. A typical example is cūra ściña khusa gā'pa /cōor dỳŋ koh koəp/ (K 19d) 'know thou [the difference between] wrong and right'. Note also such ideas as doh kāca jā mēla oy stēna /tōh kaac cīé bēel qaaoj sdaæŋ/ (KK 19d) 'be it bad or good, look to [his] ability' and khusa trūva dau pambāna /koh trōow tōw bompīen/ (P 37c) 'wrong or right, [he] persists in abusing others'. In P 10a we have the independent verse kūm kāca kūm slūta beka /kom kaac kom slōot pēek/ 'be not wicked, be not overly good', while in P 58d and 69c we have dependent verses in which Indic loans follow the female + male order: nām vaŋveña bhleca pāpa punyā /noem vaŋweņ plēec baap bon/ 'it leads [one] to go astray and fail to distinguish sin from virtue' and bhleca dōsa bhleca dāmīa guna /plēec tōoh plēec tēæn kun/ 'to forget sin and every virtue'. A similar inversion of the Indic order, dhve pāpa mīna dhve punyā /twēe baap min twēe bon/ (DK 26c) 'doing evil and not doing good', is justified both by the negation and by the meter, yet the same terms are contrasted in transposable verses: pœ pā pāna dhve pāpa 1 pœ pā pāna dhve punyā /baaæ baa baa baan twēe baap 1 baaæ baa baa baa baa baan twēe bon/ (DK 26a/27a) 'if you did do evil 1 if you did do good'. Inevitably, the meter inverts the normal order (e.g. oy ściña gā'pa khusa /qaaoj dỳŋ koəp koh/ (KC 32b) 'so as to know [the difference between] right and wrong'); but such inversions are few and far between and the normal order tends to be preserved
even in dependent contexts: buṃ sgar'la kaca ja /pum skoel kaac clie/(T 73f) 'not knowing evil [from] good'. In the verse khusa a'la kaca ja /khoep kaac clie/(KC 27f) 'wrong and right, evil and good', the first antithesis is independent of the meter while the second, retaining the preferred order, is dependent.

`'Probably associated with ideas of good and bad, finally, is the antithesis easy : difficult which in all my data is expressed as kra na'ya /krao njie]/ 'to be difficult [and/or] easy', whether in dependent or in independent contexts. A single instance will suffice: jwna kren'a kra na'ya ya'la thna /cween kraae njie] jup tna]/ (P 25d), which may be rendered freely as 'there may be cause to fear its [the task of keeping up the water supply] relative difficulty at any time of day'.

All instances of such antitheses as right : left, life : death, front : back, east : west which have been collected thus far are from dependent contexts, and will not be cited here.

On the other hand, I can do no better than give in full four consecutive strophes of the Cpa'pa trineti in which a long series of antitheses, not unmixed with tangential ideas not in opposition, forms a recurrent theme and amply illustrates the problem of distinguishing an underlying proclivity toward the female + male order from overriding metrical requirements and other types of interference. In my verbatim translation the contrasting elements are marked as 'female' (f) and 'male' (m).
67. sgā'la dosa sgā'la guṇa
know sin (f) and virtue (m)

sgā'la kroya sgā'la muna
know what is behind (f) and ahead (m)

ṭōma cuṇa kaṇṭāla
the beginning (f), end (m), mid

sgā'la pāpa sgā'la puṇya
know evil (f), know good (m)

sgā'la dhāna'na sgā'la srāla
know what is heavy (f) and light (m)

sgā'la prājña sgā'la bāla
know wisdom (m), know folly (f)

sgā'la khlāca sgā'la hāna
know fear (f) and being bold (m)

68. sgā'la tica sgā'la crenā
know little (f) from much (m),

saṇvāta krāvēna
striving to be prudent (m),

sgā'la 'al'ata ghāna
know how to endure hunger (f)

sgā'la vieca sgā'la tra'na
know how to bend (f) and be rigid (m)

sgā'la bhūta sgā'la mēna
know what is false (f) and true (m)

sgā'la ṭī sgā'la ṭōṇa
know the land (f') and state (m?)

sgā'la brai sgā'la tra'na
know the forest (f') and clearing (m?)

69. sgā'la gā'pa sgā'la khusa
know what is right (m) and wrong (f)

sgā'la sā'pa sgā'la ra'lsa
know what is dead (f) and living (m)

sgā'la jhah sgā'la ca'ṇa
know how to win (m) and lose (f)
sgā'la pā'ña sgā'la poh
know how to shoot and throw

sgā'la ṭoh sgā'la teňa
know how to escape (f) and pursue (m)

sgā'la cūla sgā'la ceňa
know how to enter (m) and come out (f)

sgā'la pā'la sgā'la pā'na
know how to lose (f) and win (m)

70. sgā'la ti'na sgā'la dhūra
know how to be taut (m) and slack (f)

sgā'la cha'la pa sgā'la yūra
know what is swift (m) and slow (f)

sgā'la hūla sgā'la khīna
know best silk (m?) from common muslin (f?)

sgā'la ṭēra sgā'la ṭēka
know how to move (m) and rest (f)

sgā'la sreka sgā'la ghlāna
know thirsting (f) and being hungry (m)

sgā'la ca'na sgāla pā'na
know desiring (f) and how to get (m)

sgā'la mā'na sgā'la khsal'ta
know being rich (m) and being poor (f)

Because of the requirements of the kākagati meter, inversion of the Indic ordering of guṇa : dosa occurs in 67a; puṇya : pāpa are similarly inverted in 67d. In 67f the Indic order of prājña : la, coinciding with the metrical scheme, overrides the preferred order. In 68b and c kravaṇa has the same gender as prājña (7f) while ghlāna, which recurs in 70e, is identified with negation, distress and the like and is hence female. Because of the metrical requirements these two verses are not transposable, and verse the favored order. In 68d viiecā derives its gender from
the association of flexibility and passivity with the female, while ṭraṅṇa 'to be straight' is a male attribute. In 68f and g I can only conjecture that ṭeṇa 'land, territory, domain' and ṭraṅṇa 'small grassland' are male, for I have not encountered them elsewhere. In 69a, despite the fact that both terms are Mon-Khmer, we have an inversion of the female + male order for the sake of rhyme with raṅsa in the next verse, while in 69c inversion is again made for the sake of rhyme with ṭeṇa in e. In the latter ṭoha 'to loose' expresses an aspect of outward movement and is hence female, while ṭeṇa 'to chase' seems to connote movement hitherward (i.e. toward an objective) and to be male. In 69f we have another inversion for rhyme's sake. In 70a ṭiṅa 'to be taut' is associated with energy and activity, dhūra 'to be limp' with passivity. Another inversion of the normal order occurs in 70b, for the sake of rhyme with a. It is probably only in relation to the cheaper, more common khīna 'unbleached muslin' that hūla 'patterned silk' in 70c is male. In 70d we have still another inversion to permit ṭeka to rhyme with sreka in e. The latter term is probably to be interpreted as female since it denotes the same kind of negation as 'hunger'. In 70g, finally, still another inversion occurs to make a needed rhyme with prākata in 71c.

At the beginning of this discussion it was opined that detailed reconnaissance of Cambodian dualism falls within the purview of linguistics in only one area. I do not intend to define this area very clearly here, since to do so would be premature and would carry us far beyond the boundaries of Austroasiatic.
The most I shall attempt is to suggest a few linguistic implications of the findings reported.

In the first place, the thesis advanced here points to the likely fruitfulness of examining the arrangement of antithetical constructions in other languages, initially perhaps in Mon-Khmer, later in Austroasiatic as a whole. If dualistic thinking can be reflected in Khmer, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it may be reflected elsewhere—though not necessarily in the same way. Given the widespread distribution of cosmological gender in other cultural contexts around the world, its linguistic manifestation in some societies should not be unexpected. The mode of ordering would be relevant to specific languages and cultures while the fact of ordering, if demonstrated, would open the door to new possibilities of investigation in historical and comparative linguistics.

Secondly, any propensity toward the female + male ordering of antithetical constructions would appear prima facie to be less common than male + female ordering. If Khmer has indeed exhibited such a propensity at one stage of its development, this would call for explanation. One naturally looks to Khmer culture and postulates a link with a former matriarchal social structure. This has often been imputed of the Khmer, particularly by 19th-century French historians, but is recognized by modern scholars as no more than an unproved possibility. It may be, therefore, that linguistics can contribute to the resolution of a major an-
Thirdly and lastly, assuming the present thesis proves tenable, we have here an instance of cosmological gender translated into linguistic expression. If this is so, we would seem to have before us the welcome prospect of advancing our understanding of grammatical gender. Specifically, Middle Khmer may represent a transition between languages without grammatical gender and those with it. It is useful to recollect in this connection that linguistic science has not yet elaborated a general theory of grammatical gender. Back in the Golden Age of American linguistics, Whitney¹⁰ wrote:

"Only . . . our own family of languages (along with two or three others) has erected this distinction of sex into a universal one, like number, making it a test to be applied in the use of every word; breaking away from the actual limits of sex, and sexualizing, as it were, all objects of thought, on grounds which no mortal has yet been wise enough to discover and point out in detail."

Examination of the literature of present-day linguistics shows that we have made scant progress since Whitney's time, most discussion of gender in recent years belaboring its "arbitrary" nature.¹¹ Brugmann probably came closest to formulating a viable theory of gender. As far as Indo-European is concerned, the crux of his view is (a) unconscious reinterpretation of suffixes increasingly associated with female beings, culminating in a limit inventory of "feminine" forms contrasting with others seen as "masculine," and (b) analogical change, gathering momentum until a grammatical category is established.¹² The main weakness in
Hugmann's view is the assumption that analogical change is self-generating. Even with a core of -ā or -ī forms designating female things, there would have been no impulsion for linguistic innovation unless the gender category had pre-existed on the periphery of the language. It is likely that only a dualistic cosmology of the kind sketched here could have provided this impetus.

1 A good review of this earlier Dutch work, including an extensive bibliography, is Justus M. van der Kroef, "Dualism and Symbolic Antithesis in Indonesian Society," in American Anthropologist, 56 (1954): 5: 847-62.


3 Appended hereunder is a list of representative sources giving undigested details on the subject from various areas.

4 Since this hasty exposition is intended only to provide background to what follows, discussion of the rationale of these sociations is out of the question. Suffice it to say by way of example that the head is classed as male not only because it is physically high in relation to the feet—which are low, in contact with the female earth, and ritually defiled—but also because it is mystically high or tabu as the principal repository of mana, which flows from the east. It must be emphasized that these ideas are not now conceptualized, much less articulated, in Khomodia.

5 Abbreviations used for the texts cited are A = 'Ariyasatā, DK = Dūnmāna khlām, DKīn = Dūnmāna kīnā, K = Krama, KC = Kān cau, KK = Kev(t)i kālā, P = Prusā, PUB = Pantām śćū buka, RN janeti, S = Srī, T = Trineti, V = Vidhūrapandita.

6 For the requirements of the kākagati see "The Relating of Some Khmer Cpā'pa," in this volume.

7 I am avoiding the question of gender in Khasi until more detailed information comes to hand. What little I have collected so far holds out scant hope of correspondence with the system described here.

8 It is interesting to note that out of 39 antithetical pairs
a Javanese informant has assigned the female + male order to only four: moon/sun, far/near, wet/dry field, rainy/dry season. In all other cases the male + female order was preferred. Fox, op.cit., includes a 134-item list of Rotinese 'dyadic sets' among which ten could be construed as polar sets with female + male order: bafa // poi 'mouth, valley // tip, peak', 19. bulu // ledo 'moon // sun', 32. eit // lida 'foot // wing', 33. eit // lima 'foot // hand', 38. feto // ina 'girl // woman', 48. hu // lai 'trunk, origin // top', 72. latu // mafa 'ripe // half-ripe', 83. loe (loole) // sali (sasali) 'receding // overflowing', 114. tañ // tou 'boy // man', and 120. buñ-nggeo // meni-oe 'black-tipped // white-sugared'. Only three of Fox's pairs could be termed polar with male + female ordering: 28. dua // esa 'two // one', 29. dua // telu 'two // three', and 92. modo // tole 'green // dark'. Note that 'girl // woman' and 'boy // man' are contrary to Khmer order.

The risks of such an assumption can be seen in the results of several hours' work I recently carried out with a native speaker of the Pajakumbul dialect of Minangkabau. The female + male order was judged to be normal in only eight cases out of 35 polar pairs examined: far/near, odd/even, mother/father, sour/sweet, rainy/dry season, wife/husband, elders/youngsters, and downstream/upstream. Curiously, left/right was preferred for proflane usage while right/left was preferred for ritual purposes. Both son/daughter and daughter/son were deemed normal, as were big/little and little/big. In fourteen cases the male + female order was definitely preferred. In the remaining ten cases no antithesis was recognized.


This is rather different from Jespersen's summary of Brugmann's theory (op.cit., 391-4), which stresses the proposition that "grammatical gender originally had nothing at all to do with natural sex" and reduces the problem to explaining the feminine.
REPRESENTATIVE SOURCES


