The Khmer Rice Cycle

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1. Introduction

In Thailand, the Khmer language is spoken mainly in the southern part of northeastern Thailand, especially the provinces of Surin, Sisaket and Buriram. It is alternatively called ‘High Khmer’ (in contrast with ‘Low Khmer’, spoken in Cambodia) or ‘Northern Khmer’ (a term initiated by William A. Smalley). The term ‘Khmer’ as used in this article refers to the High Khmer or Northern Khmer, especially the Khmer in Surin province.

The Khmer people, as well as other Southeast Asians, plant rice as their main crop, their staple food. Rice is a self-fertilized crop, requiring only earth, water, proper weather, and conditions for survival. It is durable, hardy and can exist independently of man without any connection with man. However, when man cultivates and consumes rice, both man and rice mutually influence each other’s survival.

The rice cycle is a complex process, from the preparation of paddy fields to the distribution of the paddy, involving a multitude of activities that progress in a specific sequential order over a twelve month period. This complex cycle, therefore, does not only assume the most important role in the working life of the Khmer people, it also influences their language and the community’s activities. Thus, by understanding the rice cycle one can better appreciate the people’s way of life and social phenomena.

This article is based on the author’s thesis (Naraset 1986), combining both linguistic and anthropological approaches.

The data was organized into semantic fields according to the four stages of the rice cycle: preparing, pre-harvesting, harvesting, and post-harvesting stages. Each
stage was then further sub-divided into several sub-stages (See: Table 1 Semantic Fields). The linguistic data was obtained using a variety of methods that would promote discussion, that is, through elicited texts, drawings, pictures, real objects and brainstorming questions. It was observed that when drawings, pictures or real objects were introduced into the discussion, the villagers gave more helpful information. The lexical items were collected both from discourses and as independent lexical items.

2. Lexical classification by semantic fields

Lexical items that emerged at each stage were semantically classified into lexical fields composed of sub-fields and main fields. Each lexical field was then classified, related to each other, and defined.

The total lexicon of the rice cycle was organized into 27 main fields and 101 sub-fields according to the four stages of the rice cycle. The labels for some sub-fields may be the same, but they contain different words. The sub-fields which significantly present characteristics of each stage are chosen as labels for the main fields. The Khmer labels for the main fields may be not genuine generics, but they reflect an important feature of each stage to which they belong. sraw ‘paddy’ and sree ‘paddy field’ are the two lexical items which are used in every stage throughout the rice cycle.

Table 1. Semantic Fields

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<td>1. Preparation</td>
<td></td>
<td>sraw ‘paddy’: parts of paddy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. sree</td>
<td>sree ‘paddy field’: parts of paddy field</td>
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<td>2. seen</td>
<td>seen ‘to make an offering’: words related to spirits</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rboh seen ‘an offering object’: things offered</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. khee</td>
<td>khee ‘month’: related to names of months</td>
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<td>4. wuah and wuul</td>
<td>wuah and wuul ‘to measure out’: units of volume, units of length, units of area</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5. kbye</td>
<td>kbye ‘buffalo’: buffaloes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. gkual</td>
<td>nkual ‘plough’: types and parts of plough</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7. cool</td>
<td>camkkaa ‘a swidden field, plantation’: actions done to a swidden field</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cool ‘to hire’: people who hire, people who are hired</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rap chmul ‘to be hired’: jobs, places, purpose</td>
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<td>khee ‘month’: related to rice preparation months, off season months and activities done</td>
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<td>2. Pre-Harvest</td>
<td>8. khee psaa</td>
<td>khee psaa ‘raining season’: rainy season months</td>
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<td>smaw ‘grass’: action done to grass, place, items related to grass</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cir ‘manure, fertilizer’: actions done to fertilizer, sources of fertilizer, action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1 Wet rice cultivation

9. snaap
do ‘earth, soil’: action, qualities and types of soils
snaap ‘seedlings’: actions done to seedlings
phluum ‘dikes between the paddy fields’: action done to dikes and qualities of dikes
knoop ‘grasshopper’: item, action of grasshopper

2.1.1 Seed broadcasting

10. saap
thaal ‘the ground within the dikes, serves as nursery beds for seedlings: actions done to thaal, quality of thaal
sbah ‘to broadcast’: paddy, fertilizer
saap ‘to sow a seed bed for seedlings: seedlings
pruah ‘to sow rice seed’: rice seed

2.1.2 Uprooting and transplanting of seedlings

11. stuup
doat ‘to root up’: seedlings,
hoce ‘to root up’: seedlings,
dam snaap ‘seedlings, young shoots’: actions done to seedlings, quality of seedlings
phoon ‘seedlings for a bundle, seedlings
dejt ‘to transplant (seedlings) by thumb, to plug into the mud with the thumb’: action done to seedlings
stuup ‘to transplant’: place, actions related to stuup
keen ‘corner of a paddy field’: action done to keen

2.2 Dry rice cultivation

12. camkaa
camkaa ‘a swidden field, a plantation’: item, actions done to camkaa and quality of camkaa,
pru ‘jungle, forest’: actions done to jungle
pruap ‘hole’: actions done to holes
choo ‘wood, tree’: types, actions done to choo
shaw ‘roofing grass’: actions done to roofing grass
phut ‘guest’: action done to guests
2.3 Life after planting

13. trey

tuk 'water': actions done to water, quantities of water
trey 'fish': actions done to fish, quantity of fish, items
khey 'buffalo': types of buffalo, actions done to buffalo, actions of buffalo, commands for buffalo
prob 'man': action of men
srey 'woman': words related to women

2.4 Pest and insects

14. tankaw

kat 'to bite': pests and insects, places sii 'to eat': pests and insects, places
kdaam 'crab': action done by crabs, places, time,
tankaw 'worm, grub': action done by worms, places, quality of worm, time, results,
kmar 'rat': action of rats, place, time, action done to rat, items
koon caap 'rice bird': action of rice birds, places, time, action done to rice birds
sraw 'paddy': actions done to paddy, results
thnam 'medicine, pesticide, insecticide': type, action of thnam, items.

3. Harvest

15. tum

3.1 Reaping

16. croot

croot 'to cut with a sickle, to harvest': items

3.1.1 Flattening green rice

17. mok

sraw mok 'flattened green rice': types, actions done to sraw mok, action of sraw mok, qualities of sraw mok, items
theo mok 'to make flattening green rice': implements, purpose

3.1.2 Rice maturing and Cutting

18. phjluw

sraw 'paddy': type, actions done to paddy, related actions, people
mtt sraw 'spirit guardian of paddy, Paddy Goddess': type, actions done to mtt sraw, action and qualities of mtt sraw
phjluw 'guest': type of guest, actions done to guests, actions of guests
3.2 Threshing and cleaning

19. 

liian 'threshing floor': actions done to threshing floor, qualities of threshing floor
knap sraw 'shelves': actions done to shelves, quantities of shelves, items
pdp 'to pile, to lay sheaves of threshed paddy on a threshing floor, to pile up together in stacks, to make sheaves and assemble in a group: action done to pdop, quality of pdop
pul? knap 'stacks; a complex pile of sheaves': actions done to stacks, qualities of stacks.
boo? 'to thresh': processing, items to be boo?, implements, actions done to thniiar (a heap of threshed paddy), actions of threshed paddy
thon 'to winnow': items, types of thon

3.3 Drying grains

20. haal

sraw 'paddy': qualities of paddy and rice
okp 'rice': quality of rice
haal 'to dry': items

3.4 Storing

21. da?

da? 'to put, to store': storing places
dak 'to load on, to put on': vehicles, place, item, sraw 'paddy': actions done to paddy
baw 'rice sack': actions done to rice sacks
wual 'to measure out': measuring objects

4. Post-Harvest

22. sraw

4.1 Distribution of rice and Rice shortage

23. campia?

mcav 'owner': types of owner, actions of owners
koon chnool 'employee': types, actions and life of employees
do 'to exchange': items
bol 'to borrow': items, results
campia? 'debt, to be in debt': items borrowed, actions repaying a debt, months, activities related

4.2 Rice for cooking

24. okp

sraw 'paddy': actions done to paddy, okp 'rice': qualities and quantity of rice, containers

4.2.1 Hulling

25. ken

ken 'to mill, to grind': items, results
bo? 'to pound': implements, results
okp deal ken baan 'milled rice': types and qualities of milled rice, actions done to milled rice
wliia 'time': time when paddy brought to mill

4.2.2 Cooking and Eating

26. tnam

tnam 'to cook': utensils, actions related to tnam
3. Factors involved in the rice cycle

3.1 Rice, Rain, Earth

Rice cultivation in the Khmer society is at the mercy of nature, especially rain and earth.

Rainfall (*phlypn*) is one important factor for rice cultivation. The rain's vagaries, for example, untimely rainfall, affect cultivation.

The *khee psaa* ‘rainy season’ includes:

- *khee ?aasaat* ‘June-August’
- *khee sraap* ‘August-September’
- *khee ben* ‘September-October’
- *khee ?aasoc* ‘October-November’

Farmers wait for the rain (*cam mitk phlypn*) to start cultivation. If it rains during March-April (*phlypn khlo khee pkun*), farmers who do not have a paddy field will find and rent a field (*ruua cuui sree*) earlier. When the first rain comes at the beginning of the year (*phlypn daam chnam*), the farmers are then able to begin ploughing (*baan poor baan saap*), and thus rice farming begins.

Unfortunately, the rainfall varies from year to year. It may rain in the wrong season (*phlypn khlo rdlaw*). If there is a drought in the middle of the year (*phlypn rian knaal chnam*), the seedlings will be destroyed (*sraap khoc mpt*). If the rain comes only at the end of the year (*phlypn coq chnam*), the farmers can do nothing, because the cultivation season has passed (*mpt rdlaw stuen*).

This is why farmers in the Khmer society usually conduct a ceremony called *pan?o*? *priah khee* or ‘feeding the moon’. The ceremony involves providing flattened green rice (*strow mok*) on the full moon day in the 12th lunar month (November-December) to ensure having rain for the cultivation.

In Khmer society, the best or the worst field is considered according to the amount of water and the field position (easily watered) rather than by soil fertility.
The best paddy field is considered *dey lōo* ‘fertile soil, well watered field’ which includes:

- *sreē tamniap* ‘a low lying paddy field’
- *sreē črow* ‘a deep paddy field’

The worst paddy field, with no access to water supply, is described as *man lōo* ‘not beautiful, not good’, this includes:

- *sreē kantaal* ‘a high lying paddy field’
- *sreē kuok* ‘a high lying paddy field’

Rain and earth divide the cultivation method as wet rice or dry rice cultivation. Significantly, there are 2 lexical items for each method: *thōo camkaa* ‘(lit.) to do a swidden’ and *thōo sreē* ‘(lit.) to do a paddy field’.

*“thōo camkaa”* is for dry rice cultivation in upland areas (or forest leanings) in which rice seeds are directly *dam* ‘planted’. This method depends solely on rain without the use of irrigation.

*“thōo sreē”* refers to the cultivation of wet rice in low lying paddy fields in which seedlings are *stuug* ‘transplanted’ using either a system of dikes and terracing or simple irrigation canals designed to retain rain water.

Lexically, *stuuŋ* ‘to transplant’ and *dam* ‘to plant’ are for wet and dry rice cultivation, respectively. To start wet rice cultivation is called *coh sreē* ‘(lit.) to go down to the paddy field’. A paddy field (*sreē*) is normally situated in a low place, so when the seedlings are transplanted (*stuuŋ*), the farmers have to ‘go down’ (*coh*) to the field, that is, *coh stuuŋ* ‘to go down (to the field) for transplanting’ and *coh sreē* ‘to go down to the paddy field (to start rice cultivation). They never say *stuuŋ camkaa* or *dam sreē*.

Both *camkaa* and *sreē* are continually troubled by weeds. Weeding a *camkaa* is called *yuua rbaḥ* ‘to take off grass, to weed’ but weeding a paddy field is called *yuua smaw* ‘to take off grass, to weed’. Both *rbaḥ* and *smaw* mean ‘weed’. Using *rbaḥ* or *smaw* depends on the type of field.

These natural surroundings (rain and earth) influence the rice cycle and the Khmer language. Furthermore, the relationship between the two lexical items *camkaa* and *sreē* reflect an intimacy between the Khmer people and the geographical environment. A village develops from *prū* ‘forest or jungle’. The *prū* is cut down for planting purposes, becoming *boh* ‘a newly cleaned plantation’. Over time the farmers develop the *boh* to be used as *camkaa* later. The *camkaa* is well arranged with a system of dikes designed to retain rain water. Then the *camkaa* is developed into a *sreē*. Usually, the *sreē* is a place for cultivating not for residence. People come to work in the *sreē* and return home. In Khmer a village is known as *sro? sreē*, or commonly just *sro?*. (In Khmer as spoken in Cambodia, *sro?* is also referred to a country, such as *sro? thay* ‘Thailand’). This sequence can be presented as follows:
prtt ‘forest, jungle’
↓
boh ‘newly cleaned plantation’
↓
camkkaa ‘swidden field, plantation’
↓
sree ‘paddy field’
↓
srei? sree ‘village and fields, home area’
↓
srei? ‘village, country’

3.1.2 Rice and Seed

According to the maturing stage, rice seeds may be divided into 2 types:

staw sraal ‘early rice, light rice’
staw thguan ‘late rice, heavy rice’

The sraw sraal ‘early rice, light rice’, unlike sraw thguan ‘late rice, heavy rice’, needs less water, so it is planted in high land areas where water is scarce. It will take 90-120 days (very early) or 120-150 days (early) to be ripe for harvest. sraw thguan, planted in low land areas, takes more than 210 days to be fully ripe.

Rice planted in a swidden is called sraw camkkaa ‘swidden rice’ and when planted in a paddy field, it is called sraw mpuak ‘wet rice’. It may be nonglutinous rice (staw ksaay) or glutinous rice (staw taap).

Both nonglutinous and glutinous rices are of different varieties, and their names may be divided into 11 types:

(1) A niazza type (niazza ‘girl, beauty’), such as:
staw niazza pho ‘white beauty rice’
staw niazza khamaw ‘black beauty rice’
staw niazza riic ‘blossom beauty rice’

(2) An animal type, such as:
staw puah ‘snake rice’
staw koon khamum ‘baby bee rice’
staw tajkaw ‘worm rice’
staw cuoq muan ‘leg of chicken rice’

(3) An earth type, such as:
staw taap pho ‘mud rice’
staw lanphoo ksaac ‘fine dust of sand rice’

(4) A flower type, such as:
staw kium ‘Bubiaceae rice’
stâuw pkaa snuul ‘snuul flower rice’
stâuw pkaa kuubah ‘cotton flower rice’

(5) A plant type, such as:
stâuw doonq ‘coconut rice’
stâuw manjə? ‘olive rice’
stâuw khnor ‘jackfruit rice’

(6) A feature type, such as:
stâuw kruap tuuc ‘small grain rice’
stâuw kruap thom ‘big grain rice’
stâuw krour ween ‘long tip rice’

(7) A desired type, such as:
stâuw seeetheey ‘millionaire rice’
stâuw ruxc campia? ‘free from debt rice’

(8) An action type, such as:
stâuw tuuul tuuat ‘support a beam rice’
stâuw luuan yuŋ ‘collapse a granary rice’

(9) A Thai loan type, such as:
stâuw maliŋ ‘Thai. ឈី (jasmine)’
stâuw kduuk ‘Thai. ឈី (bone)’
stâuw kaak dam ‘Thai. ឈី (black dregs)’
stâuw muuut chnaj ‘Thai. ឈី (a mouth of a pot)’ (a semantic loan)

(10) A unique name type, such as:
stâuw jiŋ ‘a kind of nonglutinous rice’
stâuw randiwa ‘a kind of glutinous rice’

(11) Other types, such as:
stâuw chmar thom ‘big fort rice’
stâuw ben ‘the 10th lunar month rice’

Khmer is rich in paddy names, and the names can be classified into at least 11 types. The above list of rice varieties seems to ensure that rice cultivation has been a long practice in Khmer society. Some local varieties have been recently lost and new varieties introduced.

A heap of threshed paddy is called thñiñar stâuw, and a heap of unthreshed paddy is known as pdop stâuw. A generic term for both kinds is knñuar stâuw. This also indicates a long experience of rice cultivation for the Khmer people.

3.1.3 Fertilizer

The use of fertilizer is a good example of how society is affecting the natural and geographical environment. Former forest areas have been turned into fertile cultivated fields. When a field’s fertility is exhausted, chemicals are used.
Chemical fertilizers were unknown in Khmer society until recently. There is no specific lexical item for 'chemical fertilizer'. So ciir is used. Similarly, an organic fertilizer, such as: manure, buffalo dung, etc. is also ciir. Specific lexical items for chemical fertilizer are borrowed from the Thai language, but organic fertilizer ciir is a Khmer term for all fertilizers.

A specific kind of fertilizer may be named according to its source, such as:

- ciir ?ac kou ‘cow dung’
- ciir ?ac kbey ‘buffalo dung’
- ciir cen ‘Chinese fertilizer, fertilizer obtained from a Chinese merchant’
- ciir phao khaa ‘merchant fertilizer’
- ciir tlaat ‘market fertilizer’

It may also be named according to its trade mark or brand, such as:

- ciir taa chaawn a ‘farmer brand fertilizer’
- ciir taa huua.nuua.khan.thay ‘cow head and plough brand fertilizer’

Farmers rarely call a chemical fertilizer according to its formula, such 16-16-8, 16-20-8.

Lacking scientific knowledge and being pressed by their natural surroundings, the farmers culturally use a spirit fertilizer to enrich the paddy field in addition to manure. The spirit fertilizer is baay bat tboor ‘glutinous rice ball mixed with sugar and sesame’

Traditionally, the baay bat tboor is used as an offering to ancestors during the khee ben ceremony. After the ceremony, part of it is sown in the paddy field to ensure a bumper crop. This cultural evidence seems to illustrate an idea of enriching the paddy field, in other words, soil enrichment, as a long practice in Khmer society until destructive chemical fertilizers were introduced.

3.1.4 Buffalo

Rice cultivation is done by traditional methods. Most operations, such as field preparing, sowing, and ploughing, are done by human labor, with a buffalo.

Despite the availability of modern machinery, conventional agriculture methods are usually employed, since mechanical implements are too expensive.

Buffaloes are distinguished by several terms, such as:

- kbey kluc ‘white buffalo’
- kbey mut ‘female buffalo’
- kbey claaj ‘female buffalo that has not yet dropped its young’
- koon née? ‘buffalo calf’
Lexical evidence shows the one-way communication between buffalo farmer. Several commands are used, such as:

- ហែល (hlaay)  ‘walk’
- ហើ្ (baap)  ‘stop’
- ហែល (hoop)  ‘stop’
- កាល, បែក, គីល, បារី, ពីញារ (kac, bee, wil, boot, pia)  ‘return’

Buffaloes may be rented. The rented buffalo is called កំបុរៈ កកូ (khey cuul)  ‘a buffalo’. A buffalo may be mortgaged by its owner who is in need of money lender as security against the loan payments. This is known as កាលោះ (camnam)  ‘a mortgaged buffalo’.

During the seeding and transplanting periods, a buffalo usually work. A mortgaged buffalo (khey camnam) works especially hard. It is forced harder than any other buffalo in order to give extra benefit to the money lender.

During the rice maturing period, a buffalo is free from work. It is usual near the house (ចំរួល បុ្ ពុជ្រ (cey buut ptiab), to avoid eating paddy (សុុ ស្ងាយ (sii saw) in the fi. causing trouble to its owner. It may graze along a natural park (khwiaa, tamlti, sat). It is the duty of its owner to look after (mrr) and to water (srl) buffalo.

The climate is hot during the off-season period, so a buffalo is tied under the shade of a tree (ស្នែ ម្យេស ចហ (naw mriup choo) or grazed along a natural park (sat). tamlti sat, literally means ‘a place for animal’, but they are now rarely.

3.1.5 Man

Man’s role in the rice cycle is as producer and consumer. Basic buffaloes’ assistance and some traditional forms of implements, all activities rice cycle are mainly managed and done by man (mnuh).

With regards to the rice cycle, people’s roles may be distinguished from perspectives.

(A) men (prnh) vs. women (stey)

Labor spent in rice cultivation involves both men and women, but lexical items especially connected with men are:

- ពងែរ (pceur)  ‘to plough’
- បាល រូប្ (bat phiaw)  ‘to repair the dikes’
- បាល តុុក, បាល រូប្ (baak tuik, baak phiaw)  ‘to open the dikes and let water into the paddy field’

After cultivation, lexical items connected with men are often:

- រែ្ អង់ (rap chnuul)  ‘to be hired’
- រែ្ មួល (ruua chnuul)  ‘to seek jobs’
- រែ្ ចំ្ (tar choa)  ‘to saw wood’
- កាល មូញ (kaap mpow)  ‘to cut sugar cane’
but women are connected with:

\[ \text{nuw ptiah} \quad \text{‘to stay home’} \]
\[ \text{thaap sampuut sbay} \quad \text{‘to weave cloth’} \]

Labor seems to be divided by gender. Women do most of the cooking work which is considered as light work. Men do the heavier labor such as ploughing. It seems from the lexical items that men do heavier work than women.

Actually, a woman’s role, played in every stage of the rice cycle, is no less important than a man’s. Culturally, a woman in Khmer society prefers a silent role, her duties in the field are not mentioned much; for example: ploughing work is said to be done by men, but some women also plough.

(B) host (nia? ptiah) and guest (nia? phnttw)

A host is sometimes called mcah sraw or nia? mcah sraw ‘a paddy owner’. Lexical items related to a host are ruua phnttw or coh phnttw ‘to find a guest to come and help with harvest’. Those who come to help with the harvesting are called phnttw or nia? phnttw ‘a guest’. The most important lexical item related to a guest is cuuy ‘to help’.

Peripheral guests are learned people (?aacaan) and monks (haak). They would be invited to perform a ceremony. Social class may be reflected in language: a lexical item for ‘to invite’ for a learned person is ruua ‘(lit.) to find’, whereas for a monk it is nimon or nimuan ‘to invite’

(C) the rich (nia? miian) and the poor (nia? ksp, nia? yaa? nia? kroo, ?aa nak yaak ?aa nak kroo)

Nouns related to the rich are:

\[ \text{mcah steec} \quad \text{‘paddy field owner’} \]
\[ \text{mcah ciir} \quad \text{‘fertilizer owner’} \]
\[ \text{mcah kbey} \quad \text{‘buffalo owner’} \]
\[ \text{mcah sraw} \quad \text{‘paddy owner’} \]
\[ \text{mcah pnoel} \quad \text{‘creditor’} \]

Nouns related to the poor are:

\[ \text{koon chnool} \quad \text{‘employee’} \]
\[ \text{koon kaar} \quad \text{‘employee, worker’} \]
\[ \text{koon sah, koon sah koon kuan} \quad \text{‘student, subordinate’} \]
\[ \text{nia? man kaat steec} \quad \text{‘those who have no field’} \]

The rich rely on the poor for labor and the poor rely on the rich for assistance. A productive relationship between these two groups decides the paddy distribution. An amount of paddy, a lot (craaan) or a little (tec), is distributed to the poor in exchange for work. Verbs related to the rich are:
to give’
‘to distribute, to apportion’

Verbs related to the poor are:

ruua    ‘to find’
bol     ‘to borrow’
cul     ‘to borrow’
door    ‘to exchange’
campia? ‘to be indebted’
son    ‘to repay a debt’
bon    ‘to repay a debt’
doh    ‘to remove a debt’
nya khloum man ruue ‘to be hard to make a living’

All kinds of ceremonies and offerings (kaar kampeh kampiang) are held in the village in order to socially consume the paddy. On several occasions, the paddy is distributed:

thao bon    ‘to perform meritorious deeds’
cuuy bon    ‘to help with a funeral’
bamruun wuat ‘to give support to a temple’
kaar koo sok ‘a cutting of the top knot ceremony’

It is thus evident how the quantity of the paddy is decreased by social consumption.

A society and its physical surroundings are closely interrelated. The change that man’s labor introduces into the environment are revealed in such vocabulary items as the following:

truul, kat, ckaa, kaap tooy bak ‘to cut down’
?oc ‘to set fire’
ruuu ‘to demolish’
cheh ‘to kindle, burn’
pchueur ‘to plough’
bat ‘to construct’

4. The rice cycle’s main outputs

4.1 Paddy

“What is it that during drought seasons lives in a granary and during the rainy season lives in a field?” The answer is ‘paddy’ (staw).

It is true that the paddy lives in a field during rainy season, this is because the rice cultivation depends on rain. When the first rain comes, farmers start cultivation. By the end of June, the seedlings are generally transplanted. From August to October, the paddy is growing. The earliest variety of paddy ripens and is cut in early October. Then the flattened green rice (nak) is made. Most kinds of paddy are ripe and the harvest is started by the middle of November. The harvest continues to the beginning of February.
The harvesting is done with a sickle (*kni)w*). When a certain amount of paddy plants (*dlaam* *strow*) are harvested (*croot*), the harvested paddy is made into sheaves’. The paddy is dried in the sun for a few days before threshing (*bhoo*). A threshing floor is prepared before the threshing. Preparation of the threshing floor includes:

- *ruuuh*: ‘to select’
- *cheh*: ‘to clear by burning’
- *tha*: ‘to make, to do’
- *ca? tuuk*: ‘to pour water’
- *liiap*: ‘to smear’

Nouns connected with threshing are:

- *liian*: ‘threshing floor’
- *knap *strow*: ‘sheaves’
- *pnu? *knap*: ‘a complex pile’
- *thniiar*: ‘a heap of threshed paddy’

Verbs related to the threshing process are:

- *pdop*: ‘to pile up, a simple pile’
- *kuuaw*: ‘to pile up’
- *boo?: ‘to thresh’
- *?om*: ‘to winnow’

The sheaves are later piled up simply or complexly as a pile at the threshing floor. After threshing, the threshed paddy is collected into a heap. The threshed paddy is then winnowed. What remains on the threshing floor after threshing and cleaning is:

- *cfw*: ‘rice straw’
- *sney*: ‘empty seed’
- *ciw*: ‘rice straw once threshed’
- *canruh*: ‘little piece of hay mixed in with the paddy after threshing’
- *smaw*: ‘grass’
- *lnua?: ‘dust from paddy’

Paddy is dried in the sun to remove moisture before storing. A container or a place in which paddy is stored varies in size. They are:

- *thn*: ‘a generic term for bags’
- *baw*: ‘rice sack’
- *doo?: ‘a woven bamboo container for paddy’
- *ta?: ‘a paddy container, bigger and higher than doo?’
- *yu*: ‘a permanent store house for paddy, a generic term for granary’
- *chaan*: ‘a big granary’
sraw puuc ‘seed rice’ is stored in a baw ‘rice sack’, sraw ‘ordinary paddy’ may or may not be stored in a rice sack.

yun and chaag are near synonyms, and are sometimes called together yun chaag. In Khmer society, a big granary gives prestige to the owners.

doc and ta? are more traditional, and they are tending to disappear from Khmer houses.

4.2 Pounded rice

ŋkœo ‘milled or pounded rice’ and baay ‘cooked rice’ are distinguished. Paddy which is extremely moist (săam khlaaj) will become low quality pounded rice. This includes:

ŋkœo tiia ‘rice for ducks, low quality rice’
ŋkœo thiisii ‘the 4th class rice, low quality rice’

Milled rice is composed of ŋkœo kual ‘whole grain milled rice’ and ŋkœo coŋ or kacanaŋ ŋkœo ‘broken milled rice’. As regards degree of pounding, rice may be divided into 2 kinds:

ŋkœo sanroop ‘rice from the first pounding, bran still clinging to it’
ŋkœo słaat ‘rice from the second pounding’

Pounded or milled rice is kept in ktti ‘a cloth bag used to keep rice’, or krøy ‘a woven container of various sizes for rice, rice seed or sugar’. It may also be kept in any other receptacles. It is sometimes wtc ‘to be wrapped in cloth’ to transport during a journey.

A half coconut shell with a hole at the bottom, used as a measuring cup for cooking (or used as a mold to make sweets) is called a nital.

A verb phrase for cooking rice is tnam baay ‘(lit.) to cook cooked rice’ not *tnam ŋkœo ‘(lit.) to cook milled rice’.

baay ‘cooked rice’ is divided into 2 types:

baay ksaaay ‘nonglutinous cooked rice’
baay tnaap ‘glutinous cooked rice’

In Khmer society, people are more familiar with baay ksaaay than baay tnaap.

People’s way of life is reflected by the way the rice is cooked, for instance, baay kacanaŋ ‘cooked rice wrapped in banana leaves’. In the past, food was plentiful and served everywhere. People were very familiar with each other. One could have his food wherever he visited, there was no need to bring food. One who brought a baay kacanaŋ with him was considered a friendless person.
The Khmer people distinguish *tnam* and *pboor* as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tnam</em></th>
<th>‘to cook plain’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pboor</em></td>
<td>‘to cook as gruel, without pouring off the rice water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rice (*baay ksaay*) which is cooked the *tnam* method is called *baay tnam* ‘cooked rice’, whereas the *pboor* method is called *baay pboor* ‘mushy cooked rice’ and takes more time than *tnam*. *baay pboor* may end up as either *pboor* or *phe*?

* pboor ‘plain rice gruel’
* phe? ‘mushy cooked rice, to be mixed with vegetables, potatoes, garlic, papaya pith, salt, etc., in order to save rice’

*pboor* and *phe?* are not eaten daily. They are mostly eaten by the poor. *Poverty in Khmer is sometimes expressed by the idiom:*

\[ krom nah sii phe? sii pboor \]
\[ ‘to eat phe? and pboor due to impoverishment!’ \]

Besides being a staple food, rice is used to make sweets. Sweets (*nom*) especially made from nonglutinous rice (*sraw ksaay*) are plentiful. Their names vary from a plant to a musical instrument, such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>nom krooc</em></th>
<th>‘orange sweet’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nom chook</em></td>
<td>‘lotus sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom khnej</em></td>
<td>‘ginger sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom thlaam kbe</em></td>
<td>‘buffalo liver sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom puuaar</em></td>
<td>‘egg sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom puuaar puah</em></td>
<td>‘snake egg sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom puuaar kpwy</em></td>
<td>‘crocodile egg sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nom niial</em></td>
<td>‘coconut cup sweet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names for sweets may be borrowed from the Thai language, such as :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>noom sanhyaa</em></th>
<th>‘Thai ឃ្លាហាត’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>noom khok</em></td>
<td>‘Thai ឃ្លាម’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>noom buua boc</em></td>
<td>‘Thai ឃ្លាវំ’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many sweets are named after an egg. This reflects people’s way of life. The egg plays a crucial role in Khmer society. An egg is employed to read an omen to determine or predict such events as sickness and weather. It is used as a magic charm to expel evil spirits which haunt a person’s body, as well as being an important object offered to spirits.
5. Linguistic results from the rice cycle

The rice cycle impacts the Khmer language in creating new words, losing words, borrowing words, and changing meanings (see Fig. 1).

5.1 Creating new words

How new words are created can be seen in the names for sweets and paddy varieties. Several items are named after plants, such as សំបឺេ រាប ‘a kind of paddy named after the coconut’, or សំបឺេ មេីកា ‘a kind of paddy named after the olive’. Several lexical items are named after animals or animals’ body parts, such as សំបឺេ អុក ‘a kind of paddy named after a snake’, or សំបឺេ គិត្រុង ‘a kind of paddy named after the leg of a chicken’. Several lexical items are named after flowers, such as នុេះ ចំហក ‘a kind of sweet named after lotus’, or សំបឺេ កំណាង ‘a kind of paddy named after a ‘snuul’ flower’. Nature is a base for creating a new lexical item.

5.2 Losing words

Losing words may result from political and economic factors. Farmers tend to plant high yield varieties of paddy promoted by the government in order to sell for a good price. Some local varieties of paddy have been replaced or lost, for instance សំបឺេ ំរូ ‘a kind of local paddy’. Consequently, a lexical item is lost, being indirectly caused by the political and/or economic factors.

A loss of a lexical item may be due to the rice seed itself. Some varieties are too difficult for farmers to thresh, so an easier threshed variety replaces it. The paddy which is difficult to thresh is therefore no longer prevalent. The lexical item is then lost.

5.3 Borrowing new words

Here again, political factors may influence the language. A Khmer speaker from Thailand is considered as a Thai citizen. The national language, Thai, is used as the official language for communication, so words from Thai are inevitably referred to.

A number of lexical items have been borrowed from Thai. Paddy names have been borrowed from Thai, such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>សូររលៀ</td>
<td>ម៉ុលេ</td>
<td>‘jasmine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កាមេកា</td>
<td>កាមេកា</td>
<td>‘black dregs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name for sweets, such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>សំបឺេ សាលេហ្វាញ</td>
<td>‘a kind of sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>សំបឺេ រុម្មី</td>
<td>‘(edible) honey comb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional lexical items borrowed from Thai are as follows:

- **thii sii**  
  "ฝีสิ้น"  
  ‘4th class’

- **ращี sii**  
  "รำยสิ้น"  
  ‘rice mill’

- **chu[a]a laa**  
  "ชุดาลา"  
  ‘spore’

5.4 Changing meanings

Language is dynamic, its meanings change due to environment, etc. such as:

- **baay**  
  ‘cooked rice’, its connotative meanings include ‘food’, ‘bait’

- **baay phlyya**  
  ‘food of a fire’,
  
  a complete expression is *dam (~ tnam) ?ɔɔy baay phlyya* ‘to cook as a gift of food to the fire’

- **baay rbaal**  
  ‘food for cholera’ (see section 6)

- **baay tmaat**  
  ‘food for a vulture’ (see section 6)

6. The linguistic impact of the rice cycle in society

The rice cycle is a big cycle, assuming a very important place in the Khmer way of life, for example, a shortage of rice always causes trouble to the society.

Linguistically, the rice cycle lexicon is composed of several lexical fields (See Sec. 2). This lexicon is used throughout the Khmer society and affects the society. The impact of the rice cycle on the society through language may be charted as follows:

```
Rice -------> Language -------> Society
```

The society is influenced indirectly by the rice cycle through language in five aspects.

1. **Communication and entertainment.**

The message of rice cultivation inspires people in Khmer society. It is presented in the form of songs, tales, and riddles as social communication and entertainment, such as stories about transplanting the seedlings, paddy reaping, and farming.

2. **Advice and instruction**

The rice cycle is referred to when giving advice and instruction.

*thoa sree* ‘do farming’, is referred to when talking about the importance of careful preliminary observation in order to get good results, ‘When farming, notice the grass; when arranging a wedding for one’s children, notice the race and disposition of the partner’.
niial 'rice measuring cup' is referred to by the elders when instructing a younger person who is disobedient, using the proverb 'Sweets are never bigger than their niial'.

(3) Evaluation

People are often evaluated in rice cycle metaphors.

phluuu 'paddy ridges'
'A seam of cloth as big as paddy ridges' will describes laziness, especially of a lazy girl.

kbye 'buffalo'
'Making someone to work as hard as a mortgaged buffalo (kbye camnam)' describes merciless behavior.

rieh 'cart'
'Driving an old cart, and hammering a wedge all the way describes irresponsibility, especially a lazy man. (The cart, an important vehicle for rice transportation, is in bad condition because the man is too lazy to take good care of it)

cmaag 'rice straw'
'You are very much like rice straw' describes a person who lacks hospitality.

yuy 'granary'
'A granary full of paddy' refers to a rich person.

(4) Reprimand

Two lexical items, baay 'cooked rice' and dey 'earth, soil' are frequently used in reprimand.

baay 'cooked rice'

(a) ?aa baay rbaal '(lit.) you cooked rice of cholera' is a expression used to scold a person as in, "May you be food for cholera", meaning 'may you die of cholera'. The phrase is sometimes ?aa rbaal yuuva 'you who are taken by cholera'.

(b) ?aa baay tmaat '(lit.) you cooked rice of vulture' is used in scolding someone as in, "May you be the food of a vulture", meaning 'may you die'.

dey 'earth, soil'

?aa knaal dey '(lit.) you middle of the earth' is used to scold someone as in, "May he die unnaturally, being killed in public, meaning that to die in public is the opposite of dying naturally at home of old age (dey is used as a generic term for earth, soil, land, paddy field)
(5) General reference

baay ‘cooked rice’ is used in plant names, as in:

- baay kdaŋ ‘a kind of herb (lit. ‘cooked rice crust’)
- baay kr tüm ‘a kind of herb (lit. ‘dried cooked rice’)
- baay bëc ‘a kind of herb (lit. ‘broken cooked rice’)

baay is also used in the description of corneal opacity’ (phneeec baay ‘lit. cooked rice eyes’)

kbey ‘buffalo’ is used in a plant’s name, such as dën khloy ‘a vine or tree with scented flowers which grow in clumps (lit.‘breasts of buffalo’)

7. Recapitulation
Figure 2: The interrelation of environment (E), language (L),
culture (C), society (S) and rice cycle (R).

(1) R<-->E

The rice cycle (R) and the environment (E) share a strong relationship. Rice
production is affected by rain and soil. Similarly, the environment is changed by
man’s activities through the rice cycle.

(2) R<-->C

The rice cycle (R) and the culture (C) are also correlated. Farming, for
instance, is affected by cultural activities. The offering of baay bat tboor is used to
make fertile the soil in rice cultivation. Some cultural activities are initiated under the
influence of rice cultivation, such as making an offering to the granary.

(3) R<-->S

The rice cycle (R) and Khmer society (C) mutually influence each other. For
example: a paddy field may serve as a dowry for a wedding, social prestige may be
measured by one’s paddy yield and the quality of one’s granary, the ownership
over a paddy field distinguishes the rich from the poor. A rice shortage forces
members of a society to organize a rice bank to assist each other.

(4) R<-->L

The rice cycle (R) and the language (L) affect each other. Periods of the year,
besides being divided into 12 months, can be distinguished as khee stuum
‘transplanting month or transplanting season’ and khee croot ‘harvesting month or
harvesting season'. The total lexicon of the rice cycle (such as lexical items for paddy variety and fertilizer) is a consequence of the need to describe specific items or actions. The language also affects the rice cycle, paddy measurement for instance. No paddy was measured by kilogram because there is no such term in Khmer. (The term kilo ‘kilogram’ was recently borrowed from English through Thai). Seed types are labeled by language. A loss of paddy name, sraw sneh ‘a kind of paddy seed’ for instance, is a result of the rice cycle: no more use of sraw sneh in rice cultivation. As regard the labor force in the rice cycle, the term khee stung or khee croot reminds Khmer farmers of labor preparation for rice cultivation.

(5) E<-->C

Believing in the supernatural (C) is tied to the geographical or natural environment (E). Likewise, the environment is also affected by cultural practice, soil enrichment for instance. Khmer farmers practiced baay baat bdoor ‘glutinous rice balls mixed with sugar and sesame’, during the khee ben ‘ceremony’ for soil enrichment, it is a kind of traditional soil conservation.

(6) E<-->L

A linguistic innovation (L) may also be based on the environment (E) in order to create a new lexical item (as in ‘to live coolly’ (naw trcia?) due to the hot climate). Furthermore, a geographical environment such as a paddy field can be referred to as units of an area.

(7) S<-->C

A shortage of rice in a society (S) is often due to extravagant expenses in performing ceremonies (C). However, the cultural activities such as ceremonies or making an offering are created by members of the society for spiritual or entertainment support.

(8) S<-->L

The society (S), such as social class or people’s way of life, is reflected by language (L). Similarly, a meaning is changed by a social phenomenon, such as the connotative use of baay ‘food’ which is used in relationships between people in a society.

(9) E<-->S

The environment (E), such as rain and earth, provides members of a society (S) with natural resources for survival. Similarly, the environment is consistently being changed by society, as in the case of a former forest area being deforested for rice cultivation purposes. A change in the geographical environment may result from man’s activities, such as cutting down trees, demolishing things, and the like.
(10) C<-->L

A culture (C) and its language (L) mutually affect each other. Language is the main vehicle by which culture is expressed; it is used to describe spirits, ceremonies, etc. A change in culture, may cause the loss of a lexical item, such as a spirit name. And language may affect culture by its meaning, for example, phlypn 'rain' in Khmer gives positive meaning. Traditionally Khmer people wished each other good by saying 'may you live cool' (naw trcia?).

In summary, in Khmer society, as in most Southeast Asian societies, the rice cycle commonly dominates the culture and the thought patterns, and it is a very prominent part of linguistic communication of all kinds.

The rice cycle underlies the interrelationships of the environment (geographical, natural and political), languages, culture and society, all of these things are reflected in the Khmer language.

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