

LOAN-WORDS IN KHASI : THEIR PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Ivan M. Simon

No attempt has so far been made to compile a glossary of loan-words in Khasi. The number of these is substantial, as a glance through the pages of U Nissor Singh's *Khasi-English Dictionary*, compiled as long ago as 1906, will show. These words are marked with asterisks. Only occasionally, however, are the sources given, or indeed their equivalents in the original languages. The reason could be that these words, having been accepted as part and parcel of the Khasi vocabulary, were no longer at that point in time treated as foreign but very much as native Khasi words.

Nissor Singh's dictionary lists only a little over 9,000 items. Monsignor E. Bars's *Khasi-English Dictionary*, published in 1973, contains a substantially larger number of words - about 20,000. It is, however, necessary to remark that this dictionary does not contain as many new items as one might expect: a large number of those included are actually derivative words combining affixes, generally prefixes, whereas Nissor Singh was quite content to have the roots and affixes separately, leaving the task of working out the possible combinations to the reader. Such a scheme would offer a mature reader everything that he might want, though Mgr. Bars's compilation has the eminent advantage of giving immediate information to the average class of readers who might not have all the time in the world to spend on the exercise.

Some five years earlier, in 1968, the Rev. Iarington Kharkongor had brought out a Khasi-Khasi dictionary - an innovation in the field of Khasi lexicography. This dictionary, with the name of *Ka Dienshon-hi* - (manifestly a play upon the word 'dictionary' - although the connection between the two words is rather tenuous), contains some 8,000 items. This dictionary does make an attempt to indicate the sources of most words but not their meanings. This is important to note as very often the sense of words borrowed by Khasi is not exactly the same as in the source language.

David Bradley, Eugénie J.A. Henderson and Martine Mazaudon eds,
Prosodic analysis and Asian linguistics: to honour R.K. Sprigg, 271-282.
Pacific Linguistics, C-104, 1988

© Ivan M. Simon

271

The task, then, of compiling a glossary of the kind that has been mentioned must be left to a later generation of scholars. This is bound to be time-consuming but it will be time profitably spent. The North-Eastern Hill University in Shillong (the capital of the East Khasi Hills District of the State of Meghalaya) opened the Khasi Department in 1981, eight years after its establishment. This department offers linguistics as an optional subject. Many of the students of the department have opted for the subject and it is they who should take up the work.

Loan-words in Khasi must have entered the language over a very long period. We cannot hazard a guess as to how long, but we can tentatively fix the periods of borrowing more broadly: the pre-British (and pre-literate) period before 1841; the period up to 1947 and the period since then.

1. Beginnings

Cherrapunji (or Sohra to the Khasis) is the home of the standard Khasi dialect. The village was already important as a trading centre long before the advent of the British during the third decade of the nineteenth century. It acquired even greater importance as the base for the British administration after the subjugation of the tribesmen in 1833. It was here, too, that the London Missionary Society (associated with William Carey) and, after them, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission (more familiarly known in later years as the Welsh Presbyterian Mission) established a number of mission schools. This will explain why the Sohra dialect came to be accepted as the standard dialect for the entire area inhabited by the Khasi tribe. Though an accident of history, the choice of the dialect was a happy one. Not only is the dialect more euphonious than any other Khasi dialect, but it also has a well-developed rhetorical tradition. Contact with the outside world had been going on at this entrepot-village for centuries. It is not unlikely that it was through Cherrapunji that most of the loan-words from Indo-Aryan (IA) sources found their way into Khasi. The use of the acronym IA in these pages needs qualification. It would extend to Sanskrit and Persian, but more directly to Hindustani or Urdu and to Bengali.

It is obvious that borrowings into the Khasi Language, with its own distinct sound system, must be fitted into that system if they were to be accepted or to survive. As preparation for the reader, a few observations on the Khasi sound system will be useful.

The sounds of Khasi are relatively few, and a 23-letter alphabet was, and is, considered to be adequate for the spelling of words in common use in the language. These letters are:

a b k d e g n g h i ī j l m n ñ o p r s t u w y

How *g* came to be included is part of the earlier history of Khasi writing because there is no /g/ phoneme in Khasi at all. One obvious reason is the inclusion of foreign words spelt with this phone e.g. *gadda* 'donkey' in the earlier translations of the New Testament. In the original IA this word is *gadha* and it is interesting that while a 'foreign' phone could be used in the beginning of the word, the medial consonant *dh* was replaced by *dd*. It is true that the segment *dh* is very rare in Khasi words, yet it does exist, although in borrowed words, initially.

The word *gadda* has long passed into disuse, to be replaced by the more natural Khasi form *kada*. This change took place in the revised editions of the Bible subsequently. It is pertinent to point out that the revised spelling was necessitated by the fact that the Khasis had been using the word for 'donkey' long before they got the Bible and it was natural that they would not give up the Khasi mode of pronunciation despite the spelling given to the word by the first missionary-translators. Old habits die hard, if they do. This gains credibility when we consider another foreign word that came with the New Testament - the word 'gospel'. A considerable section of the Khasi Christian community must have pronounced it, as they still do, in the English way instead of **kospel* or perhaps more consistently as **kosper*. In pre-literate days, a substantial number of borrowed words were moulded into the Khasi system of pronunciation.

There are many other sounds that do not exist in Khasi, and even for those that do, there are positions where they do not occur. A glance at the alphabet given earlier will reveal that the following English phonemes do not occur in Khasi: /θ, ð, tʃ, f, v, z/. There are certain other sounds that do not *normally* occur at the end of words viz. /l, s/, fricatives, aspirates, conjunct consonants and voiced stops. A few examples may be given to illustrate:

θ , δ , f and v are normally realised as aspirates or voiced stops:¹

Eng. think is pronounced as *think*
 those is pronounced as *do:s*
 football is realised as *phutbo:l*
 character is realised as *kharakta:r*
 violin is realised as *bajolin* (j being used in this context as consonantal [j]
 in Eng. 'you')
 zebra is realised as *sibra*.

We shall now take the sounds that do not normally occur at the end of words; it being understood that the observations apply more particularly to the average Khasi speaker with an average standard of education. Since voicing is not a feature of Khasi at the end of words, final voiced consonants in loanwords are usually replaced by voiceless ones in this position, except in interjections.

The earliest loan-words with final *l* were almost invariably realised as *r*, the exceptions being words like 'gospel' as already mentioned, the pronunciation of which was *acquired* through exposure to sermons from the pulpit.² Examples include:

<i>jor</i>	/jɔ:r/fr.	IA.	<i>jal</i> 'the vital fluid; sap'
<i>kymbor</i>	/kəmbɔ:r/fr.	IA.	<i>kambal</i> 'blanket'
<i>bir</i>	/bir/fr.	IA.	<i>bhīl</i> 'swamps or collections of water in marshy places'

In loanwords, *s* in the final position was, and in many rural areas still is, realised as /t/, e.g. *pinit* fr. IA. *peris* 'saucer'. Occasionally, there is rhotacism, the *s* being realised as *r*. This writer has heard a number of old people pronouncing the word for 'saucer' as [perir].

Final *z* often was realised as [j] in the early period, e.g. *miej* [me:j]. fr. IA. *mēz* - itself a borrowed word for 'table'. This word was taken in this form directly from an eastern variety of Indo-Aryan, like Bengali, in which *z*, in any position, is realised as [j]. Words with final *z* taken

directly into Khasi, commonly from English, would be realised with final *s*, the original phoneme, in accordance with Khasi sound laws, being unvoiced. Many Khasis when using English words with this final sound will use the unvoiced forms, e.g. 'dogs' /dɔ:gz/ or 'rose' /rɔʊz/ as dɔ:ks and rɔ:s.

Final fricatives and aspirates would be realised as simple sounds i.e. without friction or aspiration. A few examples will suffice:

[-ʃ] = s e.g. *boksis* fr. IA. *bakshīsh* 'a gratuitous gift'

There is another form of this word, *buskit*, an earlier loan-word.

[-kh] = k e.g. *duk* fr. IA. *dukh* 'distress'. The Khasi word means 'poor'.

Other examples: *suk* 'contented' fr. IA. *sukh* 'ease, comfort' whence Khasi 'blessed, happy'

[-dh] = d e.g. *dud* /*dut* fr. IA. *dudh* 'milk'

Final conjunct consonants tend to be realised in two syllables; examples: Persian *mulk* 'realm' became *muluk* in Khasi; Eng. 'serge' is *sarot* in Khasi.

With the spread of English education, the educated section of the community acquired the knack of pronouncing English sounds with a high degree of exactness although, as we have seen, the tendency to 'unvoice' voiced final consonants would even today assert itself.

The spelling of Khasi words is often erratic. Many Khasi words have been spelt with final voiced consonants when, as we have seen, they are invariably realised as unvoiced consonants. The convention of using voiced consonants finally to indicate length in the preceding vowel was popularised as long ago as the closing years of the last century by pioneer grammarians like H. Roberts (1891) and others. The convention was convenient in that the reader could immediately see that the *a* in *mad* 'to taste' was long and the *a* in *mat* 'joint' was short. In realisation, however, the two words can be transcribed as /ma:t/ and /mat/. It must be added, however, that the convention was seldom observed. Professor Eugénie Henderson has commented on some inconsistencies in the representation of vowel quality in Khasi orthography. She remarks (Henderson 1967):

Even allowing for dialectal variation and for possible changes in pronunciation in the last 70-odd years, it seems likely that Robert's ear was at fault on occasions.

This could well have been, though one would suspect that 'interference' in the form of regional speech forms used by the informants could have been more serious than expected.

While Professor Henderson's remarks would apply more particularly to the spelling of Khasi words, it should be added that there have been anomalies in the spelling of foreign words as well, as we have seen from the examples given earlier.

To sum up, borrowings in the pre-literate period were confined to legal and philosophical terms, as the need for these terms became increasingly felt. A list of these terms is given below. Having been taken over as it were into the language, these borrowings were fitted into the morphological mould of Khasi as well. Side by side with the several items, derivative words will also be given, to emphasise the fact that they came to stay:

1.1 Legal terms

bishar 'to adjudicate' fr. IA. *vichhār*, whence *jingbishar* 'adjudication, trial' and *nongbishar* 'judge'. Both *jing-* and *nong-* are nominalising prefixes in Khasi.

jamin 'surety' as in the hybrid construction *bah-jamin* 'to stand surety', perhaps because land (*jamin*) was the usual security offered in such cases.

mamla 'contending parties in a case' usually in the hybrid construction *ki ar-liang mamla* 'the two parties in a dispute'.

patok 'prison' prob. fr. IA. *phātak* 'enclosed space'. Example: *u nongbishar u la rai patok ia u nongtūh* 'the judge has sentenced the thief to imprisonment'.

phasi (i) 'to execute by hanging' fr. IA. *phāsi*
(ii) 'to commit suicide by hanging'

Examples: *u nongbishar u la rai phasi ia u nongpyniapbriew* 'the judge has sentenced the murderer to death by hanging'. *u briew u la phasi ia-lade* 'the man has hanged himself'.

rāi 'decree, judgement' fr. IA., as in the sentence *u nongbishar u la ai la ka rāi* 'the judge has given his decision'. (The diacritic mark is never used in ordinary writing).

sakhi 'witness' fr. IA. Whence *ai-sakhi* 'to give evidence'.

1.2 Philosophical terms

kismot 'fate' fr. IA. *kismet*.

duk 'poor' fr. IA. *dukh*. Example: *ki ba-duk* 'the poor', *ba-* being a nominalising prefix.

hok 'truth, righteousness' fr. IA. Example: *u riew-hok* 'a pious man'.

maīan 'mysterious' prob. fr. IA. *maya* 'illusion'.

mane 'to worship' fr. IA. *man-na* 'to yield, surrender'. Example: *īng-mane* literally, 'house (of) worship' = 'Church'.

pop 'sin' fr. IA. *pap*. Both forms are used in Khasi, *pap* being limited to an offence against divine and social laws and therefore unforgiveable.

The above list is not exhaustive. The topic requires separate treatment and this is no place for it.

2. From 1841 to 1947

1841 has been chosen as the starting point for this period because it was in that year that the Welsh Mission took up its work in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and established education on a solid and permanent basis. True, three schools had been opened by the London Missionary Society in the preceding decade in and around Cherrapunji, but they did not survive the

departure of the young missionary, Alexander Lish. These schools were reopened by the first missionary of the new Mission, Thomas Jones I. With no knowledge of the Bengali script which the L.M.S. had adopted for use in transcribing 'native dialects', Thomas Jones used the Roman alphabet, initially the Welsh form of it, which he almost immediately abandoned. The choice had far-reaching consequences opened the way for the learning of English. Indeed, for a very long time, the percentage of English literates was higher among the Khasis than in any other community in the Province of Assam, even the more advanced.

The impact of Christianity was considerable and Biblical terms and other Christian concepts, in Khasi garb, made their appearance, e.g. *angel*, *gospel*, *paradais* as well as other new terms like *jingpynim* 'salvation', *jingsiewspah* 'redemption', *diengphna* 'cross' with the derivate word *sah-nar-phna* 'to crucify', *bneng* 'heaven', *dujok* 'hell', etc.

As has been said earlier, the introduction of final *l*, though not a characteristic feature of the language, was smooth, though side by side, for a long time, forms with the final *r* continued to be accepted. Acquired pronunciations were an important legacy from this period.

Apart from new concepts characteristic of the dawn of a technical age, others of a more mundane character were borrowed, chiefly from English. Around 1870, the capital of the District and of the Province of Assam was shifted from Cherrapunji to Shillong. The new township attracted people from every part of the hills and a steady influx of non-Khasi elements.

Western influence was very strong among the Khasis and a considerable number of loan-words, usually with modified pronunciations, influenced Khasi language-habits. Terms for articles of food and drink were predominantly from IA sources but articles of dress and luxury items which began to be increasingly adopted retained their English names, with modified spellings. A short list of these is given below:

2.1 Food and drink

<i>ata</i>	-	IA. <i>atta</i>	flour
<i>khi</i>	-	IA. <i>ghī</i>	butter-fat
<i>dut/dud</i>	-	IA. <i>dūdh</i>	milk
<i>makhon</i>	-	IA. <i>makkhan</i>	butter
<i>moida</i>	-	IA. <i>maida</i>	refined flour
<i>pulaw</i>	-	IA. <i>pilau</i>	rich rice preparation
<i>ruti</i>	-	IA. <i>roti</i>	bread
<i>sha</i>	-	IA. <i>chhay</i>	tea
<i>shatni</i>	-	IA. <i>chutney</i>	pickles
<i>shini</i>	-	IA. <i>chini</i>	sugar

2.2 Dress etc.

<i>banian</i>	-	IA. <i>baniān</i>	vest
<i>blaus</i>	-		Eng. blouse

<i>bries</i>	-		Eng. braces
<i>brajis</i>	-		Eng. breeches
<i>merina</i>	-		Eng. merino (woollens)
<i>muphlor</i>	-	/muphlor/	Eng. muffler
<i>obarkút</i>	-	/obarko:t/	Eng. overcoat
<i>paniphor</i>	-	/paniphɔ:r/	Eng. pinafore
<i>patlun</i>	-		Eng. pantaloons
<i>phlalen</i> or	-	/phlalen/	
<i>phralen</i>	-	/phralen/	Eng. flannel
<i>sarot</i>	-	/sarot/	Eng. serge (monosyllabic word with final consonant realised as bi-syllabic)

2.3 Luxury items

<i>sikret</i>	-	/sikret/	Eng. cigarette
<i>shrut</i>	-	/rut/	Eng. cheroot
<i>smuk</i>	-	/smuk/	Eng. smoking-(pipe) (An instance of back-formation)

Khasi has a marked tendency to shorten multisyllabic loan-words. (It should also be stated that as it is a non-stress language, the accent is placed equally on all syllables.) This is true of purely Khasi words too: e.g. the common word for 'thumb' is *ti-kmie* [hand-mother] from the full form *shympriah-kti-kmie* [finger-hand-mother].

2.4 The world of technology

With the dawn of the technical age, Khasi took in its share of terms associated with it. The motor-car appeared in 1906, and soon the Khasis became familiar with the main parts of the machinery. The following are some of the terms that entered the language early:

<i>bering</i>	-	/berin/	Eng. bearings
<i>boltu</i>	-	/boltu/	Eng. bolt
<i>briek</i>	-	/bre:k/	Eng. brake
<i>krang</i>	-	/kran/	Eng. crank (handle)
<i>diphrenshal</i>	-	/diphrenʃal/	Eng. differential
<i>hut</i>	-	/hut/	Eng. hood
<i>lori</i>	-	/lo:ri/	Eng. lorry
<i>mator</i>	-	/mato:r/	Eng. motor-car
<i>not</i>	-	/not/	Eng. nut
<i>riper</i>	-	/ripe:r/	Eng. repair
<i>skru</i>	-	/skru/	Eng. screw
<i>spanar</i>	-	/spana:r/	Eng. spanner
<i>stiarin</i>	-	/styarin/	Eng. steering (wheel)

2.5 Sports and games

<i>kap</i>	-	/kap/	Eng. golf
<i>kuli</i>	-	/kuli/	IA. <i>goli</i> cartridge, bullet, pill
<i>kyrkit</i>	-	/kərkit/	Eng. cricket
<i>haijom</i>	-	/haijom/	Eng. high jump
<i>pulthru</i>	-	/pulthru/	Eng. pull-through cord for cleaning the barrel of a rifle/gun
<i>raiphyl</i>	-	/raiphəl/	Eng. rifle
<i>ramdos</i>	-	/ramdo:s/	Eng. rounders
<i>ries</i>	-	/re:s/	Eng. race
<i>suloi</i>	-	/suloi/	(Uncertain) gun
<i>tenis</i>	-	/te:nis/	Eng. tennis
<i>trikar</i>	-	/trika:r/	Eng. trigger

3. The modern period (from 1947)

Since 1947, the intake of new terms has been rapid. Coincidentally, with a corresponding rise in the standard of education, by and large the new words, especially those relating to more sophisticated gadgets, retain their original pronunciations insofar as it is possible for an alien community to realise them. English is the official language for the State of Meghalaya, in which the Khasi Language-area is situated. Even the least educated is familiar with terms relating to officialdom, but others also tend to pronounce English with a marked Khasi accent when they are among themselves. The following list is given as a sample, the ordinary Khasi *pronunciations* being given:

<i>aplai</i>	-	/aplai/	Eng. apply
<i>aplikeshon</i>	-	/aplikeʃon/	Eng. application
<i>bidio</i>	-	/bidjo/	Eng. video (player)
<i>bos</i>	-	/bɔs/	Eng. bus
<i>konpham</i>	-	/kɔnpħa:m/	Eng. confirm
<i>dismis</i>	-	/dismis/	Eng. dismiss
<i>æ: ɔs</i>	-	/æ:rbɔs/	Eng. airbus
<i>intarbiw</i>	-	/intarbiw/	Eng. interview
<i>jet</i>	-	/ʃet/	Eng. jet plane
<i>permit</i>	-	/pərmɪt/	Eng. permit
<i>phail</i>	-	/phail/	Eng. file
<i>phautynpen</i>	-	/phautənpen/	Eng. fountainpen
<i>radio</i>	-	/redjo/	Eng. radio
<i>sertiphikiet</i>	-	/sertiphike:t/	Eng. certificate
<i>siil</i>	-	/si:l/	Eng. seal ³
<i>saiklostail</i>	-	/saiklostail/	Eng. cyclostyle
<i>stam</i>	-	/stam/	Eng. stamp

<i>taipingtes</i>	-	/taipigtes/	Eng. typing test
<i>tiep</i>	-	/te:p/	Eng. tape (recorder)
<i>tibi</i>	-	/tibi/	Eng. T.V.

4. Some observations on loanwords and their use today

The samples given above show the extent to which words have been borrowed by Khasi from other sources. Each language has its limitations and needs to borrow new terms in the interest of intelligent communication. Over the past 200 years or more, the many loanwords in Khasi have fulfilled a useful role, and one who uses them is often unconscious of the fact that he is using non-Khasi terms. The exception is probably in regard to the latest borrowings and technical terms. The established loanwords have achieved a respectability and are hardly ever likely to be replaced, in spite of the reaction that has set in in recent years, particularly from Khasi authors. They probably do have a case in their disapproval of the indiscriminate use of 'foreign' terms, even in Khasi writings. They feel that the Khasi dialects have something to contribute - words with fine nuances that might make use of foreign terms redundant! Their slogan has been 'If there is any word in our language that can express an idea that a foreign word has so far been permitted to do, it should be adopted, and the foreign word rejected'. This still raises a big question mark. Two words that were coined in the early days for the aeroplane and the radio have passed into oblivion. These were *lieng-suiñ* (literally 'air-boat') for 'aeroplane' and the more cumbersome *kor-ring-sur-na-jngai* (literally 'a machine drawing tone from afar') for 'radio'. The word *kyrpien* has been used by some people in recent years as a Khasi substitute for the English 'challenge', but it has yet to be fully accepted. As at present, most Khasi readers would understand 'challenge' better. We can only wait and see.

There are many foreign terms that have become so deeply rooted because of general acceptance that their replacement can only spell loss for Khasi. An excerpt from a book of memoirs written by U Morendro Doonai will illustrate this point.

U goal keeper⁴ ha kito ki por u don ha ka jingma ka ba khraw namar haba ki wing na baroh arliang ki kynjat ia ka ball shaphang ka goal ... un peit ia ka ball ne un peit ia ki briew ba ki iatur pyrshah ia u? Hynrei ha ki rule thymmai mynta u la lait na ka jingma baroh.

The goalkeeper in those days used to be in grave danger because when the wingers from either side would shoot the ball towards the goal ... would he look at the ball or at the men (i.e. players) rushing upon him? Under the new rules, however, he is relieved from danger'.

In spite of the English spellings, what this Khasi writer wrote will be understood by every Khasi.

Another extract from a recent Khasi novel will show how some authors have tackled the problem of transcribing foreign terms. *Ki doktor bad kiwei-kiwei ki stad ki jhad ki la eksamin hi da ka eksre* 'The doctors and other specialists examined (her) under the X-ray'. This author,

L.H. Pde, has, however, retained the English forms in several words such as 'operation', 'professor', 'house surgeon' and so on. The problem is not an easy one to solve.

In other parts of this novel *U raimon bad ka dashisha* we see whole passages in English with a sprinkling of Khasi words. One wonders if the author intended a satire on the modern affectation for English, often of the vulgar sort:

U tang shu iohi ia nga beit beit u wan.

"Hi Raymond where the hell have you been? Long time no see. Why, waiting for a dame?" As soon as he saw me he came directly ...

"Look Raymond pally. Don't you worry about the dough. Here hundred bucks to go for your quarrelsome stomachs", *U pyni artad shispah tyngka*.⁵

It is this tendency that is a cause for worry. Yet those Khasis who love their language may draw consolation from the fact that it is only the odd fringe that is capable of such extremities. All the more reason for a concerted effort on the part of responsible authors to establish an uncompromising standard of correct writing. Old established loanwords have enriched the Khasi language; they should be treated with reverence. It is the new intruders that need to be watched, and if they fail the test of propriety and utility, it is not unlikely that they will fall by the wayside when the average Khasi-in-the-street, who is a shrewd judge of what is good for him, rejects them.

APPENDIX

Some borrowed words in Khasi and their spellings (in Khasi alphabetical order).⁶

Khasi word	Phonetic form	Source and original form
<i>angkor</i>	/aŋkɔ:r/	Eng. anchor
<i>angel</i>	/aŋel/	Eng. angel
<i>aīa</i>	/aja/	IA <i>ayah</i> (governess)
<i>apil</i>	/apil/	Eng. appeal
<i>ashār</i>	/aʃa:r/	IA <i>achhār</i> (pickles)
<i>ata</i>	/ata/	IA <i>atta</i> (flour)
<i>baibl</i>	/baibl/	Eng. Bible
<i>baiskil</i>	/baiskil/	Eng. bicycle
<i>baje</i>	/baʃe:/	IA <i>baj-na</i> to strike the hour, Khasi clock/watch
<i>bim</i>	/bim/	Eng. beam
<i>biskit</i>	/biskit/	Eng. biscuit
<i>blok</i>	/blok/	Eng. block (cement)
<i>boksis/buskit</i>	/bɔksis/, /buskit/	IA <i>bakshish</i> (gratuitous gift)
<i>borti</i>	/bɔrti/	IA <i>balti</i> (bucket)
<i>bynda</i>	/bɔnda/	IA <i>bandhak</i> (mortgage)
<i>kajia</i>	/kaʃa/	Persian <i>qezia</i> (dispute/quarrel)

Khasi word	Phonetic form	Source and original form
<i>kam</i>	/kam/	IA <i>kām</i> (work)
<i>karai</i>	/karai/	IA <i>karhai</i> (deep frying pan)
<i>karot</i>	/karot/	Eng. guard (house)
<i>khubor</i>	/khubo:r/	IA <i>khabar</i> / <i>khabbar</i> (news)
<i>khulom</i>	/khulom/	IA <i>kholum</i> (pen)
<i>khusnam</i>	/khusna:m/	IA <i>khush-nām</i> (award/honour)
<i>koma</i>	/ko:ma/	Eng. comma
<i>kubi</i>	/kubi/	IA <i>gōbi</i> (cabbage)
<i>kúd</i>	/ko:t/	Eng. coat
<i>kudam</i>	/kudam/	Eng. godown (warehouse)
<i>kuli</i>	/kuli/	IA <i>gōli</i> (cartridge); Eng. coolie
<i>dak</i>	/dak/	IA <i>dak</i> (postal service), IA <i>dāg</i> (letter of alphabet)
<i>dorbar</i>	/dɔrba:r/	IA <i>durbar</i> (council)
<i>dukan</i>	/duka:n/	IA <i>dokān</i> (shop)
<i>dusmon</i>	/dusmɔn/	IA <i>dushman</i> (enemy)
<i>dustur</i>	/dustur/	IA <i>dastūr</i> (custom)
<i>duwar</i>	/duwa:r/	IA <i>doār</i> (gateway/pass)
<i>eksamin</i>	/eksamin/	Eng. examine/examination
<i>hati</i>	/hati/	IA <i>hathi</i> (elephant)
<i>himot</i>	/himot/	IA <i>himat</i> (belief)
<i>hok</i>	/hok/	Persian <i>hok</i> (truth/truthful)
<i>hukum</i>	/hukum/	Persian <i>hukum</i> (command)
<i>ijot</i>	/ijot/	IA <i>izzat</i> (honour)
<i>ilaka</i>	/ilaka/	IA <i>elaka</i> (province/district)
<i>jaka</i>	/jaka/	IA <i>jagah</i> (place.plot)
<i>madan</i>	/madan/	IA <i>maidān</i> (field)
<i>mahajon</i>	/mahajon/	IA <i>mahajan</i> (merchant)
<i>mahadep</i>	/mahadep/	IA <i>mahādēv</i> (deity)
<i>mane</i>	/mane/	IA <i>manna</i> (worship/yield)
<i>muluk</i>	/muluk/	IA <i>mulk</i> (realm)
<i>niam</i>	/njam/	IA <i>niyam</i> (custom), Khasi religion
<i>nusip</i>	/nusip/	IA <i>nasīb</i> (fortune/fate)
<i>olib</i>	/olib/	Eng. olive
<i>ophis</i>	/ophis/	Eng. office
<i>ophisar</i>	/ophisa:r/	Eng. officer
<i>paka</i>	/paka/	IA <i>pakka</i> (good/perfect)
<i>paip</i>	/paip/	Eng. pipe
<i>patlun</i>	/patlun/	Eng. pantaloons, Khasi trousers
<i>pawa</i>	/pawa/	IA <i>powa</i> (quarter)
<i>phasi</i>	/phasi/	IA <i>phāsī</i> (execute by hanging)
<i>phulstop</i>	/phulstop/	Eng. full-stop
<i>pirit</i>	/pirit/	IA <i>peris</i> (saucer)

Khasi word	Phonetic form	Source and original form
<i>plastor</i>	/plastɔr/	Eng. plaster
<i>pulit</i>	/pulit/	Eng. police
<i>purwana</i>	/purwana/	IA <i>purwana</i> (written order of authority/judge)
<i>rai/rāi</i>	/ra:i/	IA <i>rāi</i> (decree/judgement)
<i>raid</i>	/ra:c/	IA <i>rāj</i> (country/government), Khasi village land
<i>rajai</i>	/raɟai/	IA <i>rāzai</i> (quilt)
<i>sabon</i>	/sabɔn/	IA <i>sabun</i> (soap; ultimately from Portuguese)
<i>shab</i>	/ʃa:p/	IA <i>chāb</i> (stamped mark/seal)
<i>shalan</i>	/ʃalan/	IA <i>challan</i> (government remittance note)
<i>shrut</i>	/ʃrut/	Eng. cheroot
<i>shuri</i>	/ʃuri/	IA <i>chhuri</i> (knife)
<i>sohmyndur</i>	/sɔʔmændur/	Sanskrit <i>samundra</i> (ocean)
<i>sor</i>	/sɔr/	Persian <i>shaihar</i> (town/city)
<i>sot</i>	/sɔt/	IA <i>satya</i> (truth)
<i>suspon</i>	/suspon/	Eng. suspend
<i>tili</i>	/tili/	IA <i>tēl</i> (oil), Khasi oil-seller
<i>tupia</i>	/tupja/	IA <i>topi</i> (hat), Khasi hat/cap
<i>tyngka</i>	/tɛŋka/	Eastern IA <i>tan̄ka</i> (rupee)

NOTES

- 1 Conventional phonetic symbols have been used as far as possible. Aspirates are indicated by an *h* following the stop symbol, e.g. *phutbɔ:l* 'football'; *thiŋk* 'think'; *kharakta:r* 'character'.
- 2 Literacy was markedly higher among Christians than among non-Christians even though the latter were in the majority in the beginning. This also applies to the learning of English as the following statistics will show.

Year	Population	Christians		Non-Christians	
		literate	English-literate	literate	English-literate
1911	235,069	6,736	1,378	2,993	401
1921	243,263	11,238	2,241	3,259	475
1931	289,926	23,314	4,760	?	698

- 3 Note the new trend to distinguish short and long *i*. Length is not a feature of native words containing /i/ in Khasi.
- 4 A more popular word is the hybrid form *nongap-goal* i.e. 'guardian of the goal'. Many Khasis would use Khasi spellings *kol*, *bol*, *rul* etc.
- 5 Literally, 'showing at the same time a hundred rupees'.
- 6 Many Khasi writers will prefer using English spellings for the English words listed. However, they are usually pronounced as shown in this appendix.