

ARE S' ( θ ) AND T' ( m ) VARIANTS OF AN AMHARIC  
VARIABLE? A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS\*

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A B S T R A C T

This paper attempts to see whether the Amharic s' (θ) and t' (ɱ) are variants of the same variable or each has a separate function of its own. Such a distinction can make the users of the language more conscious of their becoming one of the sources of noise in the process of verbal or written communication and it can also minimize arguments that may arise among users as to which variant is linguistically and socially 'correct' in the course of their occurrence in a given lexical item, thereby contributing to effectiveness in communication. Moreover, the distinction can contribute to the standardization of Amharic, the importance of which, like in any other language, has been pointed out by Stewart (1968: 534), Garvin (1969: 267-8) and Wardhaugh (1986: 30).

The paper raises the distinction between variables and variants, and between those that can be accounted for linguistically (systematic variations) and those that can be accounted for socially (sociological variables). It also shows that the confusion between s', which is originally a Geez phoneme, and t' is social rather than linguistic. However, these two sounds are developing into separate phonemes as their significance in lexical differentiation is just beginning to appear.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

According to William Stewart (1968: 534) standardization, one of the basic attributes which determine language type and function, is defined as 'the codification and acceptance, within a community of users, of a formal set of norms defining "correct" usage.' In addition, according to Paul Garvin (1969: 267-8) one of the fundamental attributes the Prague School Linguistics attaches to standardization is 'flexible stability', the property that a given language acquires through 'appropriate codification so that the language becomes 'flexible enough ...to allow for modification in line with culture change.' Furthermore, Ronald Wardhaugh (1986: 30) explains codification as a process that 'involves the development of such things as grammars and dictionaries and probably a literature.' Moreover, Wardhaugh notes that the process of standardization in general 'requires that a measure of agreement be achieved about what is in the language and what is not.' Finally, he begins his final paragraph on standardization with the sentence, 'The standardization process is also obviously one which attempts either to reduce or to eliminate diversity and variety' (Wardhaugh 1986:33).

## 2. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Variables

2.1 Bell (1976: 32f) gives a detailed analysis of linguistic variations on the basis of previous distinctions proposed by William Labov. In accordance with Bell's analysis, a variable can be defined in terms of its formal and social values. Formally, a variable is a linguistic element which manifests variations when it occurs in actual speech in ways different from that in which it is normally conceived as occurring in its 'abstract standard' form.

These actual linguistic elements which differ from the abstract standard, in their actual occurrence in the speech of various individuals, are, therefore called variants. Ample examples can be drawn from Amharic to illustrate variables and variants.

But before going into a detailed analysis of the Amharic examples to illustrate variables and variants, which Bell (1976:33) calls 'sociolinguistic variables', it would be appropriate to make a further distinction between such



variations whose source is said to be 'external' and those whose sources of variation have been traditional topics of interest in linguistics, at least where the causes have been seen as 'internal' to the linguistic code itself.

Bell outlines various approaches to the description of variations resulting from such morphophonemic processes which take place within the language itself. Seen from the point of view of 'levels' at which such variations occur, it is possible to see firstly, 'systematic variations' where a given number of phonemes are employed to make meaning distinctions in a given language. Plenty of examples of such phonemic variations can be given from Amharic. Look at the following examples:

- |     |          |                                 |
|-----|----------|---------------------------------|
| (a) | käbáro   | 'drum'                          |
|     | k'äbäro  | 'fox'                           |
| (b) | särra    | 'he worked'                     |
|     | t'ärra   | 'he called or, it became clean' |
|     | bärra    | 'the light is on'               |
|     | färra    | 'he is afraid'                  |
| (c) | säbbärä  | 'he broke'                      |
|     | gäbbärä  | 'he paid tax or, he submitted'  |
|     | k'äbbärä | 'he buried'                     |
|     | käbbärä  | 'he became rich'                |

As can be seen from the examples above, all the initial consonant phonemes contrast in the same environment and their main function is to distinguish the meaning of one lexical item from another. Secondly, there are 'distributional variations' which are allophonic by nature and which are realized in speech, in different forms, when phonemes are distributed at various positions in the language. The function of these variations is not to distinguish meaning as when they were used as phonemes, but they are results of a phonological or morphological conditioning, a linguistic phenomenon which causes a given phoneme to be realized in different forms without calling for a parallel change in meaning. For example, let us take two phonemes from those given in the initial position in the examples above, s and t'. Let us again take two others from the batch, b and f, and compare them in medial position before high front vowels.



- |       |                      |   |
|-------|----------------------|---|
| (i)   | gäbba<br>gibi        | 'he entered'<br>'enter (imp. feminine)' |
| (ii)  | säffa<br>sifi        | 'he sewed'<br>'sew (imp., feminine)'    |
| (iii) | läbbäsä<br>libasi    | 'he wore'<br>'wear (imp, feminine),     |
| (iv)  | t'ät't'a<br>t'ač'č'i | 'he drank'<br>'drink (imp.. feminine)'  |

As can be seen from examples (iii) and (iv), s and t' have changed into s and c', respectively, while b and f in (i) and (ii) have remained unchanged when they occur in the same environment. The variation s and t' have undergone when they occur before front vowels is, therefore, phonologically conditioned.

When the variations of both phonemes and allophones can thus be accounted for in terms of the internal structure of the language, sociolinguistic variables are not subject to such linguistic internal structure conditions. Rather sociolinguistic variables can be accounted for in terms of external sources to the language itself.

But before going into details again, the question of whether s' and t' are phonemes or allophones should be settled in light of what has just been discussed. I want to begin the answer to the above question by first considering a specific number of words in which s' and t' figure words which prompted me to take up this subject for investigation in the first instance, because such words are often heard being used either with s' or t' in the speech of various individuals. These words are listed in two sets below showing their use with s' and t' occurring initially.

s'äbäl	holy water'	t'äbäl	'holy water'
s'im	'beard'	t'im	'beard'
s'äbay	'conduct'	t'äbay	'conduct'
k'äs's'il	'continue (imp.)'	k'ät't'il	'continue (imp.)'
anas'i	'carpenter'	anat'i	'carpenter'



As can be seen from the examples, s' and t' do not differentiate meaning even though both occur in the same initial position. Their variation cannot, therefore, be explained in terms of systematic variation as shown previously above. They do not, thus, have either phonemic or allophonic status. Their variation cannot, therefore, be accounted for linguistically. When linguists encounter such a problem, they have either 'ignored (it) or, ... labelled (it) 'free variation' (Bell 1976: 19).

The other alternative linguists have used to explain such variation is through the introduction of the notion of the diaphone which, in the final analysis, is similar to the explanation given by external sources of variation.

In order to be able to account for sociolinguistic variables fully, I should illustrate variables and variants with Amharic examples like the following:

	VARIABLES	VARIANTS	EXAMPLES
(1)	k	k, h	täräkāz tārähāz 'heel'  haya kaya 'twenty'
(2)	k'	k', ?, č'	bak'ela bač'ela 'beans' ba?ela
(3)	h	h, a	haġār aġār 'country' assāt hassāt 'false'
(4)	ǰ	ǰ, ž	ǰigra žigra 'guinea fowl'
(5)	š	š, č	aššännāfä aččännāfä 'he triumphed



According to Bell and Wolfram and Fasold (1976 :33, 1974: 73ff) the existence of variants in a variable can be explained in terms of their social values through various approaches. Bell says that the variants of a variable are distributed in accordance with the 'socio-economic class membership or some other demographic characteristic of the user' whereas Wolfram and Fasold say that the variants of a variable can be explained by correlating them with the 'social variable' itself which, in their own words, means that 'the behavioural factor(s)'... may be isolated to correlate with linguistic diversity.' In simple terms, this means that the users of certain variants of a given variable can be identified as being educated or uneducated, young or old, male or female, or by their occupation, status, or place of origin, etc...

Accordingly, the next question would be: which of the variants of the Amharic variables given in the examples are used by whom? In the first place, all those listed under variables from (1-6) in the table, are the standard variants of the language, and the rest are nonstandard variants. Under normal circumstances, only the uneducated, ie, those who do not have formal education, at least up to grade twelve, and rural dwellers use the nonstandard variants in their speech. Furthermore, the standard variants given in (3) and (5) are regionally distributed. For instance, it is said that those who live in the rural areas of Shoa, where Amharic is spoken natively say ba?ela 'beans' and žigra 'guinea fowl', while those who live in rural Gojam say bač'ela. Bell calls variants such as ba?ela and bač'ela 'indicators', a term used to refer to variants which he says, 'are relatively permanent characteristics of the speech of certain individuals and groups, which do not change from one situation to another', and those which do change as the result of the deliberate act of some speakers who are aware of the social value of the variants are called 'markers' (1976:33). Moreover, in the example in (4), the variant h or its absence, can be considered as an example of those variants which Bell says are 'true' 'free variants' eg., the choice of /i/ or /e/ as the initial vowel of economics in RP .' However, while it may be true that the initial vowel of economics can have true free variants in the sense that the choice of one or the other is 'entirely unpredictable', the Amharic variants in (4) may not be



taken as real true free variants because the presence or absence of h may not result in total acceptability of both as standard. But either the absence or presence of h can be considered standard in hagär or agär, while only the presence of h is standard in hassät and its omission in the word can be said to be socially stigmatized. In addition, although nobody can reasonably argue that the ǰ in (5) is the standard variant while z is not in words such as ǰigra 'guinea fowl' but it can be said that the most frequently occurring variant is the j, and z occurs in the speech of uneducated rural dwellers without actually carrying a pronounced stigmatization. S and C in (6) are more or less similar to j and z in their sociolinguistic value but in the case of S and C, in later development, the political grouping to which a person belonged was identified on the basis of which variant he chose in the utterance of the slogan innaššänfallän 'We shall triumph over our enemies!' It was said that in the latter half of the 1970's during the intensive on going struggle of the Ethiopian revolution, members of one of the then two opposing underground parties, the EPRP, chose the variant with č while those who belonged to the AESM chose the one with š.

2.2 Without giving a detailed diachronic analysis of how the elements of s' (š) and t' (m) evolved to be synchronically used seemingly exchangeably in some words, some useful and practical answers can be proposed on the basis of their formal and social functions. From personal interviews with some scholars well versed in Geez, and through a careful study of the entries of lexical items involving the two elements in the Geez dictionary by Kidane Wold Kifle, I have come to realize that the phonological unit s' is not, in fact, a native Amharic speech sound element but may perhaps have originally come from Geez. In addition, I also realized that t' is found in both Geez and Amharic but s' and t' are separate phonemes in Geez as can be seen from the following minimal pairs:

as'k	'wing, branch'
at'k	'joint (of a cane or knee)'



Moreover, since s' does not exist in Amharic, it does not normally occur in the native speech of the non-literate population. Even Kidane Wolde Kifle himself writes t' in place of s' in the meanings he gives in Amharic of some of the Geez words he enters in his dictionary, thus, conforming to the native speech rather than to the standard Amharic. For instance, the Amharic meaning of the Geez word dims' (ደምፅ) is written dimt' (ደምፕ) 'sound, voice' even though it is pronounced and written dims' (ደምፅ) in the standard Amharic word of the same meaning.

The most important thing about the occurrence of s' and t' in Amharic is the fact that s' was first introduced into Amharic by those who were well versed in Geez. Those Geez scholars were the ones, particularly some generations back, who brought the use of s' in their Amharic speech as the result of either the absence of those words in Amharic, which, in effect means borrowing, or code-switching, both of which can be seen as phenomena of bilingualism, or, it may also be assumed that s' might have been introduced as the result of a diglossic situation existing some time in the past; Geez serving as the High variety, and Amharic as the Low (see, Ferguson, 1959). Whatever the case, this means that the words introduced into Amharic by the Geez educated had s' in their original Geez form but do not affect those spoken or written with t' natively in Amharic or those that originally had t' in Geez.

There is a sociolinguistic phenomenon, called structural hyper-correction, which Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 88) say 'results when an overtly favored feature is not thoroughly under the control of the speaker'. Structural hyper-correction, therefore, occurs when non Geez-educated people speak or write with t' words which originally had s' in Geez, or with s' either words which originally had t' in Geez or in native Amharic - a good example of hyper-correction. The words with s', originally brought into Amharic from Geez, thus invariably written and spoken with s' in standard Amharic, and those invariably written and spoken with t' natively in standard Amharic (some of them may have come from Geez with t') are given in Appendix I and II respectively.

A good example of structural hyper-correction can be further exemplified by the following story told about a man .



The story goes that a man, who failed in his church education in some well known traditional church school where the medium of instruction was Geez, was returning to his village. On his way home, he met another man well versed in Geez who asked him the following questions to which he gave short replies.

- A. Where are you coming from?  
 B. Mos'a (name of place)  
 A. What did you usually eat?  
 B. k'is's'a (traditional bread)  
 A. What is your cane made of?  
 B. digis's'a (name of a plant)  
 A. How did you cross the river?  
 B. ins's'as' biyye (by jumping)

The man, (A), being annoyed at the misused s', said that such 'improper' speech behaviour should stop, and then hit the structural hyper-corrector, (B), repeatedly with a stick. To his surprise, the man cried out, 'yas'e yallah! k'a's'a k'k'asan 'in the name of the emperor! help! he beats me!'

There are different versions to the story. The fact however, is that it shows that the man had been fully aware of the prestigious variants being used by his Geez instructors but he was not in full control of the words in which s' occurs. The only word which he properly uttered is as'e 'emperor' but in all the rest, the use of s' is socially stigmatized in standard Amharic.

Having seen the formal and social values of s' and t', it is interesting to note that some transition is seen taking place from social to lexical significance in the use of the two speech sound elements in Amharic. The following examples demonstrate such a development:

- (i) as'ä<sup>ä</sup>anna 'he strengthened or confirmed'  
 at'ä<sup>ä</sup>anna 'he studied'  
 s'ä<sup>ä</sup>nnabbät 'it has been confirmed to his detriment'  
 t'ä<sup>ä</sup>nnabbät 'the illness has become worse to his  
 detriment'  
 (ii) nä<sup>ä</sup>t' t'a 'it became white'  
 nä<sup>ä</sup>s's'a 'he became clean or cleansed from his sin'



(iii) it'                    A word which is usually used as a subject of the predicate dubb alä 'fell off or down' indicating the occurrence or revelation of something that puts one into utter shame. Thus it'u dubb alä 'he became utterly ashamed of himself.

is' 'plant'    In actual fact, the previous word it' is the Amharic form of the Geez word is', which also refers to some special kind of herb, cut into small pieces and given to someone to wear for protection against all forms of danger such as the evil eye, but if it falls off the body, it leaves the person wearing it exposed to all the dangers it was supposed to guard him against. Hence, the figurative expression, it'u dubb ala.'

(iv) dābdabbewin s'afä                    'he wrote the letter'  
surriwin            t'afä                    'he patched his trousers'

(v). k'is's'il                                'adjective'  
k'it't'il                                    'something joined to another thing'

The first word in this last example is directly taken from Geez with the change of the vowel u to i as in k'is's'ul to k'is's'il, but the change of the word into k'it't'il in Amharic is a total change in that what has taken place is not only the vowel change as indicated, but that the s' has also changed into t', thus making the word shade a slightly different meaning, though the basic meanings of k'is's'il 'adjective' and k'i't'il, something joined to another' remain essentially the same. The difference in the shades of meaning indicates a significant development in s' and t' from designating mere social values to distinguishing lexical significance. It has been shown that s' and t' are not variants of a variable but phonetic entities belonging to separate phonemes in Geez but their role in Amharic, however blurred at the present moment, is now growing into functional differentiation both at their formal and social values.



2.3 It should now be possible to make an attempt at the explanation of how s' and t' are currently used in Amharic. To begin with, all of the words listed in Appendix I and II, however incomplete, are written and spoken as in the appendices through established usage in standard Amharic.

Nevertheless, even if we say that there is a certain amount of transition in the use of s' and t' in Amharic, there is still uncertainty in their choice because structural hyper-correction appears not only in the speech of the populace but also in the speech of some modern educated people not so well acquainted with the Geez source of s' but who (are apt to) transfer their speech habits to the new generation. However, since historical evidence attests that it was Geez which was first committed to writing (before Amharic,) s' thus having been represented by two allographs, and (which made a distinction in meaning) and since it has already been confirmed that s' is not fundamentally an Amharic phoneme, it is safe to conclude that the s' of Amharic comes as the result of Geez influence through the Geez educated scholars. Consequently, from a careful study of Geez words containing s' entered in the dictionary of Kidane Wolde Kifle, all the words that originally had s' in Geez are seen to have undergone the following changes in Amharic, and it can be assumed that the Geez educated are well aware of the changes.

(i) a. s'-----> t'

Examples:

<u>GEEZ</u>	<u>AMHARIC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tanas's'salal	tanat't'ala	'it became separated'
as'lälä	at'allälä	'he filtered'
s'ibbät	t'ibbät	'narrowness'
s'äwari	t'äwari	'supporter'
haras'a	arat'a	'interest'
s'enadam	t'enaddam	'nice smelling plant'.

(b) s'-----> c'



Examples:

mas'id	mač'id	'sickle'
s'as'ut	č'ač'ut	'chicks'
s'äbt'	č'äbt'	'gonorrhoea'
s'amätä	č'ämmätä	'he became quiet'
s'inägäfä	č'anägäfä	'it aborted'
s'ew	c'äw	'salt'

(c) s'-----> j

Examples:

s'i?ib                      ĵib                      'hyena'

(d) s'                      remains unchanged (see Appendix I)

(ii) The changes shown in (i) can be explained through phonological processes. Without going into such details, however, the following facts figure in the usage of s' and t' in Amharic as the result of the following formal and social processes:

(a) The Geez s' undergoes change in some forms but remains unchanged in some derivatives of the same forms through established usage in standard Amharic.

<u>GEEZ</u>	<u>AMHARIC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
hanas'	anat'i	'carpenter'
	hins'a	'building'
s'ana	č'anä	'he loaded'
	täs'äno	'influence'
as'nia	as'anna	'he confirmed or strengthened'
	at'änna	'he studied'
k'äräs'ä	k'ärräs'ä	'he carved'
	k'ärrät'ä	'he levied tax'



	mak'iräc'a	'sharpener'
s'om	s'oma	'he fasted'
	t'omun walä	'he stayed the whole day without eating'.

(b). Whenever a phonological change such as the deletion of a vowel or a consonant takes place in the Geez word employed in Amharic, the Geez s' usually changes into t' without a corresponding change in meaning.

Examples:

<u>GEEZ</u>	<u>AMHARICG</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
hanas'i	anat'i	'carpenter'
haras'a	arat'a	'interest'
his'rat	it'rät	'shortage'
his'bat	it'bät	'a wash'
s'ihm	t'im	'beard'

The last Amharic word t'im does not therefore come from the Geez s'im 'wild animal' and cannot have therefore appeared in the speech of Geez educated scholars as s'im 'beard' in Amharic. Those who say s'im for beard instead of tim in their Amharic speech are those who are doing hyper-correction.

(c) Even though some Geez words containing s' do not alter their phonological shape, their s' changes into t' through established usage in Amharic without changing their meaning.

Examples:

<u>GEEZ</u>	<u>AMHARIC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
is'a	it'a	'lot'
dīngas'e	dīngat'e	'fear'

(d) The Geez words which originally contain s' can either retain the s' or change it into t' through established convention or phonological processes, but those words originally containing t' in Geez remain unchanged and cannot thus be changed into s' in their Amharic usage but only in the speech of those who practise hyper-correction. The following are some



examples:

<u>GEEZ</u>	<u>AMHARIC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
t'äbay	t'abay	'conduct'
t'äbäl	t'abal	'holy water'
t'ib	t'ut	'breast'
t'ibab	t'ibab	'wisdom'
		knowledge'
t'i?im	t'a?im	'taste'
täk'ät,k'ät'ä	täk'ät'äk'k'ätä'	'has been beaten'

### 3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

As I have tried to show in this short paper, s' is introduced into Amharic by Geez scholars. The non-literate native speakers of Amharic replace it by t' which they think to be close to it in articulation just as they replace English p by b or f. But the modern educated and urban dwellers who are able to utter it but who are not yet certain of its 'appropriate' use often confuse it with t' through structural hyper-correction which can be a handicap to standardization, a vitally needed language attribute in a modern world.

Therefore, since some lexical differentiation is beginning to appear between the two speech sounds and since they are moving from mere possession of social values towards the acquisition of lexical significance, I recommend that modern scholars, particularly linguists, be ready to welcome this development.

#### Notes

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## APPENDIX I.

s'ägur	'hair'
s'ilat	'tablet'
ank'äs'	'paragraph'
as'äfa	'reflexive'
is'ub	'wonderful'
däms'	'sound'
fäs's'ame	'end'
gäbs'	'Egypt'
gäls'	'clear'
häns'a	'building'
his'an	'baby'
k'is'bät	'instant'
mähs'än	'womb'
mänäs's'ir	'spectacles'
mäs'haf	'book'
mästäs'amär	'conjunction'
mäs'äw	'autumn'
mäs'wat	'alms'
näs's'a	'be free'
näs'uh	'clean'
s'afä	'he wrote'
s'ägga	'wealth'



s'āhay	'sun'
s'ālot	'prayer'
s'ānas'il	'musical instrument'
s'ānna	'be firm'
s'ār	'anti'
s'ās'āt	'regret'
s'āt't'ita	'quietness'
s'āyyaf	'vulgar'
s'idat	'cleanliness'
s'ige	'proper name'
s'ins	'fetus'
s'iwwa	'holy pot'
s'om	'fast'
sota	'gender'
tas'iz'no	'influence'

APPENDIX II.

at't'a	'he lacked'
at'bak'i	'conservative'
anbāt'a	'locust'
ant'ari	'smith'
ayt'	'mouse'
it'an	'incense'
fält'	'splinter'
dīgīt't'a	'kind of plant'
fīt'ur	'creature'
gābāt'a	'kind of game'
gīt'im	'poem'
get'	'ornament'
gut'ät	'pincers'
higgä-wät't'	'irregular'
k'ärät'	'tax'
k'ät't'a	'he punished'
k'ät'afi	'liar'
k'ät'äk'k'ät'ä	'beat several times'
k'ät't'äna	'be thin'
k'it'äl	'leaf'
k'iyyät'	'mixed'
k'ut'ir	'number'
k'ut'it't'ir	'inspection'
lät't'äk'i	'one who is next'



lāwwät'ä	'he changed'
mārrät'ä	'he selected'
mät't'a	'he came'
mät'an	'size'
mist'är	'secret'
mot'a	'name of a place'
näft'	'fire arm'
nät't'äk'ä	'he snatched'
nät'ib	'point'
nät't'ärä	'get filtered'
inbut'	'bud'
sät't'ä	'he gave'
täfät'ro	'nature'
t'äba	'earthen ware'
t'äda	'put a pan on the fire'
t'afač'	'sweets'
t'afiya	'pancreas'
t'ak'a	'bundle of cloth'
t'a?im	'taste'
t'a?ot	'idol'
t'äbab	'narrow'
t'äbbäk'ä	'be firm or tight'
t'äffa	'disappeared'
t'af	'barren'
t'äfär	'space'
t'äfir	'leather string'
t'ifr	'nail'
t'äk'ami	'useful'
t'äjy	'mead'
t'älla	'home made beer'
t'allälä	'get filtered'
t'amämä	'get crooked'
t'imat	'thirst'
t'ämmädä	'yoked oxen'
t'änäbba	'smelled dirty'
t'änikkara	'strong'
t'ärra	'he called'
t'ärabi	'mason'
t'ärrägä	'he cleaned'
t'ärräzä	'he bound'
t'ässäk'ä	'he ate well'
t'ät't'a	'he drank'
t'äyyim	'brown'



t'ef	'kind of grain'
t'ena	'health'
t'ibab	'wisdom'
t'ibbi	'spring'
t'ibk'	'tight'
t'ibs	'roast'
t'idfiya	'haste'
t'igg	'corner'
t'igab	'haughtiness'
t'iggàNa	'dependent'
t'ik's	'quotation'
t'ik'am	'use'
t'ak'ur	'black'
t'ilf	'embroidery'
t'ilk'	'deep'
t'ammad	'paired'
t'imk'ät	'baptism'
t'immär	'coalition'
t'ank'k'ak'e'	'care'
t'arr	'January'
t'arb	'slab'
t'ire	'raw'
t'irs	'tooth'
t'rät't'are'	'doubt'
t'iyyak'e	'question'
t'iyvit	'bullet'
t'ora	'supported in old age'
t'or	'spear'
t'ur	'pity'
wät't'a	'he went out'
wät'	'stew'
wät't'	'uniform'
wist'	'inside'