

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

## A Sociolinguistics Analysis of Jargons Used by Farmers of South Wollo in their Agricultural Activities

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### Abstract

*The purpose of this study was to find out jargons used by South Wollo farmers in their farming practices. The data were collected from seven districts of South Wollo Zone: Tenta, Mekidela, Kalu, Dessie Zuria, Kutaber, Ambasel and Tewledere. To collect the data, the researcher used open ended questionnaire and focus-group discussion. The data were collected from farmers of South Wollo, and from those people who had background on farming. Similarly, purposive sampling was used to select the study areas, and to select the participants of the study. Likewise, to interpret and analyze the data, qualitative research approach was employed. The researcher found out that farmers in South Wollo have jargon words which they use in their farming practices. These jargon words have been categorized thematically. The farmers do not use the jargon words to switch code from the outsiders, but they use it to make their communication easier. Some of the jargon terms are also used by out-groups, but they are used in different contexts and senses. Regarding the types of meanings, denotative, reflected, non-literal (connotative) and social meanings were identified. Finally, it is recommended that further research should be carried out in the rest of districts of Wollo, and other areas of the Amhara regions.*

**Keywords:** agriculture activities, jargon, meaning, sociolinguistics analysis

### Introduction

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society. One of the study area in sociolinguistics is language variation. Language varies from place to place, from one social group to another, and from one situation to another situation. To support this, Wargauth and Fuller (2015, p. 6) states that “for sociolinguists, linguistic variation is a central topic.” The language we use in everyday practice is remarkably varied. There is variation not only across speakers, but also variation within the speech of a single speaker. Holmes (2013) defines, “a variety is a set of linguistic forms used under particular social situations. It is a term that includes accents, linguistic style, dialect, register and slang.” “No human language is fixed, uniform, or unvarying; all languages show internal variations.” Actual usage varies from group to group, and from speaker to speaker in terms of the pronunciation of a language, the choice of words and the meaning of those

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words,”(Akmajian et al., 2001, p. 275).

There are many language varieties which are triggered by different factors such as: education, income, gender, age, sex and etc. People of different age, sex, social classes, occupations, or cultural groups in the same community demonstrate variations in their speech. Consequently, language differs in geographical and social space. Sociolinguists are interested to study these different types of linguistic variations which are used to express and reflect social factors (Holmes, 2013). Language varieties are divided according to the user of the language, and according to the usage of the language. Dialect, accent, idiolect, slang and jargon are varieties of language according to the user or speaker of the language while register and style are varieties of language according to usage aspect.

Every profession, organization and particular group has some form of unique vocabulary which can be used to speed communication among the group members. This unique vocabulary is called jargon. Jargon is one of the language variations in sociolinguistics. Yule (2006) says that jargon is a special technical vocabulary which is related to a specific area of work or interest. In social terms, jargon helps to create and maintain relations among those who realize themselves as insiders in some way, but it is also used to ignore outsiders. In the same way, Spolsky (2010) also defines jargon as, “a variation regarding the special variation particularly marked by a special set of vocabulary related with a profession or occupation or other defined social groups and forming part in a group variety. Moreover, Akmajian, et al., (2001) defines jargon as the special or technical vocabulary used to meet particular desires of the profession in almost every known occupation groups. According to the explanations above, jargon is not often comprehensible to general public or society outside the group, but the words used are not necessarily secret.

Different professionals use different jargons in their career. For instance, physicians and health professionals use medical jargons while lawyers use legal jargons. On the other hand, linguists use a technical linguistic jargon vocabulary items such as phoneme, morpheme and transformation. Although jargon is covert in its nature to an outsider, it is not restricted just to professional groups, but it also occurs in those groups who have special-interest such as sports enthusiasts, rock climbers, jazz, art lovers, and many other groups (Akmajian and et al, 2001). According to him, we can understand that there are several communities such as politicians, pilots, art lovers, and comedians and so on that use jargon. This study focuses on identifying jargons which are used by South Wollo farmers in their farming practices from sociolinguistics viewpoints. It also identifies the types of meanings of different jargons.

There are two types of meanings generally. These are conceptual and associative meanings. Conceptual meaning covers those basic and essential components of meaning that are conveyed by the literal use of a word, (Yule, 2006, p. 100). However, associative meaning is a type of meaning where different people might have different associations or connotation with words. Leech (1985) lists down seven kinds of meanings. These are: denotative, connotative, Social, reflected, collocative and affective or emotive meanings.

## **Statement of Problem**

Communication requires common understanding of the language patterns or expressions used by both the sender and the recipient; however, this communication sometimes is not effective in the case when the sender uses jargons. People for whom farming is not their livelihood faced challenges when they are communicating with those whose livelihood is farming because they do not understand words and expressions which are used by farmers even though they speak the same language. One of the barriers that makes

this communication difficult is the use of jargons. Farmers have their own words and expressions which cannot be understood by outsiders. For example, when journalists go to rural area to report news, or to produce news programs about development and the lives of rural community, they face trouble in communicating with farmers. The researcher observed this through television when the journalists asked the farmers for explanations, and through his experiences in different occasions. Similarly, agriculturalists come across challenges to understand words or expressions used by farmers. As a result, the researcher is motivated to conduct this paper on identifying jargon words used by south Wollo farmers, and to explain these words for those who don't understand their meanings. Therefore, the objective of this paper was to present and discuss jargons used by farmers in their farming practices in South Wollo Zone, to classify the jargons according to the theme of the jargons, to examine the meaning of the jargons in-group and out-group communication and to identify the types of meaning of each jargon.

## **Review of Related Literature**

Research on Jargon has been conducted by many investigators in different times and in different parts of the world. Some of these researches which were done on jargon are reviewed below. Ikhsan and Syafitri (2019) conducted research entitled "An Analysis of Jargon Used in Political Website". The intention was to describe the jargon words used in political news of CNN politics as the Political Website. In order to classify and analyze the data, they used a qualitative descriptive method. Their study helps readers to be familiar with some terms of political jargon in everyday speech. The present study also helps journalists and agriculturalists in particular and any reader in general.

Djawa (2018) made a study on jargons which are used by players of the clash of clan's game, an online game. The aim was to identify the jargons and to find out the forms, meanings and how to use them. Djawa used descriptive qualitative method, and she collected the data using monitoring and interview. The research finding showed that there are 22 different jargons used in the clash of clan game. The benefit of Djawa's study is that it used as the reference for those who want to enrich their knowledge on jargons, and for those who want to conduct further researches. In terms of objective and data collecting instrument, the present study is different from Djawa's study.

Ardiyanto (2014) has also conducted a study which was entitled "Jargon words Used by Stylists in Rabel Beauty Salon Galunggung Malang." The purposes of Ardiyanto's study were to identify the jargons used by stylist in Rabel beauty salon, and to find out the possible reasons of using those jargons by stylist in Rabel beauty salon. Qualitative approach was employed in the study. For the collection of data, the utterances which contained jargon were used how they were collected?. Based on the objectives of the study, he found that the stylists in Rabel beauty salon used 19 jargons during provision of salon's treatment, and they used jargon to keep their secret talk to build their own identity, but as the present studies revealed, farmers use jargon not to keep their talk secret. The benefit of Ardiyanto's study is to enrich the study in linguistics and sociolinguistics fields. There is also another research which was conducted by Glienicke (2017) on Jargon used by secondary schools students. Glienicke put research questions, and he proposed research hypothesis. Then, he found that learners at Buye Lycée created jargons. The finding showed that 60% of pupils at Buye Lycée created jargon expressions in order to keep away the communication from the outsiders. It was found that the pupils invented new words and expressions. The study gives some information to readers who are interested in studying about jargons. In terms of data collecting instrument and research method, Glienicke's study is similar to the present study. Both the present study and the previous

study used questionnaire for data collection.

Likewise, Khumairah (2017) has done research which is entitled “Jargon words used by Baristas in Kopi Api Coffee Shop Makassar.” Khumairah collected the data using observation sheet and interview sheet as instruments, and she used descriptive qualitative method. In this research, she talks about the forms and the ways of jargon production by Baristas in Kopi Api Coffee Shop Makassar. Her finding showed that Baristas used four forms of jargon which are: acronym, abbreviation, nineteen words and sixteen phrases. In terms of research approach, qualitative approach was used in both the present study and her study.

## **Research Methods**

### **Area of the study**

This study was conducted in South Wollo Zone of Amhara Region in Ethiopia. South Wollo, whose capital is Dessie, is found in the Eastern part of Amhara Regional State, and it has 20 districts and four administrative towns. This study was conducted in seven selected districts of the Zone because it is difficult to collect data from all districts due to time and financial limitations. These woredas (districts) were selected since the researcher believed that they could be representative sample of the study, and these areas are nearer to the researcher’s resident which helped him to save time and money.

### **Research Design**

In this study, qualitative research was employed because the data were described and analyzed in the form of words. So, the writer selected qualitative research since the study focuses on describing jargons used by south Wolo farmers. Therefore, this research design is needed to get adequate information from the informants, and it helps to identify the jargons used by South Wollo farmers in their farming practices.

### **Sampling Techniques**

As stated earlier, qualitative research approach was used. Qualitative research depends on purposeful (or purposive) sampling technique. Not to be redundant, you have a purpose for asking particular people to participate in the study (Heigham & Croker, 2009). Therefore, the sampling technique the researcher used to select districts and source of data was purposive sampling.

The farmers whose ages were ranged from 45-75, other people who had background about farming practices, and other professionals outside farmers were deliberately chosen. Similarly, the districts were also selected purposely since they are nearer to the researcher’s resident, and they are easy for the researcher to collect data.

### **Source of Data**

The data for this study was collected from farmers of South Wollo and from those people who had background on agricultural practices, but who are now in other professions. Besides, the researcher interviewed other professionals to cross check whether jargons used by farmers are comprehensible or not.

## **Data Collection Methods**

To achieve the research purpose, the researcher used two methods in order to collect the data for the study. They were focus-group discussion and open ended questionnaire. In line with open ended questionnaire, Creswell (2009, p. 8) states, “qualitative researchers tend to use open-ended questions so that the participants can share their views.” Similarly, Focus group discussion was held with farmers while open ended questions were given to those literate people who had background on farming practices. The researcher used open ended questionnaires since respondents can have freedom to express their opinions simply or even honestly in the absence of an observer. Furthermore, the researcher employed interview in order to ascertain whether the jargons used by farmers are understood or not by others.

## **Procedures**

The researcher chose 49 farmers whose aged ranged from 45-75, and they were grouped in seven groups. Those 49 participants were chosen by taking seven farmers from each selected district because it is difficult to include more than this number of participants due to the time constraints. Then, the researcher held focus-group discussions with farmers by provoking them to list words or expressions they use in farming activities. During focus group discussions which were held with farmers, the researcher told them that they are rich in unique vocabularies which they used in different agriculture activities, and they were asked to list these unique vocabularies with which they cannot communicate with agriculturalists and journalists in particular and outsiders in general. Moreover, the researcher prepared open ended questions to 28 participants who had background on agricultural practices, and they were asked to list words used by farmers in farming activities. They were also asked to explain what the words refer to. To check whether the collected jargons used by farmers are comprehensible or not, the researcher selected only ten other professionals who are not farmers since it is difficult to ask all the collected jargons one by one.

## **Method of Data Analysis**

As it has been mentioned earlier, the main objective of this study was to identify and discuss jargon words and expressions used by farmers of South Wollo. Therefore, all the data which were collected from the informants were grouped thematically, transcribed, analyzed and interpreted with qualitative data analysis method. .

## **Results**

This study focused on identifying jargon words and expressions used by South Wollo farmers in their daily agricultural activities. The jargon words and expressions collected from the informants were categorized thematically. These themes were: type of land and actions which are related to it, activities of plowing, phases and activities of weeding, the product, mowing and actions which are related to it, activities in the threshing floor, ox and ox's wound, the condition of tine and names of instruments.

Table 1: Jargon words which are related to the activities of farmland and the type of farmland

<b>Jargons</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>mafag/makos</i>	'Putting animals' dung on farmland'
<i>Sib märet</i>	'naturally fertile farmland'
<i>t'inč'a</i>	'rocky and less fertile farmland'
<i>dībīb</i>	uncultivated farmland after harvest
<i>daggičča</i>	'upward farmland'
<i>walike</i>	'farmland with black soil'
<i>boräbor</i>	'farmland with red soil'
<i>got'agot'</i>	'farmland with many stone inside'
<i>gwaž</i>	'pile of stones put together on farm'
<i>gurbiya</i>	'grounded farm'
<i>gul, täbaba</i>	'naturally fertile farmland'
<i>tädafat</i>	'downhill farm'
<i>ikkir</i>	'renewed land'
<i>makkär</i>	'To renew land'
<i>nış</i>	'A farmland with moist'
<i>iddari</i>	'uncultivated farmland for long time' or 'a farmland never cultivated before'
<i>k'ibik'ib</i>	'farmland plowed for second time'
<i>dirdir</i>	'cultivated farmland to sow teff'
<i>täragät'</i>	'trampled farmland'
<i>k'ädama</i>	'divided farmland'

As presented in the above table, farmers of South Wollo have special terms which are difficult to comprehend for out-groups. These special terms are used by farmers in a specific context to make their communication easier when talking about sort of their land and actions in relation to it. Specifically, they are used by farmers to talk about productive and unproductive farmland, frequently farmed land soil, and color of farm (*walike* and *boräbor*), an uncultivated farmland (*iddari*), moist farmland (*nış*) and plowed farmland (*k'ibik'ib*).

Most farmers have a farmland which is bordered with others in more than two directions or in all direction. Thus, it is trampled by oxen during rainy season while plowing. This farmland is known as *täragät*. The other point is that farmers' seedling or newly plowed farm around the border should not be destroyed. Therefore, farmers plow in *awudät* (see Table 2). When Farmers also plow their farm, they divide it into two or more in a suitable way to plow since it is difficult to plow with oxen because of its length. They have special term to refer to the divided farmland. This term is referred as *k'ädama*. The term is also used to express 'a quarter of a hectare of land.'

In terms of making their farm land fertilize without technology, farmers use two distinctive languages to express the action. When their farmland is renewed by seeding floral grains to make it fertilize, the process of making fertilization in this way is known as *makkär* by a special term. The renewed farmland is also called *ikkir*. Furthermore, they use a special term which is called *mafag/makos* when they fertilize their farmland by using various animals' excrement (dung) on it. In the same way, they also have special language which they used to refer to fertilize their farmland naturally without using anything. The special terms which are refer to naturally fertilized farmlands are known as *sib märet* and *gul/täbaba*.

Likewise, the farmers have jargons which they used in relation to their farmland. They classify their farmland as *dibib* (a farmland not plowed), *k'ibik'ib* (a farmland plowed repeatedly) and *dirdir* (ready farmland to sow Teff). In addition, farmers have also special terms which they used to describe the landscape of their farmland. They use the special terms such as: *daggicča*, *gurbiya*, *tädafat* to express the difficulty of their farmland to plow because of its landscape. They have also special terms to refer to a difficult farmland to cultivate because of stones. These special terms are referred as: *got'agot'* and *gwaž*. Generally, the terms are not understood by outsiders who are out of this profession and out of this context; however, some of the terms like *k'ibik'ib*, *dirdir* and *iddari* can be understood by out-groups, and out of this context in different senses. Thus, for outsiders, *k'ibik'ib* means 'sharp'; *dirdir* means 'something put in order' whereas *iddari* means 'excrement'.

As far as the types of meanings of the jargons is concerned, the terms *k'ibik'ib* and *iddari* are example of reflected meanings as they have more than one conceptual meanings in Amharic language. "Reflected meaning is the meaning which arises in the case of multiple conceptual meanings, when one sense of a word forms part of our response to another sense," (Leech, 1981, p. 16). The terms *gul*, *boräbor*, *ikkir*, *makkär*, *nış* and *tädafat* are example of denotative meanings since their meanings are also mentioned in Amharic dictionary (አ.ቋጥምጣጥ<sup>2</sup>, 1993). The remaining jargons inform us about the background of a certain society i.e. farmers. Social meaning is that the meaning which a piece of language conveys about the social circumstances of its use (Leech, 1985). So, they are instances of social meanings.

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Table 2: Jargon Words which the farmers used to describe activities of Plowing and other related activities to it

<b>Jargons</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>lämmämä</i>	‘to remove mud or soil from tine’
<i>gimša</i>	‘practice of plowing in the first stage after harvest’
<i>gämsä</i>	‘Plowing a farmland after the harvest’
<i>därädärä/ dirdära</i>	‘Plowing a farm to sow Teff’
<i>awudä</i>	‘mode of farming’
<i>irf mäč’äbbät’</i>	‘able to plow’
<i>mätläm</i>	‘Start to plow’
<i>tilm</i>	‘line in the farm’
<i>Mäšälisäl/ šilišäla</i>	‘plowing or digging an empty farm to sow crop’
<i>maläbabäs</i>	‘Not cultivating hard’
<i>İrf mänäk’inäk’</i>	‘Cultivating hard’
<i>mäk’äbk’äb/ k’ibk’äba ayyämä/iyyä-ma</i>	‘To farm for the second time’
<i>azäwa</i>	‘Mode of farming’
<i>mäšäkkät</i>	‘Blocking flood by using stones, soil and straw’
<i>magsat</i>	‘germinating of almost all weeds before sowing’

As itemized in the above table, there are special terms that farmers use in their farming activities. Specifically, the jargons which are employed by farmers to communicate easily among themselves when they are talking about the stages of farming, lazy and industrious farmers, someone’s starting time to plow and preparation to sow crop.

Farmers in South Wollo have modes of plowing that is different from the normal plowing which is done by considering the circumstances. When a farmer plows in normal way, he faces other farmer’s seedling or a farm which is newly plowed. The other farmer’s seedling or farm which is newly plowed should not be destroyed or trampled by oxen. So, the farmer must plow from north to south or from south to north until it is far from other farmer’s farm so that it cannot be devastated. The special term which refers to this mode of plowing is known as *awudät*. The other mode of plowing is referred to as *azäwa*. This dialectal expression is used by South Wollo farmers when they are plowing a farm which was plowed normally by connecting it with a farm plowed by another mode called *awudät* so that the farm plowed in *awudät* cannot be trampled by oxen. These two terms are not understood by out-groups.

Different special terms are employed by South Wollo farmers to explain the stages of farming. When a farmland is plowed for the first time after the previous harvest, the practice is known as *gimša*, or it is also described by the action *gämsä*. When a farm is also plowed for the second time after *gimša*, it is referred by a special term *k’ibk’äba /iyyäma/*. The



act of plowing for second time is known as *k'äbäk'äbä/ayyämä*. Here, the word *ayyämä* is not used by out-groups, and out of this context. Moreover, farmers plow their farmland for third time specially to sow Teff. This stage of farming is described by a special language *dirdära*.

In addition, south Wolo farmers also employ special terms to refer to industrious and lazy farmers. Industrious farmer who cultivates his farmland properly is referred by a special expression *irf näk'niko yarsal* 'cultivating the land well to depth whereas the lazy farmer is referred by an expression *aläbabiso yarsal* 'cultivating the land carelessly just on surface level.' Besides, farmers of South Wollo have a special term which they used to refer to someone who starts, and who is able to plow his farm land before any farmer begins to plow. This person is referred by a special expression *irf c'äbbät'ä* 'be able to plow.' These three expressions are not used by outsiders in other contexts.

In related to cultivating activities, farmers make terrace by using stones, soil and straw to block flood from entering their farmland, and protect soil from taking away. They refer to this activity *mäsäkkät*. During summer seasons, farmers wait a week until almost all weeds germinate before they sow crops. They employ special term known as *magsat* to describe the germination of weeds. Farmers have also jargon to define removing of soil or mud from tine. This term is known as *lämmämä*.

Out of this context, in the same way, the terms *gämäsä*, *mäkäbkäb*, *magsat*, *lämmämä*, *dirdära/ dārädārā* and *maläbabäs* can be used by outsiders, but in different contexts and senses or meanings. Thus, as used by out-groups, the terms *k'ibk'äba/ mäkäbkäb* means 'making sharp' *magsat* means 'to roar,' *maläbabäs* means 'to disguise,' *lämmämä* means 'being dirty for teeth,' *dārädārā* means 'putting things in order like books on shelf,' or 'writing a poem,' or playing guitar with finger' and *gämäsä* means dividing something into two.

As presented in the table above, *irf mänäk'inäk'* and *irf mäc'äbbät'* are example of non-literal meanings (connotative) because the phrases mean something different from what the words mean whereas *awudät*, *azäwa*, *gimša*, *lämmämä*, *mäsäkkät*, *dārädārā* and *magsat*, are example of social meanings since they are used only in the social contexts whereas *šilīšāla / mäsälīsäl* has dictionary/denotative meaning. The terms *maläbabäs*, *mäkäbkäb*, *gämäsä*, *mätlām* and *tilm* are examples of reflected meanings since these terms have more than one conceptual meaning in Amharic dictionary (አ.ቋጥግግ, 1993).

Table 3: Jargons which farmers used to describe activities of weeding

<b>Jargons</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>gallälä/ galäla</i>	'To pick up the broken wood, straw and grass from farm'
<i>galälo</i>	'wood, straw and weed thrown out of the farm'
<i>dīngīlay</i>	'the first course in teff weed'
<i>dagīmoš/ dīgamoš</i>	'the second procedure in teff weed'
<i>sositāñña</i>	'the third step in teff weed'
<i>ammämä</i>	'to lead a group'
<i>imäm</i>	'a line in which everybody goes'
<i>ammami</i>	'A person who leads the group'
<i>gät'ami</i>	'mowing or weeding by checking what ammami goes'
<i>gät't'ämä</i>	To mow or weed by connecting what other persons mowed or weeded
<i>kännat</i>	'comfortable weed'
<i>t'änäk'olä</i>	'To dig weed out with instrument called mät'änkoya'(see Table 8).
<i>fäsäse</i>	'Small weeds in abundance on farmland.'
<i>makofikof</i>	'Blown up farm.'

As presented in the above table, special terms which are employed by South Wollo farmers were identified as the process and activities of weeding. These terms are used by farmers in a specific context during only weeding.

Accordingly, South Wollo farmers classify the whole weeding season which covered the time until the weed stops growing in the crop in to different stages of weeding especially in Teff cultivation. The special terms used to express these stages are: *dīngīlay /galäla/*, *dagīmoš/ dīgamoš/*, *sositāñña*, etc. After farmers sow Teff, they wait a week until weeds germinate before they sit to weed. Then, after a week, they start weeding by picking up the broken wood, straw and grass from the farm. This process is known as *galäla* by a special lingo. In this process, the first stage is also termed as *dīngīlay* by a distinctive language. The broken wood, straw and weed thrown out of the farm are known as *galälo*. The second and the third stages are also referred to as *dagīmoš/ dīgamoš* and *sositāñña* respectively. During weeding, the action that farmers do to take out weeds is termed as *t'änk'k'olä*. Out of this context, the term *t'änk'k'olä* can be used by out-groups and it means to predict through magic spell.

When farmers of South Wollo faced small weeds in abundance in their farmland, and when they are in trouble to weed, they call it *fäsäse*. On the contrary, they have also a special language termed as *kännat* which they used to describe when the weeds are grown

comfortable enough to weed easily. In the other context, the term *kännat* is also used by out-groups to express that someone became lucky or got something accidentally. Sometimes, the farm which is sown Teff is blown up because of heavy continuous rain. Farmers use a specific term called *makofikof* ‘blown up’ to refer to the blown up farmland.

When farmers start activity of weeding, they choose to work either in group or in a single line. The group has a leader. The role of the leader is to occupy enough area which can afford to all participants in the activity of weeding. The special language used by South Wollo farmers to refer to the leader is called *ammami*, and the act of leading the group in the activity of weeding is called *ammämä* ‘to lead a group’ whereas the practice of working in group in a single line is known as *imam*. While weeding in group, a participant known as by the name *gät’ami* among the group, weeds by checking what *ammami* goes. The act of doing this is also referred by the verb *gät’t’ämä*. The terms *ammämä*, *gät’t’ämä* and *gät’ami* are also used by out-groups too, and they have another meaning out of this context. Accordingly, the term *ammämä* means sick; *gät’t’ämä* means to produce a poem whereas *gät’ami* means a person who produces poem.

The jargons which are presented in the above table such as: *ammämä*, *t’änäk’olä* have reflected different meanings since they have more than one senses/ meanings in Amharic dictionary in different contexts. The words *sositännä*, *dagīmoš*, *gallälä* and *galälo* are mentioned in Amharic dictionary (አ.ቋጥምግ, 1993). So, they are examples of denotative meanings. The terms *imam*, *gät’ami*, *ammami*, *gät’t’ämä*, *fäsäse*, *makofikof* and *kännat* are examples of social meanings or cultural meanings. Generally, in the above category, there are words which can be used by out-groups in different contexts and senses, and there are also special terms that are used only by farmers in a particular context.

Table 4: Jargons which are used to describe Crops

Jargons	Gloss
<i>gaššäbä</i>	‘unproductive but fertilized and overgrown crop straw’
<i>abbärä</i>	‘overgrown and fertilized cereal’
<i>näk’äloš, täräš</i>	‘unfertilized and unproductive cereal crops’
<i>gäläboš, šäbällälä</i>	‘unproductive crop due to insufficient rainfall’
<i>dwadwate</i>	‘chicken pea with no fruit inside the fruit sprigs’
<i>gäbo</i>	‘sprout that germinates from fallen grains during harvest’
<i>gomärra, gomira</i>	‘to mature (for grain, fruit)’
<i>gwamiya</i>	‘unripe fruit, especially for chili’
<i>wolänka</i>	‘the nearly dried beans’

As presented in the above table, special terms which are employed by South Wollo farmers to explain the process and actions which are seen in the crop cultivation starting from seedling until the final yield is ready to be harvested. Most of the terms are used by South Wollo farmers to describe whether their crop is productive or not. They employ some special terms like: *gaššäbä*, *abbärä*, *dwadwate* when their crops are fertilized and overgrown because of fertilizer, but unproductive. Here, the term *abbärä* is also used by out-groups in another context and in different senses to mean ‘collaboration.’ Farmers also employ other exceptional terms like *näk’äloš* and *täräš* to express their crop is unproductive

due to lack of fertilizer, and they used *gäläboš* and *säbällälä* to define that their crops are unproductive because of insufficient rain.

The other special words which are used by South Wollo farmers are words which are used to describe whether their crops are ripe or not. The terms *gomärra/ gomira*, for example, are used to express that crops become ripe. on the other hand, in order to describe unripe fruit, especially chili, farmers use a special term which is known as *gwamiya*. In the same way, south Wollo farmers have also distinct word which they use to describe whether beans are not too dried and can be eaten or not. This term is known as *wolänka*. This term cannot be used by out-groups even in another context, but it is used only by in-groups.

As far as meaning is concerned, the word *mabbär* has more than one conceptual meaning so it is an example of reflected meaning. The words *gaššäbä*, *gäbo*, *gomärra*, *gomira* and *gwamiya* have denotative meanings, and the rest jargons are examples of social meanings.

Table 5: Jargons which are related to kinds of pile after reaping

<b>Jargons</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>dänkäl</i>	‘Combination of <i>t’ibit’ab</i> ’
<i>mädänkäl</i>	‘to collect bunches of teff together’
<i>dänkay</i>	‘collector bunch of Teff together’
<i>nädo</i>	‘tied bunch of rye, barley or wheat’
<i>tämäk’</i>	‘Putting cereal in the center of the piled cereal’
<i>zämämän</i>	‘pile of rye, barley and wheat’
<i>zämmämä</i>	‘To pile cereals’
<i>k’unč’č’o</i>	‘Pile of Teff’
<i>konäč’č’ä</i>	‘to pile Teff in small size’
<i>t’ibit’ab</i>	‘Combination of up to four handful or bunch’
<i>mätäbitäb</i>	‘to put handful or bunch of Teff’
<i>kurän</i>	‘any food left in the farmland for animals’

Farmers in South Wollo have special language which they used to describe activities of reaping and other activities which are related to it. They use distinctive language to delineate the pile of crops and the process of collecting crop during reaping and actions which are related to it. When farmers reap Teff, they put what they reap since their hand cannot hold. To refer to the handful or bunch of Teff, farmers use special term called *t’ibit’ab*. The act of putting together handful or bunch of Teff is also known as *mätäbitäb* by a special lingo. This term *mätäbitäb* is also employed by out-groups in another context to express bouncing of ball.

Farmers anywhere particularly in the study area have habit of doing work in groups especially in activities of mowing and weeding. In mowing activity, one person among the participants has a role of piling *t’ibit’ab* to form what is known as *dänkäl*. The person who has a special role of piling *t’ibit’ab* is also known as *dänkay*. The act of piling handful or bunch of Teff is also referred as *mädänkäl*.

After farmers finished reaping Teff, they heap number of *dīnkāloč* to form *k'unč'o*. The act of heaping *dīnkāl* to form *k'unč'o* is known as *konāč'č'ä*. When they heap Teff, they put *dīnkāl* in the center of the pile. The *dīnkāl* put in the center of the pile is referred as *tāmāk'*. This term is also used by both insiders and outsiders in different contexts to express hardship someone faced. The terms *k'unč'č'o* is also used by outsiders out of this context to express two different meanings. Thus, it is used to mean famous or superiority, and it is mean child hair left in center of head after being shaved whereas the term *konāč'č'ä* means hatching or existence of flea. Farmers also use special term called *zāmāmān* to refer to heap of rye, wheat, or barley piled in the form of rectangle or square. Moreover, they have special verb known as *zāmmāmā* for the act of heaping these crops. The term *zāmmāmā* is also used by outsiders, but in different contexts and senses to mean to incline or careen. After crops are reaped, there is a kind of food which is prepared in abundance like weed left for animals in the farmland known as by its special name *kurān*.

With the exception of *k'unč'o*, *zāmmāmā*, *tābātābā*, *tāmāk'* and *konāč'č'ä*, all the special terms in the above table are not used by outsiders out of this context. Regarding the type of meanings, denotative, reflected and social meanings were identified as mentioned above. For instance, the terms *nādo*, *zāmāmān*, *kurān* were identified as denotative meanings whereas the word *zāmmāmā* has reflected meaning as it has more than one conceptual meanings. The remaining jargons are identified as examples of social meanings as they are used in a specific social context i.e. in agriculture activities.

Table 6: Jargon which is used to describe activities of threshing floor

<b>Jargons</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>k'älläš,</i>	'An animal which leads other animals'
<i>mäk'alläs</i>	'To lead other animals'
<i>laggot'ä/ šäbbäbä</i>	'To tie mouth of horse, donkey and mule with rope during thresh'
<i>mälagoč'a</i>	'A rope used to tie mouth of horse, donkey and mule'
<i>ahedä</i>	'To rotates animals around the threshing floor'
<i>ahyaĵ</i>	'One who follows and controls animals in the threshing floor'
<i>mäkirät'</i>	'broken down of straw too much'
<i>hijja</i>	'Work of threshing with animals in threshing floor'
<i>kärüt'</i>	'The straw of Teff which became broken down too much'
<i>mät'iräk</i>	'enter of grain in damp threshing floor'
<i>t'ärük'</i>	'The grain entered the threshing floor because of damp'
<i>mat'ol</i>	'To separate the cereal from straw with a local material'
<i>agimas</i>	'Something to eat'/ animals' excrement in threshing floor'
<i>magibabat</i>	'To sweep the dispersed crop'
<i>mäšom</i>	'To implant mänš and lada on the final production'
<i>manfärafär</i>	'Moving threshed Teff with a local material to extract the straw'
<i>Sänäf mirt</i>	'A product which is not finalized in threshing floor'
<i>mat'aräb</i>	To strip the straw of Teff what is broken down'
<i>č'ädä</i>	'to be broken down too much' (for straw of Teff)
<i>mäbärbär</i>	'Extracting or lifting the unbroken straw from inside'
<i>birbbära</i>	'A process of extracting the unbroken straw'
<i>mämänšät</i>	'Throwing grain on the threshing floor with mänš'
<i>däfäč'a</i>	'Straw of chicken pea'

It has been investigated that all these terms in the above table are used by farmers only in the activities of threshing floor. They use these terms to facilitate communication among the participants who are involved in the activities of threshing floor. All these terms with the exception of a few words are used by insiders in specific context i.e. in the activity of threshing floor. The special terms are also used by outsiders as well, but in different contexts and senses. These terms whose meanings are out of this context are: *magibabat* (to accord), *birbbära* (search for), *mäbärbär* (to go through), *mäk'alläs* (to bend) and *mäšom* (to appoint). Generally, one can understand that a word used by a domain has multiple meanings in different contexts.

As stated above, farmers have special terms which they use to communicate among themselves in the activity of threshing floor. They have a term known as *hijja* which they use to refer to the activity of threshing by using animals. When they thresh their crops using animals, the animals' mouth must be tied with rope so that they are not able to eat crops which are being threshed. The rope is known as *mälagoč'a* by a special lingo. The act of

tying animals' mouths like horse's, donkey's and mule's is called *mālagot'*/ *māšābāb*. Farmers have also a special term known as *k'allaš* 'leader' which they use to describe an animal which leads other animals during threshing floor. The act of leading other animals to the center of threshing floor in rotation' is also known as *māk'allās* 'to lead'. The terms *mālagot'* and *mālagoč'a* are not used by out-groups even in different contexts and senses. The terms *mat'ol*, *manfārafār*, *mat'arāb*, *māmānsāt*, and *birbbāra* / *mābārbār* are used by South Wollo farmers to communicate easily among themselves during the separation of straw from yield. They have also special expressions which they used to communicate among themselves regarding the excessive breaking of straw of Teff. These are *č'ādā* and *kārrāt'ä*/ *kārit'* which are not used by out-groups.

During the threshing floor, food is served by the owner to the gatherings who are involved in threshing of Teff by animals. The food which is eaten by *dāboñña* 'participants who give free help' in the threshing floor is known as *agīmas*. The food known as *agīmas* is served to *dāboñña* three times during the process of threshing floor. The first *agīmas* is served for *dāboñña* during the *birbbāra* of threshing Teff. The second *agīmas* is served to them in the separation of *č'id* 'straw of Teff from yield. After the participants separate *č'id* from yield, one person holding *māns* and another person holding lada make a number circles on the yield and then they implant *māns* and lada on it. The act of doing this is known as *māšom* by a special lingo. Finally, the third *agīmas* is served during the completion of the production.

In this category, reflected, denotative and social meanings were identified. The terms *māšābāb*, *mābārbār*, *birbbāra*, *māk'allās* and *k'allaš* have reflected meanings since these words have more than one meanings in Amharic dictionary whereas the words *hiġja*, *sānāf mīrt*, *māmānsāt*, *dāfāč'a* have dictionary/denotative meanings. The remaining jargons have social meanings as they are used in a specific social context.

Table 7: Jargons which are used to describe plowing oxen.

Jargons	Gloss
<i>anākofä</i>	'not be able to walk due to hoof wound of an ox'
<i>amārmare</i>	'A scar after wound on withers of an ox where
<i>lib mamilāt'</i>	'fainting and failing of oxen'
<i>woz māk'äyär</i>	'Behavioral change of oxen due to change of the master'
<i>yägärafi</i>	'To take a bull from someone and train it for plow'
<i>ankolakolä</i>	'To train a bull for plow'
<i>yäfäč'č'it</i>	'To hire out an ox or oxen for plow service'
<i>sälla</i>	'to be trained'

As presented in the above table, South Wollo farmers use special terms to describe their oxen's wound, behavior and laziness. They employ special terms *anākofä* 'to describe the wound on hooves of oxen' and *amārmare* 'wound on the withers of oxen' to refer to injury of their oxen. These terms are not used by out-groups. Thus, outsiders could not understand them. Farmers also use an exceptional expression known as *lib amälāt'äu* to refer to an ox which faints and falls down since it frequently plows without rest.

Furthermore, farmers have other special terms which they use to describe renting of their bull to other farmers, but that cannot be comprehend by out-groups. When they give their bull that is not well trained to plow to someone who has no ox, it is said that the bull is taken by somebody as *yägärafī*. It means the bull is taken to be trained to plow. Farmers make use of special lingo *yägärafī* to this situation. Then, after some years service, the ox is given back to its owner. Similarly, when a farmer gives his ox for a farm activity to a farmer who has not an ox, the farmer who use an ox will give from each type of grain for the owner of the ox for its service. This agreement is termed as *yäfäč'č'it*. They also make use of special term known as *sälla* to refer to the act of being trained to plow (for bull and lazy ox). This word, *sälla* can also be used by out-groups. Therefore, out of this context, it means being sharpen and managing. The expression *woz k'äyärä* is used by farmers to define the behavioral change of their oxen. Generally, with the exception of the terms *abaya* and *sälla*, all of the special terms cannot be used by out-groups in different contexts and senses.

In this category, the researcher found non-literal, denotative and social meanings. The expresions *lib mamilät'* and *woz mäk'äyär* are non-literal meanings since these terms are something different from what the phrase means whereas *abaya* and *sälla* are examples of denotative and reflected meanings respectively. The remaining jargons are examples of social meanings.

Table 8: Names of Instruments Used by Farmers

Jargons	Gloss
<i>mät'änkoya, marämiya</i>	An instrument made up of metal and wood, and it is used to dig out the weed
<i>mat'oya</i>	A broom which is used to separate chaff from the grain
<i>mat'aräbiya</i>	An instrument made up of local plant used to strip the straw

It has been investigated that farmers in South Wollo employ special terms for the names of their instruments used in the activities of threshing floor and weeding which is not be understood by outsiders. There are many words that refer to instruments which farmers used in their agricultural activities; however, the researcher identified only the special terms referring to instruments which are supposed not to be comprehended by outsiders. The term *mässafičča* is an example of denotative whereas *marämiya* is an instance of reflected meaning. The terms *mät'änkoya*, *mat'oya* and *mat'aräbiya* are instaces of social or cultural meanings.

Table 9: Jargon words that are related to Condition of tine

Jargons	Gloss
<i>mäslat</i>	'To be horizontal of tine to the ground'
<i>mägtär</i>	'To be vertical of tine'

As the above table shows, farmers make use of special terms known as *säla* and *gättärä* to talk about condition of tine. When the tine is not able to plow since it is almost horizontal or flat, the it is referred by the special word *sälla* where as the tine is referred to by special



lingo *gättärä* when it is not able to plow since it is nearly vertical. These two terms are also employed by out-groups in different contexts and senses beyond the context farmers use them. Thus, out of the context that farmers use, the term *gättärä* means straining, making someone stay for long time and planting something vertically whereas the term *sälla* means being sharpen, being trained (bull and lazy ox), managing and tine that does not plow. In this category, both words are examples of reflected meanings since they have more than one conceptual meaning in Amharic dictionary (አብነት, 1993).

In general, in the focus- group discussion which was held with farmers, the researcher raised a question to farmers why they use the jargons. They responded that they use jargons because they sound good to them, and using the jargons help them make communication easier. From this point, one can understand that South Wollo farmers do not use jargons to hide their dialogues from the outsiders.

## Discussion

The main objective of this study was to present and discuss jargons used by farmers in their farming practices in South Wollo Zone. The researcher found out that farmers in South Wollo have their own jargons which they use in their agricultural work, particularly in farming, threshing, mowing and weeding. As it is mentioned above, South Wollo farmers do not employ jargons to hide their dialogues from the outsiders, but to communicate more freely among them. The collected jargons have been categorized according their theme: activities of plowing, process and activities of weeding, condition of crop, activities of mowing, activities in threshing floor, behaviour and wound of ox, names of instruments and condition of tine.

The result showed that most of the terms are used to express the activities of farmland and the type of farmland whereas the least number of jargons are used in describing condition of tine. Farmers use them on certain contexts. When the situation passes, the terms are not used that much. That means, they do not always use them in their day to day activities. The jargons also tell us who the communities are, and where they are from. The result also showed that some of the terms used by farmers in their farming activities are also employed by out-groups in different contexts and meanings. As the researcher proved by interviewing other professionals, people who do not belong to farmers face difficulty in understanding and comprehending the jargons used by farmers. Therefore, the jargons practised by farmers are not understandable by outsiders in the context farmers use them. As far as meaning of jargons is concerned, the study revealed that farmers use non-literal (connotative), denotative or dictionary, social and reflected meanings.

## Conclusion

Based the discussion, it can be concluded that language varies according to occupation in terms of jargon. In South Wollo Zone, farmers have their own special terms which they use in their farming activities. They do not use jargons to switch code from the outsiders, but they use them just to communicate more freely among them. One can conclude that jargon is not often understandable to the whole community who are outside the groups. However, the terms are not used necessarily to keep secret. Some of the jargons used by farmers have more than one conceptual meanings based on various contexts. The jargons are also used by out-groups, but it is not in the contexts and senses farmers use them. Generally, the terms tell us about the regional and social background of the user.

In this study, denotative, reflected, non-literal and social meanings were also identified. As the researcher proved, most of the jargons used by South Wollo farmers in their agriculture activities were not understood by outsiders in the context farmers use. Finally, the researcher wants to recommend that further research on farmers' jargons should be carried out in the rest of districts of the South Wollo Zone and other areas of the Amhara Region.

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