

*Vocative Interjections in Address Forms in Bhojpuri:
A Study of Honorifics*

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Abstract

The present study examines the use of vocative interjections in the address forms and the politeness strategies that could be correlated with the sociocultural variables such as age, gender, kinship, social status, and educational achievements. Toward the end of this study, a situational analysis of the use of the vocative interjections and politeness strategies will also be provided. Since address forms are an important aspect of the interpersonal communication, they manifest both the identity and the status of the speaker and the person addressed (Mehrotra 1986: 80). In this paper, emphasis is put on the speaker's choice of vocative interjection to mark the different honorific level. It will also purport how sociocultural variables affect the choice of vocative interjection in the address forms.

1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic studies have found that speaker conveys his/her thought, attitude using linguistic features. Address forms demonstrate speakers' relation with the addressee and referent. The usage of different address forms shows both the identity and the status of the speaker and the person addressed (Mehrotra 1986: 80). In this respect, the forms and terms of address have been considered important linguistic features, which portray a speaker's attitude towards hearer and referent. People use it to prove their relationship with the addressee and establish themselves as a part of social existence. The different terms of address in Bhojpuri consist of kinship terms, first names, surnames, nicknames, occupational titles, teknonym, interjections, etc. In order to use the correct address forms a speaker not only requires the knowledge of the language, but also needs to have proper understanding of the social and cultural system of the society.

In this study, I wish to show the use of vocative interjections, hereafter VI, and honorific pattern used by the speaker in his/her addresses. I will also discuss the different politeness strategies used by the speaker.

2. Data

The data for the present study have been collected from the ten movies of Bhojpuri. All the films selected for the study in this paper deal mostly with contemporary social issues. During the collection of data, special focus was put on the gender of speaker and addressee, the use of VI and context of the interpersonal communication. Attention was also paid to the frequency of the use of VI and the relationship between the speaker and addressee. In addition, I also relied on the direct observation of actual usage of VI by the speakers from the Gorakhpur region. Being a native speaker of Bhojpuri also helped me substantially while performing this study.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the use of VI between family, friends and relatives in casual conversation. For the purpose of this paper, I will adopt Ameka's (1992) concept of the primary interjection¹ and three functionalities of vocative as mentioned by Leech (1999) and Biber et al. (1999).

3. Background of Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri belongs to Indo-Aryan languages, a subgroup of Indo-European family of languages. It has been categorised under Western Magadhan group (Bangla, Asamiya, Oriya), which also includes Maithili and Magahi by Chatterji (1926). Shukla (1981: 1) puts it under Eastern-Zone of Indo-Aryan Languages. Grierson (1903) used the name Bihari for the three Magadhan speeches – Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili despite the fact that there was no language with the name of Bihari. According to Tiwari (1960), Grierson's decision to put three dialects under Bihari was correct only from the philological point of view as there are distinctive differences among these speeches. According to Masica² (1991), there is a great deal of differences among scholars on the localisation of subgroup boundaries. The reason for this disagreement is the overlapping of structural features in dialect speech (Southworth: 2005). For a detailed classification and subgrouping of Indo-Aryan languages and Bhojpuri, see Grierson (1903), Chatterjee (1926), Tiwari (1954, 1960), Shukla (1981), and Masica (1991).

The name Bhojpuri was derived from the name of a town Bhojpur that is currently situated in the State of Bihar (Tiwari 1954, 1960; Shukla 1981). Other terminologies are also used for Bhojpuri. However, they are limited to local level only. Such names are: 'Boujepour', 'Nagpuria', 'Baksariya',

¹ Primary interjections are little words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes.... They could be used as co-utterances with other units. They tend to be phonologically and morphologically anomalous (Ameka 1992: 105). They let the speaker to express the basic information that he wants to convey with the minimum linguistic effort, which implies substituting a whole sentence structure by a word or a phrase (Cuenca 2000: 36).

² Masica has analysed the all the major classification of Indo-Aryan family by the linguists namely – Hoernle (1880), Grierson (1903), (Chatterji (1970), Turner (1975), Katre (1968), Cardona (1974), and Nigam (1972).

'Deshwali', 'Purabiya', 'Chhaparahia', 'Banarsi', 'Bangarahi', Bhathahi, 'Malli', etc. (Tiwari 1960: xxvii). The Government of India's census data from 2001 shows that 33,099,497³ people declared Bhojpuri as their first language. It is also a lingua franca for a large group of Indian immigrants, who were sent as workers to the countries like Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam in the 18th century.

In India, Bhojpuri is spoken in an area of fifty thousand square kilometres (Upadhyay 2002: 17, Singh 1958: 4) consisting northern part of the State of Uttar Pradesh and western part of the State of Bihar as well as in the lower area of Nepal. For a descriptive geographical information about the boundary lines of Bhojpuri speech communities see Tiwari (1954, 1960), Shukla (1981), Upadhyay (2002) and Singh (2007). Bhojpuri was originally written using Kaithi script (Grierson 1903, Tiwari 1960) that has now replaced by Devanagari.

4. Vocative, Interjection and Honorifics

Vocatives and interjections are somewhat neglected aspect of grammar. The research on vocatives spans a number of subdisciplines such as grammatical case, forms of address, pronominal reference, etc. Vocatives have been studied in the context of language acquisition, conversation analysis and pragmatics. Zwicky (1974) studied the nouns and noun phrases that can be used vocatively in English. He concluded that vocative forms are both idiomatic and sociolinguistically marked. They express the speaker's attitude, politeness, intimacy and relationship to the addressee. Hook (1984) studied the formulations of vocatives in American society. Jaworski (1992) observed the use of vocatives in Polish. He compared the vocative-case address-form against nominative-case address-form and, discussed the respect and social distance between interlocutors. Leech (1999) postulated the three functions of vocatives in the address system – 1. Summoning attention, 2. Identifying addressee, 3. Establishing and maintaining social relationships. Dickey (1997), same as Zwicky, compared vocative noun phrases and referential noun phrases. She focused on the status relationship between the interlocutors. Biber et al. (1999) called vocative a noun or noun phrase used to directly address one of the listeners. Biber et al. also proposed three functions of vocative similar to Leech: getting attention, identifying addressee and maintaining social relationships.

In the case of interjection, linguists have proposed a different definition of it. If we look the the meaning of interjection in the dictionaries, we will only find the literary meaning. According to Wierzbicka (2003: 286), "the definitions they offer are not of the kind that could help anyone to learn how to use them". Ameka (1992) called them short phrases that may constitute an utterance by themselves. He has categorised interjections into two groups – primary and secondary interjections. Primary interjec-

³ Census India 2001, Statement 1, Part A

tions are little words or non-words, which can constitute an utterance by themselves. Such examples are - Ouch!, Wow!, Gee!, Oho!, Oops!, Hey!, etc. The secondary interjections are those that have an independent semantic value (ibid: 111). He has divided interjections into three functional groups – 1. Those that are related to the speaker's mental state, 2. Those that are related to the interaction, 3. Those that are related to phatic function. During the usage of interjection, intonation also plays an important role. For example, 'hey!' with a falling contour is interpreted differently by the addressee than that with a rising contour. It also denotes speaker's attitude towards addressee or referent. For example, usage of 'hey!' by speaker can be paraphrased as 'I ask you to pay attention'.

Vocatives and interjection are closely related to forms of address. And so is the use of honorifics. According to Shibatani (2001: 552), "the term honorific refers to special linguistic forms that are used as signs of deference toward the nominal referents or the addressee". Brown and Levinson (1987) call it grammatical encoding – "By honorifics in an extended sense we understand direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between the participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event" (ibid: 179). According to Leech (2007), it is social concerns that are grammatically encoded. Lakoff (1975) visualises it as a need of society. Huszcza (2006: 47) says that honorifics are more concerned with information about the friendly and social relationship among the interlocutors – speaker and addressee, speaker and hearer who is not addressee, speaker and referent. Furthermore, Huszcza emphasises that the cultural and social relationship and the role of speaker, addressee and referent decide the ranking of honorifics in a communication process. He adds that the speaker can base his honorific utterances on higher or lower ranking where a higher ranking can be used for the addressee while lower ranking can be used by the speaker for oneself.

The use of honorifics in Bhojpuri can be referred to the Brown and Levinson's (1987) people's face theory and the power and solidarity theory of Brown and Gilman (1960). The face maintenance theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) postulates that the face is "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself... Face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction (ibid: 61). They propose that each face consists of two components – negative and positive face. The negative face is one's desire that his "actions to be unimpeded by others" (ibid: 62). The positive face is one's desire that his actions to be appreciated by others. Both aspects of the face can be maintained by using a number of strategies which are called politeness or modesty. Some of these activities of face maintaining are intrinsically face threatening activities (FTA). They have proposed different strategies which can be used for a FTA activity. Nevertheless, interlocutors select the appropriate politeness strategies that will enable them to avoid or minimise the FTA. A speaker uses an appropriate form of VI to maintain the the face of the addressee. Another factor

which influences the use of honorifics in Bhojpuri is Brown and Gilman (1960) power and solidarity. They postulate that “power is a relationship between at least two persons...” (ibid: 255). This power has many bases such as “physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalised role in the church, the state, the army, or within family” (ibid). Those who have power use intimacy form and those without power use honorific form. They also propose a solidarity paradigm where power between the interlocutors is null and interlocutors use the same form when they feel intimate towards each other. In Bhojpuri, all the bases mentioned by Brown and Gilman for a power and solidarity also play their role in the speaker’s choice of honorifics. In a family relationship in Bhojpuri, however, it is not the power and solidarity which define the use of honorifics but the social culture. For example, a wife and a husband do not have power on each other. They have intimate relations but address forms between them is very formal. In Bhojpuri, it is not always sex, age, caste, social and financial status determine the use of honorifics, but the social norm which determines that a husband is superior to wife, a father is superior to mother.

5. Functions of Vocative Interjections

The linguistic function of VI can be correlated to the Jakobson’s (1960) “function of language model” (ibid: 355). Jakobson defines six factors – addresser, context, message, contact, code and addressee – which determine the different functions of language. In a communication process, a message is sent by the addresser to addressee. A message cannot be understood if it is outside of the context. A contact is a physical channel which establishes a connection between addresser and addressee. A code should be common for both addresser and addressee to understand the message. All these six factors have different function. Jakobson has defined six functions – emotive, referential, conative, phatic, poetic, and metalingual. The emotive function relates to the addresser’s attitude. The referential function is denotative and cognitive function which show things or facts. The conative function focuses on addressee which is mostly used in vocative and imperative expression. The phatic function determines the contact between the addresser and addressee. It functions to enquire whether channel or contact with channel still works. Lyons (1968) observes that the phatic function of the language is related to the creation and maintenance of a feeling of solidarity and well-being between the interlocutors. Laver (1981) says that the phatic utterances are the important linguistic devices for social interaction as they denote the indexical information about the interlocutors’ role in the society. The poetic function is related to the message. The metalingual function checks the code shared between the addresser and addressee. Depending upon the purpose of speech act, one of the functions will predominate while others will function as a subsidiary. In the context of VI, phatic functions predominate in Bhojpuri while emotive and conative functions are used in a limited number.

6. Vocative Interjections in Bhojpuri

There are more than ten primary VI in Bhojpuri. They can be grouped according to three honorific levels or honorific degrees - intimacy level (IL), neutral level (NL) and honour level (HL) - which are found in Bhojpuri. These three levels follow different pronominal patterns and verb agreements. Nevertheless, I shall not discuss the grammatical aspects of these levels in this paper. Intimacy Level (IL): At this level, the distance between speaker and hearer is minimal. A close relationship is shared by the interlocutors. The age, gender and relationship as well as sociocultural aspects are the most important factors for this level. For example, mother and children use IL pattern to address each other, but father and children do not follow this pattern due to the sociocultural aspect that a father has power over the other members of the family. Which means a father and child can have intimate relationship, but social etiquette of kinship dominates over intimacy. In addition, IL is used by adults and adolescents for children. Sometime, the use of IL by adults to an adolescent will depend on the period and level of acquaintance between one another. For instance, if two children belong to the same age group, then they will use IL to address each other. If not, then the older child will use IL and will receive NL forms. Sometimes, the older child will be addressed with kinship terms – *b^ha:i⁴* or *b^hai:a* (brother) – even though speaker and addressee do not share any kinship. In the meantime, IL is rarely used for strangers with the exception of children. Neutral Level (NL): It is the most widely used honorific patterns in Bhojpuri that can be used for young, old and both known/unknown. The use of NL for a stranger not necessarily shows the respect or disrespect, but marks the social distance between speaker and addressee. It also informs about the lack of an intimate relationship between the two. Meanwhile, it marks politeness and respect if it is used in the family domain. For instance, it is very common to use the NL pattern for father and elder brother. One does not necessarily show any extra politeness for father or brother by using NL pattern, but due to socio-cultural factor, it is termed non-honorific to use IL for father or elder brother. Honour Level (HL): At this level speaker uses different honorific markers to show respect towards hearer. Several factors such as age, caste, social and occupational status, education, kinship and ceremonial situations govern the use of the HL. Its use may also depend entirely on a speaker who wants to be more polite or to put addressee or referent in a higher position. People belonging to higher caste, having higher social and occupational status are addressed using HL pattern. This is also very common among affinal relationship.

⁴ International Phonetics Association's (IPA) phonetic patterns are used for transcription of the Bhojpuri.

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Table 1.

IL	re, əre, həre, e
NL	ho, hε, aε, əho, o, e
HL	ədʒi, e

All the vocative interjections mentioned above are equivalent to English 'hey'. They fulfil the phatic, conative and emotive function in the different context. When they are used to get someone's attention, they can be used with first name (a. i), last name (a. ii), social and professional titles (a. iii, vi), kinship terms (a. iv), terms of endearment or formal address (a. v).

For example:

a.

- i. aε kũdɔn! – Hey Kundan!
VI + Name
- ii. e tɔwari! – Hey Tiwari!
VI + Last Name
- iii. hε dɔktɔr! – Hey Doctor!
VI + Professional Title
- iv. həre məusi! – Hey Aunt!
VI + Kinship term
- v. həre babu! – Hey boy!
VI + Term of Endearment
- vi. hε vəkil sahəb! – Hey Lawyer Sir!
VI + Title + HON.

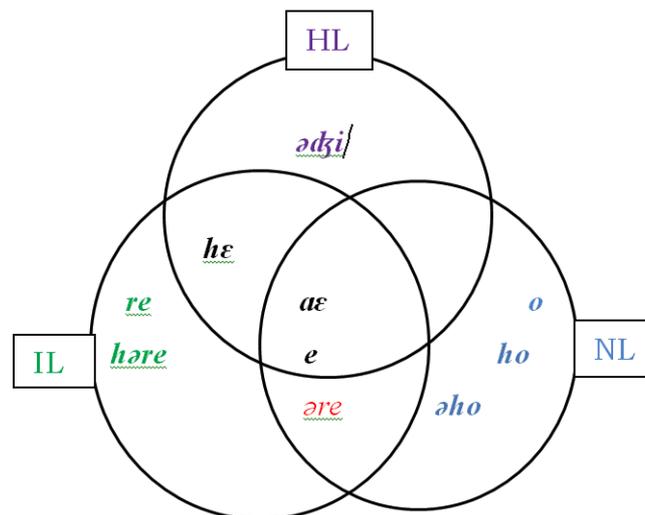
b.

- i. aε! – Hey!
[reprimand]
- ii. əre! – Hey!
[surprise]
- iii. ədʒi! – Hey!
[attention.HON]
- iv. re beɽa! – Hey son!

[request]

In example (b. i), vocative interjection *aε* has conative function where it is used as imperative to reprimand the addressee. Nevertheless, speaker needs to use the vocative interjection *aε* with rising intonation and eye contact with addressee for a vocative interjection to fulfill conative function. The example (b. ii) fulfills the emotive function of language if vocative interjection *əre* is used with rising intonation. In (b. iii), vocative interjection *ədʒi* is used to establish the contact with addressee where it fulfills the phatic function. The speaker also gives higher ranking to the addressee by using HL VI *ədʒi*. In (b. iv), the VI is intonated in a way that it marks conative functions as well as denotes intimacy level of relationship between the interlocutors.

Diagram 1.: Distribution of VI according to honorific levels.



In the above diagram, I have presented a simplified version of the distribution of VI according to different honorific level. As shown in the above diagram, the interjection *ədʒi* can be used only at HL level (b. v). The interjections *re*, *həre* can be used only at the IL level (b. vi). While *o*, *ho*, *əho* can be used only at NL level (b. vii). The VI *əre* can be used both at IL and NL level (b. viii), (b. xi). However, an appropriate verb inflection needs to be followed for an appropriate honorific level. The interjection *hε*, *aε*, *e* can be used at all the three levels and needs to be followed by appropriate verb inflections to denote different honorific levels (b. x), (b. xi), (b. xii).

ədʒi!	sunət,	bani?
Hey.VI	listen	be.HL.
Hey! Are you listening?		

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həre bəbi! əpne ma:i ke boləu.
Hey.VI girl your mother of call.IL.
Hey girl! Call your mother.

ho b^hai! t̪ohar gəmətʃ^ha gɪr gəil ba.
Hey.VI brother your.Pro.NL towel fall be
Hey brother! Your towel has fallen off.

əre ləika! d̪o ihã se.
Hey.VI boy! Go.IL. here from.
Hey boy! Go away from here.

əre b^ha:i! d̪a ihã se.
Hey.VI brother! Go.NL. here from.
Hey brother. Go from here.

e! əpnema:i ke bolaĩ.
Hey.VI your mother of call.HL.
Hey! Call your mother.

e! əpne ma:i ke bolav.
Hey.VI your mother of call.NL.
Hey! Call your mother.

e! əpne ma:i ke boləu.
Hey.VI your mother of call.IL.
Hey! Call your mother.

I will discuss below the use of VI in the context of their usage and their pragmatic value.

Re:

The VI *re* is used for an addressee with whom speaker have intimate relationship. Any use of it for a stranger or a person with higher ranking can be marked highly offensive. The use of *re* is most common among siblings and can also be used by older people for children.

Table 2.

ɖiɖi re	Hey! elder sister
babu re	Hey! young boy
ma:i re	Hey! Mother
bəhini re	Hey! young girl

In a family, younger brother or sister can address elder sister using VI *re*, but it is termed highly impolite if he/she uses it for elder brother. Same as above, a son or daughter can use *re* for mother, but never uses *re* for a father. In the case of wife and husband, the latter can address his wife using *re*, but no vice-versa except a situation where they have an argument and wife does not want to follow the social norms. The use of *re* by wife to husband is regarded very offensive. It is also very common for elders to use *re* as an affix with *babu* (boy), *bəbuni* (small girl) or *bəhini* (small girl) for a stranger or younger family member to show affection. However, a son or daughter can never use the vocative interjection as given in example (d):

Table 3.

babudzi re	Hey! father
baba re	Hey! grandfather

The use of *re* is also common between friends. Nevertheless, it switches to NL if friends share with each other strong bonding.

ka re ijərəva! kəhã dʒaɫ həve? (IL)
 Hey INT.IL friend where go be.IL
 Hey friend! where are you going?

ka ho ijar! kəhã dʒaɫ həv: (NL)
 Hey INT.NL friend where go be.NL
 Hey friend! where are you going?

In example (e), one friend speaks to another. He uses an IL level of VI, which shows they are friends, but not close ones. In (f), NL pattern is used by one friend for another because they share strong bonding. However, there can be cases where one friend uses an NL pattern of VI, despite the fact that he is not sharing a very strong bonding, just because another friend is old enough and does not want to use IL. One has to also remember that the use of different level of vocative interjection needs to be followed by the appropriate verb ending. In example (e), the IL level of verb ending *həve* is used while in example d. the NL level of verb ending *həv:* is used.

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Həre:

Həre same as *re* is used at a very intimacy level and limited to the family sphere only. It is never used for adults or old people unless addressee is a child.

həre ləika! Mohən ke kəvən g^hər həve re?
Hey.VI.IL boy Mohan of which house is VI.IL
Hey boy! which home belongs to Mohan?

In the above example, speaker uses *həre* for a stranger boy because he is younger in age.

Əre:

The VI *əre* has a dual role. It can be used for both IL and NL. Our data show that it is most frequently used (table 2) VI in Bhojpuri. One of the reasons behind it is its nature of duality. Another reason can be termed its characteristic where it can be used within kinship strata as well as for the stranger. However, when *əre* is used as IL then it needs to be followed by the IL verb inflection pattern (h) and NL verb inflection pattern when used at NL (i).

əre t̃əhu burbək həve. (IL)
hey.VI. you.IL.2p stupid be.IL
Hey, you are stupid.

əre tu g^həre t̃əl:. (NL)
hey.VI. you.NL.2p home go.NL
Hey, you go home.

Ho:

Ho represents an NL pattern of honorifics and is used to address an elder brother, father and stranger. A woman uses *ho* for a person who is related to her from parental family and switches to *əđji* if she addresses a person from her husband's family. For instance, in a joint family, a woman uses *ho* for the wife of her husband's younger brother, but uses *əđji* for the wife of her husband's elder brother. The issue is more complicated for the wife when addressing the sister of her husband. In most cases, a wife uses *əđji* for both younger and elder sister of her husband and always receive *ho* from them. Use of *re* by the wife for siblings or family of husband regarded as highly impolite. Nonetheless, our data show that pattern of using *əđji* and *ho* between wife and husband changes with time. We found that *əre* is more common in address forms in kinship if followed by appropriate NL pattern pronoun.

Table 4.

b ^h əia ho	hey elder brother
babudzi ho	hey father
ʃaʃa ho	hey uncle
ʃaʃi ho	hey aunt
sunəʃalə ho?	Are you listening (towards stranger)
b ^h əgəvan ho	hey god

The differences among *re*, *əre* and *ho* are not only related with honorific level, but also with their placement in address forms. While *re* and *ho* can be placed before (k) or after (l) the name or kinship terms, *əre* can be used only before (m) the name/kinship terms.

re ma:i, həmar pɛʃəva kəhã ba?
 hey.VI.IL mother my paints where be
 Hey mother! Where are my paints?

ma:i re, həmar pɛʃəva kəhã ba?
 mother hey.INT.IL my paints where be
 Hey mother! Where are my paints?

əre ma:i, əb həm ka kəri.
 hey.INT.IL mother now i what do.
 Hey mother, what should I do now.

b^həia ho, tu həməke tʃ^hoɖ
 brother hey.INT.NL you.NL me leave
 ke nə dʒa.
 of not go.NL
 Brother, you don't leave me.

həre ma:i, həmar pɛʃəva kəhã ba:?
 hey.INT. mother my paints where be
 Hey mother! Where are my paints?

If we analyse the above examples (k), (l) and (o), we can see that all three forms represent the same meaning. However, they have slight phonological and situational differences. In example (k), the speaker uses *re* before *ma:i* in a situation where mother is standing a little far away and the

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speaker needs to speak louder than usual. In example (o), the speaker uses *həre* before *ma:i* in a situation where mother is really far away and speaker has to speak very loud so she can hear him/her. The speaker uses it with rising intonation. The speaker also stretches the word *ma:i*: and *ba:*. In example (l), *re* comes after *ma:i* and indicates that mother is near to speaker.

E/Aε/Hε:

E, *aε* and *hε* have the same function and represent NL pattern of honorifics. However, they denote HL pattern if put together with pronoun/noun or kinship term (q, r, s).

aε/hε, kəvən tərən a:ili həve?
hey.INT.NL which train arrive be.
Hey! Which train has arrived?

e/aε/hε b^ha:i kəvən tərən a:ili həve?
hey.INT.NL brother which train arrive be
Hey brother! Which train has arrived?

e/aε/hε b^ha:i saheb! kəvən tərən a:ili
hey.INT.NL brother sir.HON which train arrived
həve?
be
Hey brother! Which train has arrived?

e b^ha:i dʒi! kəvən tərən a:ili həve?
hey.INT brother HON. which train arrived be
Hey brother! Which train has arrived?

In the example (q), the use of the kinship term *b^hai* with interjection make the question more polite. In o, kinship term *b^hai* is followed by honorific marker *saheb* which proves to be more polite when asking the question. *Saheb* can be used for younger addressee also if the speaker wants to show more respect. The above pattern is also followed in example (s), where honorific marker *dʒi* is used.

Ədʒi:

Ədʒi is an interjection marker that is most of the time used independently (t). As per my observation, it is most often used by woman. The use of ədʒi is related to social norms that woman does not use the name of her husband. In order to address her husband, a woman uses only interjection ədʒi followed by the appropriate HL verb ending. It is also very common in affinal relationship. For example, if father of bride addresses father of groom or vice-versa, they use ədʒi as vocative interjection (u).

əɖʒi! uthĩ bihan ho gə:il.
 hey.INT.HL. wake up morning happen
 Hey you! Wake up, it is morning.

əɖʒi! əpəna ke tʃələl ɖʒa k^hana k^haje.
 hey.INT.HL you.HL. go be food eat
 Hey you! Let's go to eat the food.

Now a situational analysis will be presented how these vocative interjections can be used at different levels of honorific patterns. In the table presented below, I have analysed different scenarios where different level of honorifics combinations are used.

Table 5.

1.	ma:i mother	kəhã where	bija be.IL	re? hey.VI.IL	Where is mother?	IL – IL
2.	ma:i mother	kəhã where	bija be.IL	ho? hey.VI.NL	Where is mother?	IL – NL
3.	babuɖʒi father	kəhã where	bane be.NL	re? hey.VI.IL	Where is father?	NL – IL
4.	babuɖʒi father	kəhã where	bane be.NL	hə? hey.VI.NL	Where is father?	NL – NL
5.	ma:ɖʒi mother.HL	kəhã where	bani be.HL	re? hey.VI.IL	Where is mother?	HL – IL
6.	ma:ɖʒi mother.HL	kəhã where	bani be.HL	hə? hey.VI.NL	Where is mother?	HL – NL
7.	əɖʒi hey.VI.HL	ma:ɖʒi mother.HL	kəhã where	bani? be.IL	Where is mother?	HL – HL

A boy is asking his sister about mother. He uses an intimacy level of verb ending *bija* for his mother and intimacy level of vocative interjection *re* for his sister.

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A boy is asking his father about mother. He uses an intimacy level of verb ending *bija* for his mother and neutral level of vocative interjection *ho* for his father.

A boy is asking his mother about father. He uses a neutral level of verb ending *bane* for his father and intimacy level of vocative interjection *re* for his mother.

A boy is asking his elder brother about father. He uses a neutral level of verb ending *bane* for his father and neutral level of vocative interjection *ho* for his elder brother.

A wife is asking her son about mother-in-law. She uses an honour level of verb ending *bani* for mother-in-law and an intimacy level of vocative interjection *re* for her son.)

A wife is asking her son, who is in his twenties about mother-in-law. She uses an honour level of verb ending *bani* for mother-in-law and an intimacy level of vocative interjection *ho* for her son.

A wife is asking her husband about mother-in-law. She uses an honour level of verb ending *bani* for mother-in-law and an honour level of vocative interjection *əđi* for her husband.

7. Conclusion

The use of VI is directly related to the sociocultural aspects in Bhojpuri. It is not always power and solidarity play role in the use of honorifics but the social relationship or the relation of face. In this paper, I have discussed how the use of interjection is governed by different dyadic relations and social etiquette. Our data from the films revealed that the VI such as *əre*, *e* not only used for the people of lower status or lower caste as stated by Tiwari (1960: 203) but also are extensively used as an NL pattern for addressing equals. I also noticed shifts in the use of the NL vocative interjection *ho*. It was found that the use of *ho* is overtaken by the term *əre*. I also found that the use of HL interjection *əđi* is not often used in the films. It was replaced with zero interjection with a HL pattern verb inflection which was followed by the honorific morpheme *đi*. Another reason for

scarcity in the use of HL VI *əɖʒi* is the fact that the second person honorific pronoun *rəuva* is used extensively as vocative in the films.

As a whole, I observed that the use of three interjections – *re*, *əre*, *e* are preferred in the films than other interjections which are widely used in the day-to-day life in Bhojpuri. The interjection *əre* is used for both the IL and NL pattern while *e* is used in all the levels if followed by the appropriate honorific marker. Nevertheless, in recent years the influence of Hindi and English on Bhojpuri is growing, thus we can expect some changes in the use of interjections in the address forms as a result of foreign impact. That is why this topic needs further investigation.

Appendix: Statistical Illustration of the study of vocative interjection

Figure 1. – Use of vocative interjections in the films.

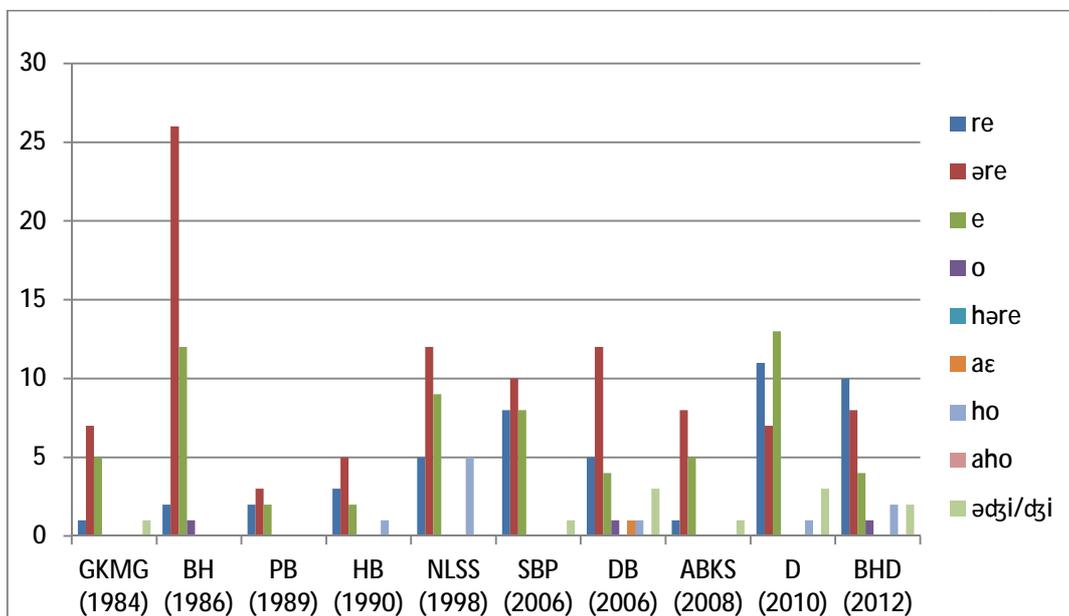
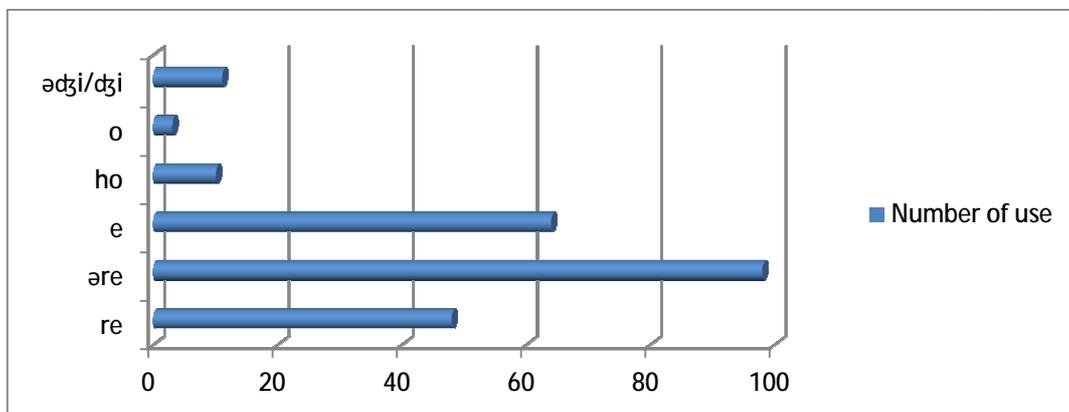


Figure 2. – The count of the vocative interjections used in the films



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List of movie titles:

Ganga Kinare Mora Gaon (GKMG) 1984, Babua Hamar (BH) 1986, Patohu Bitia (PB) 1989, Hamar Betwa (HB) 1990, Nehiya Lagavani Saiyan Se (NLSS) 1998, Sasura Bada Paisawala (SBP) 2006, Dehati Babu (DB) 2006, Ae Bhauji Ke Sister (ABKS) 2008, Daag (D) 2010, Bhaia Hamar Dayawan (BHD) 2012.

List of Abbreviations:

HL – honour level
IL – intimacy level
NL – neutral level
HON - honorific
VI – vocative interjection

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⁵ MLA citation style has been followed in this paper. For more detail see : <http://www.library.cornell.edu/resrch/citmanage/mla>

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