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Talking In: Maori English as index for Maori identity in Film

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Introduction

Maori people in New Zealand have reclaimed some symbolic power through continuous activism promoting the use of Maori language and Maori cultural values in public spheres (Harlow 2005, Carlyon 2005, de Bres 2011, Barclay 2005, Keown 2014). Despite major efforts to revitalize the Maori language, there has been a steady decrease of fluent Maori speakers going from 25% to 21.3% in 1996-2013 (NZ Census 2013). Today English is spoken by 98% of all New Zealanders (NZ Census 2013). In this essentially monolingual environment Maori people are using their own ethnolect of New Zealand English over the Maori language (NZ Census 2013, MacLagen 2008).

Maori English is a distinct ethnolect which is defined by its use of a range of phonological, prosodic and discourse features (MacLagen 2008, Vowel et al 2013, Szakay 2008, Stubbe 2000). New Zealand English and Maori English share many phonological, prosodic and discourse features, but the quantity and pattern of use is what differentiates Maori English as an ethnolect (MacLagen 2008, Vowel et al 2013, Szakay 2008, Stubbe 2000, Warren 2000, Benton 1991). This is an important marker for Maori group identity because of the waning numbers of fluent Maori language speakers (Chrisp 2005).

This ethnolect is an important part of reclaiming cinematic representations of Maori peoples (Keown 2014, Hokowhitu 2013). Past cinematic representations have been controlled by *Pakeha* (European New Zealanders) and consequently ignored the diversity of Maori experiences (Barclay 2005). In examining language use in two Maori films, I hope to understand how the Maori language and Maori English express Maori identity and support the underlying meanings behind each film. I will conclude that language use in both *Ngati* (1987) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) supports a diverse understanding of Maori identity and echoes the

dominant messages in each film. My analysis will feature Third and Fourth Cinema Theories in addition to *kaupapa* (policy/subject) Maori theory to capture prominent patterns of Maori identity and cinematic meaning. Before my film analysis I present chapters explaining New Zealand sociolinguistics, Maori English among global Englishes and the history of New Zealand cinema for important background about the linguistic, cinematic and historical situation that these films are grounded in.

Sociolinguistic Situation in New Zealand

Introduction

This chapter serves to give background on the historical and current social situation concerning language in New Zealand society (Woods 1999, King 1999, Nielson 2005, Quinn 2000, Keegan 2017). New Zealanders have written about their dialect since the 1800s, mainly in negative terms referred to as the *cultural cringe effect* (Nielson 2005, Bayard 1997, Bayard 2001). This is a term that linguists have used to describe the overwhelmingly negative value that New Zealanders ascribed to their dialect (Bayard 2001, Bayard 1997). This interest in the English spoken by New Zealanders grew until the 1960s when linguists began to seriously consider New Zealand English as a dialect separate from British English (Bell 2000, Benton 1991, MacLagen 2008, Stubbe 2000).

Since then there has been much research into ethnic and gender variations from the mainstream dialect spoken by middle class Pakeha (Stubbe 2000, Bell 2000, Benton 1991, Szakay 2012, Quinn 2000, Daly et al 2001, Vowel et al 2013, King 1999, Woods 1997, Meyerhoff 2016). There are no documented class variations because of the egalitarian nature of New Zealand society, but some studies have briefly mentioned class and ethnicity together in ideological constructions about voice quality or tag questions (Szakay 2012, Meyerhoff 2003).

Historical Context

Maori first migrated to New Zealand around 6,000 years ago from the island of Taiwan (Rewi 2012). According to Maori mythology, there were seven canoe fleets to which all *iwi* (tribes) can trace their ancestors and this is the foundation of all genealogical connections in oral *whakapapa* (genealogy) history (Rewi 2012). From initial migrations to the 1700s, the main language of communication was Maori (MacLagen 2008, Rewi 2012, Naylor 2006, Spolsky 2003). European colonizers arrived in large numbers in the 1800s, bringing horrific health and societal problems such as disease (Naylor 2006, MacLagen 2008).

All colonial era schools taught Maori students initially in their native language but this shifted to English as missionaries and government officials pushed for Maori assimilation (Naylor 2006). From the 1840s until the Maori cultural revolution in the 1970s, English was the only language available (Reedy 2000, Naylor 2006, Carlyon 2014, Keown 2014). New Zealand language policy was reflective of wider assimilatory practices which shrank available spaces where Maori could be used without censure (Naylor 2006, Chrisp 2005).

This is not to say that Maori was never spoken after the turn of the century, but most Maori people saw symbolic power in English and spoke to their children in English while using the Maori language to other adults (Chrisp 2005:153). Rapid urbanization in the post-World War II era saw many Maori move into urban areas in large numbers and the government tried to assimilate these migrants into dominant European culture (Chris 2005, Carlyon 2014). By the 1970s, language loss occurred on a nation-wide scale so that Maori became concerned at the lack of intergenerational transmission (Chrisp 2005). During the 1970s-1980s, there was a Maori push for legislative and societal changes to revitalize Maori and it is during this period that it became a national language of New Zealand (Carlyon 2014, Naylor 2006). From this important

milestone, Maori has been incorporated into all public schools, the government, media, and in public spaces (Naylor 2006, Thompson-Teepa 2008, Harlow 2005).

Today New Zealand is a multicultural country with immigrants from all over Oceania, Asia, Europe and Africa (Statistics New Zealand 2018). In the current population census of New Zealand there were 598,605 people who identified with the Maori ethnic group and another 668,724 who claimed Maori descent (World Bank, Statistics New Zealand 2018). Maori make up 15.4% of the entire population while other Pasifika groups like Tongans and Samoans make up only 7.5% (Statistics New Zealand 2018, Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2018). The biggest population group is *Pakeha* or European descended New Zealanders at 74% (Statistics New Zealand 2018, Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2018). Within this majority-minority context, the sociolinguistic situation is both challenging and changing as the demographics slowly shift in favor of non-European citizens (Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2018, Bayard 1995).

While pre-21st century New Zealand was almost entirely monolingual English, the newest statistics from the 2013 National Census paint a multilingual picture (Statistics New Zealand 2018, Chrisp 2005). New Zealand's official languages now include English, Maori and New Zealand Sign Language (Statistics New Zealand 2018). As of 2013, the most spoken languages were (in descending order of use): English, Maori, Samoan, Hindi, Mandarin and French (National Census 2013). Importantly, English was reportedly spoken monolingually by 96.1% of respondents while speakers of Maori encompass only 3.7% of multilingual respondents (National Census 2013). Despite the country's push for biculturalism and especially Maori language education, it seems there is a long way to go for language parity (Harlow 2005, Bayard 1995, Hokowhitu 2013).

In the following examination of the current sociolinguistic situation in New Zealand, I will present a short description of New Zealand English and then look at how ethnicity and language are connected and if there are certain 'ethnolects' which minority groups use. Following this section, I will look at gender and regional variations as additional factors in the linguistic environment making up the country's political, social and imaginary spaces.

Description of New Zealand English

There are three main distinctions made to classify New Zealand phonology which are Broad, General and Cultivated accents (Clyne 1997, Bayard 1996, Siemund 2012). Received Pronunciation used to be considered the prestige dialect but now Cultivated New Zealand English is the prestige dialect (Clyne 1997, Kiesling 2005).

The phonological system includes: /i/ centralization to /ə/as in *thick*, /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ diphthong merger, raising of /ɛ/ towards /I/ as in *concession*, merger of /a/ and /ɔ/ after /l/ as in *dull/dole* and the closing of /ae/ to /e/ as in *cat* (Clyne 1998: 294, Kiesling 2005).

Most linguistic studies have focused on phonology yet according to Quinn (2000) there is a hint of syntactic variation in the language. Verbal morphology variation occurred with /t/ or /ed/ endings for preterite forms, irregular verb stem vowel changes and /en/ ending in past or passive participles (Quinn 2000). Other variations include the use of 3rd-person pronoun for 1st person, *have* deletion or insertion and finally, modal auxiliaries which act like both modals and lexical verbs (Quinn 2000). Some of these features are also found in other Englishes and are not surprising to find (Quinn 2000, Martin 1998, Leap 2004). For instance, *have* insertion and deletion both occur in many American English dialects (Leap 2004, Martin 1998, Schneider 2006). These observed variations all need to be further researched but the evidence is strong for

3rd person plural use, *have* deletion/insertion and irregular verb stem vowel changes (Quinn 2000, Stubbe 2000).

Not surprisingly, the Maori language has left a long-lasting imprint on New Zealand English through the use of loanwords (Degani 2011). Loan words keep the same Maori phonology but conform to English grammatical structure (Degani 2011). Words like *aroha* 'affection/love' or *marae* 'tribal meeting house' are commonly known though not used abundantly by Pakeha majority speakers (Dagani 2011, Te Aka Dictionary 2018). Public institutions like schools often have Maori names as well as English names to promote the national bicultural agenda (Harlow 2005). Outside of Maori loanwords there are words like *crib/bach* 'holiday cottage and *jandals* 'sandals' which only appear in New Zealand (Dagani 2011, Nielson 2006).

Regional Variation

There are sixteen regions as defined by the national census conducted by the government (NZ Census 2018). Historically, the North Island has always been more populous both before and after the arrival of Europeans (Carlyon 2014, Armstrong 1987). Strong Maori populations exist in Northland, Bay of Plenty, Waikato, Auckland and Gisborne regions of the North (NZ Census 2018). The South Island has the highest population of Pakeha in general (2013 Census Map). Of the few studies about regional dialectal variation, there is no concrete evidence for distinct regional dialects except as delineated by the North and South Islands (Armstrong 1987, Nielson 2005, Bayard 1996, Kiesling 2012, Bardsley 2005).

New Zealanders often think that there is a distinct Southland dialect based on some lexical and phonological features which have not been researched extensively beyond a handful of regional attitudes studies (Bayard 1996, Nielson 2005, Kiesling 2012). The defining

phonological feature that New Zealanders use to identify Southland speech is postvocalic /r/ such as in the word *first* (Bayard 1996, Nielson 2005, Kiesling 2012). In a 1996 regional attitudes study that used gender, region and personality traits to rate six rhotic or non-rhotic voices, there were significant correlations between assumed personality traits and region (Bayard 1996). Sixty-eight percent of the fifty seven female respondents, and seventy percent of twenty-six male respondents identified two rhotic accents as belonging to Southland (Bayard 1996). Respondents also rated the two rhotic accents low in personality traits like pleasantness, leadership and income (Bayard 1996). Not unexpectedly a non-rhotic female voice scored the highest in all traits except for pleasantness where it scored fourth place out of six (Bayard 1996).

Attitudes about the Southland dialect and region reveal associations of ruralness, Scottishness and broad accent with the South (Bayard 1996, Nielson 2005). Historically, more Scottish people did migrate to the Southland and linguists have posited this as a possible origin for postvocalic /r/ (Kiesling 2012). These attitudes about the South Island may explain why New Zealanders firmly believe there are significant differences besides the use of rhotic /r/. In reality, there is not much linguistic evidence to support the ideology which most people express when asked if there are distinct regional dialects (Bayard 1996, Nielson 2005).

There are minor phonological differences between the normalized North Island dialect and the less valued South Island dialect (Nielson 2005, Bayard 1996). Any other regional variation is based on "stereotypes of the most salient group in the region" (Bayard 1996). For example, speakers from Canterbury are thought of as "pretentious or upper class" while speakers from Northland/Gisborne are thought of as "lazy or relaxed" in terms of their speech production (Nielson 2005: 95-110). Therefore, there are no linguistically backed regional variations outside of the North-South rhotic /r/ split (Nielson 2005, Bayard 1996). Cultural perceptions of these

regional variations are indicative of wider ideologies about ethnicity, class and education in the country (Nielson 2005, Bayard 1996).

Ethnic Dialects

Ethnic dialects in New Zealand mainly utilize differences in phonology, lexicon and prosody to express cultural identity (Keisling 2010, MacLagen 2008, Clyne 1997, Meyerhoff 2008, Szakay 2012). An ethnolect is established when the first generation of an ethnic group learns English and applies their native language characteristics (Clyne 1997). Among Maori and Pacific peoples there are definable differences which can be linked back to native language interference which over several generations became the localized ethnolect to use in their respective communities (King 1999, Starks 2006).

The biggest minority groups in New Zealand include Maori, Asian and Pacific peoples (NZ Census 2013). Under the term "Asian" there are 34 different ethnic groups including Chinese, Filipino, Southeast Asian and Laotian (NZ Census 2013). As previously discussed, there was a Maori language resurgence in the last thirty years that has brought Maori culture and language to the forefront of mainstream consciousness (King 1999, Bayard 1995, Spolsky 2003). Yet even though the Maori language is commonly used in political and public spheres, there is evidence from a multitude of attitude and ideology studies that non-Maori carry covertly-held biases that do not value it (Barkhuizen 2006, King 1999, Spolsky 2000, Boyce 2005, Szakay 2012).

Language attitudes toward Maori and Maori English are related to cultural attitudes toward their speakers (Bayard 1995, Boyce 2005, Spolsky 2003, Reedy 2000). Studies have shown that non-Maori hold a range of attitudes from conservatively positive to overtly negative about Maori people and their language (Barkhuizen 2006, King 1999). In surveys done by

Barkhuizen (2006) and Harlow (2005), there were more overtly positive attitudes expressed by Maori than by non-Maori. There has been important work done on dialectal perception and language prosody as it relates to the New Zealand context (Bayard 1995).

Don Bayard (1995) performed a study where he asked participants to identify recorded voices as belonging to a certain ethnicity as well as rating them for solidarity, intelligence and power. Interestingly, he found correlations between perceived ethnicity and ratings on this scale (Bayard 1995). For example, people were more likely to identify a speaker as Maori if they spoke with a slow speech rate (Bayard 1995). After identifying a Maori speaker, they were rated as less intelligent than those perceived as having faster speech rates or identified as non-Maori (Bayard 1995).

Cultural perceptions and stereotypes of Maoriness often include references to speech or discourse features that are thought to belong to Maori English in particular (Bayard 1995, Bell 2000, Barkhuizen 2006, King 1999). Not all Maori speak Maori English but it is common enough to be able to state that there is an ethnolect which many Maori and some non-Maori access in particular cultural contexts (MacLagen 2008, Vowel et al 2013, King 1999). Maori English has much the same phonological, grammatical and prosodic phenomena as mainstream New Zealand English; however, it has a greater frequency of certain features (MacLagen 2008, Vowel et al 2013 2013, Bell 2000, Benton 1991).

An example of a stereotypical interpretation of Maori speech is present in the comedy tv show *Joe and Koro* which gets its humor from the exaggerated "differences" between a recent British emigre and a local Maori man with whom he shares a flat (Bayard 1995, NZ On Screen). The difference in dialects emphasizes how the two characters are unsuited to live with each other (NZ On Screen). Discourse features like the tag *eh* are used often in the tv show

(Meyerhoff 1994, NZ On Screen). It is associated mainly with Pakeha women and working-class Maori men (Meyerhoff 1994). Meyerhoff describes a common stereotype of working class Maori men as "someone whose head is barely above water in a crazy world" (367-368). Perhaps most striking in this picture is that it is considered a positive stereotype in that the man who overuses *eh* is someone who works very hard. On the other hand, it is associated negatively with Pakeha women and can signal a stereotype of the "crass suburban housewife" (Meyerhoff 1994). Overall, the tag *eh* is not valued positively in the culture though it is more positively associated with Maori than it is with women (Meyerhoff 1994).

Attitudes toward and about the Maori English dialect often include both suprasegmental and segmental speech, as we have seen with the tag *eh* (Meyerhoff 1994, Bell 2000, Bayard 1995, Szakay 2012, MacLagen 2008). A common stereotype about segmental speech in the dialect concerns vowels. Primarily, the Maori language does not have reduced vowels and so uses full vowels (Harlow 2007, King 1999). The Maori English dialect has developed fuller vowels than are normally used in the main prestige dialect of New Zealand (Benton 1991, Bell 2000, Holmes 1997, MacLagen 2008). This is possibly due to influence from the Maori language among the first generation of English language learners in the Maori community (Benton 1991, Bell 2000, Holmes 1997, MacLagen 2008).

In Bayard's study of newspaper editorials about the proper ways to speak New Zealand English, he found that criticism about certain ways of speaking frequently involved the supposed "muddled" nature of current New Zealand English (1995). The prestige dialect in New Zealand used to be Received Pronunciation which is the standard of the United Kingdom (Bayard 1995). However, this shifted as New Zealand grew into its nationhood and became more

comfortable identifying the English spoken mainly by Pakeha as their own standard (Bayard 1995, Holmes 1997).

In the sociolinguistic arena, Received Pronunciation is still considered more prestigious though this is changing (Holmes 1997). The current prestige dialect is spoken by Pakeha in public settings, government and media (Holmes 1997, Bell 2000). In conclusion, there are mainly negative associations with Maori English and more positive associations with the mainstream dialect spoken by Pakeha (Bayard 1995, Holmes 1997). All of the discussed historical and social phenomena have contributed to an environment where speakers of Maori English do not feel comfortable using it outside Maori majority spaces.

As Pacific peoples have increasingly made their home in New Zealand since the 1970s, there has been more contact between Maori and other minority groups (Carlyon 2014). Pacific peoples in New Zealand come from various places like Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti and Fiji (NZ Statistics New Zealand 2013). Because of the wide geographic and cultural backgrounds of Pacific peoples there isn't exactly one ethnolect but several dialects associated with this diverse group (Starks 2008).

There is not an abundance of studies about Pasifika Englishes, especially inside New Zealand, but some work has been done on phonology (Starks 2006, Starks 2008). Perceptually and phonologically, there are similarities between Maori and Pasifika Englishes (Starks 2008). One of the most common phonological variants in Pasifika Englishes include using /d/ and /t/ in place of interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ (Starks 2006). Both groups use fronted stops in place of interdental fricatives (Starks 2006). Rhoticity is typically low for both ethnic groups but Starks (2005) found some evidence that Pasifika English speaking students use linking and non-pre

vocalic /r/ as identity markers. A linking /r/ occurs word finally such as in *far* (Starks 2005, Starks 2008). A non-pre vocalic /r/ occurs in words like *Arthur* (Starks 2005, 2008).

Another observation about Pasifika Englishes is that short front vowels are realized differently than in Pakeha English (Starks 2008). While Pakeha pronounce a centralized /ɪ/ vowel, Maori use less centralized vowels for it and Pacific peoples centralize nearly all /ɪ/ (Starks 2008). In this case, Maori are the odd ones out for not centralizing the vowel like the majority of people do (Starks 2008). For the /æ/ vowel, Pacific peoples use significantly less raising than is the norm while Maori are closer to the norm with more raised vowel use (Starks 2008). There is no study that has examined if grammatical structures differ in Pasifika Englishes so it is hard to say if it only has a distinct phonology.

Gender

The final sociolinguistic variable that has been well-researched in New Zealand English is gender (Holmes 1997, Hellinger 2001, Holmes 2001). Gender is a bundle of socially constructed characteristics assigned to men or women (WHO 2018). Social roles and relationships are an important aspect of gender construction (WHO 2018). In New Zealand, women have always been the 'caretakers' of the language, innovating and creating future norms at the same time (Holmes 2001). Women in New Zealand are expected to uphold certain linguistic norms and to pass them onto their children (Holmes 2001).

Phonology differences work as a signal for female identity much in the same way it does for ethnicity or region (Holmes 2001, Holmes 1997, Hellinger 2001, Holmes 1998, Woods 1997).

Main phonological features that differ by gender include initial /h/, word final /ɪŋ/ instead of /ɪn/, medial and final /t/ and short front vowels /ɪ/ and /e/ (Holmes 2001, Holmes 1998). Women are reported to use more pragmatic devices than men (Holmes 1997). The use of pragmatic devices also varies by the social class and style used by the speaker (Holmes 1997). Pakeha women use tag questions like *have you?* and particles like *you know* for a range of functions such as supporting or agreeing in a conversation (Holmes 1997:201).

Global Englishes

Introduction

English is spoken as a native language by around 500-600 million people (Ethnologue 2018, Washington Post 2015). This large proportion of the world's population increases to approximately 1.5 billion people in total when second language learners are taken into account (Ethnologue 2018). What are referred to as Global Englishes in the literature are "varieties of English used in diverse sociolinguistic contexts" which all have common properties (Crystal 2010, Bhatt 2001).

In this analysis of several global Englishes, I compare how different ethnic or national groups have indigenized English to express group solidarity. Each of these examples demonstrates how English has been adapted for use and continues to serve the particular communicative and expressive needs of the communities which use it. In Nigeria and Australia, English was once solely used by colonizers (Walsh 1993, Siemund 2012). However, the indigenous populations in both countries are using English in an active reclamation of identity politics (Walsh 1993, Kiesling 2006, Malcolm 2013, Banjo 1997, Siemund 2012).

The Maori people have adapted English to their cultural values when everything else has been systematically stripped away (Naylor 2006, Benton 2007, Harlow 2005, de Bres 2011,

Albury 2014). Through English, they have been able to reclaim their ethnic identity even while the Maori language ceased to be transmitted between generations (Chrisp 2005, de Bres 2011).

Australian English

Australia is a country in the Pacific that is home to 24 million people (Australian Census 2016). The indigenous population make up 500 distinct ethnic groups who speak around 200-300 languages (AIATSAS 2018). British immigrants began to colonize Australia in 1788 and the Aboriginal population suffered genocide and land displacement as major consequences (Kiesling 2006, Malcolm 2013). Though the British were the main immigrants for the first century, gold rushes drew people from China and from Southern and Eastern Europe (Kiesling 2006, Siemund 2012). Communication was obviously a necessity between Aboriginal peoples and the new immigrants. Several pidgins developed including Chinese Pidgin English, Kriol and Torres Strait Pidgin (Kiesling 2006).

Australian English is directly affected by Aboriginal languages, but consequences of three centuries of colonialism means that most languages have only a small section of their lexicon left (Malcolm 2013, Walsh 1993). Words like *nulla nulla* or *billabong* come from languages spoken around what is called Sydney today (Walsh 1993). Of course, this isn't the only region to influence the Australian English lexicon though there are many borrowings that are commonplace now (Walsh 1993). From the indigenous perspective, the most Aboriginal peoples have gotten out of a one-sided relationship with English is a dwindling speaker base and a cross-generational shame which still pervades the landscape (Walsh 1993, Malcolm 2013).

There are around 120 languages still spoken in Aboriginal communities (AIATSIS 2018, Walsh 1993). In the absence of strong fluency or even adequate linguistic knowledge of tribal languages, Australian Aboriginal English has gained importance as a marker for

Aboriginal identity (Walsh 1993, Clyne 1997). It is understudied, and it can be hard to precisely pinpoint all relevant features in this ethnolect (Clyne 1997, Walsh 1993). Prosody and discourse conventions are two areas where Aboriginal English is markedly different than Australian English (Walsh 1993, Malcolm 2013). Wherever English has taken root, people have localized it and have been able to make it their own (Mufwene 2009, Siemund 2012, Crystal 2010).

While local languages may be dwindling, cultural concepts as well as certain words or ways of speaking transferred to the English that Aboriginal peoples speak (Siemund 2012, Walsh 1993, Malcolm 2013, Keisling 2006, Butcher 2008). For example, it has been noted that Aboriginal peoples will usually avoid direct eye gaze and any disagreement in conversation (Kiesling 2006). These discourse conventions differ widely from mainstream Australian standards and they reflect cultural values such as favoring the collective over the individual (Kiesling 2006). Also, as mentioned, there are certain prosodic features which cue the listener to the Aboriginal ethnolect including a high prevalence of high-rise terminals and initial word stress (Kiesling 2006).

Aboriginal groups are not the only minority group to adapt Australian English to their identity (Walsh 1993, Clyne 1997, Siemund 2012). There are a range of cultural groups in Australia who have maintained distinct speech communities including multi-generational immigrant groups such as the Greeks, Jews, and Italians (Clyne 1997, Siemund 2012). While their particular ways of speaking have been traditionally stigmatized by the linguistic hegemony, groups with over two generations have now begun to reclaim their dialects (Clyne 1997, Siemund 2012).

In Australia, there is a diverse mix of speech communities that retain their immigrant routes. Aboriginal peoples either maintain ancestral languages or more likely retain certain

features from ancestral languages that combine to make an ethnolect which is actually several dialects under one umbrella term (Siemund 2012, Butcher 2008, Walsh 1993). As an English variety, Australian English is unique because of the mix of Aboriginal languages, initial influx of Southern English dialect speakers and a diverse immigrant community which continue to grow (Clyne 1997, Siemund 2012, Walsh 1993, Butcher 2008).

Nigerian English

Nigeria is a West African country situated in the Gulf of Guinea next to Cameroon and Benin (CIA World Factbook 2018). The majority of Nigerians belong to Hausa, Yoruba, Fulani or Igbo ethnicity groups (Siemund 2012). There are nine official languages which include English as the national standard (Siemund 2012). English works as a neutral lingua franca between people of different tribal backgrounds and it allows for a national Nigerian identity to be expressed within a larger regional identity of West African English (Omaniyi 2006).

Nigerian English is a blanket term that envelopes several varieties spoken by Nigerians for the dual purposes of identity expression and communication among a heterogeneous population (Ugorjij 2016, Siemund 2012, Banjo 1997). There are many Nigerian Englishes differentiated by region, education level and linguistic/ethnic background (Ugorjij 2016, Siemund 2012, Banjo 1997, Gut 2005). A core of features unites these multitudinous varieties under the same name (Ugorjij 2016, Obilade 1984). Most varieties have syllable structures closer to Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo than to British English (Gut 2005). Prosodically, Nigerian English is more syllable timed than other English varieties (Ugorjij 2016, Obilade 1984, Gut 2005). This is achieved through a slower reduced vowel rate than British English (Gut 2005). Other major features of Nigerian English prosodic system include little pitch movements between syllables and the use of a two-tone grammatical system (Gut 2005).

Just as there are dialects of standard English in Nigeria, so too there are dialects of vernacular Nigerian English which differ regionally. For example, the Cross River State in Southern Nigeria is home to the Ikom-Ogoja variety influenced by several substrate languages like Efik (Ugot et al 2013). There is not a complete study of Nigerian English Pidgin yet, but the Ikom-Ogoja variety is well studied (Ugot et al 2013). The Ikom-Ogoja variety is differentiated from other kinds of Nigerian English Pidgin through certain metaphorical language, reduplication and borrowing (Ugot et al 2013). Historically, the Cross-River State has been a heterogeneous mix of about 30 spoken languages (Ugot et al 2013). Pidgin bridges linguistic and ethnic gaps while its localization to the Cross-River State region has created a distinct ethno-linguistic dialect only found among people in this small region (Ugot et al 2013). Phrases only found in this variety derive from languages such as Efik, Bekwarra and Ejagham (Ugot et al 2013). Ikom-Ogoja dialect includes unique phrases like *die me body* 'shock or surprise me' and *woman hand* 'left hand' (Ugot et al 2013). Most Nigerians use a pidgin form which is localized to a region and its particular ethnic groups like in this case (Ugot et al 2013).

In conclusion, there are many varieties of Nigerian English which are particular to certain ethno-linguistic groups and regional areas (Gut 2005, Siemund 2012, Ugot et al 2013). It is difficult to draw the line between these varieties to carve out one particular dialect that is representative of Nigerian English however some prosodic features and lexical items do appear in most varieties (Gut 2005, Siemund 2012, Ugot et al 2013, Onjewu 2015, Obilade 1984). Therefore, what is termed Nigerian English is a diverse mix of region or ethnolinguistic specific dialects which collectively mark it as a distinct Global English only found in West Africa (Gut 2005, Siemund 2012, Ugot et al 2013, Onjewu 2015, Obilade 1984).

African- American English

African American English is a variety associated with people who identify as African American in the United States (Wolfram 2006). It is used in specialized contexts endemic to the African American community and increasingly on internet platforms like Twitter (Cutler 2010, Jones 2015). English is the national language of the United States and the country's multiethnic nature has lent itself to the creation of ethnolects like African American English (US Census 2017, Wolfram 2006). African Americans constitute 13% of the 325 million US population while the majority is white at 76.9% (US Census Data 2017). African Americans have created a robust and diverse ethnolect that expresses a cohesive group identity (Wolfram 2006, Jones 2015, Cutler 2010, Pollack 2001).

Current thought favors the idea that there are a wide range of African-American Englishes which tend to diverge more than converge (Wolfram 2006, Pollack 2001). There could be a combination of substrate influence and regional influences which explain today's African American English (Wolfram 2006). Research has shown that there are different regional sub-dialects of AAE that can even differ intergenerationally (Pollack 2001, Schneider 2006). For example, older generations in Hyde, North Carolina, were identified by the youngest as sounding more "country" or "white" (Wolfram 2006). Between these four generations there has been a change in African American English use where the youngest speak in African American English significantly more than their elders who preferred to use speech closer to Standard American English (Wolfram 2006).

Systematic phonological differences have created regional African American English varieties which reflect great Migration routes from the 1900s-1960s (Jones 2015).
Twitter users express their regional vernacular through words like *jawn* 'thing/woman' (Jones

2015). *Jawn* is exclusively used in the Philadelphia region and only appears in African American English spoken in this area (Jones 2015). There are no studies which examine grammatical differences by region though this could be an area of interest in the future (Jones 2015, Wolfram 2006).

Today there are many varieties but there is a common core of features that binds them together (Pollack 2001, Wolfram 2006, Butcher 2008). African American English is unique because of its combination of phonological, morphological, and lexical features unlike any other dialect (Pollack 2001, Wolfram 2006). Those who speak mainstream American English do use the same features but as is the case for Maori English as well, the overall frequency is higher for this ethnic dialect (Wolfram 2006, Butcher 2008). Phonological features can include final consonant cluster reduction such as in the word *cold* → *col* (Bailey 1998). A feature unique to this dialect is the use of final nasal to vowel nasality (Bailey 1998). Syntactically, the dialect has the same structures as mainstream standard English (Martin 1998).

The main differences in AAVE grammar are actually lexical and not syntactical. For example, an acceptable sentence in AAVE is: "*There go the pencil.*" This is the same structure as in the sentence: "*There is the pencil.*" The main difference lies in the lexical meaning of the word *go* (Martin 1998). In AAVE, *go* is used to show the static location of an object just as the word *is* does in the previous sentence (Martin 1998).

African American English dialects are used to signal alignment with African American communities (Rahman 2008). Not every African American uses or has this dialect in their repertoire but it is a resource used by many in the right social contexts (Rahman 2008). Because it is stigmatized the use of standard or vernacular African American English could lead to disadvantageous social outcomes so African Americans necessarily navigate many varieties

from Standard African American English to Standard American English spoken by the white majority (Rahman 2008).

In conclusion, African American English is a diverse range of dialects spoken by some African Americans wishing to express ethnic identity and solidarity with other African Americans (Rahman 2008, Jones 2015). There are regional sub-dialects influenced by Great Migration routes which share the same phonological inventory but differ in lexical issues (Jones 2005, Pollack 2001).

American Indian English

Who is considered an indigenous American person in the US? The answer to this question has changed over the last few centuries as race, politics and social changes bring new parameters to American indigeneity (Leap 2004). Currently the 2016 US Census lists 1.3% of our 323 million population as "Native American Alone" while another 2.6% of the population identifies as belonging to two or more races (US Census 2016). There is no data available on the percentage of multiracial people who identify as Native American (US Census 2016).

American Indian English includes dozens of different dialects which share common features (Leap 2004, Meek 2006, Cogshell 2008, Newmark 2016). It is difficult to say if there ever was one single dialect though certainly through forced assimilatory practices many Native Americans who had no contact beforehand were now in close daily contact(Newmark 2016). Native boarding schools could be one of several explanations for a shared code among hundreds of distinct tribes (Newmark 2016). American Indian English has strong regional and tribal roots (Newmark 2016, Cogshell 2006, Leap 2004). For example, Mojave English is based primarily in New Mexico among Mojave communities while Lumbee English is based primarily in North Carolina and Virginia (Brewer 1982, Jasper 1982).

Segmental and suprasegmental features alike differentiate the varieties (Leap 2004, Jasper 1982, Brewer 1982, Bartelt 1982, Meek 2006, Newmark 2016, Cogshell 2006). Historically, the East Coast has been understudied and various tribal reservations in Arizona, California and New Mexico have been over documented (Cogshell 2006, Leap 2004). I will present a variety of Native American English spoken by the Lumbee on the East Coast as an example of Native American English use as a group marker (Leap 2004).

Lumbee English is spoken by the Lumbee people in North Carolina and Virginia (Brewer 1982, Leap 2004, Cogshell 2008). Historically, the Lumbee were able to better maintain cultural cohesion because their homeland's non-arability (Cogshell 2008, Brewer 1982). The Lumbee homeland is in Pocosin County, in the southeastern part of North Carolina (Brewer 1982). What is so fascinating about the Lumbee is how long they have been speaking English and how important it has become for cultural identity purposes (Brewer 1982, Cogshell 2008). Reports suggest that Lumbee communities were speaking English as early as the 1700s and no longer spoke any native language (Brewer 1982).

While this is significantly earlier than any other tribe, the Lumbee also use archaic words which have gained cultural significance (Brewer 1982, Leap 2004). As an example, the word *token* is used to refer to a supernatural sign of death or evil (Brewer 1982). In an archaic British English meaning, a *token* can mean an act of miraculous nature serving to demonstrate divine power (Brewer 1982). Lumbee people have maintained this older meaning and made it socially significant by combining it with beliefs about death or spirits (Brewer 1982). Often Lumbee English is considered very distinctive from other American Indian English dialects because of its use of words like *token* (Brewer 1982, Cogshell 2008, Anderson 1997). Though it

does share share the /ai/ monophthong and syllable timed speech with Cherokee English (Anderson 1997, Brewer 1982, Cogshell 2008, Newmark 2016).

As a final concluding remark, I will describe several common features which are widespread in Native American speech. Different ancestral languages or language contact situations have created a diverse array of indigenous Englishes across the US (Leap 2004). Because of the wide variety of ancestral languages there are different phonological systems with some similarities (Leap 2004). These similarities include consonant cluster reduction, vowel lowering, less vowel contrast than Standard American English and glottal stop insertion between /t/ and /d/ (Leap 2004). There is a strong preference to delete inflectional endings on verbs, auxiliaries or verbal participles (Leap 2004). Also, verbs with past tense constructions occur more often than present tense even when present tense is inferred (Leap 2004).

Prosody is important to this dialect because so many indigenous American languages are extinct (Newmark 2016, Leap 2004). It serves to represent and distinguish particular identities. Stress is one aspect of prosody Native Americans use to identify tribal affiliation (Cogshell 2008, Newmark 2016). Often pitches are lower on stressed syllables which is a direct contrast to standard American English (Newmark 2016). Intonation patterns include contour pitch-accent, high-falling and high-rising and mid terminals (Newmark 2016). In conclusion, American Indian English is a well-established American English dialect which is spoken by many of the indigenous population of the United States. While there are tribal and regional differentiations, there are prosodic and grammatical commonalities which help create a pan-lectal indigenous dialect of English in the conspicuous absence of the majority of American indigenous languages (Newmark 2016, Leap 2004, Cogshell 2008, Anderson 1997, Meek 2008).

Maori English among Global Englishes

A common theme connecting Maori English to the other Englishes presented in this chapter is how important indigenized Englishes have become to many national, ethnic and social groups who no longer have access to traditional languages (Van Meijl 2006, 2001; Mufwene 2009). Currently, the majority of Maori do not have a deep knowledge of their native language and as a consequence, its importance in traditional identity marking has diminished somewhat (Borell 2006,Van Meijl 2006). In place of Maori linguistic competence, Maori people rely on prosodic, phonological and lexical choices in New Zealand English to express a pan-Maori identity (Borell 2006, MacLagen 2008, Vowel et al 2013, Szakay 2012, Meyerhoff 1994).

As a bicultural society, New Zealand often co-opts Maori words and sayings to create symbolic parity between the settler state and Maori (Keown 2014, Harlow 2005). Consequently, Maori language has been used for tourism and national identity construction (Keown 2014, Harlow 2005, Petrie 2010). Even though the state uses the language of Maori to create a bicultural national identity, Maori people are able to reclaim their language and express their identity in English as well (Holmes et al 2010). In a study of Maori language use and humor in the workplace, Maori used Maori language and Maori English features like a more syllable timed rhythm to invoke cultural values (Holmes et al 2010). A Maori staff member named Sheree says "*go my Aunty*" in response to some national news in a work meeting (Holmes 2010). As Holmes et al (2010: 54) explains, *Aunty* is used to refer to distant relatives among Maori and is an index of Maori identity though it is not a Maori language word.

Maori identity is by no means a cohesive whole and many find it hard to relate to the traditional model of Maoriness, which relies on intense knowledge of custom, marae (meeting house) protocol and Maori language (Van Meijl 2006, Borell 2006). Urban youth especially have

a wide range of cultural markers they associate with Maoriness: not talking at the dinner table, observing *tapu* (taboos), *kapa haka* (competitive dance), material disadvantage and non-nuclear family associations (Borell 2006, Van Meijl 2006, King 1999). In this social context, Maori English becomes an important resource as other traditional markers are not available (Borell 2006, Van Meijl 2006, MacLagen 2008, King 1999).

In conclusion, Maori perform a wide range of ethnic identities using a mix of traditional and non-traditional identity markers which depend on their social background. Similar to Aboriginal and American Indian communities, Maori use an indigenized form of the national English spoken by the dominant ethnic group in order to express group solidarity and identity (MacLagen 2008, King 1999).

Cinema

Cinema in New Zealand has been around since the first productions in the early 1900s, when foreign producers utilized the verdant landscape and "exotic" Maori population as a useful backdrop to white instigated action (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Margolis 2011). Traditionally, Pakeha men have held all the important cinema industry roles like producer, director and writer (Barclay 2005, Petrie 2010, Fox 2011). Indeed, Maori only recently gained access to the upper echelons of the industry (Barclay 2005). The following chapter is about the history of cinema in New Zealand and the role that Maori have (not) played in it until rather recently. I hope to trace the representation of Maori people as well as their level of involvement in creating films that commonly portrayed their own culture through an othering gaze.

From 1913 to 1920, the majority of films available to New Zealand audiences were foreign produced and dealt with themes such as romance, war and cowboy showdowns (Fox 2011, Margolis 2011). The very first New Zealand feature film *Hinemoa* (1913) directed by

George Tarr, is about a Maori love story featuring Hinemoa and her lover Tūtānekai who were prevented from seeing each other (Keown 2011, Fox 2011). There had been several feature films by people like Gaston Méliès who both produced and directed 'Maoriland' romances (Fox 2011, Keown 2011). However, Tarr was reputedly the first to create a New Zealand produced feature film (Fox 2011, Imdb 2018, Keown 2011). Maoriland romances included films like *Loved by a Maori Chieftainess* (1913) which present a rosy view of race relations and Maori life (Fox 2011, Keown 2011, Hokowhitu 2014).

In the 1920s-1940s, historical films really marked the Kiwi cinema scene (Fox 2011, Margolis 2011). After WWI, a social shift occurred and was reflected in the historical films of the "father of New Zealand filmmaking" Rudell Hayward (Fox 2011). This shift is described by Fox (2011) as "what was previously antagonistic, now more united." What Fox refers to here is the changing social relations between Maori and Pakeha who had fought together during the Great War and would again in the next war (Fox 2011, Keown 2014). Of course, a major impetus for this social change and for its portrayal was the nation's first nudge toward building a "bicultural national identity" after decades of considering itself a political and cultural extension of England (Fox 2011, Keown 2014, Waller 2010).

The historical film genre technically began in the 1900s with the multitude of Maori romances mentioned earlier but the 1920s brought a dramatic take on a period of New Zealand history referred to as the "New Zealand Wars" (Fox 2011, Keown 2014, Petrie 2010). This period of civil war spanned from 1845-1872 in which some Maori tribes and British fought in several battles across the country (Te Ara, Margolis 2011, Fox 2011, University of Victoria). These battles were caused by illegal British land grabs which spurred Maori to fight for sovereignty within their own nation (University of Victoria). A well-known film *The Te Kooti*

Trail (1927), which was directed by Rudell Howard, was well received at the time and is a definitive film for the historical genre (Fox 2011, Keown 2010, Petrie 2010).

This genre has actually persisted in the 2000s with particular focus on post-colonial interpretation of the New Zealand Wars (Fox 2011, Keown 2010, Petrie 2010). Historical war films like this one promoted racial harmony and colonialism in active support of the government's burgeoning nation building agenda (Fox 2011, Keown 2014).

Generally, historical films had been common in the 1900s and have served to articulate New Zealand national identity (Fox 2011). This is precisely why the genre blossomed during the twenty-year period from WWI through to WWII (Fox 2011, NZ History). As mentioned, relations between Pakeha and Maori were viewed as progressive after WWI, perhaps moving toward a harmonious near-future that Hayward portrayed in his historical films (Fox 2011, Babington 2007). The 1940 anniversary of the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi engendered feelings of national unity at the time and this could have been a factor in the explosion of cinematic New Zealand Wars reenactments (NZ History, Fox 2011). The last of the historical films before its re-emergence as a subversive text in the 1970s was another Hayward production entitled *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) (Petrie 2010, Fox 2011, Keown 2014). This film reinterprets the siege at Orakau in 1864 wherein 300 Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto Maori defended their land from a significantly larger British militia (Babington 2007, Fox 2011). Unlike *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927), this was a talkie and was apparently more widely watched in its theatrical release (Babington 2007).

Moving on to the 1950s-1960s, the main genres during this era included so called 'social problem' films from Hollywood, docudramas and romances (Sigley 2011, Brooks 2011). Social problem films were often shown in theaters from the 1930s-1960s and the majority were

foreign imports from the United States (1949) (Brooks 2011, IMDB 2018). Historically, these films grew out of cinematic responses to ongoing racism and anti-semitism (Brooks 2011). The first New Zealand produced social problem film was *Broken Barrier* (1952): an intercultural romance which focuses on the young Maori nurse Rewa and her relationship with a bigoted Pākeha man only in her hometown to write journalistic articles about Maori culture (Brooks 2011, IMDB 2018). This influenced directors John O'Shea and Roger Mirams so much so that they decided to make a film about race-relations in New Zealand and the supposed problem of intermarriage (Brooks 2011). It is important to keep in mind that while the US had restrictive laws forbidding miscegenation, New Zealand did not (Brooks 2011). It seems that the director's choice of topic was a localized version of a global genre mean to cash in on the fad (Brooks 2011).

Despite its many shortcomings, *Broken Barrier* (1952) was very popular and in one city alone 12,000 moviegoers ventured out to glimpse it (Brooks 2011). It was quite popular in the theater reportedly because it used local actors and filmed in well-known locations like Rotorua on the North Island that film-goers could readily identify (Brooks 2011). Unlike in Australia or America, the movie industry was not as strong in New Zealand and so the movie was rare in its use of local people and environment (Brooks 2011, Fox 2011). One of the main characters is played by Maori actress Kay Ngarimu (IMDB 2018). It shows a progressive portrayal of Maori compared to earlier films in how her character chooses her cultural heritage over assimilation to Pakeha culture (Brooks 2011). Intercultural romance films were very common from the 1920s up into the 1950s (Fox 2011, Brooks 2011). The genre offers a chance for critical reflection on the national discourse surrounding the push for a new 'bicultural' society as well as societal attitudes toward Maori at the time (Brooks 2011, Hokowhitu 2014,

Margolis 2011). Between the release of *Hinemoa* (1914) and *Broken Barrier* (1952), rose-tinted romances promoting biculturalism did not change much as they continued to court Maori social acceptance as the nation pushed for assimilatory national unity (Fox 2011, Brooks 2011).

From 1952 until 1977, New Zealand experienced a long creative dry spell where it was difficult to make films due to lack of government investment and opportunities (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Brooks 2011). Because of this lull, there were only seven New Zealand feature films produced until the New Wave era spanning from 1977- 1989 (Fox 2011, Keown 2011, Margolis 2011). Before moving on to the New Wave movement of the 1970s, I'd like to discuss the film production industry to understand how a small national film industry went from producing between 3-13 films a decade to practically nothing until 1972 (Ferrer-Roca 2017, Keown 2011, Petrie 2010).

The film industry in New Zealand had always been 'small scale' and necessarily reliant on public or international funding to function (Ferrer-Roca 2017, Waller 2010, Petrie 2010). Prior to 1941, films were mainly backed internationally instead of locally (Petrie 2010). Hollywood dominated the global cinema scene and proved very popular at the theaters (Petrie 2010). The creation of the National Film Unit in 1941 was a turning point in the industry (Petrie 2010, NZ Ministry of Economic Development). It was the main employer for many in the industry as opportunities elsewhere were scarce (Petrie 2010, NZ on Screen, Radio NZ). Initially the National Film Unit created feature films for theatrical release but later would create newsreels and ads (NZ Ministry of Economic Development). Between 1942-1960, there were only two significant film production centers in the country (NZ Ministry of Economic Development, TEARA). At the National Film Unit, they produced the Weekly Review

newsreels, educational documentaries for the public and training videos for the army (NZ Ministry of Economic Development, TEARA).

In 1948, Roger Mirams and Alun Falconer founded the Pacific Film Unit which was the only other company to produce feature films between 1952-1966 (TEARA, Babington 2007). Many mainstays of the film industry got their start in the new Pacific Film Unit where they could explore genres outside of documentary and flex mild independence outside of the government controlled National Film Unit (TEARA, Babington 2007, Brooks 2011). Before the advent of television and the resurgence of industry productivity, John O'Shea directed the only three feature films made between 1952-1972 (Babington 2007, Brooks 2011). While *Broken Barrier* (1952) was a thematic icon of the 1950s, the following decade brought O'Shea's final and very differently themed feature films (Babington 2007, Brook 2011). The distinctive film *Runaway* (1964) attempted to create a New Zealand version of contemporary European art films while the solo musical *Don't Let it Get to You* (1966) dealt with integration against 1960s pop music (Babington 2007).

Both O'Shea films reiterate common themes such as the interracial love plot and the visual association of Maori with the land as well as an ambiguous past (Babington 2007, Keown 2014). *Runaway* (1964) offers up the Maori image as "a version of home" for the Man Alone represented by the dissatisfied youth David Manning who goes on a journey on the road after committing acts of fraud to maintain a high-class lifestyle (Babington 2007). The Man Alone is a common theme present in many New Zealand films (Babington 2007, Fox 2011).
It is derived from myth-making surrounding the founding of modern New Zealand, a nostalgic reminder of brave settlers who fought against a harsh environment (Fox 2011). Throughout the history of New Zealand film, this theme continually pops up even in more modern examples that

will be examined in the Maori film *Utu* (1984). Returning to the main point, there would not be any Maori filmmakers until the integral works of both Barry Barclay and Merata Mita in the early 1980s (Keown 2014, Joyce 2009, Petrie 2010). However, while the 1960s had sparse Maori presence outside of peripheral roles there seems to be a shift from earlier caricatural portrayals to integrated 'modern' figures (Babington 2007, Keown 2014, Brooks 2011, Fox 2011). This shift prepared the way for the upcoming explosion in Maori centered film and for the film industry's long awaited golden era (Fox 2011, Keown 2014, Babington 2007, Joyce 2009, Waller 2011, Petrie 2011).

The 1970s was an era of newly abundant resources for the industry with financial support coming from foreign investors who took advantage of low cost filmmaking and tax incentives (Waller 2011, Roddick 2010). Unlike the meager seven films produced in the previous thirty years, there were forty-eight feature films made between 1973-1985 (Babington 2007). New Wave is a term associated with the 1970s-80s which describes an era of independence from government control over film where young filmmakers could explore the colonial narrative, identity, art or experimental genres and other previously stifled themes (Fox 2011, Keown 2011). It is worth noting that like many countries, New Zealand did have a censorship office which was responsible for censoring material that included drug use, profane language and graphic violence that 'unruly teenagers and mentally impressionable adults' could imitate (Watson 2008). Around the mid-seventies, censorship began to be relaxed which directly related to the increasing freedom in the industry (Watson 2008).

The first and most important film in this New Wave era was Rudell Hayward's *To Love a Maori* (1972). Hayward was an important founding figure in the historical film genre as previously discussed and this film marked a significant difference in how he approached Maori

in his productions (Babington 2007). Colonialism is a positive force in most of his early works, where the New Zealand Wars became watered-down skirmishes in which the audience is led to believe that in the near future biculturalism will solve everything (Keown 2011, Babington 2007, Fox 2011). However, Hayward's perspective had changed from his first films to his very last (Fox 2011). Perhaps influenced by his Maori wife, Hayward moved away from romantic rural landscapes where Maori exist solely as one-dimensional figures (Fox 2011, Babington 2007).

To Love a Maori (1972) is about an interracial couple Tama and Penny who try to make their marriage work while living in the city (Babington 2007). In contrast to previous accounts of Maori life on screen, the couple live an urban lifestyle away from Tama's family who still live out in the country (Babington 2007). While it isn't perfect, the film does allude to cultural changes such as the rise of Maori activism and how important it is to respond to contemporary Maori needs (Babington 2007). It is a step in the right direction but Maori representation filtered through Maori ideological perspective would occur a few years later in a period of time referred to as the Maori Renaissance (Keown 2011, Thornley 2011).

The Maori Renaissance occurred simultaneously as the New Wave era around the early 1970s (Keown 2011, Fox 2011). As the name suggested, there was a renewed sense of pride in Maori culture which came about from the increasing urbanization of Maori through the 1960s and international social movements such as the anti-Racist and Women's Liberation social protests (Keown 2011). This lush era of new talent brought a preponderance of feature films whose creation was mainly due to the New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC) which allowed new filmmakers to break out (Keown 2011). While the National Film Unit continued in the background, the public called for a national film commission to support the feature film industry (Waller 2011, Petrie 2011). According to Waller 2011, there were two arguments to create the

NZFC: feature films will develop national identity and government funding bolsters the industry so it can rival global markets. The NZFC was created in 1978 to support the creation of an indigenous film industry and to explore national identity (Waller 2011). It supported around 30 films during the New Wave including Maori feature films and documentaries that were considered a part of the New Zealand film genre (Waller 2011).

As the film industry was reborn, relations between England and New Zealand had changed substantially which left the settler country struggling with its identity as well its colonial nature (Keown 2011, Fox 2011). This identity struggle allowed critical reflection on colonialism and its connection to the state of New Zealand society (Fox 2011, Keown 2011). The first Maori centric film *Ngati* (1987) was an important shift in Maori peoples' involvement and representation in the film industry (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Joyce 2009). Until this point, Maori lives had been portrayed through a European lens which distorted their image on screen (Fox 2011, Keown 2011). Director Barry Barclay of Ngāti Apa iwi created a movie that all Maori could simultaneously relate to and understand from a Maori ideological perspective (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Joyce 2009).

From this watershed moment, Maori were even more determined to challenge the colonial narrative (Keown 2011, Fox 2011). Additionally, other important films such as *Utu* (1983) and *Mauri* (1988) explored this counter narrative around the same time (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Joyce 2009). While *Utu* (1983) was Pakeha produced they had cultural advisors and employed many Maori actors (Fox 2011). *Utu* (1983) is a historical film set during the New Zealand Wars but the narrative and point of view are decidedly subversive in its material (Fox 2011). Stereotypes about both British and Maori during the Wars are deconstructed in fascinating ways (Fox 2011). For example, the supposedly civil Colonel Elliot of the British Army is one of

the main villains (Fox 2011, IMDB 2018). This subverts ideas of savage Maori and civilizing British (Fox 2011).

Briefly, the other film mentioned was a Merata Mita directed feature film about changing life in a small East Coast town similar to the fictional Kapua mentioned earlier (NZ on Screen, Keown 2011). Mita was the very first Maori woman to direct and produce a movie in the country (NZ on Screen, IMDB 2018). Both her work and that of Barry Barclay's have truly inspired generations of Maori people looking for ways to articulate their identities. Film in the New Wave era remodeled itself in the *tiro ā-Maori ki tōna ake ao* 'Maori worldview' in ways that broke apart common themes of settlers battling a harsh landscape and struggling to bring 'civilization' to the supposedly lesser civilized Maori (Keown 2011, Te Aka, Fox 2011, Hokowhitu 2014).

Subsequent to the New Wave era, the 1990s was the decade in which several New Zealand films became internationally critically acclaimed (Keown 2011, Margolis 2011). Genres common to this decade include the feminist biopic, splatstick and dramas (Mckee 2011). Three films epitomize the atmosphere and thematic interests at the time. The first is *Once were Warriors* (1994), a bleak literary adaptation that follows the dysfunctional family of Jake Heke in an Auckland suburb (Keown 2011, Joyce 2009). In the same vein as *Ngati* (1987), it presents a counter narrative to the national bicultural discourse in how it portrays entrenched violence, poverty and other social realities of colonialism (Joyce 2009, Keown 2011). Pakeha characters only appear on the periphery as caricature like figures that exist as the 'other' in this counter-narrative (Joyce 2009).

Another hit was *The Piano* (1995), another intercultural romance between a recently arrived mail order English bride Ada who is mute and her new husband's Pakeha neighbor

Baines who has Maori cultural markers (Margolis 2011). It was directed by Jane Campion and acclaimed for its inclusion of the female New Zealanders' point of view (Margolis 2011). *The Piano* (1995) is a re-analysis of early settler life that take the place of women in New Zealand's history as its subject (Mckee 2011). Unfortunately, the film presented Maori culture shaped through a Pakeha lens despite the presence of "cultural advisors" that Campion insisted she used (Joyce 2011). One of the main issues with this film is that both main characters are played by white Americans despite the character identity of Ada's Maori-Pakeha lover Baines (Imdb). This is troublesome in the representation of Maori since it perpetuates the exotic lover motif present even in the earliest films (Fox 2011, Keown 2011). Despite these criticisms, the movie was so popular because of these cultural features (Joyce 2011, Barclay 2005, Barnes 2018).
The marketability of Western crafted constructs of indigeneity have been noted in recent New Zealand films (Joyce 2011, Barclay 2005, Barnes 2018).

Finally, Peter Jackson's *Heavenly Creatures* (1994), about the unusually intense relationship between two girls which leads to murder, made Peter Jackson a more prominent member in the global film industry (IMDM 2018, Margolis 2011). Maori representation is almost nil in this film, especially since it was set in 1950s Christchurch which is a small town on the South Island that in reality does not have a high Maori population (McKee 2011). These films catapulted New Zealand onto the global radar as a producer of high quality movies, something that had previously been unattainable due to the state of funding and infrastructure in the industry (Fox 2011, Brooks 2011, Keown 2011).

While New Zealand cinema has only recently come onto the global scene, the last twenty years have made household names of Peter Jackson, Jane Campion, Barry Barclay and Taika Waititi. From 2000-2017, there have been over 100 films either filmed in New Zealand,

made by foreign countries in partnership or solely produced by New Zealand (IMDB 2018). The film industry is much more developed and there seems to be enough infrastructure to be self-supporting (Ferrer-Roca 2017). Today production in the industry is three tiered: small scale New Zealand-content based films, medium scale foreign-funded films and large scale films entirely financed abroad (Ferrer-Roca 2017). Relations between each tier has kept the industry moving so that it doesn't stagnate like it did between the 1950s and 1970s (Ferrer-Roca 2017, Brooks 2011, Petrie 2011).

Perhaps one of the most well-known contemporary Maori filmmakers is Taika Waititi who has helmed many Hollywood blockbusters such as *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017). His films have continued the recent tradition of using his Maori worldview to apply to his films while also maintaining an avid fan base worldwide. He has been described as having "a canny awareness and negotiation of the presuppositions underpinning the category of Maori artist" (Smith 2014). In other words, he doesn't act how indigenous filmmakers are expected to and certainly doesn't confine himself to solely indigenous matters (Smith 2014). However, that doesn't mean Waititi declines to bring his Maori point of view to his films, only that he doesn't pigeonhole himself into traditional, Western ideas of indigeneity (Smith 2014). Waititi's films have universal themes that makes them relatable yet still maintains their Maori origins (Smith 2014).

As a marker of how far Maori representation has gone, it is well worth mentioning the recent re-release of the animated Disney film *Moana* (2016) entirely in the Maori language (NY Times 2017). All Maori voice actors were used in the second version and it was highly popular as tickets sold out in only 30 minutes (NY Times 2017). Never before has an internationally successful film been dubbed in the Maori language. This demonstrates how much progress has been made in indigenous representation both globally and in New Zealand. In conclusion, the

history of cinema in New Zealand has been a complex and often conflicting simultaneous account of societal realities and colonial burdens which has been transformed into a cultural tool for exploring and shaping both the national identity of New Zealand and that of its indigenous inhabitants (Keown 2011, Fox 2011, Hokowhitu 2014, Margolis 2011).

Film Analysis

Introduction

Film is a vital part of a nation's identity creation: an imaginary space which is filled with all of the hopes, values, fears, triumphs and tragedies of the nation state (Petrie 2010, Waller 2010). In the case of New Zealand, the national film industry is small but has indeed assisted in the creation of a New Zealand national identity (Petrie 2010, Joyce 2009, Waller 2010). After England pulled out of the country in the 1970s, New Zealanders had to reconfigure their settler identity to forge a new one removed from past British subject hood (Waller 2010, Petrie 2010, Keown 2014).

From the 1970s onward, a national cinema burgeoned to address this cultural schism and to reposition Pakeha as indigenous to New Zealand yet still distinct from Maori (Petrie 2010, Waller 2010). Importantly, all of the films created in this new national film industry were almost entirely created by Pakeha directors, writers, producers and actors (Keown 2014, Martens 2012). The first Maori-centric feature film *Ngati* (1987) was directed by activist and prominent Ngati Apa member Barry Barclay (IMDB 2018). This milestone in Maori representation proved a catalyst to the existing Maori Renaissance movement which saw significant gains in both Maori civil rights and historic land claims related to the Treaty of Waitangi agreement in 1841 (Martens 2012, Keown 2014, Joyce 2009, Hokowhitu 2013). The importance of this film cannot be

understated for New Zealand cinema, the Maori community and the global indigenous community (Martens 2012, Keown 2014, Joyce 2009, Hokowhitu 2013).

Ngati (1987) transformed New Zealand national cinema because of the strong Maori presence in all aspects of production and its adherence to Maori *tikanga* (Martens 2012, Keown 2014, Joyce 2010). *Tikanga* refers to "the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context (Maori Dictionary 2018, Barlow 1991)." Besides its adherence to *tikanga*, *Ngati* (1987) is unique because of its incorporation of both Maori English and Maori. Maori people and their language have always been at the center of New Zealand film but often involved a sparse caricature based on a few token Maorisms instead of an accurate or representative image (Keown 2014, Hokowhitu 2014, Martens 2012, Fox 2010).

The film's use of both Maori and Maori English is arguably as important as Maori visual presence because it legitimizes both the language and English ethnolect (Keown 2014). While *Ngati* (1987) has been widely discussed, there have been no linguistically focused analyses (Joyce 2010, Keown 2014, Joyce 2013, Barnes 2018). Most analyses focus on the themes of Maori sovereignty and collectivity which lead Kapua to become a self-sufficient community that is not reliant on Pakeha assistance (Joyce 2013, Keown 2014). In his own writings, the director spoke often of using *Ngati* (1987) as a political statement to express his hopes for a united and self-determined Maori people that did not have to rely on the postcolonial state (Barclay 2015).

One interesting analysis of illness and health portrayed in the film focuses on how it articulates a national identity which is "shamefacedly deformed and proudly deviant" in its isolation and alienation from global significance (Smith 2004:66). Both kinds of analyses ignore

the role of language and this is a literature gap I hope to address. I will examine language use in both films and how Maori identity is expressed through linguistic choices. Maori English creates a sense of group solidarity in absence of adequate Maori language knowledge in many modern communities (Meyerhoff 1994, MacLagen 2008, King 1999). Therefore, language is used in both films to express Maori identity while simultaneously supporting the dominant messages of post-colonial critique and Maori self-determinism underlying *Ngati* (1987) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016).

In the following analysis, I will review theories of First, Third, and Fourth Cinemas. Second, I will describe the film's plot and focus on particular scenes to demonstrate how Maori English is utilized as a tool to index Maori identity. Third, I will compare language use between *Ngati* (1987) and a newer Maori-directed film *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016).

First, Third and Fourth Cinemas: Indigenous Filmmaking

Briefly, I will explain First and Third Cinema theories and how they informed Barry Barclay's Fourth Cinema approach. In traditional film theory, there are three cinemas divided into First, Second and Third Cinemas (Turner 2013, Barclay 2015, Chanan 1996). First Cinema refers to the model promoted by the American film industry (Chanan 1996). Since cinema's first uses in early 20th century until 1960, a classical style based in the United States dominated global cinema (Bordwell 1985). The following discussion about classical film style is based on Bordwell (1985).

Classical Hollywood film emphasizes certain narrative styles, temporalities and spatialities which combine with aesthetic choices to make a cohesive style. Narratives are constructed using causality, psychological motivation and the need for characters to overcome obstacles. Individual characters drive action, causing future events to happen and move the plot forward. Often characters are driven to action either by their own personality traits or stated goals. A goal could be to get married or to seek revenge for a death. These goals help define which characters will perform what actions in the film. Temporality refers to how classical cinema uses story order and duration to assist narrative structure. The duration is systematically created by choosing to show important events and skipping past the chronological events in between the important events (Bordwell 1985: 44). Duration can also be marked by character deadlines wherein a character has limited time for every event (Bordwell 1985:44).

Space in classical cinema is focused on the centralized human figure in the 'upper one-third and central vertical third of the screen' (Bordwell 1985: 51). Your eye is directed to the most important characters in a scene by the position of their body relative to the screen (Bordwell 1985: 53). Often spatial depth is created by cues like "visual overlap, pattern, color, texture, lighting and focus" (Bordwell 1985: 52). Lighting is particularly important to cinematic portrayals of space as Hollywood filmmakers often utilized backlighting to differentiate the background from on screen figures (Bordwell 1985:52). This formula for a classical Hollywood style greatly impacted global cinema and continues to do so.

Third Cinema refers to a spectrum of film possibilities that originated in Latin America and challenges Eurocentric neo-colonialism (Chanan 1996, Guneratne 2003). Since its advent in Latin America, Third Cinema has spread around the globe to countries that share a colonial dominated past and wish to create culturally grounded cinematic works that subvert

existing classical paradigms (Chanan 1996, Buchsbaum 2011, Stollery 2001). Some characteristics of this approach include critical analysis of neocolonialism, hybridity, detritus redemption and the use of alternative aesthetics (Stam 2003, Stollery 2001, Buchsbaum 2011). Films in this category often utilize non-linear or non-traditional narrative structures (Stam 2003). First Cinema has a rigid narrative structure inspired partially by classical literature (Bordwell 1985). Third Cinema also prefers to portray taboo realities that First Cinema is not able or willing to portray (Stam 2003, Chanan 1996, Buchsbaum 2011). Through centering the marginal, Third Cinema brings suppressed indigenous understandings of gender, disability, sex, race and class to bear in the contemporary cinematic world (Stam 2003).

In response to this entrenched paradigm, Barry Barclay wanted to create a theory encompassing indigenous epistemology and his own particular background which he did not see reflected in New Zealand cinema (Barclay 2015, Strickland 2015, Turner 2013). Fourth Cinema is a medium shaped from Maori *tikanga* (custom) that allows the camera to both listen to, and visualize Maori from their own ideological lens (Turner 2013, Barnes 2018, Barclay 2005). Barclay wanted to take back control of Maori images after two centuries of distortion (Fisher 2013).

Underlying this desire is the Maori belief that any photographs or film will gain a life of their own and needs to be treated in culturally specific ways since it gains *mana* (power) in the creation process (Barclay 2005, Turner 2013, Barnes 2018). The theory's wider ideas of identity reclamation have inspired indigenous filmmakers globally (Barnes 2018, Barclay 2015).

In order to accomplish his goals, Barclay used techniques like filming at least 15-50 meters away from his subjects (Barclay 2015). He filmed further away to make his Maori subjects comfortable. This technique was often utilized in his documentaries but can be seen in

some scenes where conversation occurs in *Ngati* (1987). He often filmed entire groups instead of solitary individuals thereby creating a collective atmosphere which many Maori can relate to from their own experiences (Barclay 2005). Some key Maori values exhibited in *Ngati* (1987) include hospitality, respect for children/elders, listening, humility, responsibility and spirituality. Maori culture is by no means monolithic but these values are typically included in descriptions of values in most iwi or hapu (Strickland 2013, Barclay 2015, Barnes 2018, Borell 2006).

***Ngati* (1987)**

Barry Barclay's first and best-known feature film *Ngati* (1987) is often thought of as a Maori film (Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015). But what exactly does a "Maori film" entail? Film critics have defined them as films with "traditional Maori values" (Milligan 2015, Barclay 2015, Thornley 2011, Hokowhitu 2013). As mentioned before, values like hospitality and respect may feature in many Maori tribes but they are by no means indicative of the complex possibility of Maoriness (Barclay 2015, King 1999, Barlow 1991, Borell 2005).

Pan-Maori identity draws on traditional markers of identity based in rural areas and ignores diverse experiences among more common urban Maori (Borell 2005, Barclay 2015, Wilson 2011, Mercier 2007). It is striking how Maori are portrayed in film as overwhelmingly rural but the majority of Maori are urban dwellers since the post-WWII era saw a significant push away from traditional rural communities (Carlyon 2014, Barclay 2015, Borell 2005).

Barclay saw *Ngati* (1987) as a Maori film not because it adhered to these rigid values but because it was created with insider cultural knowledge (Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015). This definition was his litmus test for telling apart so called "Maori film" from general New Zealand films (Barclay 2015). He would disagree vehemently that there needed to be certain values

underpinning a film to make it fit in to the Maori category as he thought any film made by a Maori person should be included in this genre (Barclay 2015). At the same time, he does admit that the New Zealand film industry does expect any films made by Maori to 'tick certain boxes' which have been decided by the Pakeha majority as the only possibility for Maori film (Barclay 2015).

Ngati (1987) is a multi-layered examination of a week in the life of a majority Maori town on the Eastern coast of the North Island. The story is centered on the imminent closure of the town's freezer-works and the ongoing "Maori sickness" of local family Hine and Iwi's young son Ropata. The entire community is worried about the freezer-works as well as grieving for the debilitating condition Ropata suffers as he deals with leukemia. In the midst of this turmoil, Australian Greg Shaw visits the only Pakeha family in Kapua, physician Dr. Bennet, his wife Sam and his daughter Sally who teaches the community children.

At first, Greg is ignorant of Maori custom, acting in ways which reveal his prejudices toward indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand. However, as he becomes romantically interested in Sally and spends time in the community he realizes that he too is a Maori. Greg's journey into self-discovery is mirrored in the community's journey to self-determination as they prevent the freezer-works closure by a collective decision to run them on their own without Pakeha interference.

Unlike in Western realist film, Barclay doesn't foreground the conflicts about either the freezer-works or Ropata's cancer but instead uses the strong relational ties between *whanau* (family), *iwi* (tribe) and *hapu* (sub-tribe) which keep the Kapua community strong against colonial threat (Thornley 2011, Rushton 2010, Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015). Realism is employed in the narrative structure and the camerawork but Barclay uses these cinematic tools to

reclaim a long- hijacked Maori image from Pakeha hands that once molded it according to dehumanizing agendas (Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015, Keown 2014, Joyce 2009, Fox 2009, Hokowhitu 2013).

***Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016)**

A generation of filmmakers in New Zealand grew up learning from the likes of Merata Mita, Barry Barclay, John O'Shea and Jane Campion (Milligan 2015, Mercier 2007, Petrie 2010, Keown 2014). Today's Maori filmmakers acknowledge this rich past but innovate in the present by challenging the boundaries of indigenous film.

Director, actor and producer Taika Waititi is one such innovator who has taken his unique position as Maori filmmaker to work on Hollywood blockbusters and independent New Zealand films alike without compromising his values (IMDB 2018, Mercier 2012, Smith 2012). He has faced similar challenges to Barry Barclay because of mainstream opposition to non-traditional portrayals of Maori life (Variety Magazine 2010, Smith 2012, Mercier 2012).

Criticism of his second feature film *Boy* (2010) called it "a let down . . . Waititi has scrubbed away all culturally specific traits from his growing-up-Kiwi comedy, concentrating instead on the same things that might infatuate any other 1984-era moppet (Debruge 2010)." This viewpoint comes from a Pakeha critic who felt somehow cheated that there weren't recognizable or expected markers of Maoriness that would place *Boy* (2010) in the Maori film genre (Debruge 2010, Smith 2012). Indigenous media has always had to fight against mainstream Western ideas about how indigeneity is portrayed (Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015, Hokowhitu 2013). Often these preferred articulations agree with paleolithic values located

outside modernity which fail to grasp how indigenous people have adapted and can readily use a camera without being less authentically indigenous (Hokowhitu 2013: 156).

Hunt for the Wilderpeople (2016) continues Waititi's challenge to those who think Maori values like land appreciation or respect for elders has to be present to make it a Maori film (Barclay 2015). The 101-minute long film concerns a young, overweight Maori boy Ricky Baker who has lived in the city his whole life where he bounced between foster homes. Ricky's last chance before he is sent to the state care boy's home comes in the form of Bella and Hec: an inter-ethnic couple living in an isolated cabin in the Urewera Mountains. While Ricky attempts to run away several times, he always comes back for breakfast in the morning. Tragedy strikes as loving Bella unexpectedly dies and leaves her Pakeha husband Hec alone with Ricky. He is an illiterate man of few words who prefers to hunt in solitude in the bush. Though he wants nothing more than to give Ricky back to the State, both characters find life takes an unexpected path when Ricky burns down the cabin and goes off into the bush. Hec finds him but fractures his foot in the process which forces them to stay in the bush for several weeks. When they see posters indicating the entire New Zealand police force is looking for a kidnapped Ricky and the assumed pedophile Hec, they begin a wild journey across the North Island's isolated Te Urewera region. As the stakes keep rising, the journey ends in a military training area where Ricky leads a formidable armada of tanks, police cars and helicopters on an explosive, zany car chase. In the end, Hec is sent to jail for a short time while Ricky has to stay with a Maori foster family for a year. But the two reunite as whanau (family) to continue their journey back into the Te Urewera forest.

Both *Boy* (2010) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) have main characters who are Maori urban youths that find inspiration and meaning from icons like Michael Jackson

(Smith 2012, Mercier 2012). But the lack of Maori language or other markers which critics like Debruge (2010) have decried as the only possible expressions of Maori identity do not make Ricky Baker any less Maori than if he lived in a small rural town and regularly visited a marae (Hokowhitu 2013, Smith 2012, Mercier 2012, Barclay 2015, Milligan 2015). The distinctiveness of this film is in how different Maori identity is shown and expressed as compared to the *Ngati* (1987). Both directors approach this topic from different eras and perspectives but are connected by their united vision of diverse Maori films that transcends Western restrictions on what indigenous film can be in New Zealand (Barclay 2015).

Comparative film analysis

In this analysis of two Maori films, I will examine how language use supports Maori identity expression and dominant messages underlying the films (Barclay 2015, Rushton 2010). I choose to include *kaupapa* Maori theory because it frames research as "by Maori, for Maori or with Maori" (Walker 2006). *Kaupapa* is based on the values of *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), social justice, *te ao Maori* (worldview), *te reo* (language) and *whanau* (Walker 2006). I will be following Angela Moewaka Barnes (2018) in her critical application of kaupapa Maori to film analysis in a framework she calls *kai manawhanu*i which translates to listening to intuitions as they steer . . . with intellect (2018: 2).

In my application of *kai manawhanui*, I can better understand how both Barry Barclay and Taika Waititi have crafted their films from Maori perspectives. In conjunction with this framework, I use Third Cinema Theory to understand how minority voices and images are being reclaimed in the two films (Alia 2005). Third Cinema focus on the possibilities of the 'other' especially the idea of hybridity of identity (Rushton 2010). Identity is never as one-dimensional as portrayed in film (Petrie 2010, Fox 2010, Keown 2014). When the concept of

hybridity is applied it allows for full articulation of indigenous identity (Rushton 2010). Indigenous people exist between two worlds, the dominant postcolonial state and the subordinate indigenous state, both necessary to understand the complex intersections of indigenous identity in a postcolonial settler state like New Zealand (Rushton 2010). Using the idea of hybridity, *kaupapa* Maori film theory and Third Cinema, I hope to compare language use in both films and examine how Maori identity is expressed through linguistic choices. I will first examine what languages are utilized in different contexts in Barry Barclay's film. Then I will compare it to the absence of Maori language use in Taika Waititi's film. Afterward, I will examine Maori English in certain scenes and see how these representations differ.

Ngati (1987) begins with a slow pan of a Maori man walking into the family home of Ropata, who unfortunately has cancer and has been sent home from the hospital in the last weeks of his life. There is a gathering of *kaumatua* or elders around his bed praying with a *tohunga* (priest). Ropata's school friends are barred from visiting even though elders were specifically invited inside his room. In this first scene, Maori is the first language spoken as a greeting between two elders as they remove their shoes before going inside. It is also spoken in prayers to God and used between the visitors at the house. This scene allows Maori spirituality to take center stage through close ups of the visiting elders singing prayers and Ropata's pale face as he lies in bed. Maori health practices traditionally involved a *tohunga* (priest) invoking certain rituals and the concept of *tapu* when needed in times of need (Te Aka Dictionary 2018). Tapu has several meanings including "to be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden or under atua 'god' protection (Te Aka Dictionary 2018). Ropata is considered *tapu* to the other children because he is dying and there are specific rituals surrounding death which have to be observed (Te Aka Dictionary 2018). Cinematic analysis of the meaning behind Ropata's sickly presence

reads an opposition between traditional and modern ideas about well-being and health; an opposition embodied by his sister Sally and his father Iwi who hold strongly modern and traditionalist views respectively (Joyce 2009).

A common strategy Barclay employed to communicate to Maori in his films was something he termed "talking in" (Strickland 2013, Barclay 2015). Briefly, this term is used when a film is crafted using intimate knowledge of culture outside of Western frames of understanding (Strickland 2013). The director is not concerned with making a movie that can allow Pakeha to better understand Maori culture (Barclay 2015, Strickland 2013, Milligan 2015). The main point is to reframe film outside of entrenched Western ideologies and give Maori a chance to tell stories from their perspective to other cultural insiders who can understand the gentle nuances (Strickland 2013, Milligan 2015, Barclay 2015).

Barclay talks inward when he doesn't provide subtitles to private conversations. If you're a Maori language speaker, you can easily grasp that the elders who speak outside in the first scene are saying hello and inquiring about each other's health. This first scene and a later scene between Ropata's family both include instances of English and mostly subtitled Maori. The subtitling during the *karakia* (prayers) over Ropata's bed demystifies a spiritual practice little understood outside the Maori community. Viewed through Barclay's theoretical approach, this could be seen as an instance of 'talking outward' to explain the cultural meaning to a non-Maori audience. Even though *Ngati* (1987) is in reality aimed at a Maori audience, Barclay does have moments like this where he lifts the cultural veil to allow those outside the intended audience to see beyond obscured Maori ritual.

In the second scene using subtitling, there is an argument between the three adult members of Ropata's family, namely his parents and his sister Sally, who recently returned home

from living in the city. Symbolically, Sally stands for the encroaching urbanization and the cultural rift between traditional and modern medicines (Joyce 2013). Sally argues against the village children being kept away from Ropata. She stands at the stove, angrily clearing away the tea dishes as she complains. Her dialogue is in English while her father Iwi uses several Maori words. Iwi uses the words *mana* (power) and *kaha* (strength) to describe why Ropata is not getting healthier. The difference in their descriptions of Ropata's illness reflects their disparate ideological positions about health and the causes of disease.

SALLY: "Painkillers he said. There's little he can do except make Ropata as comfortable as possible."

IWI: "Maybe the tanga's mana would have more kaha if the young fellow didn't have to take any Pakeha medicine"

SALLY: "Jesus Christ! I give up. You say something, Mom."

When her mother responds, subtitles reveal she is calmly telling her not to curse and that everyone is upset about Ropata. Sally's use of English contrasts directly with her mother Hine who mostly speaks Maori. As arbitrator between her husband Iwi and their daughter Sally, Hine chooses Maori to symbolically invoke values that she thinks Sally should remember. As the prayers were subtitled, so are her chastisements to Sally. Perhaps Barclay wanted to emphasize the cultural clashes between Maori that can occur since many now live away from traditional rural areas like Kapua. During the argument, the camera is zoomed out to fit the whole kitchen table in the camera. This allows the viewer to see all three people and their reactions. Importantly, Sally is not interrupted even though two conflicting viewpoints are voiced, and her father just sits and listens to her despite his disagreement. However, he does suggest she has lost her way because of being "too long in the city." The time period is pre-WWII when most Maori were still living in rural areas (Hill 2009). At the time it was filmed 84% of the population lived

in an urban area (The World Bank 2018). The re-imagined past and then current reality become laminated in an underscoring of the effects of colonization. Sally is representative of the three-quarters of Maori who lived in an urban site often removed from their traditional tribal land and marae (Hill 2009). As Joyce (2009) suggests, this film is a postcolonial critique which directly goes against paradisiacal images of New Zealand devoid of Maori or colonization. The conflict between Sally and her father is indicative of wider cultural rifts occurring across Maori communities (Joyce 2009). Barclay acknowledges these intra-cultural challenges yet through Sally's family's acceptance of her point of view he does allow the conflict to be solved using Maori values (Barclay 2015). Her parents do admit privately that perhaps forbidding Ropata's friends from visiting and praying over his bed does not do much but it is a way they can deal with his suffering. Their conflict between modern/traditional health practices symbolically represents Pakeha assimilation practices, where using a *tohunga* is considered ludicrous by the majority Pakeha and is thus devalued (Joyce 2009).

Absence of the Maori language marks *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) as much as its presence marks *Ngati* (1987). Historically, there were more fluent speakers of Maori in the 1980s than there are now as several generations missed out on the opportunity to learn the language (Statistics New Zealand 2018 NZ 2018, Albury 2014, Chrisp 2004). The most fluent speakers are typically above 70 years old (Statistics New Zealand 2018 NZ 2018, Albury 2014, Chrisp 2004). It is not a surprise then that Maori has less presence, but speakers could have been found to fulfill the roles if Waititi had wished.

On the other hand, this movie is based on the book *Wild Pork and Watercress* (1986) by Barry Crump. He was a Pakeha bushman with little working knowledge of Maori so there is no Maori use in the book either (New Zealand Book Council 2018). This conspicuous lack of

Maori is interesting because many Maori and Pakeha alike consider Maori language knowledge as the core for Maori identity (Borell 2005, King 1999, Bayard 1995, Van Meijl 1996). Maori identity is thought of as secure if it includes certain conventional markers like access to a *marae* or Maori language knowledge (Borell 2005, Van Meijl 1996). As no Maori character speaks Maori, their identities can be interpreted as less secure than traditional Maori identities expressed in *Ngati* (1987).

There is a wide variety of Englishes used in *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) which reflect an array of possibilities under the umbrella term Maori English. The only Maori language used occurs in the form of loan words used in New Zealand English for place names. For example, Ricky's case worker from Child Welfare Services is named Paula and when she is talking to the cop Andy, she says that: "We will catch them in a Mangaweka mile." Mangaweka is a small town of about 200 people in the Manawatu-Wanganui region of the North Island (New Zealand 2018). Paula uses a "Mangaweka mile" to say that they will catch the fugitives quickly since such as small town barely has a few miles to begin with.

A major difference in how both films use the Maori language is apparent from the first beginning scenes. Waititi's film begins with a journey through the Urewera mountains to Ricky Baker's new foster home. There is no dialogue until Paula makes Ricky get out of the car but the music which accompanies their forest journey is entitled *Makutekahu* by the Orchard Enterprises (IMDB 2018). It is a song written in Latin and Maori with electronic synth elements and soaring operatic voices. Even though the dialogue doesn't include Maori language his song opens one of the main themes of the film: Maori place and identity in a Pakeha space. As the lyrics float above the high forest shots from above, the combined Latin-Maori mix gives a solemn flair to an otherwise normal drive through the country. By no accident, the name of the song is that of a

special lake where foster mother Bella Faulkner tells Ricky she wants to be buried because "it is so high up it wets the cloak of the sky." When Ricky and Hec find Makutekahu Lake high up in the mountains, the camera slowly pans right to show a carved koru symbol and emphasize the serene sacredness of the place by the appearance of a *huia* bird. A huia was a species of Wattlebird thought long extinct in the 1900s (NZ Birds Online 2018). Through its discovery in a place where Maori have long ties is a reminder that Maori have a place in a landscape often marked by Pakeha colonial influence.

In both films, language is used to indicate or to emphasize identities. In the first movie *Ngati* (1987), Maori is used as much as possible among Maori people with *mana* 'status' in the community. This includes elders and people like Iwi or Hine who have lived their whole lives in Kapua and gained respect for their dedication to Maori values. Pakeha members of the community do use Maori phrases. But this is done to show Pakeha alignment with majority Maori values instead of signaling their own identity. In the second movie *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016), there is a conspicuous lack of Maori which complements its abundance in the other film. There could be several reasons for the lack of Maori in the movie.

There is no dispute that the Maori language is an integral part of the mainstream cultural model of Maoriness but it is hard to maintain a high degree of fluency or even a basic fluency as a central node to Maoriness because of the steady decrease of speakers (Borell 2005, Albury 2014, Naylor 2006, O'Regan 2012). *Ngati* (1987) was filmed during several legislative and societal gains such as the Language Act which designated Maori as a national language (O'Regan 2012, Benton 2007). Therefore, the use of Maori had a particular importance as the Maori people fought for linguistic self-determinism (O'Regan 2012, Keown 2014, Benton 2007).

Perhaps Waititi felt no need to emphasize Maori language because of how few Maori actually speak it, especially youth who live in urban areas like Ricky Baker did. I think a major difference in how language is presented comes from what is at stake in the production of each film. Waititi's movie was filmed in 2016 and by that point there was no need to prove that Maori had a symbolic place in cinema or that the Maori language has intrinsic importance. Barclay specifically called attention to the lack of a critical Maori mass in any cinematic capacities (Barclay 2015). In conclusion, the presence of the Maori language in *Ngati* (1987) is an indicator of the social climate of the 1980s as well as a token of being the first Maori film. *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) does not have significant instances of Maori use because while it is important to the central idea of Maoriness, most Maori speak English. Plurality of language dialects in this movie lends credence to the complexity of Maori identity in the post-colonial state. Maori English has become important in the growing absence of Maori and this phenomenon is significant in the movie. Urban youth often feel disconnected from traditional Maori culture and Maori English is a unifying force among alienated young Maori (Borell 2006, Van Meijl 2006, King 1999).

In the next section, I will examine instances of Maori English in several scenes from *Ngati* (1987) and compare them to *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016). Maori English has evolved in the absence of strong intergenerational transmission of Maori and it has certainly changed in the almost 30 years between each movie (Chrisp 2005).

Maori English and identity in two films

What counts as Maori English? Are there certain features which have to appear so speech can be categorized as Maori English? In my analysis, I consider any speech uttered by a Maori character as either Maori accented English, Maori English or a form of the mainstream dialect of

New Zealand English which is spoken by most Pakeha (Bell 2000, MacLagen 2008, Warren 2000). There is a collection of phonological, syntactic, lexical and prosodic features which have been identified with Maori English (Bell 2000, Warren 2000, King 1999, McLagen 2008, McLagen et al 2013, Szakay 2012). As these features come up in the analysis, I will describe them in more detail. I classified speech as Maori English if there were many occurrences of these features. Not surprisingly however certain features were more prevalent in one film or another. This could be reflective of the changing sociolinguistic scene where Maori English is identified with young, urban Maori as well as culturally aligned Pakeha or Pasifika peoples (King 1999, McLagen 2008, Borell 2005).

There are times when Maori identity is signaled through English use in the film *Ngati* (1987). Several scenes invoke Maoriness when using certain Maori English features that are contrasted with a different form of English spoken by the non-Maori 'otherized' characters. Maori characters are centralized in the plot and Pakeha are on the peripheral to the action (Barnes 2018). After the opening scene at Ropata's house, the film shifts to a bus slowly making its way across a rural coastline. There is only one passenger on the bus, an Australian named Greg Shaw, who is visiting the Pakeha doctor Paul Bennet at the behest of his father who used to live in Kapua. The bus driver at first addresses him in Maori but then uses Maori English later on with both Greg and a passing farmer. During this interaction, Greg is asleep but the bus driver tries to wake him by saying "*E hoa!*" which means 'my friend' in English. It is commonly used to call out to other Maori people who are farther away, when the bus driver chooses this phrase it signals that Greg is perhaps more than he appears. While he is unaware, Greg's family are Maori and came from Kapua so the bus driver uses this as a foreshadow of later revelations. As he comes to stay at the Bennets, Greg is portrayed as an outsider through the gaze of the camera

(Barnes 2018). He is sitting far away from the bus driver despite being the only passenger and he is visibly uncomfortable when woken up by the driver's "e hoa."

While Greg wakes up, they converse about his travels until the bus stops to talk to a farmer herding his cattle on top of a horse. Hone, the farmer, greets the bus driver in Maori and complains about his workers not bringing any matches but having plenty of cigarettes. Just as he is leaving, Hone sees Greg and knocks in the window. The camera is looking from inside the bus out to Hone, creating a real separation between the two men indicative of their cultural differences. Hone wants to get Greg's attention but Greg refuses to look out of the window and maintains the barrier between them. Not to be ignored, Hone goes to ask the bus driver:

HONE: Who's the flash one sitting in the back? City boy, eh? Must be the young boy staying over at Sam and Paul Bennets.

Already, *eh* tag use marks his speech as Maori. The bus driver also uses this particle tag several times in his responses to Hone and Greg. When Greg asks if "they all refer to Dr. Bennet and his wife as Paul and Sam," the bus driver responds with a laugh followed by: "Yeah, funny that, eh? That's probably cuz that's what their names are." He seems amused and annoyed at Greg's lack of cultural competence. There are two speech styles displayed by Greg and the bus driver. While Greg doesn't use any slang and speaks in a Standard Australian accent, the bus driver uses Maori English features *eh* and a syllable timed rhythm which sounds much slower than Greg's speech.

Throughout the movie, Greg Shaw is contrasted with the Maori community as the Pakeha 'other' who needs to learn the Maori way of life in order to understand his own identity. However, while he is an 'other' at first, he is slowly accepted into the community as he realizes

he is a Maori. Even though he has an Australian accent and no visible markers of his Maoriness, it is an important moment when he discovers it. Members of the Maori community have more and more argued for a nuanced understanding of indigenous identity in New Zealand (Borell 2005, Barnes 2018). Read through this lens, Greg's presence could challenge presiding archetypes of Maori identity. While I argue that Maori English is a significant factor of expressing Maori identity, its absence does not preclude that someone could identify as Maori. In the absence of visible or audible markers of Maoriness, other characters are aware of his identity and so provide clues in their behaviour and in conversations about his visit. When Greg is staying with the Bennet family, the only visible Pakeha family in Kapua, Sam and Paul discuss Greg's parents who lived in Kapua during an outbreak of disease which killed his mother. In this scene, the audience is privy to information hidden from Greg. Barclay utilizes classic realist techniques but subverts the mainstream narrative of Maori detached from their marae and somehow diminished from their traditional past.

Cinema of unease is a term in cinematic analysis that is invoked to describe the era starting in the 1980s and continuing today which describe the discomfort of Pakeha experience when trying to establish a settler identity which by its very nature springs from the destruction of Maori difference (Joyce 2009:241). Greg Shaw is representative of Pakeha anxiety with the realities of colonial violence; he is the living symbol of the devastation of colonialism in how he is separated from his tribe until he confronts his dual-identity. Through Greg's confrontation of his true identity, there is support for Barclay's message that Maori have been horribly affected by colonization but will drive their own fight for independence (Barclay 2005, Turner 2013).

Similar themes of cultural detachment appear in the characterization of urban youth Ricky Baker in *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016). Ricky wears rap inspired clothing and creates

his own haikus to express how he feels. He has spent his whole life in the city, presumably without knowledge of his *iwi* since he was taken into care early on. The concept of hybridity applies to Ricky's identity because he draws from dominant Western popular cultures for self-meaning and to realize his own future aspirations. For example, he wants to be a "gangsta rapper who dies in a shootout." In the absence of strong Maori culture around him, he adapts to the dual existence of indigenous youth and American inspired rapper in order to survive.

While Ricky expresses his identity through popular rap cultural references his ethnic dialect marks him as a Maori person. Phonologically, Ricky typically fronts voiceless dental fricative /θ/ to voiceless alveolar fricative /f/ in the beginning or middle of words. This is a common feature of Maori English and other characters do this as well but Ricky does it most often in his lines (MacLagen 2008, Bell 1999). When Ricky receives a dog as a birthday gift, his foster mother Bella asks him what he will name it. In reply he says, "I'm still finking either Psycho, Megatron or Tupac." In contrast, Bella does not use similar phonological features and her speech is more like Maori accented English over Maori English. Occasionally, she will use a lexical feature like eh or a prosodic one like a high-rise terminal in non-question contexts but there is not an abundance of features to suggest she uses Maori English as a dialect.

Although Ricky is detached from traditional markers of Maoriness, he is able to use Maori English to express his identity. This is different for Bella's reticent husband Hec because he is marked as an outsider from even his own people. Both Hec and Greg are located on the periphery at the start of their journeys but work their way centrally into the Maori community. Actions are used to paint Hec as more comfortable in the bush or among Maori than other Pakeha. For example, after the burial of his dead dog he kneels down at a nearby stream, brings water to his face and flicks it over his shoulders. This is reminiscent of a similar scene in *Ngati*

(1987) when everyone washes their hands after the *tangi* (funeral) of Ropata. While he is Pakeha, Hec has Maori cultural characteristics and he is symbolically aligned with the Maori community.

In the first scenes Hec where is introduced, he is carrying a dead pig and a rifle as he slowly walks up hill to the cabin. He is the only non-Maori character in the scene. Hec is marginal to the central action where Ricky is being dropped off by the overzealous Child Welfare case worker Paula Hall. Hec is portrayed as the 'other' through musical cues, wide camera shots and his unique speech style. As Paula explains the fostering process, the music changes to an eerie high pitched whistling and the camera switches to Hec carrying a dead pig up the hill. Then it switches back to Paula and Bella as she asks, "Who's that Crocodile Dundee guy over there?" This is a reference to a film where a white Australian man was raised by Aboriginal peoples and is known as a bushman (IMDB 2018). In Hec's case, he is being introduced as a bushman who is perhaps dangerous because of the sudden eerie music change and the presence of his rifle.

The camera maintains a wide shot of him separated from the other characters, keeping him visually separate from the Maori characters. Outside of the camera, the speech style that Hec employs is one which sets him apart even from other minor Pakeha characters. For example, his voice quality is typically gruff or creaky and he is not very eloquent when he has to talk.

HEC: So, you ever worked on a farm before . . . or are you just ornamental?

In this example, he uses creaky voice throughout but especially on the word *just*. There aren't many other Pakeha characters but they don't use this level of creak typically. Research on voice quality have shown that creaky voice in New Zealand English is perceptually associated

with Maori over Pakeha (Szakay 2012). Also, low pitch and creaky voice are associated with ideas about maleness or dominance so perhaps Hec's voice quality is both an attempt at cultural alignment with Maori and a characterization of a tough survivalist who has been to prison (Szakay 2012).

Another way that Hec is 'othered' through his speech style is because of his lack of sophisticated speech. He is illiterate and does not seem to have much formal education because he was imprisoned for a drunken brawl which ended in manslaughter as a young man. When he and Ricky are a few months into their traveling they stop at the top of a smaller mountain where a clear blue lake is situated. Hec is smoking his hand- rolled cigarette and admiring the view:

HEC: Pretty majestical, eh?
RICKY: I don't think that's a word.
HEC: Majestical, so it is.
RICKY: Nah, it's not real.
HEC: Ehhh what would you know?
RICKY: It's majestic.

In this exchange, Hec is signaling his lack of education by describing the lake as *majestical* instead of *majestic*. Unlike Ricky, Hec is not very eloquent at expressing himself which creates another way of othering him from most other people including his foster son. Through a postcolonial lens, this is a subtle way of subverting audience expectations and biases by imbuing Ricky with strong expressive skills such as he demonstrates with his impromptu poetry (Keown 2014, Barnes 2018, Stam 2003).

Common Maori stereotypes include lower intelligence, supposed preference for physical over academic matters and slower paced speech which talks around a subject (Barclay 2015, Hokowhitu 2004, Sibley et. al 2011). Ricky is the opposite of all of these essentialized characteristics while Hec embodies some of these characteristics in a subversion of Pakeha image typically found in the national cinema (Keown 2014, Barnes 2018, Fisher et al 2013). Ricky's eloquence compared to Hec's difficulties in finding the right words relates back to a value called *mana tane* or the strength and dignity of men (Barnes 2018). This inversion of a cultural stereotype, especially regarding stilted speech styles associated with Maori, gives a positive image to Maori males and allows Ricky to be a more complex character who is capable of making poetry or learning how to hunt.

Society sees Hec and Ricky as "spanners in the works", essentially unproductive members who need to be contained because of their non-adherence to state control (Revanche 2016). In a moving scene after they have been on the run for a few weeks, Ricky insists that he cannot go back to state care because eventually he will end up like his friend Amber.

RICKY: You're not listening. No one ever listens. There's no more homes, just juvie!
HEC: What's juvie?
RICKY: They don't care about kids like me. They just keep moving us around until something happens like Amber.

Amber was another Maori foster child, who it is hinted, was sexually abused by her foster father and was murdered when she "made stories up about him." Ricky shouts his dialogue at an incredulous Hec, feeling that no one really cares about his fate. As Revanche (2016) suggests, this scene is "an overt political statement about the state of the judicial system." Maori youth are treated as adults in the judicial system (Revanche 2016). Maori men are particularly over-

represented in the New Zealand prison system (Revanche 2016). These prisons were created to contain Maori who objected to British rule and this continues to occur in the over-policing of Maori youth (Revanche 2016). The film's dominant message is a critique of residual colonial processes and the criminalization of Maori children. The use of phrases like "spanner in the works, animal, bad egg and piece of work" are used by Ricky's caseworker Paula to describe his juvenile acts like running away from foster care or spitting on cars. Paula's choice of words mirrors the dominant message of the film: Ricky is only a 13-year old Maori boy but already he is profiled as a dangerous adult who needs correction, not love or care.

In both films, the collective unit is favored over the individual but the directors approach this task differently. *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) has significantly fewer characters but does follow the relationships or interactions that occur along the journey instead of a central problem followed by solution plot like in most Western cinema (Rushton 2010, Barclay 2015). *Ngati* (1987) is more cyclical like Maori style conversation and weaves many stories into one collective narrative concerning everyone in Kapua (Barclay 2015).

There are two scenes which I want to highlight and examine how language is used to bolster the idea of collective Maori identity. Primarily I am interested in the exchange between Ricky, a girl named Kahu and her father at their house. After finding a sick ranger in a hiker's hut, Hec sends Ricky to a nearby isolated Maori community. Emerging from the bush into a plain, Ricky is literally stopped in his tracks by a young Maori horse rider named Kahu. After he explains the ranger's problem, she gives him a ride to her house. Both she and her father know he is a wanted 'fugitive' but view him as a kind of Maori hero sticking it to the system. In the kitchen, Kahu stands behind the counter and her father has just come in to find Ricky sitting at the table:

KAHU'S FATHER: Hey bub, far out those bloody Warriors are <exhales> . . . useless.

KAHU: That's my dad.

KAHU'S FATHER: Oh! you're you, you're him! Ricky Baker, in my house. You want, uh, anything? Sausage, bro? We've got heaps of sausages, brother. Far out. I hate to ask this Ricky but I'd have to kick myself if I don't. Um, Can I have a selfie please?

In response, Ricky scrunches up his face while he thinks then makes a shrugging gesture to give his agreement. The camera cuts between Kahu, her very enthusiastic father, and a nonplussed Ricky listening to him. Her father speaks in Maori English and uses certain lexical phrases like *bro* which are associated with Maori and Pasifika cultures (Starks 2006, King 1999). Ricky, Kahu and her father are connecting through their collective Maori identity. By using Maori English and referring to him as a *bro*, Kahu's father is showing his group solidarity and including Ricky in it.This is especially transparent in the following excerpt after they take pictures together:

KAHU'S FATHER: Yeah, churr my bro. Thank you. Been awesome meeting you, Ricky. Just keep doing what you're doing, man. Keep striving. Stay Maori, bro. We needs a couple more Maoris like you.

Interestingly, he seems to approve of Ricky's months-long evasion of the state police and foster care system by suggesting that more Maori should emulate his behaviour. The word [t͡ʃəɹ] 'churr' is a common shortening of the word cheers. It is associated with Maori and Pacific cultural use but New Zealanders outside of these groups do use it (King 1999). It is another Maori English lexical item like *bro*. The main plot point is Ricky and Hec's journey across the wilderness but instead of emphasizing their isolation, Waititi includes moments like this that

actually emphasize how Ricky's journey is collectively felt and watched as a triumph for Maori fighting an unequal system.

Comparing this scene to the *hui* (meeting) scene in *Ngati* (1987) yields traditional and modern approaches to Maori collectivity. In a *hui*, every single voice needs to be heard before decisions are collectively made and this long, sometimes cyclical process can seem like beating around the bush for Pakeha (Barclay 2015, Strickland 2013). In Barclay's words, a *hui* can be called by someone who has "the arrogance to raise more questions before the whole people and then having the humility to let the debate progress from there" (2015:9-18). It is a chance for the community to tackle issues together while allowing all voices their say. The *hui* scene near the end of *Ngati* (1987) is powerful because it captures the Maori approach and solution to a difficult problem without compromising values to appeal to dominant Western media (Barclay 2015). The *hui* is called by the *iwi* Ngāti Porou because the company which runs the freezer-works for sheep and cattle meat is shutting down. According to the two Pakeha representatives who visit, the works are losing profit partly because local cattle ranchers send half their stock down to the South Island. Everyone at the *hui* has already been there for hours without much action taken so the representatives think that the meeting is over and decide to leave. This transgresses Maori protocols involved in a *hui* because not everyone has had their say and the discussion is far from over.

As the company representatives stand up, Sally also stands to tell them that the Kapua community should have control over their own lives. This mirrors contemporary calls for Maori self-determinism and is presented as a solution to postcolonial problems Maori faced and still continue to face like land loss (NZ On Screen 2018, Barclay 2015, Strickland 2013, Carlyon 2014, Keown 2014).

SALLY: I suppose what I am trying to say to the company is we need to pull together. After all, had we not survived before you arrived here? If you don't need the works that you are leaving behind, give them to the people of Kapua. They'll make good use of them. Our people stick together when times are hard. We've done it in the past, we'll do it again. Let us run our own freezerworks, our own farms, our own fisheries. Let us run them ourselves."

IWI: "Ki he Moriori. Kia ana a tātou a whānau. Greetings to those gathered in the backbone of our ancestors. Greetings to the ears being pissed on by that lot there. I stand here to support you in the search for a path to lead us to the world of light. Kia ora, tatou. Now I turn to the language of the world of darkness. Mr. Chairman, I have a question. If Ngā Kore was to promise to you half of its stock, will you keep the works open?"

PAKEHA REP: My company would look closely at that. Certainly.

IWI: Well, Ngā Kore makes that pledge. Now. I'm the new boss there and I have full control. You will get your stock. On what my daughter was saying, I support her all the way. Not because she is my daughter . . . but because she makes sense. You see the trouble with us is, we hear the sound of the voices of our young people but we never hear the message. I would like to tell you and the representatives of your company that in the coming months we will form an incorporation of the town of Kapua. We will buy the works. We can and we will run it ourselves.

PAKEHA REP: You feel you will be able to run the works more efficiently than the company?

IWI: It will work if we do what we have always done, pull together.

There are themes of Maori self-determinism, collectivism, responsibility, and intergenerational conflict which arise in the preceding dialogue. Sally speaks close to mainstream New Zealand English while her father speaks in the Maori language then switches to Maori Accented English. In comparison to the kitchen scene in *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016), there is less use of Maori English lexical markers though definitely more Maori language use. Ricky served as a symbol for Maori determinism and collective identity which doesn't efface diverse interpretations of Maoriness. For example, he is a city boy who loves Tupac and expresses his ethnic identity through his speech. In the *hui* scene, Sally and her father are also symbols for self-determinism and collectivism. But their approaches to Maoriness are very different. Sally's identity is a hybrid between her hometown of rural Kapua and her

contemporary urban home. She does not embrace more traditional aspects like calling a *tohunga* to heal a disease. But she does acknowledge how the community is strongest when it bands together and feels that Kapua should be able to stand on its own without the company. Indeed, Sally says that "our people stick together when times are hard. We've done it in the past and we'll do it again." This expresses the central message of the film - the vital and timely call for Maori to have control over their own lives.

In contrast to Sally, Iwi begins his speech in the Maori language and uses a traditional analogy of darkness and light to make sense of the current situation. The "language of darkness" is English. By no accident, it reiterates the company's profit-based justification for the closure. The most striking feature of his switch to English is his syllable timed rhythm since it contrasts with Sally's rhythm which is closer to the mainstream dialect. Because of the formality of the *hui* Iwi does not use lexical markers like *eh* or *bro*. Prosodically, he employs some high-rise terminals at the end of his statements. On the phonological level, he aspirates final consonant stops such as in the word *stock*. Generally, Pakeha English speakers do not do aspirate stops word finally. Also, Iwi's name is symbolic because he brings the tribe together and his name literally means 'tribe' as well. The Englishes employed by Sally and Iwi offer different approaches to a Maori identity. As for Sally, she speaks with a phonology closer to mainstream New Zealand English and doesn't use any prosodic or lexical markers. But she is from Kapua and speaks about collective responsibility and self-determinism in the solution to the freezer-works. These ideas are based in traditional pan-Maori values which many people responded to when watching the movie (Barnes 2018). Not only does the use of a Maori English dialect assist in performing a pan-Maori identity but the expression of certain values like collective responsibility does so too.

Iwi and Kahu's father come from two ends of a linguistic competence spectrum where Iwi is a fluent Maori speaker and Kahu's father is most likely not. From the 1980s to the 2000s, several decades have elapsed and Maori English has become an increasingly important marker for Maori identity so that by the time *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) was made. It is likely none of the Maori actors could speak fluent Maori. The *hui* is also a more formal environment where Maori is very appropriate whereas the meeting in the kitchen is obviously more informal. Both men emphasize the importance of Maori people as a whole through their invocation of either the Kapua community or of the wider world.

Central textual meanings in *Ngati* (1987) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) are linguistically supported through the use of Maori English and expressions about determinism, colonialism and collectivity. *Ngati* (1987) uses the Maori language to create a Maori-centric imaginary world where the scars left by colonialism are slowly healed by the community 'pulling together' in the words of powerful speaker Sally.

In *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016), the freedom of the Urewera forest and the healing power of *whanau* both help Hec and Ricky to recover from the damage done to them by society. Language use in the film also supports the postcolonial critique that Taika Waititi emphasized through the over-the-top comedic pursuit of a Maori child left behind by a series of broken institutions. In conclusion, Maori English is central to amplifying and reflecting the dominant anti-colonial messages in both Maori films.

Conclusion

New Zealand cinema has been dominated by colonial image-making which supports the bicultural national narrative put forth by the Pakeha majority (Barclay 2005, Turner 2013, Fox

2011, Joyce 2009). Often Maori have been presented in caricature-like fashion or even elided from paradisiacal visions of a New Zealand which reveal the Pakeha aspiration to belong to a still 'foreign' land (Keown 2014, Barclay 2005, Turner 2013, Fox 2011, Joyce 2009). Until Barry Barclay directed the first Maori film there were not many options for Maori to become involved in the film industry or to have any say in how they were portrayed in mainstream New Zealand Cinema (Barclay 2005, Turner 2013, Milligan 2015, Strickland 2013, Keown 2014). *Ngati* (1987) was an important milestone in New Zealand film history and indigenous filmmaking (Barclay 2005, Joyce 2009, Hokowhitu 2013, Turner 2013, Keown 2014). It was created according to Barclay's burgeoning new cinema theory he called Fourth Cinema (Barclay 2005). Fourth Cinema is a medium through which Maori *tikanga* can be channeled in production of Maori-centric media for Maori audiences (Turner 2013, Barclay 2005). It criticized First Cinema theory and found postcolonial Third Cinema wanting for the unique experiences of global indigeneity (Barclay 2005, Hokowhitu 2013, Rushton 2013, Stam 2003).
Unlike these two theoretical approaches, Fourth Cinema was an attempt to localize film theory so it conformed to non-Western, indigenous epistemological standards (Barclay 2005).

Thirty years after Barclay's film, Taika Waititi followed in his footsteps by refusing to adhere to industry constraints for Maori artists in cinema (Mercier 2007, Revanche 2016). His humorous drama *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) challenged the tired, one-dimensional image of Maori by having an urban, non-Maori language speaking wannabe rapper as his central protagonist. On the one hand, *Ngati* (1987) was a product of Maori activism and calls for self-determinism in the 1980s (Keown 2014, Carlyon 2014, Barclay 2005). On the other hand, while *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) may be beholden to *Ngati* (1987) for breaking new ground, it manages to stretch the boundaries of the genre of 'Maori film' and to critically analyze the

current Maori situation (Mercier 2007, Barclay 2005, Keow 2014). They are very different films which share the fact that both directors actively created positive Maori representations which challenge existing stereotypical images in Pakeha-produced media (Hokowhitu 2013, Keown 2014).

Language is an important medium used to express Maori identity and to support the dominant messages in each film (Revanche 2016, Keown 2014, Barclay 2005, Joyce 2009). Barclay uses fluent passages of Maori often without subtitles to 'talk in' to Maori and to craft a Maori-centric approach that privileges long-ignored cultural values central to his culture (Barclay 2005). On the opposite side, Waititi avoids any Maori use and presents a diverse range of Maori Englishes expressive of complex Maori identities which hybridize the indigenous and colonial experiences.

The dominant message in Waititi's film is a post-colonial critique of the judicial system and how Maori boys are over-criminalized as they are treated as dangerous adults early on (Revanche 2016). One example in which this message is replicated through language is when Paula Hall calls juvenile offender Ricky an "overall bad egg and spanner in the works." In *Ngati* (1987), the dominant message is that Maori can self-govern and come up with creative solutions amiable to the entire community because of Maori collective unity. This is expressed through Sally's heartfelt appeal to "pull together" as a collective to overcome the ongoing effects of colonialism. Therefore, language is used in both films to express Maori identity while simultaneously supporting the dominant messages of post-colonial critique and Maori self-determinism underlying *Ngati* (1987) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016).

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