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Distribution and Linguistic Features of Maori English in New Zealand Fictional Discourse

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i. Abbreviations

AE	American English
AusE	Australian English
BE	British English
cf.	compare
ed(s).	editor(s)
e.g.	<i>lat.</i> <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
et al.	and the other people
HRT	High Rising Terminal
ibid	<i>lat.</i> <i>ibidem</i> , already mentioned
i.e.	<i>lat.</i> <i>id est</i> , that is
ME	Maori English
NZ	New Zealand
NZE	New Zealand English
<i>OWW</i>	<i>Once Were Warriors</i>
PE	Pakeha English
w.a.	without author
<i>WR</i>	<i>Whale Rider</i>

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0. Introduction

New Zealand has a long history of immigration, particularly by the British who brought their language and culture to the new colony. Nonetheless the language and culture of the indigenes, the Maori, had an influence on New Zealand as well: Institutions in New Zealand frequently have English and Maori names, e.g. *Te Tari Taake* stands for the ‘Inland Revenue’. Numerous *marae*, the Maori meeting houses can be found throughout the country. People often greet each other by saying *Kia ora* or *Ka kite*. Many New Zealanders also have *koru*, the typical Maori tattoos. There is Maori broadcasting and radio; on festivals many young New Zealanders do poi spinning which originally comes from the Maori culture. Many plants and animals have names derived from Maori.

While on the South Island the Scottish (Southland), English (Christchurch) or German (Golden Bay) culture are striking influences, on the North Island, especially on the East Cape, Maori culture plays a dominant role. The majority of the inhabitants of the region is Maori. Consequently the culture is being preserved there more than in other places in NZ where it is often exaggerated for the purposes of the tourism industries.

New Zealanders, whether those with European background or those of Maori descent, are very proud of their country in which the Maori culture plays an important role; however as Maclagan (2008) points out “Maori English has not received much linguistic attention until recently”. This is strongly connected to the questions whether there is a distinct ethnic (i.e. Maori English) variety or not

New Zealanders have always tended to feel there is a distinctive Maori variety of English. Pakeha¹ New Zealanders claim they can tell Maori people from the way they talk. Some Maori also remark that their English is commented on by other New Zealanders as recognizably spoken by a Maori rather than a Pakeha (Bell/Kuiper 2000: 221).

The persistent refusal of many linguists to acknowledge Maori English as a distinct variety might have been because it is mostly the frequency of occurrence of linguistic features that distinguishes Maori English from NZE. However, speakers of Maori English do not use entirely different vocabulary or grammar. Furthermore, the assumption that speaking Maori English depends on the knowledge of Maori is correct to a certain extent only: In the past Maori people still learnt Maori as their first language which resulted in a distinct way of

¹ Pakeha is the Maori term for a New Zealander of European descent (Holmes et al. 2003: 433).

speaking English. However, today, Maori English is not only spoken by Maori people who are proficient in Maori, but also by white New Zealanders, for example. Thus, the Maori language itself gave rise to the emergence of Maori English while today speaking this variety of English is more connected to identifying with the indigenous culture.

This paper focuses on the characteristics of both New Zealand English in general and Maori English in particular. First a historical and social overview will be given, then both the English varieties spoken in New Zealand will be described in detail as well as the main features of Maori itself. The practical part consists of a corpus analysis of the script of two New Zealand films about Maori, *Whale Rider* and *Once Were Warriors*. The scope of this analysis will be to examine in how far the linguistic features found out in the theoretical section are applied to fictional dialogue rendering the films more natural. Ethnicity itself cannot be considered as isolated linguistic influence but rather in correlation with the factors age and gender (cf. Holmes et al. 1991: ii).

When people belong to the same group, they often speak similarly. But there are many different groups in a community, and so any individual may share linguistic features with a range of other speakers. Some features indicate a person's social status [...]; others distinguish women and men or identify a person as teenager rather than a middle-aged citizen [...]. There are also linguistic clues to a person's ethnicity, and closely related to all these are linguistic features which reflect the regular interactions people have – those they talk to the most often. People draw on all these resources when they construct their social identities. (Holmes 2001: 175).

1. A Short History of New Zealand

1.1 The First Settlers in New Zealand

Polynesian tribes started settling *Aotearoa New Zealand*² about 800-900 years ago arriving by canoe from East Polynesia³. Before this, New Zealand was uninhabited (Bell et al.

² The double name *Aotearoa New Zealand* came into existence in the 1980s as a combination of the Maori and the European term for the two islands and represents the side by side of the two different cultures in the country. *Aotearoa* literally means “Land of the long white cloud” (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 108).

2005: 59). In 1642, the Dutchman Abel Tasman discovered the two islands which later on received the name *Nieuw Zeeland* whose anglicised equivalent is *New Zealand* (Ladd 2007: 1). Nevertheless a century later it became a British colony when Lieutenant (later: Captain) James Cook arrived there. He also claimed the eastern part of Australia, New South Wales, for the British Crown. The first convict station built up in Sydney “[...] also paved the way for European settlement in New Zealand in the following century” (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 10). With Australian traders soon discovering New Zealand’s natural resources, settlement started slowly at the beginning of the 18th century in the Bay of Islands. The population in those days consisted, apart from the Maori, mainly of whalers, merchants, missionaries and former convicts all of European descent. Diseases from overseas and numerous intertribal wars⁴ fought with European weapons resulted in a constant decimation of the Maori population. In addition, the indigenous culture suffered from the Europeanisation that was taking place at the time, because they were caught in between two different cultures (Sinclair 1959: 41, 45).

As the new colony remained an “ungoverned outpost of New South Wales”, in February 1840 the *Treaty of Waitangi*⁵ was signed by representatives of the British government and Maori chiefs recognising the Queen’s sovereignty (Gordon et al. 2004: 38). In return the natives were guaranteed their own property and land, an announcement which later on was a main reason for discontent leading to conflicts and wars between the Maori and the Europeans.

1.2 The Waves of Immigration in the 19th Century

³ The Maori legend says their ancestors came from the mythical place called *Hawaiki* to NZ. Some scientists believe that Hawaii is meant by that term (Harlow 2007: 15), others account a certain area of islands as more probable (Bayard 1995: 119).

⁴ The Maori never regarded themselves as one large group of Maori people, they rather thought in terms of tribes, which also explains the high number of wars among different Maori tribes. The Pakeha summarised all the indigenous people of NZ by the title “Maori” (Sherman 2002: 2).

⁵ So for example, one of the Maori chiefs, Tamati Waka Nene, convinced some of his fellows of agreeing to the Treaty by emphasising its necessity and positive aspects like trade and Christianity. Moreover he uttered that the times had irretrievably changed with the British colonisation and that otherwise anarchy might arise (Sinclair 1959: 71). He might have been influenced by the missionaries’ opinion, as in Oliver/Williams (1981: 44) the situation then is considered from a more differentiated perspective: Europeans exaggerated the conditions in New Zealand by just regarding the muskets as reason for the wars among the primitive Maori and therefore predicted anarchy on the islands unless Britain would annex and govern them.



Figure 1: Map of New Zealand (www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/new_zealand.html).

Between 1840 and 1852 a huge wave of immigrants from Europe, in particular from the British Isles, arrived at the shores of *Aotearoa*. The New Zealand Company, which also assisted the new settlers, promoted life in one of the five planned settlements -Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago and Canterbury. From these, together with the natural settlement of Auckland, the six main provinces of today's New Zealand, have emerged. In 1856 the colony was granted partial self-governmental power as did the six provinces on a local level (Gordon et al. 2004: 40-41).

After the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed the numbers of immigrants grew enormously. They came directly from Europe or via Australia which was a stopover of sorts, on the way to the farthest destination from their country of origin. As a result of the frequent wars with Maori tribes, military immigrants also contributed to the rise of population in New Zealand. By that time the Europeans had already outnumbered the indigenous population in NZ. By the end of the 1850s, 58,000 Europeans and 56,000 Maori lived on the two islands

with the majority of the natives living on the North Island (ibid: 39-41). “The importance of Maori patrons diminished as the European population grew. Maori were pushed to the economic and political margins” (<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/pre-1840-contact/sealers-and-whalers>).

In 1861, the beginning of the gold rush in Otago in the southern part of the South Island saw the number of people grow tremendously, from approximately 22,000 to half a million within thirty years and a huge number came from Australia (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 109).

Year	European immigrants
1850	22,000
1858	59,000
1872	256,000
1881	500,000

Table 1: European immigrants 1850-1881 (Graham 1992: 112, Sinclair 1991: 100).

At this point settlement became less structured; immigrants now built their farms wherever they wished and the planned communities together with the New Zealand Company tried to exclude several groups like the Irish Catholics, for want of religious purity within their communities. This was apparent in certain provinces like Canterbury for example, with its dominance of the English Church or Otago with its Scottish background (Gordon et al. 2004: 42). With various upcoming problems caused by the policy of the provinces, Britain withdrew their local power in 1876 and thus immigration was managed successfully by the Crown again.

Nevertheless, in the 1840s and 1850s settlers for Wellington were recruited in Australia, and Otago and Canterbury gained Australian migrants as their farming industries expanded. Auckland [...] drew more Australians than other regions did. In the early 1850s the city was ‘a mere section of the town of Sydney transplanted’. But overall most arrivals from Australia had originally come from Britain. A relatively small number were Australian-born. (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Australians/2/en>)

The NZ census from 1881 demonstrates the apparent overweight of the British immigrants:

	Number	Percent
England	119,224	45.0
Scotland	52,753	19.9
Ireland	49,363	18.6
Australian Colonies	17,277	6.5
Wales	1,963	0.7
British North America and other British possessions	4,014	1.5
China	5,033	1.9
Germany	4,819	1.8
Sweden, Norway and Denmark	4,734	1.8
Other countries of Europe	3,160	1.2
USA	841	0.3
Others	2,023	0.8

Table 2 : NZ Census 1881 (Gordon et al. 2004: 45).

These percentages [...] are no doubt important for the formation of New Zealand English, and this relative make-up of the migrant population is often cited in studies of the history of New Zealand English. Nevertheless, as we will see, there is much more involved than these simple proportions.” (Gordon et al. 2004: 44)

Towards the end of the 19th century, as the gold rush ended and the price of wool fell, New Zealand suffered from a great economic depression leading to a severe shrinkage of the number of immigrants. The turn of the century saw the country recover quickly as dairy products from the main industrial sector in NZ, agriculture, were shipped worldwide now (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/HistoryOfImmigration/11/en>).

1.3 The 20th Century

A general development at the beginning of the 20th century was a more critical attitude towards outsiders. Not only were Germans regarded as suspicious during the periods of the

two World Wars and National Socialism, but in fact all non-British immigrants were; one of the reasons for this might have been the aim to keep New Zealand at 98 % of British ancestry. As a result, several restricting acts on immigration were passed, encouraging people from South Africa or Canada to live in New Zealand. Political refugees could not be left outside, however, which finally led to loosening of the migration laws. Consequently the flow of immigrants did not break away completely. Despite the arrival of mostly immigrants of western European descent, in particular the Dutch who were the most welcome due to the high probability of assimilation into NZ society, numerous Asians and Pacific Islanders came to New Zealand as well, so that today we can speak of New Zealand as a multicultural nation. (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/HistoryOfImmigration/12/en>)

After having become a dominion in 1907, in 1947 New Zealand was declared a parliamentary monarchy of the *Commonwealth* (Hansen et al. 1996: 168). Whereas after World War II three quarters of the Maori still lived in rural areas with only a modest quota of Pakeha, during the 1970s the same percentage of indigenes had already moved to urban areas, above all to Auckland (Dunstall 1981: 403). Dunstall (1981: 409) further mentions that by the late 1960s “Maori and Pacific Islanders were forming [...] a new ‘under-class’ – a stratum characterized by poorly paid employment, little job security, and small prospects of career advancement”.

According to data from the 2006 census New Zealand’s population of more than four million inhabitants is composed of people of European descent (2,6 million); the descendants of the indigenous Maori populace with only 565,000 citizens; and several other ethnicities such as Asian. Furthermore, most of the Maori people live in the North Island (87 %) in comparison to the weak infestation of the South Island (13.3 %). As stated above, Maori are found particularly often in the lower social strata, as the Census demonstrates: Their income is lower than that of Pakeha. The unemployment rate among Maori is higher and their education is often below the national average. For instance whereas 39.9% of all New Zealanders have a post-school qualification, the percentage among Maori people is 27.9. (all data taken from the New Zealand Census <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census>)

2. Linguistic Situation in New Zealand

NZ is one of the most monolingual countries in the world despite its growing multiculturalism and the revival of Maori culture in the recent years (Bell et al. 2005: 13).

Although there are several minority languages spoken in NZ, e.g. Greek, Dutch, German or Tongan (Holmes 1991: 40), this paper will focus on Maori and English only, as an analysis of further minority languages would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.1 Definitions

First a distinction between the terms *language*, *dialect* and *accent* has to be made as these terms are easily mixed up.

A *language* is, in contrast to a dialect, codified in dictionaries, books and grammars. Thus there is a written form of a language whereas a *dialect* refers to orally transmitted language only (Bauer 2002: 3). An *accent* is connected to the pronunciation of a certain language or *dialect* which in turn refers to vocabulary, grammar and the pronunciation of a variety. It is a marker of belonging to a certain group in a particular geographical area (ibid: 3).

Dialects differ from the standard, particularly in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary whereas grammatically the differences are comparably modest (Burridge/Mulder 1998: 7). Speaking a particular regional dialect is consequently connected to a particular accent of that region, whereas a certain accent does not necessarily imply the use of a distinct dialect (Burridge/Mulder 1998: 7).

A *variety* itself can be any linguistic concept, either a dialect or a language (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 12). Bauer (2002: 4) suggests defining a *variety* as “any kind of language production, whether we are viewing it as being determined by region, by gender, by social class, by age or by our own imitable individual characteristics”.

Varieties or dialects are often compared with regard to a reference point, namely the *standard* which comprises a variety of high prestige and that is being used in many fields such as science, education or literature (Swann 2004: 295). The oldest among the English standards are the British and the American Standard. In recent times regional varieties, i.e. Canadian or New Zealand English have been accepted as well (Bauer: 31). Dictionaries particularly about New Zealand English are e.g. *The New Zealand Dictionary* by Harry W. Orsman (1997).

Trudgill (2002: 165) suggests calling the *standard* also a dialect, although it differs from other dialects; it is no longer connected to a geographical area where this dialect is spoken⁶, but should rather be considered a pure social dialect.

⁶ RP once was spoken in South-East England (Trudgill 2002: 166).

Received Pronunciation (RP) can be regarded the prestige accent in the United Kingdom which is part of the British Standard. It cannot be related to a certain region on the British Isles, but rather to its upper social classes (Swann 2004: 259). Despite the high reputation of RP, regional or social accents are preferred nowadays as their usage shows solidarity among speakers (Burrige/Mulder 1998: 7). That way also NZE or SAE have gained the status of regional standards replacing RP in their societies consequently. (ibid: 7).

2.2 The Maori Language

Te Reo Maori⁷ is the most southerly of the Austronesian languages (AN) which is the language family with the highest number of languages (1,200) and the largest geographic extent (Harlow 2007: 10). It can be subdivided into Melanesian, Indonesian, Micronesian and Polynesian. The latter is further subdivided into eastern (e.g. Tahitian, Hawaiian, Maori) and western languages (e.g. Samoan) (http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966/M/MaoriLanguage/MaoriLanguage/en).



Figure 2: The origins of the Maori (http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealandInBrief/Maori/2/en)

⁷ *Te Reo Maori* is the Maori term for the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand. Literally translated it means “the Maori language” (Holmes 2005: 91).

Maori features one of the smallest phoneme inventories in the world and also simplified phonotactics⁸ both inherited from Proto-Polynesian (PPN) (Harlow 2007: 16). In Maori words ending in consonants are absent, furthermore there are only five vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ and the ten consonants /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, w, f, h/. As a result of the reduction of sounds, long vowels emerged: PPN * faʔaki ‘tell’ became ‘whāki’ [f ɔ:ki] in modern Maori. PPN *f corresponds to three realisations in Maori nowadays: /f/, /h/ and /w/ (ibid: 17). There are also regional varieties of Maori (ibid: 20). Maori was transmitted via the oral channel until 200 years ago when the Europeans started recording the indigenous language they had discovered on the new territory (Harlow 2007: 22). According to Harlow (2007: 22-23) in older Maori <wh> was pronounced differently than it is today: [h], [ø], [ʌ], [f]⁹ > [f].

Moreover, voiceless stops are aspirated nowadays, but were not in the past. Colonisation and therefore the English language had an impact on Maori in terms of vocabulary. On the one hand, today we find borrowings originally from French in the Polynesian language, for instance, French *miel* turned into *miere*. There are neither voiced stops nor fricatives in Maori. Hence, in borrowings they are represented in a different manner. So *tiamana* means *German*; *December* became *tīhema*; *penihana* is a *pension* and *miraka* corresponds to *milk*. Maori /r/ represents both English /r/ and /l/ (ibid: 35). As technical progress is also part of the Maoris’ lives, new terms can also be produced by compounding already existing Maori words: Among one of the numerous examples mentioned by Keegan (2005: 137) there is ‘computer’ which in Maori corresponds to *rorohiko*, consisting of two parts, namely *roro* ‘brain’ and *hiko* ‘flash as in lightning’.

2.3 The Collision of Maori and English

When in the 18th and 19th century English and Maori came into contact with each other, the mother tongue of the indigenous populace was the dominant language. The Europeans

⁸ Consonant clusters are not found in Maori. Thus, an epenthetic vowel is inserted as in *milk* > *miraka* or *ice cream* > *aihi kirīmi* in order to keep the (C)V((V)V) structure (Harlow 2007: 36, 69).

⁹ The realisation as [h] occurred before /a/ only. [ø] was the most common pronunciation that time (Harlow 2007: 22).

learned the Polynesian language which was also taught in the first NZ schools¹⁰. Missionaries however, then started instructing the natives in reading and writing by means of English (Spolsky 2005: 69) and as a consequence of the demographic change and Europeanisation, English finally conquered Aotearoa New Zealand completely. Maori people regarded English as the better and more useful medium of communication, thus both Pakeha and Maori supported the development towards monolingualism in NZ. Even the government favoured the replacement of the so-called inferior Polynesian language by English (ibid: 69). Maclagan et al. (2008: 5) state that until the 1930s Maori children were confronted with the Maori language at home (thus L1), while English was taught at school and was therefore L2.

In the course of time the use of Maori was pushed back further and further, supported by indigenes migration into the mostly English-dominated cities. Additionally, the Maori population shrank (Bell et al. 2005: 14). As Sherman stated (2002: 5) “[t]he cultural decline during the first half of the 20th Century is best captured by the decline of the Maori language”.

Inspired by the fading of New Zealand’s national identity concept¹¹, the Civil Rights Movement in the US as well as the worldwide movement of indigenous peoples for more respect, the Maori language and culture experienced a renaissance of sorts from the 1970s onwards (Bayard 1995: 124; Gordon/Deverson 1998: 69). The indigenes were becoming more aware and proud of their culture; numerous *marae*, the Maori meeting places, were built, even in urban areas. Maori literature and art were in bloom. The Maori, although they were in fact members of different Maori tribes, began to feel a kind of unity caused by the obtrusion of European culture (Sherman 2002: 6).

During the 1980s various Maori language schemes were launched: the grass-roots movement *Te Ataarangi* with the purpose of teaching adult Maori in “their” language, *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* for children or students respectively (Spolsky 2005: 73). Around the same time the indigenous language of New Zealand received the status of an official language with the *Maori Language Act* passed in 1987 (Bell et al. 2005: 13). Currently Maori culture is taught at schools but only a few students choose the language as subject (Spolsky 2005: 74). Moreover, some universities offer B.A. degree in Maori (Harlow 2007: 200). According to Spolsky (2005: 76), the Pakeha did not stand to the agreement made in the Treaty of Waitangi about the preservation of Te Reo Maori: “[New Zealand] managed

¹⁰ Bayard (1995: 120) argues that around 1840 the literacy rate in NZ in Te Reo Maori was higher than the quota of English in Britain that time.

¹¹ The national identity concept of the 1950s and 1960s comprised a combination of Maori and Pakeha components into NZ society whereat Maori moving to urban areas was considered a part of it and thus the government helped in finding an occupation. Furthermore, ‘pepper potting’, the planned transplantation of Maori families into urban Pakeha surroundings belonged to the program (Sherman 2002: 5).

to avoid proclaiming an explicit language policy". In the 1990s the support for Maori grew stronger thanks to the *Maori Language Commission* which aims to keep the Maori language as pure as possible, despite the numerous borrowings which had already entered the language. In addition, there is *Te Puni Kōkiri* which takes charge of Maori culture and as a result also in reviving Te Reo Maori (<http://www.tpk.govt.nz/about/role/default.asp>) and media broadcasting in Maori (Sherman 2002: 6).

Nevertheless, one can say that in general, the Maori people turned from monolinguals in their indigenous language to bilinguals to today's status of monolinguals in English only. As the acquisition of Te Reo Maori at home or in the Maori community can hardly be achieved due to the low number of fluent speakers particularly in urban areas, Maori is mostly learned by tuition. Benton (1991: 87) states that Maori "has [...] been characterised by a loss of functions [...]". He also points out that by the 1980s communities using Maori on an everyday basis had shrunk from several hundreds to solely two (ibid 1991: 188). Nowadays only 4.1 % of all New Zealanders speak Maori, but 23.7 % of the Maori people can hold a conversation in Te Reo¹² (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-maori/2006-census-quickstats-about-maori-revised.htm>). According to Holmes (2005: 91) the number is even lower: In New Zealand there are only about 10,000 to 20,000 fluent speakers of Maori left¹³, whereas in the 1970s the number was still about 70,000. Maclagan et al. (2008: 8) point out that even if today's Maori children are raised in exclusively Maori speaking homes, their exposure to the English language and culture is much higher than was the confrontation with the dominant language their grandparents once used. Hence, their proficiency was different from the one Maori children can acquire nowadays. Furthermore, "the linguistic repertoire of most Maori people does not include active control of Maori, though passive knowledge of Maori is rather more widespread" (Holmes 1997: 66).

3. New Zealand English

Burridge and Mulder (1998: 8) claim that "[a]lthough regional diversity is limited now we might expect that, over time, both physical and social distance will have the effect of increasing regional differences in OZ and NZ". They suppose that on the one hand the

¹² The ability of fluency in Maori increases with age: Half of the elderly can converse in the Maori language, but only 18-25 % of the new Zealanders between 15 and 65 (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-maori/2006-census-quickstats-about-maori-revised.htm>)

¹³ Holmes took the numbers from the Ministry of Maori Development from 1998.

probability of increasing linguistic diversity in New Zealand has been very high due to the absence of a prestige variety in the country until recently. Furthermore, caused by geographical isolation between urban and rural areas with the latter preserving dialectal variation a high number of varieties could develop. On the other hand increasing globalisation might diminish the number of varieties. However, as a dialect is always part of social identity the prospects for growing linguistic variation in NZ are positive (ibid 1998: 8-9).

People from Britain settled Aotearoa first; consequently their linguistic impact is obvious there. As Gordon/Deverson (1989: 74) state that

[t]here is a general historical affinity between North America [earlier] and Australasia [later] as pioneering areas opened up for European expansion and settlement; but it was Britain and not America which gave New Zealand its non-indigenous population base, its main social institutions, and not least its linguistic models.

In contrast, the fact that the type/variety of English spoken in New Zealand has become different from the one typical for the British Isles was first recorded at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century when school teachers complained about the “impure” pronunciation their pupils used (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 110). As stated by Allan/Starks (2000: 53) RP was regarded as the accent with overt prestige in NZ until recently. The New Zealand variety definitely shows similarities with the British Standard, however, that does not mean it developed out of it (ibid: 53).

3.1 Origins of New Zealand English

The origin of NZE is still being debated. As stated by BurrIDGE/Mulder (1998: 38), AusE and NZE have different origins: Whereas plenty of Londoners moved to Australia bringing their Cockney accent with them¹⁴, the arrivals to NZ came from a much larger geographical area, namely from all over Britain.

According to the National Broadcasting Service which recorded New Zealanders (many of them born in NZ in the 1860s/1870s) in the mid 1940s, it became evident that by that time different accents were present in NZ: Whereas some people used RP¹⁵, others spoke with the

¹⁴ A large number of the convicts in the Australian prisons, the first Europeans to settle on the Australian continent came from East London where the Cockney accent was spoken (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 29).

¹⁵ RP was used to demonstrate the belonging to the upper social classes, although the class system in NZ has always been far less strict than it has been in GB (Gordon 1991: 25).

British accents they had taken from their parents and again others already sounded like Kiwis¹⁶ (Gordon 1991: 24).

Bayard (1995: 43-44) as well as Gordon/Deveson (1998: 26) assert that, instead of the theory of just one single dialect, NZE has its roots in the mixing bowl theory: Similarities among the colonists' dialects were multiplied whereas some uncommon features simply disappeared. The new location the settlers found themselves in played another important role in the evolution of the new variety. Orsman (1997: vii) adds that the variety spoken in New Zealand "[...] was one result of a human and linguistic hotch-potch". According to Britain (2005: 162) the immigrants settling in Canterbury on the South Island came mainly from the southern counties of England, thus Northern and Midland dialects were hardly present neither in that region nor in NZ as a whole.

Additionally, some migrants also came from Scotland and Ireland. As already mentioned most of the Australian emigrants that came to New Zealand were born in Britain and had immigrated to Australia several years before they arrived in NZ¹⁷. The majority of them settled in the north of the North Island, more precisely in the Bay of Islands and the Auckland region. Clearly they had a linguistic impact on the variety developing in the country (ibid: 163). Gordon (1991: 21) asserts that she considers *Enzedic*, a synonym for NZE, to have emerged from Australian English:

It is my own belief that New Zealand English came originally from Australia. In its origins, anyway, I would say it was a dialect of Australian English. This view can be supported by demographic evidence as well as the close similarities between the two varieties, which we tend to overlook when we concentrate on our few, albeit significant, differences. However, in New Zealand there has always been the constant over-arching influence of Britain and British pronunciation, and one of the most obvious and enduring effects of this has been in the area of standards. British Received Pronunciation – RP – has been taken as the standard for New Zealand speech.

Above all, in the early times of the European settlement the contacts between villages were not strongly developed because of geographical distance and scarce population. Furthermore, it was not until the mid of the 19th century that education became compulsory. Thus illiteracy was high and absolutely normal among the immigrants whose daily task was simply to make their living in these new surroundings. Consequently they did not pay much attention to Standard English and social class but used their own dialects to communicate in

¹⁶ *Kiwi* is another term for New Zealander, although its actual meaning refers to the national bird of the country or the kiwifruit.

¹⁷ Only approximately 5% of the immigrants from Australia were born in Australia (Britain 2005: 163).

the new colony (Britain 2005: 165-166). According to Gordon and Deverson (1998: 28) the Australian dialect of that time might have been a prestige variety compared to the dialects spoken by the NZ colonists. Thus, they assume that NZ children might have adopted that high variety which also was an Antipodean marker and therefore Australian English gained influence on the evolving NZ-English.

Summarising, all of the above phenomena might have had an influence on the later New Zealand English. However, as linguistic change is a complex process (Bauer 2002: 10-11), none of the above can serve as a sole explanation for the development of New Zealand English.

3.2 Phonetics and Phonology

A recent Danish visitor to New Zealand was puzzled by a question he was asked as he came through the airport. He thought he was being asked if he had a 'tint'. He knew that 'tint' meant a shade of colour but he could not understand why New Zealand immigration officials needed to know this. He replied that he did not have a tint, although he was in fact carrying a tent (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 37).

According to Melchers/Shaw (2003: 14) the most obvious feature differentiating English varieties is the particular pronunciation. Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 5-6) suggest the following criteria to distinguish certain varieties from each other:

- a) the quality of the vowel (/ɑ:/ vs. /æ/) in words such as *bath, half, dance*
- b) the absence (in non-rhotic accents) or presence (in rhotic accents) of /r/ in final position or before a consonant (non-prevocalic /r/) as in *hear, work*
- c) the degree of closeness in the front vowels, as in *pen, pin*
- d) a front or back vowel in words such as *father, part*
- e) absence or presence of contrast in length and vowel quality in word pairs such as *cot-caught*
- f) absence or presence of voice in intervocalic /t/, as in *later, letter*

Hence, they came to the conclusion that there are four groups of English varieties, namely type I, Irish English and the varieties of Jamaica and Barbados; then group II which includes RP, most English and Welsh dialects and the Antipodean Englishes of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; group III with General American and Canada and finally type IV, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

The phoneme inventory of NZE includes as many phonemes as RP although the phonetic realisation is different (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 111).

3.2.1 The Vowel System

The vowel system described in the following encompasses the long and short monophthongs whose quality does not change during the articulation, as well as the diphthongs (Crystal 1991: 377).

3.2.1.1 The Long Vowels

Allan and Starks (2000: 60) compared the three Southern Hemisphere Englishes of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand with RP and came to the conclusion that NZE's long vowels are more similar to their counterparts in the Antipodes than to RP. Whereas the phoneme /a/ in RP is a back vowel, in New Zealand it has moved to a more central or even fronted position. Thus *card* sounds different in Britain and New Zealand (Gordon/Deverson, 1998: 36). In RP the *nurse*-sound is realised as [ɜ:], but in NZ it is fronted: [ø]. The long /i/ as in *fleece* varies in New Zealand from the RP-pronunciation [ii] to the Australian [əɪ] while /i/ is diphthongised in all realisations. *Thought* or *force* turn from [ɔ:] in RP to [o:] in NZE, thus the low mid back rounded vowel moves up to a high mid point. Regarding [u:] one can say that this long back closed vowel is fronted as well (Allan/Starks 2000: 63-64). Summarising the long vowels in NZE are /i:/, /y:/, /e:/, /o:/ and /a:/ (Wells 1982: 608).

3.2.1.2 The Short Front Vowels

The Southern Shift also known as the Second Great Vowel Shift occurred in the Antipodean varieties of English and stands for the raising of the short front vowels

(Burridge/Mulder 1998: 86).¹⁸ In order to display to what extent the front vowels differ from RP, Gordon and Deverson (1998: 36) used the vowel quadrilateral:

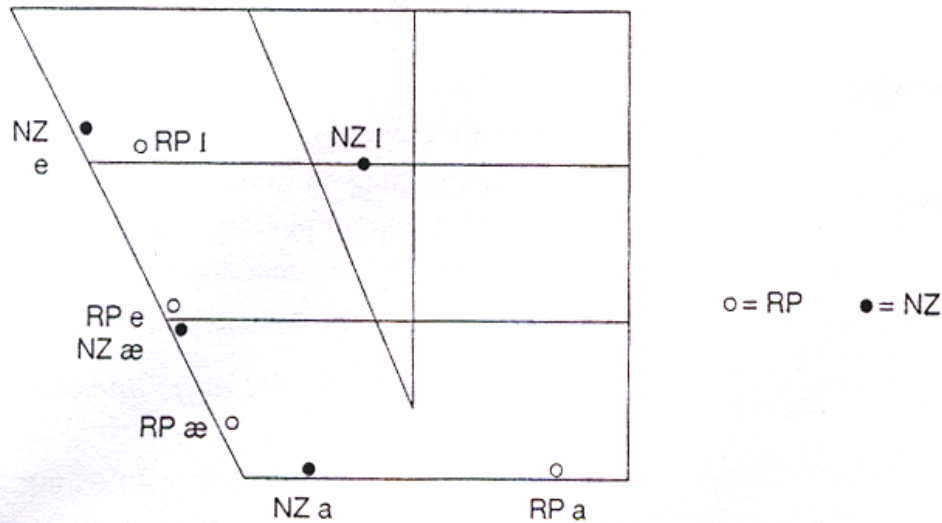


Figure 3: Four NZE front vowels (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 36).

The diagram demonstrates that these front vowels were raised in NZE. As in that chain shift¹⁹ the vowel in *kit* could not be raised any further it collapsed with the schwa-sound, which means it was lowered and centralised (Allan/Starks 2000: 74-76). Thus one might get confused when hearing a New Zealander speaking, as *pen* sounds like *pin* to an Englishman for instance. That is also the reason why in stereotyping a New Zealander the example of *fish and chups* is always mentioned as to foreigners it simply sounds like that and not like *fish and chips* (Bauer 2002: 77) whereas among speakers of this Antipodean variety there is no misunderstanding at all. The centralisation of the i-sound, which presents the phonological main difference between NZE and Australian English (Woods 2000: 89) emerged around 1960. Before, it occurred randomly only (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 35, 39). Trudgill (2004: 43) has a contrary opinion towards the closer pronunciation of the short front vowels in NZE which also occurs in the other Southern Hemisphere varieties: He claims that these English

¹⁸ During the (First) Great Vowel Shift which took place in Middle English the seven long vowels /i:/, /e:/, /ɛ:/, /a:/, /u:/, /o:/ and /ɔ:/ were raised. (Burridge/Mulder 1998: 86)

¹⁹ According to Woods (2000: 102) and Trudgill (2004: 43) the chain shift of the front vowels started with the raising of [æ] followed by [e] leading to the centralisation of [ɪ].

dialects inherited this linguistic feature from 19th century England where most of their first settlers came from. Later on, in the dialects on the British Isles the feature of raised short front vowels disappeared and was replaced by more open variants. As a parallel change taking place in all Southern Hemisphere Englishes is less probable than one single change in Southeast England, his theory sounds reasonable.

In summary, the phonological inventory of NZE consists of the two front vowels /e/ and /æ/ (*dress, trap*), /ə/ and /ʌ/ which are central (*kit, strut*) and the back vowels /ʊ/ and /ɒ/ as they occur in *foot* or *lot* (Wells 1982: 607).

3.2.2 Diphthongs

The distinct realisation of these diphthongs “as part of the colonial twang” in Australia and New Zealand became noticed very early (Burrige/Mulder 1998: 55; Woods 2000: 87). In 1924, F. Martin Renner complained about the realisation of the diphthongs in the Education Gazette by saying that “[t]he four noteworthy defects are ‘praise’ as ‘prise’, ‘my’ as ‘moi’, ‘Mexico’ as ‘Mexiceouw’ and ‘shout’ as ‘sheout’. (cf. Gordon/Deveson 1998, 25). Gordon (1991: 21) states that “[...] New Zealand children were being accused of murdering the language with their hideous and evil-sounding mispronunciation of British English”.

In New Zealand there are four closing diphthongs²⁰ that are pronounced in a special and unique way, i.e. in a more fronted manner /eɪ/, /aɪ/, /ou/ and /au/. Since the presence of /au/ as in *mouth* has been reported in early times already, Britain (2005: 167) suggests that this phenomenon came into being due to the dialects the English settlers brought with them. Whereas in RP this diphthong is pronounced [aʊ], in NZE it is raised to [ɛə].

The /aɪ/–diphthong as in *price* shows a similar pattern than the one mentioned above: It turned from [aɪ] to [pe], also for reasons of the immigrants’ mixture (Britain 2005: 173). Belich (1997: 333) affirms that the prestigious variant of the *price*-diphthong in the 19th century was the back pronunciation, thus [pe], an innovation of South England. As Australia was settled earlier than NZ, the change in this diphthong is not that apparent there but became a typical feature in New Zealand English (Britain 2005: 177).

²⁰ Closing diphthongs glide from an open to a closed position, e.g. the diphthong /aɪ/ consists of /a/, which is an open, central vowel, and /i/, a closed front vowel (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 41).

The third diphthong, /ei/, occurs e.g. in *take*. A change in pronunciation is not only happening in Aotearoa New Zealand, but in several English varieties of the Southern hemisphere. In RP the sound is pronounced [eɪ], whereas in NZE it is altered to [ʌɪ], [ɒɪ], [aɪ] or even [æɪ] (Britain 2005: 177). Maori English might have had an influence on this development which started within New Zealand according to Britain (2005: 178).

The change of the diphthong /ou/ as in *toast* is less distinct than the previously mentioned one. The first element of the diphthong has been lowered to /əʊ/ (Allan/Starks 2000: 67).

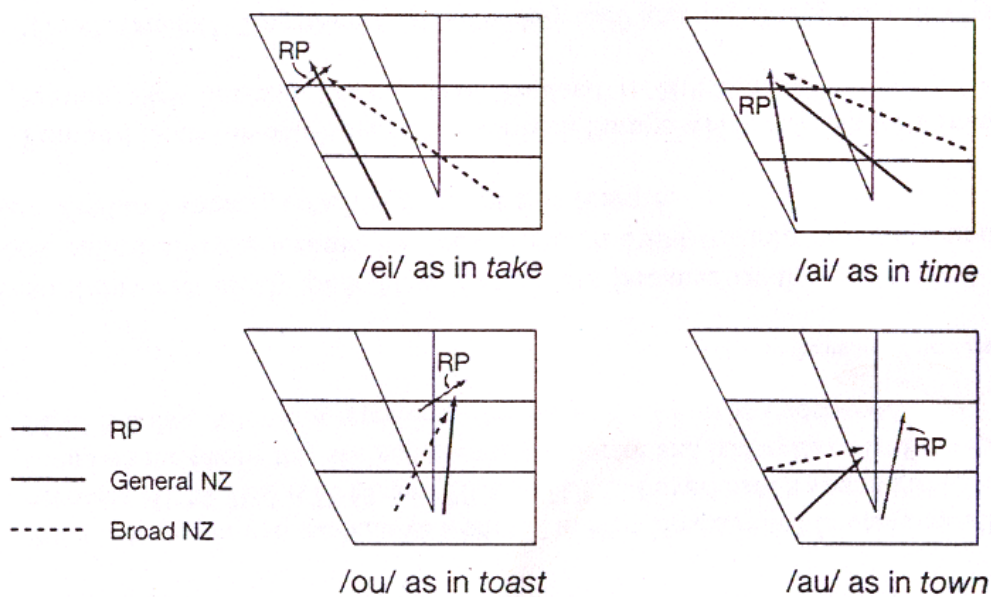


Figure 4: The four closing diphthongs (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 42).

3.2.3 The EAIR Merger

Another peculiarity in the speech of people from Aotearoa is the merging of the two diphthongs in *ear* and *air*. According to Crystal's *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (1991: 216) a merger can be defined as "a term used in [...] Historical Linguistics to refer to the coming together [...] of linguistic units which were originally distinguishable [...]". Labov (1994: 119) describes a merger by "a change in the relations of two vowels in which one assumes or approximates the position held by the other".

In RP there is a difference, namely *air* is realised as /eə^r/ and *ear* as /ɪə^r/. In NZE a certain development towards a unification of both sounds towards the *ear*-pronunciation has been taking place since the late 1960s (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 44). In addition, Gordon and Deveson (1998: 45) found out that a similar phenomenon concerning the /uə/ and /ɔ/ vowels might be on the way leading to *sure* and *shore* losing their contrast one day merging into /ɔ/.

In 1983 and 1988 Gordon and Mclagan (cf. Gordon/Mclagan 2001: 217-18) undertook studies about the EAIR merger and came to the conclusion that it has grown stronger over the years²¹. In an article by Batterham (2000: 143) about several NZ-studies concerning the EAIR-merger it was concluded that the described linguistic phenomenon was present in all four major cities in New Zealand; that is Wellington, Christchurch, Auckland and Dunedin. But that it could not be said what direction the change would lead eventually to, although it seems that [ɪə] is the more dominant variant for both diphthongs.

3.2.4 The Consonant System

The consonant system resembles to that of RP; but in some aspects the realisation is slightly different. E.g. the lateral /r/ is non-rhotic, but intrusive and linking /r/ does exist. The fact that all the Southern Hemisphere varieties of English are non-rhotic has its origin in the time of their colonisation, when in England non-prevocalic /r/ was lost. A great number of immigrants to the Antipodes came from those regions (Gordon et al. 2004: 173). In the Southland where a great many of Scots settled, rhoticity can still be found (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 113), whereas another feature with Scottish roots, the distinction between *wine* and *whine*, thus /w/ and /hw/, has nearly completely vanished (ibid: 113). The /l/ is almost exclusively dark (Allan/Starks 2000, 55-56).

3.2.5 Suprasegmentalia

²¹ The longitudinal study over 15 years (cf. Gordon/Maclagan 2001) was implemented four times, in 1983, 1988, 1993 and 1998. The native speakers of NZE, all secondary school students, were asked to read out certain sentences containing the above-mentioned diphthongs like *Come here and I'll brush your hair* or *The big brown bear was drinking beer*. In 1983 the percentage of speakers merging *ear* and *air* was at about 16% whereas until 1998 it rose till 80%. In a more detailed evaluation of the study it has become apparent that the direction of the merger has changed. In 1983 the majority of speakers preferred the air-pronunciation, but 15 years later it turned into the opposite direction.

Suprasegmentalia do not apply to single sound segments, but to vocal effects like stress or pitch which effect several parts of an utterance (Crystal 1991: 337). Two salient features in NZE are syllable timing and the High Rising Terminal (HRT).

3.2.5.1 Syllable-Timing

The linguistic feature of syllable-timing was investigated e.g. by Holmes (1997). Her aim was to prove whether Maori English makes use of a higher number of full vowels than their Pakeha counterparts. Therefore, in the chapter on Maori English syllable-timing will be examined more in detail.

3.2.5.2 The High Rising Terminal

A characteristic feature in New Zealand English is intonation. New Zealanders end nearly all sentences with a rise in pitch, which can be misleading to outsiders who might mistake their utterances for questions (Warren/Britain 2000: 153). This linguistic phenomenon is known as the High Rising Terminal (HRT) (Gordon/Deveson 1998; 48). BurrIDGE/ Mulder (1998: 69) claim that the HRT was imported to Australia from New Zealand. Despite its occurrence in other varieties of English it has stereotyped the typical New Zealander since the 1960s, perhaps also because it occurs much more frequently in NZE than in other varieties of English (Allan 1990: 120). It is used among young speakers, especially women and Maori (Bayard 1995: 74). The High Rising Terminal functions as a marker of solidarity and engagement of the partner(s) in the conversation: Warren and Britain (2000: 165) explain the two main reasons for its use. First, the rising intonation regulates the interaction in the talk. The speaker can check whether the listener has understood everything, as thereby a minimal response by the audience is required (Allan 1990: 124). Furthermore it is a marker of emphasising the common ground between the people involved in the conversation.

An extract from a letter by Dennis McEldowney in Gordon and Deveson (1998: 48-9) illustrates the High Rising Terminal in a very explicit way:

‘I was walking down Queen Street, and I saw a group of Hare Krishnas, and they were chanting and ringing their bells.’ And it is said as if each of the commas and

the full stop were a question mark. It seems to me a way of involving the listener and eliciting a response: ‘You know Queen St? You’ve seen these Hare Krishnas?’ [...]

The High Rising Terminal occurs particularly in narratives. In telling such stories the listener usually does not possess any knowledge about it yet. The narrator’s aim is to raise interest and hold the audience’s attention. Using the HRT diminishes the distance between listener and teller and emphasises common knowledge resulting in positive face. (Warren/Britain 2000: 167)

3.3 The Lexicological Dimension

New Zealandisms are the terms used within New Zealand only. Deverson (2000: 24) mentions that the average New Zealander’s vocabulary consists of 5% of such distinct words only. Nonetheless, as Orsman (1997: vii) points out, “New Zealandisms, themselves [are] only a small, but very important, part of any New Zealander’s total vocabulary”. In his *Dictionary of New Zealand English* published in 1997 he listed about 8,000 entries (plus sub-entries) comprising NZE vocabulary including approximately 700 Maori terms, some expressions originating from Scots or British English as well as about 700 which are common in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.3.1 Borrowings

Borrowings or loanwords are linguistic forms which originally come from another language (Crystal 1991: 41). As Bauer (2002: 33) points out, in a new environment new terms for unknown, thus new items and concepts are essential. Due to geographical proximity lexical items from Australian English entered NZE besides expressions from other English varieties (Deverson 2000: 28).

There is not much regional variation within NZE, as it is a young variety of English. However, depending on the location some terms do vary, so e.g. a special kind of sausage in New Zealand can be either called *polony* (Auckland), *saveloy* (Christchurch) or *Belgium* (Southland) (Burrige/Mulder 1998: 4).

In the majority of cases words are borrowed from the language of the indigenes already present in that new place: Referring to New Zealand's colonial past this means that the Pakeha borrowed Maori words which now have become part of New Zealand English and have therefore contributed to its uniqueness (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 65). There were two main periods when Maori terms entered New Zealand English (ibid: 65). The first started with the settlement of the Pakeha in the first half of the 19th century, the second runs parallel to the revival of the Maori language and culture from the 1970s onwards. Nonetheless the majority of the Maori intake comes from the earlier period.

The fields which many borrowings are from are flora and fauna. Unfamiliar plants and animals only found in New Zealand are e.g. the bird *tui* or the reptile *tuatara* (Bauer 2002: 35); *pohutakawa*, also known as the New Zealand Christmas tree, or the *mānuka* tree (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 66). Further Maori terms that conquered NZE are connected to the Maori culture which is still being practised in the country: *haka*, *mana*, *poi*, and *marae*. Place names deriving from Te Reo Maori can be observed throughout New Zealand, especially in the northern part where the majority of the Maori population lives (*Tauranga*, *Whangarei*, *Wanganui*) and even in the second name of the country, *Aotearoa*. (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 66-67)

New Zealanders not familiar with Maori often mispronounce the /ŋ/ sound in Maori loanwords like *ponga* (a special tree fern) as [ng] due to influence from the English language (Bauer 2002: 73).

Apart from *kiwi* or *Maori*, most of the expressions cited above are only common within New Zealand as they are restricted to a somewhat narrow context (ibid: 68). Concerning the renaissance of Maori culture it must be said that this revival occurred at the same time as it did in other indigenous peoples (ibid: 69).

3.3.2 Derivation

With the help of affixes new words can be created: *non-Maori*, *Wellingtonian*, *kiwiana* are just a few of them. Moreover words can be blended into another as it happened with *Jandal*, a mixture of *Japanese* and *sandal*. The same way words can be extended, they can also be shortened, and especially compounds are often reduced in an informal context: The *K'Road* is a short version of the *Karangahape Road* in Auckland, the inhabitants of Canterbury are called *Cantabrians* although the correct version would actually be

Canterburians. The verb *to sharemilk* emerged by back-formation of the noun *share-milker*. A synonym for holiday house in NZE is the word *bach*, a clipped form derived from the verb *to bachelorize* ‘to live alone’. As in many other languages, acronyms like *DOC* instead of the *Department of Conservation* are present in New Zealand English lexis as well. (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 84-85)

Furthermore, the suffix *-y/-ie* is very productive in the variety of English in Aotearoa (and also in Australia), e.g. *sammy* for ‘sandwich’, *cardie* for ‘cardigan’ (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 115) or *barbie* for ‘barbeque’ (Gordon/Deverson 1989: 7).

3.3.3 Coinage

There are a high number of farming terms that were coined in Australia or New Zealand and are therefore used in both countries, so e.g. *cattle stop*, *sheep station*, *wool-shed* or *rabbit fence*.

Of course, some expressions are restricted to New Zealand only, so e.g. *Taranaki gate*, which holds the place name of *Taranaki*, situated in the North Island, describes ‘a simple and rough (farm) gate, usually wire (often barbed) and batten but also of other materials, held shut by wire loops’ according to Orsman’s NZE Dictionary (1997: 816).

Gordon and Deverson (1998: 79) state that Maori terms concerning flora and fauna often have an English (compound) equivalent, although the Maori word is the more common one. Hence, *kūmara* is a *sweet potato*, *pāua* can be called *mutton fish* as well, and the *tūi* is the *parson-bird*. In contrast there are of course some exceptions where the English term has become the dominant one: *silver fern* (*ponga*) or *white heron* (*kōtuku*).

3.4 Lexical Semantics

Lexical Semantics refers to “[...] the synchronic analysis of word usage” (Crystal 1991: 311).

Sometimes the British, sometimes the American or even a completely different term can be used to name a certain item. In British English (BE) *lorry* is used, while American English (AE) and NZE use *truck* instead. Englishmen speak of *pavement*, Canadians and Americans of *sidewalk* but Australians and New Zealanders of *footpath*. (Bauer 2002: 42-3)

Broadening in meaning (polysemy) is also a common feature of lexis in NZE: A *robin* refers to distinct species of birds in New Zealand, the United States and Australia: Both the New Zealand robin *Petroica australis* and Chatham Island robin *Petroica traversi* can be meant by the term if used in Aotearoa, whereas people from other continents think of different kinds of birds (Bauer 2002: 42). A New Zealander thinks of a ‘river’ rather than an ‘inlet’ when speaking of a *creek*, as *bush* means ‘rainforest’ rather than ‘shrub’ (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 115). A *dairy* in New Zealand is a little corner store, but elsewhere in the English-speaking world it is a place connected to milk products only (Orsman 1997: 54). Macalister (2004: 31) points out that *kiwi* experienced a semantic broadening as well: Originally a term from Maori to refer to the ‘Chinese Gooseberry’, a certain kind of fruit, it’s meaning was extended to name a New Zealander as well.

The example of the *Taranaki gate*, already mentioned above in the section about coinage acquired a second and more metaphorical meaning apart from the gate, namely it can be ‘any similarly makeshift mechanical other arrangement’ (Orsman 1997: 817).

3.5 Syntax

Little research has been done so far with regard to syntactic features of NZE (Quinn 2000: 173). Hundt (1998: 1) investigated to what extent NZE differs from other Englishes not only in terms of pronunciation and lexis, but also grammar: “Even if, in terms of grammar, usage in New Zealand is found to agree closely with the standards of the United States and Britain, does that mean that it makes no sense to speak of ‘New Zealand English grammar’?” She also points out that “[i]nfluences from British, American and Australian English and diachronic change cannot account for all variation in NZE” (ibid 1998: 6).

In the Southland of New Zealand the auxiliary *shall* is avoided and replaced by *will* when used with the first person singular and plural in questions like *Will I close the window?* which probably goes back to Scottish influence (ibid 1998: 58). Furthermore she sees evidence in New Zealanders, together with people from Britain, using more future progressive forms than e.g. Americans (ibid 1998: 77). Collective nouns in NZE are preferably used in connection with singular concord, as Hundt (1998: 80, 83) states: *The team is playing well* is uttered in New Zealand and the United States, whereas in Britain it occurs more frequently with a plural verb.

Bauer (2002: 54) found that in New Zealand and Australia the verb *to screen* can be used in an intransitive way apart from the transitive usage common in all English varieties:

The new James Bond film will screen next week. (intransitive)

We will screen the new James Bond film in our largest theatre. (transitive)

Although NZE shares many features with other Englishes, a difference in the frequency of usage of some of the grammatical variables might demonstrate a developing independent New Zealand English grammar (ibid 1998: 138-140). Moreover, she concludes that apart from those similarities with other varieties of English NZE already produced New Zealandisms as *in the weekend* or the transitive verb *to farewell* unknown elsewhere in the world (ibid 1998: 140).

Gordon/Deveson 1998: 138) point out that at home many New Zealand pupils are not confronted with Standard English grammar but with a Vernacular grammar instead.

Consequently – with NZE being a relatively young variety of English - changes in this field need more time to develop to become more obvious.

3.6 Pragmatics: The Discourse Particle *eh*

The field of pragmatics studies the language from the speaker's perspective, i.e. for which purpose certain linguistic choices are made. Hence the effect on the addressee(s) is of high importance as well.

As Holmes et al. (1991: 87) concluded in their study on variation in New Zealand English “[t]he pragmatic eh? is one of the most high-profile markers of English within New Zealand”, although it is mostly associated with stereotyping New Zealanders. It is a tag placed at the end of a sentence and rather characteristic for Maori than for Pakeha speech (Holmes et al. 1991: 90). Therefore, in the chapters about Maori English it will be explained more in detail.

3.7 Ethnic and Social Components of Usage

Gordon (1991: 26) states that New Zealand English can be subdivided into cultivated, general and broad NZE, the same differentiation that applies to Australian English. Distinct pronunciation demonstrates best the social variation in the Antipodes. In addition, the frequency certain lexical terms are used with is another criterion for defining social dialects rather than distinct vocabulary itself (Burridge/Mulder 1998: 11).

In a study Gordon conducted together with Maclagan in 1983 in Christchurch she demonstrated the above-mentioned continuum: Pupils of private schools spoke a cultivated NZE, whereas those attending state schools used lower varieties. But when they repeated the study five years later they came to an entirely different conclusion, namely that “[t]he old differences between cultivated, general and broad New Zealand speech had disappeared [...] they all spoke with general New Zealand accents”. (ibid: 26)

Nonetheless, e.g. Holmes et al. (1991), Wells (1982) or Gordon/Deverson (1998) proved the existence of a continuum of different varieties of NZE.

As already mentioned, regional variation (apart from the Southland) within New Zealand is relatively little as

[t]he country has been settled relatively recently, and different regional accents have not had time to develop. There has been a continuing flow of immigrants into all parts of the country which removes the static conditions in which regional dialects develop. (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 127).

Although there is some variation influenced by age or gender²², the most significant factor influencing the language in NZ is ethnicity (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 109; Gordon 1991: 27). New Zealand can still be described as an egalitarian society despite the growing differences in socioeconomics which are also a marker for many Maori people being at the low end of the scale (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 109). Thus ethnicity and socioeconomic class are connected to each other as well. Holmes (1997: 68) also agrees that Aotearoa’s indigenes “are overrepresented in the lower socio-economic sections of New Zealand society”. Accordingly they often work in cleaning, labouring or unskilled jobs while Pakeha tend to be employed in

²² See e.g. the *Porirua Study* by Holmes et al. (1991).

higher positions (ibid: 68)²³. Consequently, this also helped to give rise to a distinct variety influenced by Maori. According to Boyce (2005: 90) attitudes towards the Maori language are positive, but a speaker of the Polynesian language is also connected with a lower socio-economic class and occupation or education, respectively. Nonetheless Maori people are associated with a bigger sense of humour and higher solidarity (ibid 2005: 96). Boyce (2005: 96) points out that the factors mentioned above are not just stereotypes, but also reflect the real situation of the indigenes in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Bayard (1995: 59) states that deciding about ethnic groups is a complicated matter, as not only the ancestry, thus the genetic background, but also the ethnic identity are part of it. Therefore, he suggests asking the people which group they associate with. Furthermore, he believes that “[...] ethnicity is an area rich in folklinguistic myths [...]” and that Maori do not speak a distinct variety of English (Bayard 1995: 75). According to Kiesling (2006: 84) ethnicity is not an important factor as it is in other Englishes. However, more recent research has proven the existence of a distinct Maori variety of English spoken in New Zealand, as Maclagan et al. (2008: 8) hold:

Currently the most distinctive variety of NZE is the ethnic variety which linguists call Maori English. Numbers of speakers are unknown but many Maori, and some non-Maori, are speakers of this variety. The distinctive aspects of Maori English consist of a range of phonological, lexical, pragmatic, and rhythmic features, most of which are also present, though at lower rates, in the better known variety of NZE, Pakeha English.

4. Maori English²⁴

Varieties of English which express the ethnic identity of a minority group have emerged in many speech communities throughout the world [...]. In New Zealand varieties of Maori English and distinctive ways of using these varieties serve to express and reflect Maori ethnicity, as well as positive attitudes toward Maori culture and values. Many of the linguistic features of varieties of Maori English, as well as specifically Maori ways of using English, owe their distinctiveness, in part at least, to the influence of te reo Maori, and of Maori ways of interacting in Maori cultural contexts. (Holmes 2005: 92)

²³ Data from the Census 2006 supports these assertions: Maori earn NZ Dollars 20.900 while the Pakeha's income is about NZ Dollar 25.400; the qualification of Maori people is lower. They are consequently overrepresented in occupations such as labouring (22 % vs. 12 %) whereas managers are more often of Pakeha descent (18% vs. 13 %). (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-incomes/quickstats-about-incomes.htm>)

²⁴ In the following abbreviated as ME.

4.1 The Origins of ME

Maori and Pakeha are confronted with distinct situations in New Zealand society. NZE is the variety both have access to as it is used in media, public institutions, in education etc. Therefore it could be called “the mainstream variety of NZE” which is mainly used by Pakeha and which is based on European linguistic norms. However, as the Maori culture is very different from the Pakehas’, the English spoken by Maori consequently also differs. (Stubbe/Holmes 2000: 249)

As Holmes (1997: 65) points out the Maori language can be considered a substratum for Maori English due to its influence on the variety. However, Bell (2000: 223-4) claims that Maori people, who are rarely L1-speakers of Maori nowadays, make use of certain typical Maori features consciously in order to express their ethnic identity. Additionally, he states that a lower socioeconomic background also enhances using a variety other than PE.

The term Maori English first occurred in the 1960s and was mostly described in an unfavourable way as a “restricted form of English” or “[...] as a variety of English which prevented Maori children from succeeding at school” (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 144; Maclagan et al. 2008: 9). Ashton-Warner (1963: 70) named the variety known as Maori English nowadays “the *pa* vernacular”²⁵. As stated by Maclagan et al. (2008: 9) “Maori English was clearly seen as a major reason contributing to the lower levels of Maori school achievement”. Holmes et al. (1991: 12) in the Porirua Survey compare the attitudes towards ME with those towards Black English in the US. However, nowadays ME has been accepted as part of the identity of its speakers, at least officially (Gordon/Deveson 1998: 144).

Members of groups who are ‘out of power’ make use of a wide variety of linguistic and pragmatic strategies to signal and assert their group identity, and to subvert the pervasive influence of the dominant group. These range from standard phonological and lexical variables, through to discursive strategies [...] (Holmes et al. 2003: 431).

Gordon and Deveson (1998: 144) furthermore affirm that in a study conducted in Auckland in 1958 only 1 of the 8 Maori participants spoke Maori-accented English. Hence Maori English might have emerged relatively recently. On the other hand, linguists then might have defined the variety differently than their present day colleagues (Bell 2000: 222).

Additionally, Gordon/Deveson (1998: 145) suggest that ME should be regarded rather a style than a dialect, as some people speak with a strong accent whereas with others it is hardly

²⁵ The Maori word *pa* means “Maori village” (Maclagan 2008: 9).

developed. Gordon (1991: 27) argues that “[she has] encountered speakers who use Maori-accented English among themselves, but switch to general New Zealand when speaking into a tape-recorder”. Moreover not all Maori people use ME, but instead some Pakeha who are part of a Maori community do (Szakay 2006: 422).

In Holmes’ opinion (1997: 68) there are two main reasons that supported the development of a Maori English: On the one hand confrontation with Te Reo Maori mostly happens at the *marae*, the Maori meeting houses. Although Pakeha are not excluded from the cultural events there the majority of the attendees are of Maori descent. Consequently Pakeha are by far less in contact with the Maori language. The reasons for Maori people being the main users of Maori English lie to a great extent in the familiarity with the Maori culture and language. Secondly, Maori people are more often found in lower socioeconomic strata, while New Zealanders of European roots conglomerate in the upper social classes. (ibid: 68)

In effect, Maori English does not show completely different features to Pakeha/New Zealand English²⁶. It is rather the frequency of occurrence of certain characteristics that differentiates the English spoken by Maori from the Pakeha variety. (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 144-5; Holmes 2005: 93)

For all the features so far studied, Maori and Pakeha English have shown quantitative differences rather than qualitative ones. That is, no features have been found that occur exclusively in Maori English; rather Maori English displays greater numbers of all the features studied than does Pakeha English. (Bell 2000:246)

Holmes (2005: 93) differentiates between *standard Maori English* (used by the educated middle class) and *vernacular Maori English* (spoken by people from lower socioeconomic classes) with the former comprising only pronunciation influenced by Maori whereas the latter also features distinct grammar and lexis. Thus, as already mentioned above, socioeconomic factors influence Maori English as well. Holmes (2005: 93) furthermore adds that these two terms for ME should be regarded as points on a continuum rather than as two clear varieties. Despite some educationalist remarks on Maori English in the 1960s and 1970s, Maclagan et al. (2008: 9) point out that nonetheless ME “did not start receiving serious attention from linguists until the 1990s“.

²⁶ In the chapters about Maori English (ME), Pakeha English (PE) and NZE are used to refer to exactly the same variety of English, namely the one spoken by the population with European descent in New Zealand. In theory, NZE is the generic term for the English variety spoken in New Zealand. Maori English as well as Pakeha English are social dialects of NZE influenced by ethnicity and socioeconomic class. But as the linguistic features described in the chapters about NZE also apply to PE, I will use NZE and PE interchangeably here.

4.2 Phonetics/Phonology

Some sounds are pronounced differently in Maori English in comparison to English of Pakeha due to the influence of Te Reo Maori.

4.2.1 The Vowel System

Despite the partially negative attitudes towards the Maori-coloured variety of NZE, its different realisation of the vowels has often been regarded as a much more favourable manner than the Pakeha's pronunciation. In a letter by Kathleen Dawson from Dunedin published in 1970 in the *Listener*, a New Zealand newspaper, she explains that teaching Maori to all New Zealanders "[would] modify the average Pakeha's vowels and flat speech...The widespread teaching of Maori would be a positive move towards improving the New Zealand accent" (taken from Gordon/Deverson 1998: 144).

Woods (2000: 89) also argues that Maori people, particularly elderly who are fluent in Te Reo Maori, realise the KIT vowel as a high and fronted [i] instead of the centralised [ə]-like sound used by Pakeha (which is typical for NZE in general). The 'pure vowels' innate to Maori English have their origin in the mora-timed Maori language, in which unstressed syllables are often realised with full vowels, whereas in English the presence of reduced vowels in such an environment is much more typical (Holmes et al. 2003: 435). Holmes (2005: 96) therefore states that ME is influenced by the Maori language.

4.2.2 Diphthongs

In literature about Maori English information about a distinct realisation of the diphthongs in ME scarcely occurs. Benton (1991: 193) mentions a study conducted by Simon in 1979 in which a clearer differentiation between the diphthongs [iə, eə, eɪ] among speakers of ME was the result. However, he adds that this only applied to people who had acquired Maori before English. Consequently, nowadays with a steadily decreasing number of New Zealanders learning Maori as L1 this feature might be less salient in ME than it was approximately 30 years ago. Certainly further research has to be conducted for clear evidence.

4.2.3 The EAIR Merger

Few studies on Maori English in relation to the EAIR merger have been carried out so far. Holmes et. al. (1991) undertook a study in Porirua, a small town near Wellington, to examine certain features of NZE in terms of ethnicity, gender and age. However, in the study no significant differences between PE and ME were brought to light with both ethnic groups realising *ear* and *air* similarly.

4.2.4 The Consonant System

Devoicing final [z] is apparently a feature of ME. Words like *rose* or *was* are often realised differently in the speech of Maori people, namely with a final [s] instead of its voiced counterpart [z] (Holmes 2005: 95). Maclagan et al. (2003: 17) assume the reason for this lies in the phonology of Te Reo Maori which neither possesses alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ nor contrasting voiced consonants at all. When in the 19th century English was taught to the indigenes who spoke Maori as their first language, the influence of English on pronunciation was inevitable. Although nowadays English is the first language of most Maori people in New Zealand, the Maori language might still influence the speech of those identifying with the Maori culture and thus speaking ME. (Holmes 2005: 95-6)

Furthermore, Holmes (2005: 95) points out that initial [t] is often not aspirated in ME, also due to the influence of Maori. In her study Holmes (1997: 78) found that in Maori English the linguistic variable occurred more than seven times as often as it did in PE. Again, this feature is not unique to the speech of Maori, but within the linguistic area of New Zealand unaspirated initial [t] apparently demonstrates belonging to ME rather than PE. Nonetheless, she (ibid: 81) raises the question: “[h]ow frequently does unaspirated [t] need to occur in the speech of Maori New Zealanders in order to be considered a feature of ME?”. This is a question of relative frequency in comparison with Pakeha speakers (ibid: 81), the same is true for the High Rising Terminal or the discourse particle *eh*.²⁷

Another linguistic variable is the deletion of initial [h], also known as HDROP: The dropping of [h], a significant feature of different informal Englishes, also marks Maori

²⁷ For these two linguistic features see next chapter on Suprasegmentalia.

speakers in Aotearoa New Zealand (Holmes et al. 1991: 51, 53). Even though it is common in the speech of elderly male Maori, [h] dropping seems to be a vanishing linguistic variable in NZE (ibid 1991: 55).

4.2.5 Suprasegmentalia

Syllable-timing and the High Rising Terminal occur both in Pakeha English and Maori English. Nonetheless, as already stated in the suprasegmentalia-section of the NZE chapter, in Maori English they are by far more frequently used.

4.2.5.1 Syllable Timing

As briefly mentioned above, Maori English is characterised by a distinct rhythm pattern due to the Maori substratum (Holmes 1997: 88). PE is less syllable-timed than ME, i.e. “all syllables, not just the stressed syllables, occur at roughly equal time intervals [...leading to] more full vowels in unstressed syllables” (ibid: 88).

Despite the lack of ability of the majority of Maori people to speak “their” indigenous language, they are nonetheless to some extent confronted with it thanks to the Maori culture. Therefore, Holmes claims that the prestige of Maori in the marae-context might indirectly lead to a different syllable-timing than in PE. In her study in which she focused on New Zealanders aged 20 to 35²⁸ she revealed that Maori people definitely used nearly twice as many full vowels in a linguistic environment where Pakeha realised reduced vowels instead.

Pakeha women, despite the low frequency of full vowels found in Pakeha speech in general, seem to be announcers of linguistic trends in PE influenced by ME, as in their speech reduced vowels were found less often than in the speech of Pakeha males. (Holmes 1997: 89-91)

The figure below demonstrates Holmes’s results. Whereas for Maori, irrespective of gender, the percentage of full vowels in unstressed syllables is located at above 30%, the Pakehas’ percentage is far lower (16% for men; 22% for women).

²⁸ Holmes was interested in current developments or trends in NZE, thus she concentrated on people in that certain age group only. The tokens analysed in the recordings were taken from conversations, thus “connected” (as Holmes called it) or fluent speech to guarantee naturalness of the language (cf. Holmes 1997: 90-1).

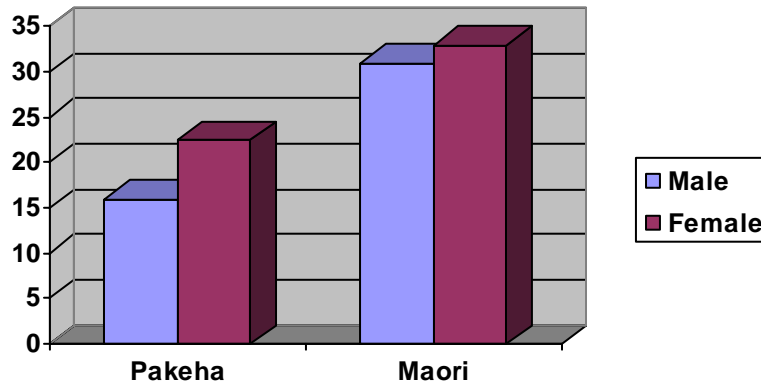


Figure 5. Percentage of Full Vowels by Ethnicity and Gender (Holmes 1997: 92).

In a more recent study by Szakay (2006) the aim was to prove where on a continuum the world's syllable and stress-timed languages Maori and Pakeha English would be found. The Pairwise Variability Index (PVI), was used to measure rhythm in both dialects of New Zealand English. A low PVI-value therefore indicates a more syllable-timed language than a high score. For instance, Singaporean English has a much lower PVI (53.2) than British English (57.3) which indicates that the former is more syllable-timed than the latter. As Szakay points out her study lead to the following results: The average PVI of speakers of Maori English was 47.3 whereas the figure for Pakeha English was 58.7. Furthermore overlapping in the scores of the two dialects was low²⁹. Szakay also included several factors such as age or gender that might be influencing speech rhythm. She found that young people, whether Maori or Pakeha, had a lower PVI than elderly people. This might indicate a future change towards an increase of syllable-timing in NZE in general. Gender did not affect the rhythm of NZE at all.³⁰ (Skazay 2006: 422-6)

In total one can say that Szakay verified an apparent difference in rhythm between ME and PE as can be seen in the following table:

²⁹ In Maori English the PVI ranged from 38.3 to 60 and in Pakeha English from 50 to 72.1. Consequently values differed slightly according to the dialect with Pakeha never going below 50 and Maori never reaching a higher value than 60 (cf. Skazay 2006: 422-3).

³⁰ Another factor of interest for Szakay was pitch. Maori men tend to speak with a noticeably higher pitch than Pakeha men (128,4 Hz vs. 109,5 Hz). She assumes cultural factors such as marking identity and demonstrating solidarity as reasons (cf. *ibid*: 424-5). Unfortunately no further research has been done on that topic so far.

Language	PVI
Mandarin	27.0
Spanish	29.7
Luxembourg	37.7
Japanese	40.9
French	43.5
Polish	46.6
Rumanian	46.9
Maori English	47.3
Welsh	48.2
Singapore English	52.3
Malay	53.6
British English	57.2
Pakeha English	58.7
German	59.7
Dutch	65.5
Thai	65.8

Table 3: Rhythm values for some languages (Szakay 2006: 425).

4.2.5.2 The High Rising Terminal

According to Bell (2000: 23) the use of the High Rising Terminal is more frequent among Maori than Pakeha speakers. HRT occurs most often most often among young Maori women, followed by Maori men, Pakeha women and finally by Pakeha (Warren/Britain 2000: 155). Usually, questioning intonation refers to insecurity (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 2003: 173). Consequently on the surface one could assume that New Zealanders, above all Maori, are more insecure than other nationalities. However, Warren and Britain (2000: 166) see the reasons for this intense use in the conversation strategies of non-Western people: In their cultures “interpersonal rather than individualistic constructions of personality and identity” are emphasised. Britain (1992: 95) adds that these cultures converse in a more cooperative manner than Western cultures do. By using so-called *positive politeness*³¹ solidarity is achieved (Wardough 2006: 277). Therefore, among Maori speakers the High Rising Terminal

³¹ *Positive politeness* encompasses treating the addressee as a friend, as a member of the group oneself is in. This can be achieved by conversational strategies such as seeking agreement, showing interest etc. (Brown 1998: 85).

occurs so often, although it is no feature of Te Reo Maori itself (Holmes 1997: 73). Furthermore, the score of the HRT of Pakeha women is high as well. The origins are similar to the above-mentioned ones, namely that women aim to establish and preserve relationships more than men in Western cultures do (Warren/Britain 2000: 166, 170).

4.3 The Lexicological Dimension

Concerning lexis ME and PE differ from each other mainly in terms of frequency of usage. As speakers of ME associate with the Maori culture to a greater extent, in their speech more Maori lexemes can be found than in the Pakeha variety.

4.3.1 Borrowings

According to Holmes et al. (2003: 434) Maori make use of a higher amount of Maori terms and phrases when they converse with other Maori or when the content of the conversation is connected to the Maori culture. This can also be explained by their wider knowledge of Maori vocabulary in comparison to Pakeha's (Holmes et al. 2003: 437). Here is a sample of a conversation between two Maori people (Holmes 2001: 176):

Lee: *kia ora* June. where you been? not seen you around for a while

June: *kia ora*. I've just come back from my Nanny's *tangi* [FUNERAL]. been up in Rotorua for a week

Lee: *e kī* [IS THAT SO!] a sad time for you, *e hoa* [MY FRIEND] and for all your family, *ne* [ISN'T IT]

June: *ae* [YES]. we'll all miss Nanny. she was a wonderful woman

Kia ora is a common greeting among New Zealanders, while the other words are more specific Maori vocabulary (Holmes 2001: 176).

Not only in natural speech, but also in literature code-mixing is relatively common, in particular when related to a Maori setting³²:

³² Such Maori authors are e.g. Patricia Grace, Witi Ihimaera or Keri Hulme (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 72).

The whānau of Mokomoko were deeply moved, we all were, as with tangi and aroha they helped lift their tipuna from the yellow quicklime powder which covered his remains in a shallow grave. They were placed in a craftsman's casket built without screws or nails.

The hahu workers now had a line to follow, but when working on the third grave they struck a huge boulder which was very hard to move. Directly under it were the remains of a tipuna. The tangi came, the mamae came, the aroha. How could anyone do such a thing?

The next two graves were quickly found. Our five tipuna had been found. We chanted a wairua of gratitude. The mokopuna sat by their tipuna. We felt enriched [...]. (Gordon/Deverson 1998: 72)³³

As readers without any knowledge of Maori would not be able to understand the text, some authors include the English and Maori terms alike in their books, as did Witi Ihimaera in his short story "The Child":

-I don't know, mokopuna. I don't know where I put my rahu. It's somewhere. Somewhere here, somewhere...

We'd play the game a little longer. Then I'd laugh.

-Here it is, Nanny! Here's your bag!

Her eyes would light up.

-You found it, mokopuna? You found my rahu? Ae, that's it, that my rahu.

I would put it in her hands.

- You ready to go now, Nanny? I'd ask. We go down to the sea now?

-I put my scarf on first, ay, she would answer. Might be cold, might be makariri...

(Gordon/Deverson 1998: 74)

First Ihimaera writes *rahu*, later the Maori term is replaced by *bag* (although *rahu* literally means *basket*). *Mokopuna* stands for *grandchild*, *makariri* replaces *cold* (cf. www.maoridictionary.co.nz). So even readers who are unfamiliar with Maori words understand what is meant and the Maori context is kept as well.

4.3.2 Coining and Derivation

There is not much to say about coining and derivation in Maori English, as differences in vocabulary are to a great extent focused on loanwords from the Maori language, consequently

³³ From Nehe Dewes, „The Exhumation and Re-burial of the Remains of Mokomoko and Other Men“, in Te Ao Mārama, Vol.2.

the ethnic dialect does not show any particularities in terms of newly made words or derived forms.

4.3.3 Nicknames

The ample usage of nicknames in conversations among Maori people or those associating with them is typical for ME. *Mate, bro', sis, cuz* or *aunty* are uttered very often. As already mentioned, expressing kinship is of high importance in the Maori culture (Holmes et al. 2003: 439). Nicknames are in-group-markers and thus part of the *positive politeness* strategy (Brown 1998: 85).

4.4 Lexical Semantics

Benton (1991: 194) points out that probably differences between Pakeha and Maori English are to be found on a much more subtle level than pronunciation or distinct lexis only: He claims that metaphors might be transferred from the Maori language into ME, as in the indigenous language metaphorical expressions are quite common and Maori children sometimes have problems with NZE idioms like *to turn turtle* or *to have a close shave*. He argues the differences between PE and ME might be in a “metaphorical and analogical way of thought” (Benton 1985: 118) and that “figurative codes [...] may be very different” (Benton 1991: 194). However, further research is necessary to provide clear evidence for these claims.

4.5 Syntax

Given the young age of NZE and ME, most of the linguistic features of the ethnic dialect have occurred on the levels of pronunciation and lexis while in terms of syntax there have not been any significant changes so far, as stated by Bauer/Bauer (2005: 212). In their study with New Zealand children they nonetheless found some, even if little, evidence concerning a distinct ME syntax: Whereas in NZE or other varieties of English one can say *He growled at me* or *He gave me a growling*, in ME one can use *He growled me* modelled on a Maori construction with the verb *ko(w)hete* ‘to growl’. (ibid: 213)

Moreover, Bell (2000: 235) names the deletion of *have* in sentences like *You got no right being in here*, which is common in many vernacular varieties of English all over the world. In his study Maori made use of *have* deletion eight times as much as Pakeha did whereas the percentages in the *Porirua Survey* by Holmes et al. (1991: 84) showed less extreme results (Maori 18% vs. Pakeha 14%). However, gender and age played a much bigger role here, as middle-aged as well as older Maori men and elderly Maori women deleted *have* much more often than others. Thus, this might indicate a vanishing feature of Maori English.

4.6. Pragmatics: The Discourse Particle *eh*

The discourse particle *eh*³⁴ is not only used among New Zealanders, but also in other varieties according to Bayard (1995: 78): The difference, however, lies in the meaning. In NZE *eh* is also used to evoke empathy and to assure oneself of the listener's attention in the conversation, whereas in AE or BE *eh* it is connected to confirmation only.

Holmes et al. (1991: 87) in their Porirua study state that “the nature and function of EH is better communicated through example rather than discussion”. Therefore, an illustration from the above-mentioned survey has been adopted³⁵. It deals with an interview³⁶ of two young Maori men (Matt and John) and their childhood memories:

Matt: we used to get - we used to live round there you know we used to just walk around there from the bay *eh*

Int.: yeah

Matt: that's a lot – not – hardly anybody had cars then had to catch trains get off the train and get off the b-

Int.: how did you - yeah?

Matt: and get on the bus and go round the bay

John: and go round there

Matt: for picnics and that well I mean just for a day out and that *eh*

³⁴ Apart from *eh* in Maori English, the *y'know* particle appears at high frequency having a similar purpose than the discourse particle *eh*, i.e. generating a situation of joint knowledge (Bell 2000: 230)

³⁵ Cf. Holmes et al. (1991: 88).

³⁶ The interviewer was abbreviated as 'Int.' in the survey.

Int.: yeah + it's all changed now *eh*

Matt: well all that sewerage *eh* you know

Int.: yeah they closed the beach a couple of times *eh* last year

Matt: yeah

John: you go round there you're swimming through the motions

Int.: [laughs]

Matt: it was you know oh yeah sometimes you can smell it *eh* you know
 all that sewerage when there's a s-southerly wind or the tide coming
 - brings all the shit back *eh*

The Maori particle *ne* seems to serve the same purpose than does *eh*, hence the Maori language might have influenced its function in ME (Holmes et al. 2003: 437). In the Porirua Survey Maori people used the discourse marker four times as often as did Pakeha (Holmes et al. 1991: 91). On the other hand, in the same study (ibid: 96) the usage of *eh* was not only connected to ethnicity, but also to age, providing evidence that the discourse particle is a marker of youth as well. Again, as especially young Maori have English as L1, the Maori language might have had an indirect influence on this linguistic variable only, emphasising ethnic identity. Moreover, men use the discourse marker *eh* more often than women do (Holmes et al. 1991: 91).

5. Analysis of Fictional Discourse

The aim of the following chapters is to investigate whether Maori English is transferred genuinely into fictional discourse in films. Tawake (2003: 46) raises two questions, namely whether the film maker is an insider of the minority culture he makes a film about (“How loyal a representative of his/her people is s/he?”) or, in case s/he is an outsider, “[h]ow authentic [...] his/her representation of the culture observed” is. This is also related to the

following part of this paper. Several of the ME features mentioned above will be analysed with the help of two Maori films, namely *Whale Rider* and *Once Were Warriors*.

5.1. Methodology

The corpus, i.e. the scripts of the two films, will be analysed with regard to features of phonology, lexis and pragmatics.

5.1.1. The Data

Beforehand, it must be said that fictional dialogue differs from natural speech insofar as the former is being applied to mainly support the visual part of the film: “[...] das Medium [braucht] eine Art von Sprache [...], die aus dem Fluß bildlicher Mitteilungen hervorwächst, nicht eine, die deren Kurs zu bestimmen sucht”. Despite the above mentioned restrictions of fictional discourse accruing from its artificiality, the scriptwriter should pay attention to use “einen realistischen, im Konversationston gehaltenen, unliterarischen Dialogstil”. (Kracauer 1964: 152)

Spielmann (1994: 110-1) explains that film deals with reality in which conversation is an important element. Therefore he warns of overemphasising the artistic element in film-making which may lead to the loss of naturalness of the artwork. On the other hand, he criticises that the visuals of films often take on a minor role because dialogues are too definite, detailed and thus too realistic.

Generally, according to McCarthy (1998: 109) spoken language primarily serves the purpose of strengthening social relationships rather than transmitting information which is in many cases the primary purpose of written language. As a result the former possesses a lower amount of the lexical density than the former.

Both films to be discussed in the following chapters, *Once Were Warriors* and *Whale Rider* treat current Maori issues, the former focusing on domestic problems and the latter on the place of Maori culture in today's society. The film scripts are taken from *www.script-orama.com* and do not contain any role assignment of the characters, but only the pure dialogues. In the chapters about Maori English above, almost all the typical features of this

ethnic variety were discussed. Nonetheless, the following part of this paper will focus on a selection of features as listed below:

- 1) High Rising Terminal
- 2) Maori lexis
- 3) Discourse particle *eh*

Without this restriction the quantity of features to be analysed would simply be too enormous and furthermore, lack of technical equipment would prevent investigating e.g. some phonetic particularities.

Several passages from the scripts, e.g. songs, larger sequences spoken in other languages, and Pakeha speech were omitted as all of them would contribute to a distortion of the results. Additionally they are irrelevant for the study.³⁷

The Appendix contains some dialogue samples with the High Rising Terminal as well as a DVD with the respective scenes. Moreover, all utterances with the discourse particle *eh* can be found there. Regarding the analysis of Maori lexis only some tables with the relevant words occur in this paper due to the lack of e.g. role assignments in the film script.

5.1.2 Technical Equipment Used

The text analysis tool *Antconc* which contains several functions as listed below was used for the purposes of this research: With the help of the *Word List* all words occurring in the corpus are counted and ranked. Other features like *Concordance* show the sentences in which the linguistic characteristic can be found, whereas in the *Concordance Plot* the distribution of that special word within the whole corpus is demonstrated. Moreover, the close environment of the item and its frequency can be investigated in *Clusters*; and words standing directly to the left and right of the linguistic variable in *Collocates*. By means of *Antconc* features of *eh*

³⁷ Songs do not represent natural speech and might have their origin in a different culture than that of New Zealand. The focus of my thesis is set on Maori and not Pakeha speech, consequently analysing the latter is redundant. And finally longer sections in a language different than English, even those spoken in Maori, do not deal with my actual topic either. In addition, the available scripts do only contain single words or short sentences in Maori (which are relevant for code switching), but no e.g. entire ceremony speeches in Maori.

and Maori lexis will be investigated; for the analysis of the *High Rising Terminal* certain representative passages are transcribed.

5.2 NZ Films - Social Background of Characters, Setting and Plot

5.2.1 *Once Were Warriors*³⁸

According to Thompson (2003: 230) the movie by Lee Tamahori, himself a Maori, is based on Alan Duff's novel of the same title. The story dealing with domestic abuse and violence in the working-class Maori family, the Hekes, is set in a slum of Auckland at the beginning of the 1990s. *Once Were Warriors* was a huge success in cinemas throughout New Zealand in 1994. Thompson (2003: 230) called the film a "social realist drama with historical and cultural features unique to New Zealand".

On the other hand, as Gipson (<http://www.usp.nus.edu.sg/post/nz/duff/gg2.html>) points out

[t]he film's visual treatment of the housing project in which the Heke family lives, and the actual plot and despair of the main characters, are not exclusive to dispossessed ethnic peoples; drunkenness, violence, and poverty are facts of life in every ghetto slum, whether in America or Calcutta.

The main characters are several members of the Heke family (Deming 2008 <http://www.allmovie.com/cg/avg.dll?p=avg&sql=1:134217>): Jake and Beth are a couple still in love, but Jake's alcoholism and consequential violence have had negative effects on the whole family. He beats his wife when drunk; his oldest son Nig has found a new family in a Maori street gang, while the younger son, Boogie, due to consequent trouble with the police, is put into a reformatory. The 13-year old daughter Grace caring for the two youngest siblings only trusts her drug-addicted and homeless friend Toot.

One of Jake's friends rapes Grace at a home party which leads to her suicide in the end. At Grace's funeral held in a traditional Maori manner, the family's still close connection to their *iwi* tribe can be seen. The film focuses on the lost and regained Maoriness of the family; in the entire story only a few Pakeha characters appear. (Gipson 1995 <http://www.usp.nus.edu.sg/post/nz/duff/gg2.html>)

³⁸ Hereafter abbreviated as *OWW*.

5.2.2 *Whale Rider*³⁹

The adaptation of the book by Witi Ihimaera became an award-winning film made by Niko Caro in 2002.

Set in Whangara, a town on the East Cape in the North Island known for its high number of Maori inhabitants, the story deals with an elderly Maori tribe chief, Koro, and his search for his successor. The tribe of Whangara believes in the tale of Paikea, the whale rider, who 1,000 years ago, was rescued by a whale when his canoe sank. They consider him their single ancestor, and every first-born son of the chiefs is regarded Paikea's heir and becomes new chief consequently. But this time the line seems to be broken, as the natural heir would be Koro's 11-year old granddaughter Pai. Koro refuses to accept this for a long time. (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0298228/synopsis>) Further characters of the film include Pai's grandmother Flower, Porourangi (Pai's father); Rawiri (her uncle) and Hemi, a class mate of hers. (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0298228/synopsis>)

The table below gives an overview of all the main characters that are relevant for the analysis:

Age and gender of the characters (all Maori)	<i>Once Were Warriors</i>	<i>Whale Rider</i>
young male	Nig Boog Toot Huata	Hemi
young female	Grace	Pai
middle-aged male	Jake Dooley Bully	Porourangi Rawiri Hemi's dad
middle-aged female	Beth Mave	Rawiri's girlfriend
old male	Teacher at reformatory	Koro
old female	none	Flower F1 ⁴⁰ F2

³⁹ In the following I will use the abbreviation *WR*.

⁴⁰ As their names are not mentioned, I used F1 and F2 instead. F2 seems to be an elderly Pakeha woman who is in close contact with the Maori culture. Therefore, the character was not excluded from the study.

Table 4: Names, age and gender of characters appearing in both films.

5.3 Analysis of Selected Features

Quantitatively the words in the scripts differ to a great extent: *OWW* contains 6628 words which corresponds to 1.66 times the amount of the words in *WR* (3982). In written corpora the most frequent words are *the*, *to* and *of*, i.e. function words; whereas in spoken language the personal pronoun *I* occupies the first rank, followed by some function words, but also demonstrating its discourse character due to the high frequency of terms like *know*, *well* or *think* (McCarthy 1998: 123-4). The personal pronoun *you* is found on the first rank in *OWW* (5.4% of all tokens) as well as in *WR* (4.7%) due to the density of dialogues in the films.

5.3.1 The High Rising Terminal

Five representative sequences were extracted from each of the films. Both the transcriptions and the CD with the respective scenes containing the HRT can be found in the Appendix. In order to obtain the HRT-percentages the character's total number of words in a sequence (= 100%) was counted first. Then the tokens containing the rising intonation were counted as well and converted into percentages. Initially some samples taken from *OWW* will be considered (cf. Appendix page i-iv).

5.3.1.1 The HRT in *Once Were Warriors*

In the first scene Grace is telling her little brother and sister a Maori tale. Although a narrative would seem to be a classic context for the use of the HRT, hardly any occurrences can be found. Only three times Grace speaks with a questioning intonation at the end of a declarative sentence (cf. Appendix: i).

In the second part that was selected Jake and Beth are arguing about Jake's dismissal. Beth is worried about the future economic situation of the family, so Jake is trying to calm her down. This might also be the reason he ends nearly all clauses with a rise in intonation. Beth

tries to make him understand her worries by using the HRT. Both aim to establish solidarity which, as mentioned above, is crucial to the Maori culture. (cf. Appendix: i).

Scene number three (cf. Appendix i-ii) is a longer dialogue between the two close friends Beth and Mave. There is a high concentration of HRT which occurs at the end of nearly every statement the two characters make. First Beth tells Mave that Jake has beaten her up the night before at the party when he was drunk; Mave shows empathy for what happened to Beth. Additionally she gives her advice on how to avoid such situations in the future. Then Beth tells her about the problems of her son Boog. Mave tries to set her at ease. The two Maori women also talk about memories by which the common ground is emphasised. The extract below illustrates these assertions:

Mave:
that boy's got to learn to stand on his own two feet
you're going to have to take a chain saw to those apron strings, girl↑

Beth:
he's not strong
like the others, Mave↑

Mave:
ah, shit. I remember when he was a wee fella
couldn't tear him off you↑
he'll be all right↑
it's Nig I'd worry about↑

Beth:
it doesn't seem like that long ago that Nig was a baby

All these different parts of the dialogue support the results of the studies, namely that among Maori people and women (whether Maori or Pakeha) group solidarity is highly valued. This example even combines both of these groups.

The High Rising Terminal occurs particularly often when narratives are being told (stories, memories etc.). Mave's advice also shows her engagement in the conversation. Solidarity is an elementary point in this conversation and relationship between the two women.

The next dialogue to be analysed (cf. Appendix iii) also contains numerous cases of HRT, but this time it concerns a talk between two teenager friends, Grace and Toot. Young Maori people are the ones who use the HRT the most often in New Zealand. This extract backs

previous studies to some extent, but the investigated linguistic feature cannot be found as often as in the previous dialogue. The general amount of speech as well as the usage of HRT are similar for both characters. As regards content, Grace wants to inform Toot that Boog has been sent to reformatory, however, he has heard about it already:

Grace:
did you hear? Boog got sent away↑

Toot:
yeah, I heard. boys' home↑ right?

In both utterances the HRT appears while the former is giving news and the latter adds some information to the same topic and creates a basis of common knowledge.

Then the conversation about the reformatory and Boog is being continued and deepened. Finally, Grace states that Toot is her only friend. This last part of the dialogue demonstrates the close connection between the two characters. For this reason the script writer and/or the actors themselves might have decided about applying the HRT here.

The final sequence chosen is a phone call. The Heke family actually wanted to visit Boog at the reformatory, but in the end Jake prefers drinking with his mates and the trip is cancelled. Beth calls her son, who is angry at her and the entire family, to explain everything. As she feels embarrassed, she lies to Boog and gives him a completely different explanation. She ends every statement with the HRT, as she aims to establish solidarity and harmony. She tells Boog a narrative. (cf. Appendix iv)

Although the first of the selected scenes from *Once Were Warriors* shows far less High Rising Terminal than one would expect in a narrative, the feature is far more prominent in the other scenes to be investigated. Establishing and maintaining solidarity plays an important role in these passages. Middle-aged Maori speak with more HRT than do the teenagers in the film (10.65% vs. 5.68%). Although in general young female Maori are the leaders in using the rising intonation, the results of OWW are to the contrary: Jake, the middle-aged Maori man, uses most of the HRT (12.5%), while Grace, a representative of the young Maori women, has the lowest percentage among the investigated characters (4.9%).

5.3.1.2 The HRT in *Whale Rider*

The first part to be analysed is the introduction to the film (cf. Appendix iv). The main character, the little girl Paikea, informs the audience about the Maori tale of the whale rider and her connection to it. Again, as in the story Grace tells her siblings in *OWW*, there is not much HRT, although a narrative is being told. In Paikea's monologue 4.7% of the words contain HRT, while in Grace's story it is 3.9% only.

Scene number two is a casual conversation among four females (cf. Appendix iv-v). Flower and her two friends (as their names are not mentioned, F1 and F2 were used to refer to them) are secretly smoking while playing cards. Pai comes home and tells them about the school concert she is performing at and that her father, Porourangi, who lives in Europe now, is visiting his family. In the whole passage there are only a few utterances without HRT (e.g. questions, demands, one-word-statements). Pai, the young Maori girl, speaks with 12.1% HRT, whereas the elderly Maori ladies use less: F1's score is 8.3% and Flower's 5.9%. Surprisingly F2, who apparently is of Pakeha descent, is the leader in using the HRT in this conversation (15.4%). As she is surrounded by mostly Maori people, she might be a representative of a Pakeha who speaks Maori English (especially when with Maori people). Unfortunately F2 only appears in this scene, consequently her speech cannot be analysed more in detail. The high concentration of HRT (average 10.4%) might have emerged due to the relaxed atmosphere, the topic and the gender of the participants of the talk.

The next dialogue is between Koro and his son Porourangi (cf. Appendix v-vi). He tells his father about his time in Europe always using the HRT to establish solidarity and kinship (14%):

Porourangi:
been away↑ didn't you get any of my postcards?
[...]
france, probably↑
I've been spending a bit of time in germany, too↑
[...]
yeah yeah, it's been good↑
you know, I got a gallery interested↑
had some good shows↑
how about you?

The relationship to his father has suffered a lot, as the latter always regarded him as the new leader of the Maori tribe. But Porourangi himself preferred becoming an artist instead. The old Maori man Koro speaks with a little HRT only, namely 2.2%.

In the fourth sequence, the Maori boy Hemi and Pai are talking to each other. While in the previous example Pai had a high score of HRT, here it is much lower. Apart from some questions she asks Hemi, there are also some (mostly short) statements. However, only two of them contain HRT (8%) while her conversational partner continuously speaks with the rising intonation (11.1%). As Pai's score of HRT was high in the second chosen scene (12.1%), the emergence of HRT could depend on the situation. She is just giving short answers or statements while Hemi's quantity of words is much higher (72 vs. 25). She does not seem to be in the mood for talking, while Hemi is very active though. (cf. Appendix vi-vii)

The last chosen dialogue (cf. Appendix vii-viii) takes place between Flower and her granddaughter Pai who is sad about being excluded from the Maori school because of her sex. Flower tries to cheer her up and advises her to ask her uncle Rawiri for help. She wants Pai to feel better; therefore she builds up solidarity and shows empathy. The High Rising Terminal is used by both the characters, but the quantity of Pai's talking is very little in comparison to her grandmother's: Flower's speech includes 146 words and 10 times HRT, while Pai only utters 16 words and the HRT occurs only once. Nonetheless, the percentages of the feature are similar (6.8% for Flower and 6.3% for Pai).

Age seems to be a crucial factor influencing HRT, as Koro hardly speaks with rising intonation whereas Hemi or Porourangi do to a high extent. Gender also affects the results (male Maori use more HRT than females except for the elderly Maori women). Looking more closely at the main character, Pai, it becomes obvious that the HRT also varies according to the situation, that is according to whether establishing solidarity of importance in the conversation or not.

5.3.1.3. Comparison of Both Films

The HRT can be found at similar levels in both films: In *Once Were Warriors* the rising intonation occurs at 8.4%, whereas the figure is 7.7% for *WR*. While in *OWW* the socioeconomic level might be a central factor for the occurrence of the feature, in *WR* the close connection to the Maori culture might have a crucial influence on it. Of course, the selection of the scenes might have influenced or even distorted the results. Furthermore, the factors age and gender cannot be omitted from the evaluation of the HRT, as the table demonstrates:

	<i>OWW</i>	<i>WR</i>
elderly	- - -	6.1% total 10.0% female 2.2% male
middle-aged	10.7% total 9.7% female 12.5% male	- - 12.1% male
teens	5.7% total 4.9%female 6.5%male	9.5% total 7.8% female 11.1% male
average	8.4%	8.6%

Table 5: Distribution of the HRT with respect to age and gender.

OWW lacks elderly characters; therefore, this age group cannot be compared. In *WR* elderly women, whether of Maori or Pakeha descent, use much more HRT than men of the same age group. F2, the elderly Pakeha woman, has the highest of all HRT-scores in *WR* (cf. second dialogue). This result might be coincidental only, as F2's utterances are a few only.

Concerning the middle-aged Maori comparison can also be conducted to a certain extent only. In both films the percentages for the middle-aged Maori men are more than 12%. The figure for female Maori (in *OWW*) of the respective age group is lower. But the proportions of the middle-aged Maori are the highest in both films. As regards the young Maori, again the males speak with a higher number of HRT than the females. Focusing on the young female Maori, the percentages differ enormously: Grace's HRT in *OWW* is 4.9% only, whereas Pai's score is 7.8%.

These results are somewhat surprising, as in many previous studies Maori women or girls showed the highest proportion of HRT. Nevertheless in the fictional discourse analysed in this paper the male middle-aged Maori are the leaders, followed by male teenagers.

5.3.2 Maori Lexis

As stated by Stubbe/Holmes (2000: 255), “[l]exico-semantic borrowing from Maori has the potential to serve as as strongly marked strategy for signalling in-group Maori identity. Conversely, its absence may indicate an identification with Pakeha norms”. In both films Maori vocabulary is present: 14 different words occur in *OWW* and 18 in *WR*. As the number

of word tokens between the films differs extremely, they were converted into percentages: 0.47% in *OWW* and 1.5% in *WR*.⁴¹

5.3.2.1 Maori Lexis in *Once Were Warriors*

As mentioned above, the setting of *OWW* is the largest New Zealand city, Auckland. The Maori traditions are harder to maintain in a Pakeha-dominated surrounding. This is also reflected in the speech of the different characters.

The Maori lexemes *kai moana*, *mana* and *tangi* stand alone, while all the others are clustered with others in several scenes. In two different sequences Grace tells her story about the water spirit by using *Taniwha* and *Reihi*, which both refer to the same object. Boog is taught in Maori culture at the reformatory (*haka*, *taiaha*). Then Beth tells her family a story about her past at the Maori tribe. She switches from English to Maori by applying the words *tukutuku*, *urupā* and *wharenuī*:

Beth:
 that's where I was brought up, kids [...]
 that's the *wharenuī*. it was a lot different when I was a girl.
 it was always impressive.[...]
 oh, and inside are photos of the old people and the *tukutuku* panels.[...]
 see over there to the right? that's the *urupa*...the family cemetery.

In the scene with Nig and his Maori gang the words *kati* and *tīmata* are expressed and so are *puhi* and *marae* at Grace's traditional funeral. *Marae* and *Taniwha* also occur alone in subsequent dialogues.

	meaning	Jake	Beth	Grace	Teacher at refor- matory	others	total
Taniwha	Water spirit			4		3	7
Reihi	Name of Taniwha			6			6
taiaha	wooden weapon				3	1	4

⁴¹ Compared to the total number of tokens which corresponds to 100%.

marae	courtyard at Maori meeting house	1	2				3
haka	ceremonial Maori dance				1		1
kati	Stop!					1	1
kai moana	sea food					1	1
mana	spirit		1				1
puhi	woman of high rank		1				1
tangi	funeral, mourning					1	1
timata	to begin					1	1
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work (carvings)		1				1
urupa	cemetery		1				1
wharenui	meeting house at marae		1				1
TOTAL		1	7	10	4	8	30

Table 6: Maori Lexis in *OWW*.

Beth is the character in whose speech most of the Maori words occur. Additionally, she also uses particular vocabulary she learned due her Maori education. Jake's only token is *marae*, a common Maori word in New Zealand, as his character only identifies a little with the Maori culture. Almost all tokens of *Taniwha* and *Reihi* appear in Grace's speech.

Particularly in scenes about the Maori culture Maori lexis is being used. When there are no suitable equivalents in English, the characters make use of code switching which also emphasises their Maori education and ethnic identity. The middle-aged Maori woman Beth and the elderly Maori teacher of the reformatory use most of the Maori lexis present in *OWW*. Concerning the young Maori, hardly any Maori vocabulary is to be found (apart from the first scene in which Grace tells her Taniwha-story).

5.3.2.2 Maori Lexis in *Whale Rider*

Although the total number of tokens in *WR* is much lower than in the previously analysed film, the amount of Maori lexis is much higher. The reason lies in the different plot. *Whale*

Rider is set in rural Whangara on the East Cape of NZ and features a high number of fluent speakers of the Maori language.

	meaning	Koro	Pai	Flower	Hemi	Porou-rangi	Rawiri	others	total
koro	grandfather, elderly man		9		2	5	1		17
Paikea	whale rider, name	3	6			2		3	14
Paka	name		10	2			1	1	14
Kia ora	Hello!	1		1		1	1	2	6
taiaha	wooden weapon	2		1			1		4
Hawaiki	ancient homeland of Maori people	1	1						2
marae	courtyard at Maori meeting house	1				1			2
waka	canoe	1	1						2
ae	yes		2						2
ihi	power	1							1
Maori	Maori		1						1
moko	grandchild			1					1
Muriwai	name of a Maori ancestor			1					1
reiputa	whale-tooth necklace		1						1
tapu	restriction	1							1
timata	to begin	1							1
utu	revenge	1							1
wehi	fear	1							1
TOTAL		14	31	6	2	9	4	6	72

Table 7: Maori lexis in *WR*.

Koro is never used as direct form of address, but when somebody else talks about him. It occurs throughout the entire film. The name *Paikea* appears in two different contexts (seven times each): On the one hand it denotes the Maori ancestor who rode on a whale to New Zealand, on the other hand the Maori girl Pai(kea), who was named after him, is being referred to as well. The conditions for the noun *Paka* are similar: Nine times it addresses Koro directly and six times it is uttered when somebody else talks about him. The greeting *kia ora* is clustered in scenes in the first third of the film where people are introduced, so is *taiaha* in

the middle of the film. *Hawaiki* is uttered by Koro at the beginning and a second time by Pai at the end. In both sequences the story of the Maori ancestors is told, thus, the content is similar. Numerous Maori words are clustered in the last third of the film (*ihi, utu, tapu, marae, moko* etc.), but nonetheless Maori lexis is evenly distributed in the whole film.

In the speech of the two main characters Koro and Pai most of the Maori lexis can be found, although in Pai's speech the majority consists of addressing forms while Koro's vocabulary is more specific, thus more connected to the Maori culture. The supporting characters use fewer and more generally known Maori terms like *Kia ora*.

5.3.2.3 Comparison of Both Films

Whale Rider (*WR*) is definitely more connected to the Maori culture than *Once Were Warriors*. The two films differ to a great extent regarding plot and setting, consequently they also differ in the linguistic perspective. *WR* contains more than twice as much Maori lexis than *OWW*: 0.45% vs. 0.21%. Furthermore almost all the characters in *WR* make use of Maori lexis, while in *OWW* some characters (e.g. Boog, Nig or Mave) do not use any at all. In terms of age and gender in both films in the speech of the elderly Maori men (Koro in *WR* and the teacher at the reformatory in *OWW*) much of the specific Maori lexis occurs. Additionally in *OWW* the middle-aged woman (Beth) also uses Maori vocabulary to a high extent. To sum up, in how far in someone's speech Maori lexis can be found depends on his familiarity with the indigenous culture and language.

5.3.3 The Discourse Particle *eh*⁴²

The discourse particle can be found in both films: In *OWW* *eh* occurs 25 times, while in *WR* there are only 12 occurrences. As the total numbers of words in the two scripts differ extremely, they were converted into percentages 0.38% vs. 0.30%. Moreover, in both films the *eh*-particle is located around the 60th or 70th rank respectively with regard to all tokens of the films.

⁴² The discourse particle *eh* was regarded as multifunctional, i.e. in one utterance several of its functions, i.e. confirmation, empathy and attention, can be implied.

<i>eh</i> -particle	<i>OWW</i>	<i>WR</i>
total number	25	12
rank	59	70
percentage	0.38	0.30

Table 8: Comparison of the frequency of *eh*.

An overview of the sentences containing the *eh*-particle can be found in the Appendix (cf. pages ix-xi).

5.3.3.1 The Discourse Particle *eh* in *Once Were Warriors*

The conversations which include the discourse particle *eh* take place between people who are either relatives or friends. *Eh* functions as marker of confirmation in 21 of the 26 cases, in eight of these the purpose is demonstrating empathy and three times only the listener's attention is the focus. The multifunctionality will be demonstrated with the help of an example from the Appendix (cf. page ix): The ninth sentence⁴³ was taken from a conversation between the two female friends Mave and Beth. As Beth was beaten up by her husband she does not feel well and could not accompany her son Boog to court. Mave expresses empathy and confirmation at the same time:

Mave:
didn't get to court then *eh*

Beth:
like this?
do more harm than good

The two diagrams above show the distribution of *eh* concerning age and gender of speaker and addressee.

⁴³ This example can also be found on the DVD in the third HRT-scene.

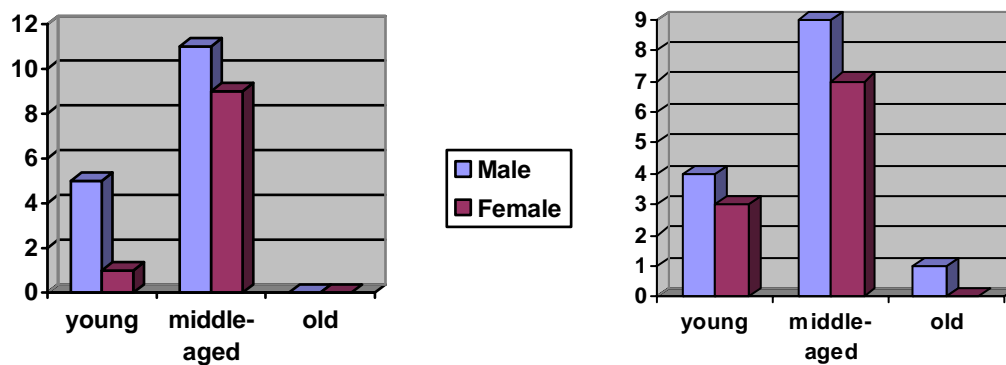


Figure 6: Speakers (left) and addressees (right) of *eh* in *OWW*.

The middle-aged Maori men (especially the main character Jake) form the leaders in the categories speaker and addressee. They are followed by the middle-aged Maori women with Beth being the leader. Grace, the young Maori female, is bottom of the table (apart from an elderly Maori relative who is spoken to one time). Grace uses *eh* once only and is addressed with it three times. In summary, conversations between middle-aged Maori contain the highest number of the discourse particle.

5.3.3.2 The Discourse Particle *eh* in *Whale Rider*

For the most part *Whale Rider* deals with characters in personal close relationships to each other, thus the sequences containing the discourse particle *eh* also take place between people who are either friends or related to each other. The different uses of *eh* were as follows: 11 times the discourse particle demonstrated confirmation, 4 times it showed empathy and once only the listener's attention was the purpose of *eh*. The extracts from a dialogue (cf. Appendix x-xi) below illustrate its uses in *Whale Rider*. Porourangi and his daughter Pai converse about Koro and his desperate search for a new Maori chief. Whenever Porourangi uses *eh*, he expresses empathy and confirmation simultaneously:

Porourangi:
 you all right? gotta watch that koro sometimes
 big mouth of his gets away on him, *eh*

Pai:
 he didn't mean it...about me
 [...]

Porourangi:

well, somebody who's gonna lead our people outta the darkness
and who'll make everything all right again. only problem is
you can't just decide who those people are just because you want them to
be, *eh*

Pai:
like my brother?
[...]

Pai:
is that why he's so hard on you?

Porourangi:
yep. pretty much. because I can't be what he wants, *eh*

Pai:
me neither

As the two diagrams below and the above-mentioned extract reveal, the speakers whose utterances contained *eh* are mostly middle-aged Maori men (especially the character Porourangi who used it four times), followed by the young Maori male. Koro, the representative of the elderly, does not use *eh* at all. Regarding the Maori women it can be said that elderly and middle-aged women used it two times each, while in the Maori girl's speech it did not occur at all.

The characters addressed by the above-mentioned speakers are mostly the young female Maori, i.e. Pai, who is spoken to eight times with the discourse particle *eh*. In most cases Maori men address them with the help of *eh*. As there is a lack of middle-aged Maori women in the film apart from the character of Rawiri's girlfriend, the results might be distorted.

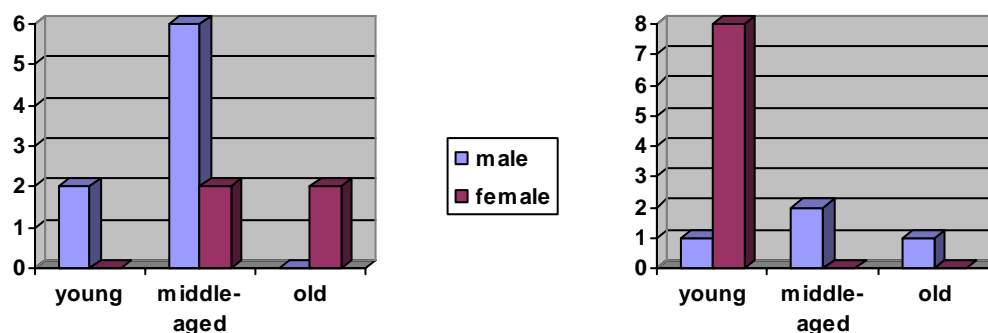


Figure 7: Speakers (left) and addressees (right) of *eh* in *WR*.

5.3.3.3 Comparison of Both Films

As already explained above, the functions of *eh* are divided into three categories: empathy, confirmation and the listener's attention. In both films, the results are similar. 65.6% of all the particles in *OWW* and 68.7% in *WR* meant confirmation of a previous statement. The factors empathy (25% vs. 25%) and the listener's attention (9.4% vs. 6.3%) had much lower scores.

According to the comparison of gender in both films the percentages of the speakers differ to a very small extent only. Male speakers use more *eh* than women. But the percentages of the addressees are crossed: In *OWW* the first rank is occupied by male addressees, but in *WR* by the females.

	<i>OWW</i>	<i>WR</i>
male speaker	61.5%	66.6%
female speaker	38.5%	33.3%
male addressee	58.3%	33.3%
female addressee	41.7%	66.6%

Table 9: Distribution of *eh* in both films in terms of gender.

For the factor age the results are as follows:

	<i>OWW</i>	<i>WR</i>
young speaker	23.1%	16.6%
middle-aged speaker	76.9%	66.6%
old speaker	-	16.6%
young addressee	34.6%	75%
middle-aged addressee	61.5%	16.6%
old addressee	3.9%	8.3%

Table 10: Distribution of *eh* in both films in terms of age.

In both films the young speakers use the discourse particle to a similar extent and the middle-aged speakers are the leadoffs. Elderly people make the least use of *eh* and are addressed least as well. The other classifications of the addressees, i.e. young and middle-aged Maori, do not have much in common. They are crossed as can be seen in the gender-

related table. While in *OWW* again the middle-aged Maori have the highest percentage, in *WR* the young people is mostly spoken to with *eh*. Probably thanks to the different composition of characters in *WR* the percentage of the elderly characters is higher. One should bear in mind that the results could differ from the current ones, if there were more elderly representatives in *OWW*.

Summarising, the two films show similarities in terms of the distribution of the discourse particle *eh* of speakers, but not in terms of the addressees. *Eh* seems to be a marker of the speech of the young and middle-aged Maori people.

5.4 Final Evaluation of Results

In this paper *Once Were Warriors* and *Whale Rider* as two examples of fictional discourse have been analysed regarding three different features, namely the High Rising Terminal, Maori lexis and the discourse particle *eh*. In all the three linguistic fields, i.e. phonology, lexis and pragmatics, results have shown numerous similarities between the two films.

The rising intonation is mostly used in the speech of middle-aged men and male teenagers. Additionally in *WR* an elderly Pakeha woman has the highest percentage of the HRT. This could be seen as an indicator that not only Maori themselves speak Maori English, but also those people who have close ties to Maori people.

Maori lexis occurs mostly in the speech of those who are fluent speakers of Te Reo Maori: In *OWW* the middle-aged Maori woman, Beth, who was raised in a traditional Maori way, includes a high number of specific Maori words in her utterances although the film is set in a large city. In the film *WR* The frequency of occurrence is highest in the speech of the elderly Maori man, Koro, who is also chief of a Maori tribe.

The discourse particle *eh* is most frequent in conversations between middle-aged Maori men in *OWW*, whereas in *WR* the speakers are mostly middle-aged men addressing young female Maori. Nonetheless these general results might have emerged due to the plot and the composition of the characters of these two films. Furthermore *OWW* lacks elderly characters, while in the other film middle-aged women appear very rarely. However, in both films the distribution of the different usages of *eh*, i.e. confirmation, empathy and attention, is similar. In the majority of occurrences of the discourse particle *eh* is applied to support or even evoke

confirmation, while showing empathy or reassuring oneself of the listener's attention are less salient functions of *eh* here.

Although many of the linguistic features discussed above usually are markers of youth, the analysis of *Once Were Warriors* and *Whale Rider* shows different results. Features of Maori English like *eh* or the HRT occur the most in the speech of middle-aged Maori men. The frequency of Maori lexis depends on the knowledge of and the connection to the Maori culture. In *Whale Rider* the elderly Maori man uses most of it, while in *Once Were Warriors* the middle-aged woman is the leader. Therefore, in this respect no clear assertion can be made.

“Even when a complete conversation in an ethnic language is not possible, people may use short phrases, verbal fillers or linguistic tags, which signal ethnicity” (Holmes 2001: 175). Therefore the characters (especially in *OWW*) unfamiliar with the Maori language or culture have the possibility to demonstrate their ethnic belonging with the help of the HRT or the discourse particle *eh*.

6. Conclusion

When the European colonists settled New Zealand a few centuries ago, the indigenous culture and language were gradually pushed back. The majority of the Maori turned from monolingual speakers of Maori to English native speakers. Nonetheless Maori left some traces in the newly developing English variety, e.g. in the vocabulary. Due to the new environment Maori terms for plants or animals were taken over into New Zealand English.

Maori language and culture were constantly in decline until the 1970s, when its revival started. New Zealanders and particularly the Maori have developed an awareness and thus deep connection to their roots. Much effort has been made to protect Te Reo Maori and the Polynesian culture from its extinction. Today particularly the Maori highly value their culture. This is also reflected in the language: In the last decades a new variety has come into being: Maori English. Even those who do not speak any Maori at all can signal their Maori identity with the help of this variety. Nonetheless Te Reo Maori has had an indirect influence on it. What distinguishes ME from general NZE is often the frequency of occurrence of linguistic features. Changes have only taken place on a surface level so far, i.e. lexicology, phonology. The effects on syntax have to date been minimal. The Polynesian culture has influenced the discourse strategies used in ME, as establishing and maintaining solidarity is of more

importance than e.g. in the European cultures. Classical features of Maori English are the discourse particle *eh*, a distinct pronunciation of vowels and a higher density of Maori lexis in the speech.

The study undertaken in this paper has shown that Maori English definitely occurs in the films *Whale Rider* and *Once Were Warriors*. Three features, namely the High Rising Terminal, the presence of Maori vocabulary and the discourse particle *eh* were analysed. This could be seen to indicate that the creators of the two films and/or the actors themselves might have put special emphasis on authentic language use.

Summarising, the existence of Maori English cannot be denied. It is not only spoken by people of Maori descent, but also by those who identify with the culture or who are surrounded by speakers of ME. It has been only a few years since researchers started to investigate this young variety of English which probably was not taken seriously until then due to the numerous similarities with general New Zealand English. As Maglagan (2008: 23) states now Maori English is the “fastest growing variety in New Zealand”. Moreover, “[i]t is likely that the lively Maori subculture in New Zealand will mean the eventual genesis of an even more distinctive Maori English” (Burrige/Mulder 1998: 12). Bauer (1994: 417) points out that features of ME might become characteristics of NZE in the future, however the type of these features is still unknown and therefore, further research needs to be done.

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APPENDIX

1) Dialogues with High Rising Terminal

1a) High Rising Terminal in *Once Were Warriors*

Number of Scene	Description of Scene	Dialogue
1	Grace (G) tells her siblings the story of the Taniwha	Reihi was a Taniwha she lived at the bottom of a huge lake she spent most of her time↑ taking care of a greenstone wall the wall stopped the water from flooding over the people↑ who lived by Reihi's lake↑ once a month, the people would bring a huge piece of greenstone to help Reihi keep the wall strong then the children would run and laugh as they collected all the fish Reihi had left for them
2	Jake (J) and Beth (B) talking about Jake's dismissal	J: well, don't look like that↑ it's not the end of the world B: what about our house? J: we got a house↑ and the government ain't gonna kick us out↑ the rent's cheap↑ B: I want us to have our own home↑ Jake damn you↑ we can't make bloody ends meet as it is↑ J: forget the bloody house↑ let's talk about the bedroom
3	Mave (M) and Beth speaking about different	M: gee, girl, you started without me↑

issues

jeez, woman↑ is that the result of one hell of an
orgasm or what?
what the hell happened?

B:
same old story
never learn to keep my mouth shut
help yourself to a beer↑

M:
ah, what the hell
surprised there's any left↑
well, you know the rules, girl↑
keep your mouth shut and your legs open↑
didn't get to court, then, eh?

B:
like this?
do more harm than good↑
welfare came round this morning↑
promised Boog I'd be there for him

M:
that boy's got to learn to stand on his own two feet
you're going to have to take a chain saw to those
apron strings, girl↑

B:
he's not strong
like the others, Mave↑

M:
ah, shit. I remember when he was a wee fella
couldn't tear him off you↑
he'll be all right↑
it's Nig I'd worry about↑

B:
it doesn't seem like that long ago that Nig was a
baby

M:
well, he's not a baby anymore
that's for sure↑

B:
jeez, you should have seen Jake↑ Mave↑
boasting about his baby boy
till Nig started crying at night↑
that's about when those two parted company

4 Grace and Toot (T) talking about Boog

M:
ain't that the truth?
bloody men↑

B:
jeez, he was a beautiful baby↑ Mave↑

M:
oh, enough bloody talk↑ girl↑

G:
did you hear?
Boog got sent away↑

T:
yeah, I heard
boys' home↑ right?
you want a puff?

G:
nah
well, yeah
why not?
he's going to be ok, though↑
and you know why?
because mum said we can visit↑
you know, as a family
isn't that choice?

T:
yeah yeah
choice

G:
what do you think it'll be like?

T:
what? the boys' home?
got to be better than this car↑
you gonna hold on to that till it goes out?

G:
oh. sorry
you're the only one I can talk to↑
you know that, Toot?

5 Beth calls Boog to apologise

T:
yeow, G.
best mates...forever
Boogie? son?
we were on our way↑

we rented a car for the trip↑
 we had a bit of an accident, son
 oh, well, you know what your father's like
 when he gets behind the wheel↑
 had a picnic lunch all prepared↑
 stayed up all last night↑
 I got in just what you like↑
 it was just a stupid accident

1b) High Rising Terminal in *Whale Rider*

Number of Scene	Description of Scene	Dialogue
1	Pai (P) tells the audience the story about the whale rider (monologue at the beginning of the film)	in the old days↑ the land felt a great emptiness it was waiting waiting to be filled up↑ waiting for someone to love it waiting for a leader and he came on the back of a whale↑ a man to lead a new people our ancestor, Paikea but now we were waiting for the firstborn of the new generation for the descendant of the whale rider for the boy who would be chief there was no gladness when i was born my twin brother died and took our mother with him everyone was waiting for the firstborn boy to lead us↑ but he died↑ and I didn't
2	Pai comes home early, Flower (N) is playing cards with her two friends (F1 and F2)	F1: they were quick must have let them off early or something↑ P: you've been smoking↑ F1: says you↑

P:
maori women have got to stop smoking↑
we've got to protect our childbearing properties
youse coming to the concert?

F1:
might

N:
bet she's got her best gears all laid out on the bed↑

P:
my dad's coming↑

F2:
nay? better get my flash dress out then↑

F1:
how long's he staying this time?
five minutes?

P:
longer than that↑

F1:
that's good 'cause I blinked and missed him last
time↑

N:
what time's the concert, bub?

P:
7:30. and don't be late

F2:
gee, she's bossy that one↑

F1:
and you'd have to be smoking in a pretty funny
place to wreck your childbearing properties↑

3 Porourangi (Po) and Koro
 (K)

K:
been a while this time, son↑

Po:
been away↑
didn't you get any of my postcards?

K:
your mother put something on the fridge

I don't know what it was. a bridge or something

Po:
france, probably↑
I've been spending a bit of time in germany, too↑

K:
like you there, do they?

Po:
some of them do↑

K:
so, you've been busy, then?

Po:
yeah yeah, it's been good↑
you know, I got a gallery interested↑
had some good shows↑
how about you?

K:
we've been all right

Po:
it's good to see you, dad

4 Hemi (H) and Pai meeting
in front of the school

H:
how come you didn't go with your dad?

P:
I did↑

H:
hmm. for one day↑
I would have gone↑
when my dad gets out, I'm gonna go with him↑

P:
where?

H:
wherever. get outta this dump↑

P:
Koro's gonna be pissed off when he sees you
smoking

H:
no, he won't, 'cause he's not coming↑

P:
is so↑

H:
no, he's getting the school ready↑

P:
what school?

H:
for us fellas, to teach us the old ways and that
probably gonna be stink
you can come on the bus if you want↑

P:
I'm waiting for koro

H:
but he's not coming↑

P:
I said I'm waiting

N:
you forgot something↑
hey, it's not too bad up here↑
he's got a lot of rules he has to live by

P:
it's not fair↑

N:
I know
but sometimes you've just got to let him think that
he's the boss

P:
he is the boss

N:
hmph. not of me↑
I let him think he is, though

P:
what's wrong with me, nanny?

N:
nothing's wrong with you↑
you hear me?
you got the blood of muriwai in your veins, girl
think she'd be proud of you saying things like that?
anyway, that old paka's not the only one who

knows some tricks↑

P:
eh?

N:
well, you wouldn't know it now
but before he got fat and ugly↑
your uncle rawiri was a bit of a hotshot with the
taiaha↑

P:
true?

N:
won a trophy and everything↑
oh, you should have seen him
he was beautiful

P:
what happened?

N:
I don't know
he was the second son
but he knows some things your uncle rawiri↑
don't you worry about that↑

2) The Discourse Particle *eh*

2a) Discourse Particle *eh* in *Once Were Warriors*

number	speaker	utterance	addressee
1	Dooley	laid off twice in one day eh bro	Jake
2	Boog	you won't forget eh mum	Beth
3	Beth	dooley eh	Mave
4	Jake	hey cook us some eggs eh beth	Beth
5	Beth	grace can go with you eh	Boog
6	street gang member	nig heke eh	Nig
7	street gang member	must be your flashy smile eh	Nig
8	Grace	it can't be that bad eh	Boog
9	Mave	didn't get to court then eh	Beth
10	Jake	you know your fucking problem eh woman	Beth
11	Dooley	must be your shout eh bro	Jake
12	Jake	barman six milkshakes eh	Barman
13	Jake	whoa this is the life eh kids	his kids
14	Jake	we may as well take a drive eh kids	his kids
15	Beth	[to kids: you never met my grandmother] eh jake	Jake
16	Beth	so give him a chance eh	Grace
17	Jake	who the fuck do you think you are eh	Beth
18	Beth	it's got nothing to do with you eh jake heke	Jake
19	Jake	I told you about this thing eh	Grace
20	Jake	am I that much of a bastard eh	his mates
21	Beth	I'll try and tell you a story eh gracie	Grace
22	Huata	don't forget your hat eh uncle	Maori relative
23	Huata	[Beth to Boog: you made me really proud today son] me too, eh, mum?	Boog and Beth
24	Jake	[Dooley: then all the hell broke loose] old jimmy, eh	Dooley
25	Beth	women and children eh	Bully
26	Beth	that's always your answer eh jake	Jake

2b) Discourse Particle *eh* in *Whale Rider*

number	speaker	utterance	addressee
1	Flower	come on mate let these important guys have their talk <i>eh</i>	Pai
2	Porourangi	[Koro: I know who you're meant to be who you were born to be] oh yeah right but I failed ya <i>eh</i> dad?	Koro
3	Porourangi	gotta watch that koro sometimes big mouth of his gets away on him <i>eh</i>	Pai
4	Porourangi	the only problem is you can't just decide who those people are just because you want them to be <i>eh</i>	Pai
5	Porourangi	because I can't be what he wants <i>eh</i>	Pai
6	Hemi	koro's cool <i>eh</i>	Pai
7	Hemi	he was all right he was really patient <i>eh</i>	Pai
8	Rawiri	[Rawiri: does koro know about this Pai: no] well let's get it on then <i>eh</i>	Pai
9	Hemi's dad	did all right in there <i>eh</i>	Hemi
10	Rawiri's girlfriend	rawiri reckons you're pretty brainy <i>eh</i>	Pai
11	Rawiri's girlfriend	she's been gone quite a while <i>eh</i>	Rawiri
12	Flower	might be time for us to leave <i>eh</i> dear	Rawiri

2c) Sample of *Whale Rider* containing the Discourse Particle *eh*

Po: you all right? gotta watch that koro sometimes. big mouth of his gets away on him, *eh*

P: he didn't mean it...about me

Po: well...you know, maybe we should think about it

P: think about what?

Po: you coming to live with me for a while. what do ya think?

P: why doesn't he want me?

Po: oh, pai, it's not you. it's not even about you, in a way. koro is just... he's just looking for something that doesn't exist anymore

P: a new leader? they exist

Po: yeah, they do. except I think...it's become even more than that. in his head, your koro, he needs a prophet

P: what's that?

Po: well, somebody who's gonna lead our people outta the darkness and who'll make everything all right again. only problem is, you can't just decide who those people are just because you want them to be, *eh*

P: like my brother?

Po: yeah. your koro made himself believe so strongly that he was gonna be the one

P: but what if he was?

Po: and what if he wasn't? you know, your koro, he did the same thing with me

P: is that why he's so hard on you?

Po: yep. pretty much. because I can't be what he wants, *eh*

P: me neither

Po: you think about it, okay? you know you'd make me really happy, if you'd come and stay with me

P: mmm

Po: just think about it