

Some Thoughts on Demonstrative and Locative *Nā* and the Loss of /ŋ/ in Hawaiian

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‘ŌLELO HŌ‘ULU‘ULU / SUMMARY

‘O ka pahuhopu nui o nei ‘atikala, ‘o ia ka ho‘okolo ‘ana a‘e i ke kumu i nalo loa ai ‘o ‘elua hune pilina‘ōlelo nona ka puana like loa me ke ka‘i helu nui, ‘o ia ‘o *nā*. ‘O kekahi o ia po‘e *nā*, ua like loa ia me *kēnā*, a ‘o kekahi, he hunekaime kauhope a pili loa me *nei* me *ala*. Ma hope aku o kahi wehewehena pōkole e hō‘ike a‘e ana i kekahi mau la‘ana o ia mau *nā* ‘elua ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i mai loko mai o ke kenekulia ‘umikumamāiwa, ‘o ka la‘ana ho‘okahi o *nā* kauhope kekahi o ia mau la‘ana, hāpai mai ka mea kākau i ke kumu no ka nalo ‘ana o *nā* mea ‘elua, ‘o ia ho‘i, ka lilo ‘ana o /ŋ/ (*ng*) ‘o ia ‘o /n/ (*n*). ‘O kekahi hopena o ia loli, ‘o ia ka loa‘a ‘ana o ‘elua ka‘i nona ka puana ho‘okahi, akā, ‘oko‘a ka mana‘o. No ia kumu, ua ha‘alele ‘ia kekahi *nā* (ka mea like loa me *kēnā*) ma ka ‘ōlelo waha, a ua ha‘alele like ‘ia ka hunekaime kauhope.

Ma hope aku o ia wehewehena, hāpai ‘ia ka mana‘o, ‘a‘ole i nalo loa ‘o /ŋ/ ma Hawai‘i nei ma mua o ka MH 1778, a no ia kumu, ua mālama ‘ia ia po‘e *nā* ‘elua ma kekahi mau ‘ōlelokīkē kahiko i pa‘i ‘ia ma *nā* mo‘olelo a ka‘ao ku‘una ma ke kenekulia ‘umikumamāiwa, i loko nō o ko lāua nalo loa ‘ana ma ka ‘ōlelo waha o ia au.

This article argues why two uses of *nā* (preposed demonstrative *nā* [= *kēnā*] and postposed deictic/locative *nā*) have disappeared from Hawaiian. Following a brief discussion of their historical use with a few examples, including the only attested examples of postposed locative *nā* in Hawaiian literature, the author proposes that the reason for their disappearance was the merging of the phonemes /ŋ/ (written as *ng* in Māori and *g* in Samoan) and /n/, so that **ngā* and *nā* both came to be realized as *nā*. Because the preposed demonstrative *nā* frequently occupied the same syntactic space as the plural default determiner, both the demonstrative and the semantically related locative use of postposed *nā* fell out of use.

Lastly, the author attempts to demonstrate that the loss of /ŋ/ is a relatively recent development in Hawaiian, and that it was still heard on Kaua‘i as late as 1778, which is why a few examples of demonstrative and locative *nā* that antedate the final disappearance of /ŋ/ from the spoken language have been preserved in traditional dialogues that were first written down in the nineteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

The Pukui-Elbert (1986, 257) Hawaiian dictionary describes two separate particles written as “*nā*,” and the Elbert-Pukui (1979, 112) grammar refers to a third. The first

and most common is the plural default determiner:¹ *nā keiki* (the children), *nā wāhine* (the women). This article does not examine that *nā* but rather two others, both semantically connected to the *-nā* in the second-person demonstrative *kēnā*, as in *kēnā keiki* (that child [of yours]) and *kēnā hale* (that house [connected to you]).

DEMONSTRATIVE *NĀ*

The second of these three *nā*, a preposed second-person demonstrative—as in *nā i‘a* (that fish [of yours])—is defined in the Pukui-Elbert (1986, 257) dictionary as follows:

4. Demonstrative part. indicating the addressee, sometimes said disrespectfully and translated ‘you’. Cf. *kēnā* and Gram. 8.3.2. *Ē nā keiki lapuwale*, O you worthless children. (PPN naa.)

LOCATIVE *NĀ*

The third *nā* is not recorded in the Pukui-Elbert dictionary for good reason: no examples of it were in the corpus of texts consulted by the authors,² nor was it found in any of the earlier Hawaiian dictionaries. It is the missing second-person postposed locative particle³ from the series *nei*, *nā*,⁴ and *lā/ala*, as in *ua keiki nei* (this [aforementioned] child) and *i o lākou lā* (to/before them [there]). Unlike in other Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages, however, no examples of this *nā* have been previously attested for Hawaiian. The Elbert-Pukui (1979, 112) grammar describes it as “probably obsolete.”

Hawaiian, like other Polynesian languages, has a fixed slot in the postposed periphery of all types of phrases for placing particles that mark the relative distance of the clause’s nucleus in time or space from the speaker and the addressee.⁵ In Māori, for example, these particles are *nei*, *nā*, and *rā*. These locative particles, analogous to the three Māori demonstratives (*tēnei*, *tēnā*, and *tērā*), are placed immediately after the directional particle (if present) and mark the distance in time and/or space as follows:⁶

- *nei* – first person: near in time, space, or concern to the speaker
- *nā* – second person: near in time, space, or concern to the addressee
- *rā* – third person: remote in time, space, or connection from the speaker and the addressee

While all three are common in Māori, Tahitian, Rarotongan, and other Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages, postposed *nā* (second person) has disappeared from modern Hawaiian and has been clearly identified in only one passage in nineteenth-century Hawaiian literature (see the section below entitled “An Ancient Dialogue Containing Both Demonstrative and Locative *Nā*”). This is true not only for the locative particle itself, but also in other words where we might expect to find the same threefold series of distance marking. Māori, for example, can indicate the simple demonstrative by a compound, bimorphemic demonstrative (like Hawaiian *kēia*, *kēnā*, and *kēlā*) or by the default determiner and a post-posed locative particle (also like Hawaiian, but only with *nei* and *lā/ala*).

Table 1. First-, second-, and third-person demonstratives in Māori

Person	Compound with locative marker	Postposed locative marker	Gloss
First	tēnei waka	te waka nei	this canoe (here, of mine, connected to me)
Second	tēnā waka	te waka nā	that canoe (of yours, connected to you)
Third	tērā waka	te waka rā	that canoe (connected neither to you nor me)

Similarly, the same three locative particles are found compounded with other morphemes to indicate all three types of distance marking, as with *ko-* in Māori:

Table 2. Compounded *-nei*, *-nā*, and *-rā* in Māori

Person	Compounded location particle	Gloss
First	konei	here (near me)
Second	konā	there (near you)
Third	korā	there (distant from you and me)

In Hawaiian, however, the second-person analog (*-nā*) has almost entirely disappeared,⁷ not only in the post-directional distance marking slot, but also in compounds. For example, *pe-* can be combined with the first- and third-person distance markers *nei* and *lā* (as in *penei[ā]* and *pēlā*) and even with *-ia* (as in *pēia*), but the expected **pēnā* is unattested,⁸ although it is found in Rarotongan and Tahitian.

Likewise, Hawaiian uses the third-person singular pronoun *ia* followed by *nei* or *lā/ala*, but not by *nā*: *e ia nei* (oh, my dear), *'o ia ala* (he/she [far]), but not *ia nā* (that [aforementioned, of yours]).⁹ The demonstrative *ua* regularly requires a postposed distance marker—as in *ua keiki nei* (this [aforementioned] child) and *ua keiki ala/lā* (that [aforementioned] child)—but no examples of *ua . . . nā* have been noted. We can extend our list for the absence of postposed *nā* by considering compound prepositions with *o*, which regularly require a postposed locative particle, such as *i o'u nei* (to/before me), *i o lākou lā* (to/before them [over there]), but not with *nā*, even within obvious second-person contexts (e.g., *ma ou nei* and *ma ou lā*, but not **ma ou nā*).

THE INTIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE IN HAWAIIAN

Hawaiian, unlike many other Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages, can use first- and second-person locative particles as preposed independent demonstratives, sometimes with a sense of intimacy (*nei/nā*) or contempt (*nā*): *nei[ā] hale* (this house [of mine]), *e nā keiki* (oh, you unpleasant child!). This use of *nā* is, however, so rare, that its pronunciation, whether *nā*, *na*, or variable (depending on the number of morae in the following content word), is no longer known. The Pukui-Elbert dictionary and the

Elbert-Pukui grammar write it as “nā,” but recent reprints from Hale Kuamo‘o at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo write it as “na” (without the macron), as in two examples from the reprint of G. W. Kahiolo’s *He Mo‘olelo no Kama‘ua‘a*: (1) “A make ‘oe e na keiki iā mākou!” (We will kill you, you unpleasant boy!) (Kahiolo 1998, 51; my translation), and (2) “A he aha ho‘i kāu pā e na keiki ho‘opāpā wahahe‘e ‘o ka hele ‘ana mai nei—ē?” (So what is your pā, you unpleasant, dishonest, ho‘opāpā-playing child who has journeyed here?) (Kahiolo 1998, 40; my translation).¹⁰ For reasons that will be discussed later, I propose that it was pronounced as nā and that the identity of pronunciation with the plural default determiner nā was one of the factors that led to the abandonment of both demonstrative and locative nā in Hawaiian.¹¹

Elbert and Pukui (1979, 111–12) cite three examples of demonstrative nā but note that kēnā is equally suitable and more common.

Nā, also, has both favorable and unfavorable connotations, but the latter are more common.

Good connotations:

Aloha i ka ho‘i wale, ē nā pōki‘i ē; nele ē nā pōki‘i i ka ‘āina ‘ole lā (FS 83). ‘Pitiful to return with nothing and landless, O younger brother.’ (In this legend, the younger brother is usually addressed as *ku‘u pōki‘i* ‘my beloved younger brother.’)

Bad connotations:

Ē nā luahine maka piāpia mākole. ‘O you old woman there with encrusted secretions in the eyes, red-eyed one.’ (The reference is to Pele, whose eyes are red from her volcanic fires.)

Ē nā wahi keiki ho‘opunipuni (Nakuina 42). ‘O you little lying kid there.’ (*Ē kēnā wahi keiki ho‘opunipuni* is also acceptable, equally pejorative, and more common.)

AN ANCIENT DIALOGUE CONTAINING BOTH DEMONSTRATIVE AND LOCATIVE NĀ

Before offering some thoughts on why postposed nā disappeared completely and demonstrative nā is rare and found only in older literature, I want to examine the one passage known to me from all of Hawaiian literature that offers several examples of demonstrative nā and, more surprisingly, the only examples of locative nā thus far attested. Both

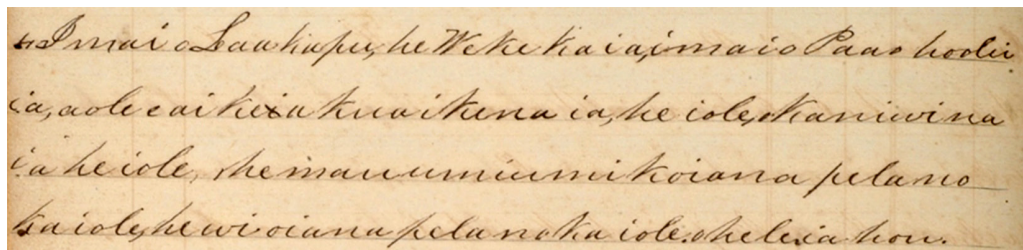


Figure 1. Chapter 49, paragraph 4 (49:4) from Malo’s manuscript of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (Bishop Museum HI.L.18), with examples of both demonstrative and locative nā. See paragraph 4 in the table below for the transcription.

types of *nā* are suited only to dialogue, and so, accordingly, we find all of these in Davida Malo's (forthcoming, 4:8–11¹²) account of a conversation between La'akapu, wife of the *ali'i nui* of Hawai'i Island, and Pā'ao, the ancient *kahuna* reputed to have restored the *kapu* in Hawai'i and to have gone back to Kahiki to bring Pili to rule as *ali'i nui*. The language is clearly archaic and was not original with Malo, who does not use either of these *nā* elsewhere.

La'akapu was childless and begged a child of Pā'ao, who instructed her to bring a fish for the god so that her request might be granted. Here follow the first seven paragraphs from chapter 49¹³ of Malo's text, as edited and translated by Charles Langlas and Jeffrey Lyon in the forthcoming two-volume edition of *The Mo'olelo Hawai'i of Davida Malo*.¹⁴

Table 3. Chapter 49, paragraphs 1–7, of *The Mo'olelo Hawai'i of Davida Malo*

No Kauholanuimāhū

[1.] 'Ō kekahi ali'i, 'o Kahoukapu kona inoa, he wahine kāna, 'o La'akapu ka inoa. He pā 'o La'akapu, 'a'ohē keiki, a makemake nui 'o ia e loa'a kāna keiki.

2. A hele aku 'o ia e nīnau iā Pā'ao, i ke kahuna, 'i aku, "E Pā'ao." 'Ī mai kēlā, "Eia wau." 'Ī mai La'akapu, "Pehea lā e loa'a mai ai ka'u keiki?"

3. 'Ī mai 'o Pā'ao, "E hele 'oe e 'imi [i] i'a na ke akua, i mōhai nāu." Hele 'o La'akapu; a loa'a ka i'a, ho'iho'i mai iā Pā'ao me ka ha'i mai, "Eia ka i'a a ke akua." Nīnau mai 'o Pā'ao, "He aha ka i'a?"

4. 'Ī mai 'o La'akapu, "He weke ka i'a." 'Ī mai 'o Pā'ao, "Ho'olei 'ia. 'A'ole e 'ai ke akua i kēnā i'a. He 'iole. 'Ō Kaniwī nā i'a, he 'iole. He mau 'umi'umi ko ia nā; pēlā nō ka 'iole. He wī 'o ia nā; pēlā nō ka 'iole. O hele [i] i'a hou."

5. Hele hou 'o La'akapu; a loa'a ka i'a, ho'iho'i mai. Nīnau mai 'o Pā'ao, "He aha ka i'a?" 'Ī mai La'akapu, "He moi ka i'a." 'Ī mai 'o Pā'ao, "Ho'olei 'ia; he 'iole. 'Ō Makea nā, he 'iole. Noho ia nā i ka hu'a kai; noho ka 'iole i ka hu'a hale. He 'umi'umi ko [ka] moi; pēlā ka 'iole. E hele hou [i] i'a."

Concerning Kauholanuimāhū

1. An *ali'i* by the name of Kahoukapu had a wife by the name of La'akapu. La'akapu was barren and childless, and she wanted greatly to have a child.

2. When she went to ask Pā'ao, the *kahuna*, she called out, "Oh, Pā'ao," and he responded, "Here I am." La'akapu asked, "However can I have a child?"

3. Pā'ao said, "Go and seek a fish for the god, as your sacrifice to him." La'akapu went off; and when she got a fish, she brought it to Pā'ao, saying, "Here is a fish for the god." Pā'ao asked, "What kind of fish is it?"

4. La'akapu said, "The fish is a *weke*." Pā'ao said to her, "Throw it away. The god will not eat that fish. It is a rat. That fish of yours is Kaniwī, a rat. That one there has whiskers, the same as the rat. It squeals, the same as the rat. Go and get another fish."

5. La'akapu went again; and when she got a fish, she brought it back. Pā'ao asked, "What kind of fish is it?" La'akapu said, "The fish is a *moi*." Pā'ao said, "Throw it away; it is a rat. That fish of yours is Makea, a rat. It lives in the *hu'a kai* [sea foam]; the rat lives in the *hu'a hale* [house thatch]. The *moi* has whiskers, the same as the rat. Go and get another fish."

Table 3. *Continued*

No Kauholanuimāhū

6. Hele hou La‘akapu; a loa‘a mai ka i‘a, nīnau mai ‘o Pā‘ao, “He aha ka i‘a?” “He he‘e.” “Ho‘olei ‘ia; he ‘iole. ‘O Haunawelu nā, he ‘iole. Noho ia nā i ka lua o ke kai; pēlā ka ‘iole i ka lua pōhaku. He mau ‘awe ko ka he‘e; he huelo ko ka ‘iole. E hele hou [i] i‘a.”

7. Hele hou La‘akapu; a loa‘a ka maomao, ‘ī hou mai ‘o Pā‘ao, “‘O Kaiana nā, he ‘iole.” Paupauaho La‘akapu, nīnau mai iā Pā‘ao, “E ha‘i mai ‘oe [i] i‘a.” ‘Ī mai ‘o Pā‘ao, “He pāo‘o ka i‘a maoli, ‘a‘ole he ‘iole.”

Concerning Kauholanuimāhū

6. La‘akapu went again, and when she got a fish, Pā‘ao asked her, “What kind of fish is it?” “A *he‘e* (octopus).” “Throw it away; it is a rat. That fish of yours is Haunawelu, a rat. It lives in holes under the sea, the same as the rat lives in holes in the rock. The *he‘e* has tentacles, the rat has a tail. Go and get another fish.”

7. La‘akapu went again, and when she got a *maomao*, Pā‘ao said again, “That is Kaiana, a rat.” La‘akapu was worn out and said to Pā‘ao, “You tell me the fish.” Pā‘ao said, “The *pāo‘o* is a real fish, not a rat.”

In paragraph 4, Pā‘ao refers to *kēnā i‘a* (that fish of yours), but thereafter uses only *nā* for the second-person demonstrative, three of these as substantives.

- Paragraph 4. ‘O *Kaniwī nā i‘a* (That fish of yours is Kaniwī)
- Paragraph 5. ‘O *Makea nā* (That [one] of yours is Makea)
- Paragraph 6. ‘O *Haunawelu nā* (That [one] of yours is Haunawelu)
- Paragraph 7. ‘O *Kaiana nā* (That [one] of yours is Kaiana)

More surprising are the four examples of the elsewhere unattested postposed locative *nā*, all following *ia* (that one of yours).

- Paragraph 4. *He mau ‘umi‘umi ko ia nā* (That one of yours has whiskers)
- Paragraph 4. *He wī ‘o ia nā* (That one of yours squeals)
- Paragraph 5. *Noho ia nā i ka hu‘a kai* (That one of yours lives in the sea foam)
- Paragraph 6. *Noho ia nā i ka lua o ke kai* (That one of yours lives in holes under the sea)

We should note that this passage is part of an older oral tradition, genealogical lore of *ali‘i nui* that required precise memorization and recitation, even to the point of maintaining obsolete grammatical markers. Malo passes on a number of such stories, but this is the only one that makes use of either demonstrative or locative *nā*.

In the Malo passage, there does not seem to be any semantic distinction between *kēnā* and demonstrative *nā*, which would appear to confirm Elbert and Pukui’s (1979, 112) comment on their example from Moses Nakuina, cited above.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF /ŋ/ IN HAWAIIAN

I suggest that the use of demonstrative *nā* began to diminish as a result of the merging of the phonemes /ŋ/ and /n/ in Hawaiian. Before the disappearance of /ŋ/¹⁵ from Hawai-

ian, the plural default determiner would have been pronounced [ŋɐ:] (like Māori *ngā*), and the intimate second-person demonstrative as [nɐ:] (like *nā* in modern Hawaiian). In other words, **ŋā hale* (the houses) could not be confused with *nā hale* (that house of yours). Both the plural default determiner and the second-person demonstrative came to be pronounced as *nā*, and since both can occupy the same syntactic space, one had to go. Demonstrative *nā* was easily and regularly replaced by *kēnā*, thus eliminating the potential ambiguity.

In Māori and Rarotongan,¹⁶ /ŋ/ and /n/ contrast¹⁷ so that both *ngā* and *nā* remain distinct. Also, neither permit the use of *nā* as a preposed demonstrative. Finally, for Rarotongan, *ngā* is not used as a plural default determiner.

In Tahitian, on the other hand, although Proto-Eastern-Polynesian (PEP) **ŋ* frequently became a glottal stop, the plural definite determiner became *nā*, as in Hawaiian. Tahitian, however, like Māori and Rarotongan, does not employ the first- and second-person locative particles as intimate demonstratives (*nei* and *nā*). So while Hawaiian permits *nei hale* (this house [of mine, connected to me]) and, in old literature, *nā keiki* (you [ill-behaved] child), most sister languages do not; hence there was no similar opportunity for confusion.

In Hawaiian, however, a disturbing ambiguity would have resulted once the demonstrative *nā* became indistinguishable from the plural default determiner. In Malo's example above, *nā i'a* (that fish of yours) became phonetically indistinguishable from *nā i'a* (the fish [plural]). In all of the examples cited above of demonstrative *nā*, listeners (and readers) would require a precise knowledge of the context to determine whether *nā keiki* was a single, misbehaving child or simply a group of children. In some cases, it might not have been possible to know which was meant. The ambiguity disappears when demonstrative *nā* is replaced by *kēnā*, and this appears to be the resolution adopted by Hawaiian speakers following the disappearance of /ŋ/. Even in most older literature, *kēnā* seems to have largely replaced demonstrative *nā*, and examples of the latter are rare.

As demonstrative *nā* fell into disuse, hypercorrection led to abandoning locative *nā*. Demonstrative *nā* could be easily replaced by *kēnā* without significant loss. Locative *nā*, however, its close semantic relative, was also replaced, but, unlike the demonstrative, its role was portioned out to *nei* and *lā/ala*. Hypercorrection (the elimination of second-person *nā*) led speakers to also abandon locative *nā*, with the result that Hawaiian speakers, unlike other speakers of Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages, limited their choice of a locative particle to first-person *nei* and third-person *lā/ala*, even in obvious second-person contexts, such as *i ou nei* (to you [near]) and *i ou lā* (to you [far]) because **i ou nā* was no longer acceptable. This process led to the eventual abandoning of both *nā*, to the degree that the passage from Malo is unparalleled elsewhere in Hawaiian literature. If similar examples are found of locative *nā*, in addition to the examples of demonstrative *nā* already attested, it is likely that they too will come from texts that preserve ancient oral tradition from a time when Hawaiian still retained both /ŋ/ and /n/.¹⁸ The fame or significance of these texts was such that even these archaic elements were preserved into an age when they were no longer part of the living language.

THE LAST VESTIGES OF /ŋ/ IN HAWAIIAN

We do not know when /ŋ/ began to merge with /n/ in Hawaiian, but we might have a fairly good indication of when the process was completed.¹⁹ As mentioned above, many Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages retain /ŋ/, although it has disappeared from Hawaiian, Tahitian, Marquesan, and a few dialects of Māori. In Hawaiian, it merged with /n/, while in Tahitian, it has largely been replaced by the glottal stop and, occasionally, /n/. Marquesan replaces /ŋ/ with both /n/ and /k/, while South Island Māori regularly replaces it with /k/. Thus, the presence of /n/ in Hawaiian can represent an earlier /ŋ/ or /n/, and only by comparing cognates from other Central-Eastern Polynesian languages can we know if a Hawaiian /n/ represents an original /ŋ/ or /n/.

In the tables below, I will use New Zealand Māori and Rarotongan as examples of languages in which /ŋ/ and /n/ are both retained, although these are by no means the only two. I cite Tahitian and Marquesan as languages that have also lost /ŋ/, but in ways sometimes distinct from Hawaiian.

The following eleven words, for example, all had *ŋ in Proto-Central-Eastern-Polynesian (PCEP), and this is usually reflected in modern orthography by ng in Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages that continue to preserve the distinction.²⁰ I have selected these eleven words because each is represented in the first list of Hawaiian words collected by Dr. William Anderson in 1778 (see table 5 below), who served as both surgeon and naturalist (scientific officer) on James Cook's third voyage of discovery, the first documented European voyage to reach Hawai'i.

Table 4. Words from William Anderson's Hawaiian word list that reflect PCEP /ŋ/

PCEP	Rarotongan / Māori	Hawaiian	Tahitian	Marquesan ^a	English gloss
*hōŋi	hongi	honi	ho'i	honi	sniff, kiss
*iŋoa	ingoa	inoa	i'oa	inoa	name
*mataŋi	matangi	makani	mata'i	metani	wind
*maŋō	mangō	manō	ma'o	mako/mono	shark
*moeŋa	moenga	moena	moe'a	moena	mat
*ŋaru	ngaru	nalu	'aru	na'u	wave
*pāpāriŋa	pāpāringa	pāpālina	pāpāri'a	pāpā'ina	cheek
*raŋgi	rangi	lani	ra'i	'ani	sky
*taŋarōa	Tangarōa	Kanaloa	Ta'arōa	Tana'oa	Tangarōa
*taŋata	tangata	kanaka	ta'ata	'enata, 'enana	person, human being
*tahuŋa	tahunga/tohunga	kahuna	tahu'a	tau'a	specialist, expert

a. Some dialects of Marquesan reflect /ŋ/ as /k/ instead of /n/.

The following table shows how Anderson transcribed the Hawaiian form of each of the words from table 4, some with /ŋ/, some with /n/, and some with both, as he heard them in Waimea, Kaua'i, in 1778.²¹ The final column contains Anderson's gloss

and comparative notes, with some additional modernized spellings and translations in square brackets.

Table 5. William Anderson's transcriptions of words in table 4^a

PCEP	Modern Hawaiian	Anderson with ng	Anderson with n	Anderson's gloss ^b
*hoŋi	honi		hone	Ehone [E honi] to salute by applying one nose to the other
*iŋoa	inoa		inoa	Ehogge [E hongi] at New Zealand and Ehoe [E ho'i] at Otaheiti Owytoohainoa ['O wai kou inoa?] What is your name?
*mataŋi	makani		matanee	the wind
*maŋō	manō	mango	mano	1. a shark 2. pappaneeheomano [papa niho manō] a wooden instrument beset with sharks teeth, used to cut up those they kill
*moeŋa	moena	moenga	moena	a mat to sleep on
*ŋaru	nalu		naru	henaroo [he nalu] wave
*pāpāriŋa	pāpālina	papareenga		the cheek
*raŋi	lani		rane	hairanee [he lani] the sky
*taŋarōa	Kanaloa	Tangarōa		the name of the god of the place we were at
*taŋata	kanaka	tangata	tanata	a man
*tahuŋa	kahuna		tahouna	a priest

a. All of Anderson's transcriptions show that he heard /t/ instead of /k/ and /r/ instead of /l/.

b. If Anderson wrote a word in combination with other words, Anderson's transcription is followed by a transcription in modern orthography within square brackets. In cases where Anderson listed a word more than once, once with ng and once with n, whether alone or in combination with other words, both transcriptions and multiple glosses are listed as 1 and 2.

While *Discovery* and *Resolution* lay outside Waimea Bay on Kaua'i, Captain Cook, John Webber (the expedition's artist), and Anderson traveled inland for one mile along the Waimea River to a *heiau* dedicated to Kanaloa,²² where Webber made a detailed sketch of the *heiau*²³ (see figure 2, which has been enhanced by the printer) while Anderson collected about 240 words with explanations and, probably, diacritical marks to assist in their pronunciation (Schütz 1995, 61). Anderson, who composed his scientific reports in Latin (Keevil 1933, 514) and could read French (Keevil, 516), regularly served as Cook's translator. According to David Samwell, his ability in Tahitian exceeded that of all the other members of the expedition (Schütz 1995, 41). He had

assembled the impressive Tahitian vocabulary printed in the second volume of the official account of Cook's first two voyages²⁴ as well as shorter word lists of the languages spoken in many places where Cook stopped.

Anderson had worked out a careful system of symbols to aid readers in pronouncing the words in his vocabulary with more accuracy than we might have expected for the times. He also compiled a 650-word vocabulary for Tongan, a much shorter one for Fijian, and displayed as much interest in linguistic matters as in other branches of science. Albert J. Schütz (1991) has provided a detailed analysis of previous work on Anderson's Hawaiian word list followed by his own comprehensive analysis (1995, 34–38) and, more recently, the complete list with a reconstruction of each entry in modern orthography (Schütz, n.d.). He has also presented convincing evidence that Anderson probably used the same diacritical marks and spelling conventions for his Hawaiian list that he used for his Tahitian vocabulary, but, unfortunately, the journal in which he wrote the original list has been lost, and the editor of the printed edition apparently chose not to include any of the diacritical marks, underlines, and ligatures that were likely present in Anderson's now missing journal.²⁵

Even so, Anderson's list is of great value, especially since he was probably the single most qualified early visitor to Hawai'i to make such a collection before the reduction of Hawaiian to writing in the 1820s, and certainly more so than any of the other compilers of the early Hawaiian word lists described and analyzed by Schütz (1995, 31–52; n.d.). Anderson's list makes it clear that *t*, not *k*, and *r*, not *l*, characterized the Hawaiian he



Figure 2. John Webber's drawing of the *heiau* at Waimea, Kaua'i, where William Anderson collected his list of Hawaiian words.

heard on Kaua'i, and, more pertinent to the discussion here, that /ŋ/ had not yet completely disappeared.

In Anderson's transcription of the eleven words listed in table 2, six are written using only *n*, two with only *ng*, and three with both *n* and *ng*. On the surface, this variation matches what we might expect toward the end of such a phonetic change. While the time required for such a shift can be difficult to gauge in written languages, the challenge for a previously unwritten language is even greater.²⁶ While we can only guess at when /ŋ/ began to merge with /n/ in Hawaiian (sometime after Hawaiian was isolated from its Central-Eastern-Polynesian sister languages),²⁷ Anderson's list, when compared to those collected shortly afterward, would seem to demonstrate that the process was nearly, but not quite, complete at Waimea in 1778.

OTHER EARLY WORD LISTS THAT DO NOT ATTEST /ŋ/

On the other hand, none of the other word lists analyzed by Schütz (n.d.) transcribe any Hawaiian words with *ng*, including Samwell's, taken in Ni'ihau in March of 1779; William Beresford's sometimes bewildering transcriptions, also from Waimea, Kaua'i, in 1787; and Esteban José Martínez's from a probable Ni'ihau or Kaua'i speaker taken prisoner in Nootka Strait in 1789. Each of these include one or more of the words from table 2. How ought we to understand Anderson's *ng* and its complete omission elsewhere?

I see three possible explanations for the words transcribed with *ng* in Anderson's list.

Explanation 1: Anderson's list was influenced by his previous visits to New Zealand and elsewhere in Polynesia, or even by Polynesian speakers who accompanied Cook to Hawai'i, such as Ōmai from New Zealand.²⁸ The *ng* in his transcriptions represents what was heard elsewhere or words as they were repeated to him by speakers of other Polynesian languages.

Analysis: Anderson had visited Tonga, New Zealand, the Cook Islands, and elsewhere in Polynesia, both on the third voyage as well as on Cook's second voyage, so he had almost certainly heard most of the *ng* words in his list pronounced with /ŋ/ elsewhere. Even so, Anderson had spent considerably more time in Tahiti and was reckoned as the most accomplished of all the members of the expedition in that language. In fact, Tahiti was the last stop before coming to Hawai'i. He had, therefore, also heard all the *ng* words on his list in Tahitian where, as his Tahitian vocabulary clearly demonstrates, *ŋ had been replaced by the glottal stop. Also, all the words in table 2 that he transcribed with /n/ were pronounced with /ŋ/ in New Zealand, Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, and elsewhere, but with the glottal stop in Tahiti and probably with either /n/ or /k/ in the Marquesas. They are all common words that he would probably not have heard with /n/ other than in the Marquesas in 1774. We are hard pressed, therefore, to explain any of the /n/ transcriptions of words in table 2 if we accept this explanation. Why are they not all written with *ng*? Why are some of them recorded with both *ng* and *n*?

Schütz's investigations have shown that Anderson, given the limits of phonological knowledge in his day, was a careful and meticulous recorder. He did occasionally hear the Hawaiian *he* as *e* (it is 'e in Rarotongan and elsewhere, but *he* in Māori). Even so, he

usually gets it right (either as *he* or *hai*). Even in this case, it was a matter of not hearing a sound that was present rather than inventing a sound that was not heard.²⁹

Also, there is clear evidence that Anderson was carefully recording what he himself heard and that he had no difficulty distinguishing /ŋ/ from /n/. In the case of one word from table 2, now written as *honi*, Anderson comments on the three different pronunciations he had heard in Hawai‘i, New Zealand, and Tahiti: “Ehone -To salute by applying one nose to the other[,] Ehogge at New Zealand, and Ehoe at Otaheiti.” It is clear that he recognized this was the same word in all three places but articulated distinctly:

Hawaiian	New Zealand (Māori)	Otaheiti (Tahitian)
ehone = e honi	ehogge = e hongī	ehoe = e ho‘i

Schütz (n.d.) conjectures that “ehogge” is a misprint rather than a transcription error, that is, Anderson recorded “ehonge,” which was printed incorrectly as “ehogge.” This makes good sense seeing that Anderson elsewhere accurately distinguishes between /ŋ/ and /n/ in languages where they are differentiated.³⁰

Explanation 2: Anderson’s *ng* is the result of an imprecise and haphazard transcription of words he heard imperfectly.

Analysis: A perusal of Anderson’s Tongan and Tahitian vocabularies, including his guide to understanding his system of transcription, shows that Anderson’s work was anything but haphazard. In his brief Māori word list, also compiled on Cook’s third voyage, he consistently distinguished between /ŋ/ and /n/.³¹ Although the diacritical marks for his Hawaiian vocabulary have been lost, there is no evidence in either his Tahitian vocabulary or his Hawaiian word list that he used *ng* and *n* indiscriminately, especially since both phonemes are common in English. Also, as mentioned above, each of his *ng* words reflects the Proto-Central-Eastern-Polynesian **ŋ*, which can hardly be coincidental. Lastly, he never uses *ng* in words that reflect words with an original PCEP **n*.

Explanation 3: Anderson’s word list is a witness to /ŋ/ just before it finally disappeared from Hawaiian.³²

Analysis: The main problem with this explanation is, of course, the absence of *ng* words in any account of the language made after Anderson. William Beresford visited Waimea less than ten years after Anderson (Schütz 1995, 33–36), and although his list is often confusing, it nevertheless shows no sign of /ŋ/. David Samwell, who had replaced Anderson as ship’s surgeon prior to Cook’s return to Hawai‘i in 1779, made his own word list in Ni‘ihau in that year (Schütz 1995, 35), and this too shows no sign of /ŋ/. Esteban José Martínez made his own list from a Hawaiian taken prisoner at Nootka Sound who, based on the predominance of *t* and *r* rather than *k* and *l*, was also probably from Kaua‘i or Ni‘ihau, and no sign of /ŋ/ is found there either (Schütz 1995, 35). When the language was reduced to writing in the early 1820s, there was considerable debate about the use of *k* versus *t*, *l* versus *r*, the appropriate way to render vowels and diphthongs, and the use of other letters, such as *b* and *d*, but the question of *ng* never arose.

This would not, however, be the only time that foreigners recorded a sound shift in progress in a Polynesian language. Clearly Anderson and most early visitors to the leeward islands of Hawai'i heard /t/ and /ʔ/ much more than /k/ and /l/.³³ Ray Harlow describes a potential parallel, the possibly incomplete merging of *s and /h/ in some dialects of New Zealand Māori as witnessed by the transcriptions of some early European visitors:

Further, a number of items, preserved in early publications and manuscripts which reflect the language spoken in the Far North of New Zealand before the spelling system settled into the modern conventions, suggest that at least some Māori /h/ had a sibilant pronunciation. Thus spellings occur such as *shoroe* (= modern *horoi*) 'wash', *shoopa* (= modern *hupe*) 'mucus', both reflecting *s. Given that similar sources also contain spellings such as *hovea* (= modern *hoea*) 'paddle', which reflects *f, it is tempting to see the continuation into the early nineteenth century in northern New Zealand of a sibilant pronunciation of *s, distinct from both retained /f/ and *f shifted to /h/. Unfortunately, it cannot be this neat, as occasional early spellings of, for instance, the place name Hokianga (from *foki 'return') beginning with Sh-, also occur. (Harlow 2007, Kindle location 277–81)

While this might not be “neat” enough to indicate a partial retention of an original *s, at the very least, it provides a snapshot of a phonetic transition that was in its last stages, much like the vestiges of /ŋ/ heard by Anderson.

Either Anderson got it wrong, or he heard the final, vestigial remains of /ŋ/ in Hawaiian. Anderson transcribed his words while at a *heiau*, and it is more than likely that his questions were aimed at *kāhuna* who served there. The presence of “e,” “he,” and “hai” in many of the transcriptions (all equivalents of *he*) would imply that the transcriptions record the answers to Anderson's questions, such as “What is this?” or “What is this called?”³⁴ answered with the Hawaiian equivalent of “It's a” When Anderson pointed to or asked about an image in the *heiau*, he received the answer “Tangaroa,” which he explained as “the name of the god of the place we were at.” The corresponding name does not appear in his Tahitian vocabulary, but if he had heard it before, it might have been as *Tangaroa*, *Tangaloa*, *Ta'arua*, or *Tana'oa*. He recorded the answer he received as “Tangaroa.” Would he have recorded the name of the god to whom the *heiau* was dedicated as it was pronounced elsewhere even though he was clearly able to distinguish between *hongī*, *honi*, and *ho'i*? More likely, he recorded “Tangaroa” because that is what he heard.

At least one of Anderson's Waimea respondents must, therefore, have been a member of the last generation to distinguish, occasionally at least, between /ŋ/ and /n/, a distinction that was not recorded in Ni'ihau one year later by Samwell, or by Beresford when he revisited Waimea nine years later. We cannot be sure, but it seems likely that his respondent was an older person, someone who had been born back in the days when /ŋ/ was more common or, perhaps, had grown up elsewhere in a time and place when /ŋ/ was still heard.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The examples from Malo provide clear evidence that while postposed *nā* had disappeared from living speech, it was still understood by scholars like Malo. Examples of demonstrative *nā* appear now and then as late as the writings of Nakuina (d. 1911), but only in old dialogues preserved in traditional literature. As traditional stories were redacted and reprinted, postposed *nā* disappeared entirely, and instances of demonstrative *nā* were rare. It seems probable that /ŋ/ did not finally disappear from speech until the second half of the eighteenth century, so that scholars such as Malo, although they might never have heard /ŋ/ in Hawaiian, would have been trained in oral tradition by scholars who received their education from teachers who might still have heard /ŋ/ when they received their education. It might be that the presence of either of these *nā* indicates that the literature in which these particles are preserved goes back to a time when the distinction of /ŋ/ and /n/ was still maintained, that is, at least into the early eighteenth century.

Once the meaning of preposed *nā* became ambiguous, demonstrative *nā* was replaced and eventually abandoned. The phonetic change resulted first in an ambiguity whereby any content word preceded by *nā* could communicate two very different ideas, a plural default determiner or a singular second-person demonstrative. This demonstrative *nā* was easily replaced by *kēnā*, and the parallel postposed *nā*, having no ready equivalent, was dropped altogether, leaving Hawaiian, unlike other Central-Eastern-Polynesian languages, with only the first- (*nei*) and third-person (*lā/ala*) distance markers.

NOTES

1. I use Winifred Bauer's term "default determiner" (2003, 144) instead of *definite article* throughout this article. Bauer's reasons for preferring this to *definite article* seem to me to apply equally well to Hawaiian.

2. This includes Davida Malo's passage cited later in this article, which contains four examples of locative *nā*. No Hawaiian edition of Malo's book had been published before 1986, the date of the third edition of the dictionary. Citations of Malo within the Pukui-Elbert dictionary are taken largely from glosses in Nathaniel Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* or from individual quotations supplied by outside readers.

3. There does not seem to be a standard term for postposed *nei*, *nā*, and *rā/lā*. Bauer (2003, 69), in her reference grammar of Māori, calls them "deictic particles." Other nomenclatures include "location particles" (Buse 1963, 419), "post-posed ∅ demonstratives" (Elbert 1979, 109–12), "postposed locative particles" (Harlow 2007), and "postposed centrality demonstratives" (Baker 2012, 184). William H. Wilson and Kauanoē Kamanā (2012, 2:222) use the coined term "hunekaime" (TAM particle), and include *ai* and *ana* in this group.

4. Since this article provides four previously unattested examples of this postposed *nā*, I have not written it as **nā*.

5. See, for example, Jasper Buse's (1963, 419) summary of nominal pieces in Rarotongan. While his list of the sequence and parts of nominal, verbal, and other pieces considers only Rarotongan, it works fairly well for Hawaiian grammar. Bauer (2003, 365–74) devotes an entire chapter to *nei*, *nā*, and *rā*, which she calls "deictic" particles.

6. For a discussion of postposed *nei* and *lā* from the perspective of pragmatics and deictic center theory, see the dissertation by C. M. Kaliko Baker (2012, 188ff).

7. William H. Wilson, professor of Hawaiian at the Hawaiian Language College at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, has pointed out to me, just as this article was going to press, the contrasting pair “ko onei” (*ko* ‘one‘i) and “ko ona” (*ko* ‘onā) in Nakuina’s story of Kalapana (Nakuina 1902, 37, 38 [bis], 39, 56 [bis], 94, etc.). In the context of the *ho‘opāpā* game, this pair roughly corresponds to “my side” and “your side.” This ‘onā is the Hawaiian cognate of the Māori *konā* in table 2.

8. The Pukui-Elbert (1986, 324) dictionary has an entry for *pēnā* but calls it “rare,” that is, the compilers had no examples of it. This entry refers the reader to section 8.3 of the Elbert-Pukui (1979, 115) grammar, where it is called “obsolete.”

9. But see the extended quotation from Malo later in this article. In this passage alone, “ia na” (*ia nā*) is found four times, but nowhere else that I have seen.

10. This latter citation is from a *mele*.

11. Baker (2012, 174–75) also writes it as “nā” in his dissertation. See his modernized citation of the July 29, 1891, edition of *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*: “A he nani ho‘i nā, e ke ali‘i, ke huli nui ‘oe a nīnau iā mākou, i kou mau hulu lepo maka‘āinana.”

12. Citations from the Charles Langlas and Jeffrey Lyon edition of Malo (forthcoming) use chapter:paragraph citation in order to facilitate comparison with other editions of Malo.

13. This is chapter 55 in Nathaniel Emerson’s translation of Malo ([1903] 1951).

14. Volume 2 of this edition contains a critical text of Malo’s Hawaiian written in modern orthography and with modernized punctuation together with an extensive introduction and new translation by Langlas and Lyon, and a biography of Malo by Dr. Noelani Arista. In the citation above, italicized words indicate uncertain pronunciation, and bracketed items have been inserted by the editors.

15. Written as *ng* in Māori and Rarotongan, and as *g* in Samoan.

16. I cite Rarotongan because it is the best-described dialect of Cook Island Māori. Most of what is said henceforth about Rarotongan applies equally to many other dialects of Cook Island Māori.

17. In some Bay of Plenty dialects of Māori, /ŋ/ has merged with /n/. In most South Island dialects, it has merged with /k/ (Harlow 2007, Kindle location 654).

18. There are several examples of *nā* in Kahiolo’s version of the Kamapua‘a story that can be understood as locative or demonstrative, although I think it is better to see them as demonstrative. They consist of the pattern “O [name 1] ‘oe, ‘o [name 2] nā” (Kahiolo 1998, 46–47; the original texts were printed in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 10, 1861; August 14, 1861). The parallel usage of ‘oe and *nā* leads me to think that this *nā* is the intimate demonstrative being used as a second-person pronoun, similar to the common idiomatic use of *kēia* and *kēlā* as first- and third-person pronouns.

19. Albert J. Schütz has investigated the early Hawaiian word lists in depth in his *Voices of Eden* (Schütz 1995, 31–62), in his detailed presentation of the early Hawaiian word lists at <http://www.trussel2.com/haw#Lists>, and in his separate article on Anderson’s word list (Schütz 1991). Schütz concluded, correctly, I think, that the evidence of Anderson’s word list indicates that /ŋ/ could still be heard in Waimea, Kaua‘i, as late as Cook’s visit. There is no evidence that it was heard anywhere in Hawai‘i later than that date.

20. Samoan uses *g* to represent this phoneme, but since I am limiting the discussion to Central-Eastern-Polynesian, rather than Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian, I do not cite Samoan evidence here.

21. Here and in all matters relating to the early Hawaiian word lists, I am much indebted to Professor Emeritus Albert Schütz for his scholarly work on all the Hawaiian word lists and for his unstinting help in response to my many questions. See the works cited for a full list of Schütz’s print and online work on these lists.

22. In the entry for Tangaroa in Anderson's list, he glossed the name as that of the god whose place this was. Note the similarity of this *heiau* to *luakini heiau* dedicated to Kū.

23. The name of this *heiau* can no longer be determined with certainty (Schütz, forthcoming).

24. This vocabulary is printed as an appendix to volume 2 of the official account of the expedition (Cook 1777, 2:313–61). Anderson is not credited there as the compiler, but Cook's original introduction, not included in the printed edition, makes it clear that Anderson was the compiler (Schütz 1991, 458).

25. Even John Cawte Beaglehole was guilty of doing this in his edition of the Cook journals because it made the pages “unsightly” (Schütz 1991, 462).

26. Ray Harlow (2007, Kindle location 352) cites sound recording data showing that in Māori, the stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ seem to have moved from a primarily non-aspirated pronunciation to a plosive pronunciation in under a century.

27. When the four *kapu* periods were incorporated into the Hawaiian moon calendar, one of them, dedicated to the god Kanaloa (PCEP **taʻarōa*), retained the non-Hawaiian form of this name, Kāloa. “The change from PCEP **k* to the glottal stop had not yet occurred in Hawaiian when the term was borrowed from Tahitian, but for Tahitian, PCEPn **ng* and **k* had both changed to the glottal stop. Furthermore, at the time, PCEPn **t* was likely pronounced as /t/ at least in some dialects of Hawaiian, as has continued to be the case until the present time. Therefore, Tahitian Ta'arōa would be borrowed in Hawaiian at that time as Tāroa or Kāloa” (William H. Wilson, personal communication).

28. According to Cook (1784, 124, 379), Ōmai often served as a translator in South Island and in Tonga, although Cook complained about his deficiencies.

29. Another explanation of the unrecorded /h/ is that it was occasionally realized as ∅, as was the case of some older Māori speakers who realized /t/ in four different ways: [ʍ], [f], [h], and, most commonly, as [∅] (Harlow 2007, Kindle location 351).

30. In his Northland Māori word list, the one word pronounced with /ŋ/ that Anderson did not transcribe with *ng* was “nohoanna” (written as *nohoanga* today). Even so, the doubled *n* indicates that even here he distinguished /ŋ/ from /n/.

31. In his Northland Māori word list, Anderson heard /ŋ/ in “moenga,” “reenga” (*ringa*), “tangata,” “mango” (*mangō*), “angahōora” (*ngahuru* [cf. Hawaiian *anahulu*]). He does not use *n* (other than “nohoanna”) to transcribe any words that reflect PCEP **ŋ* (Cook 1784, 165–66).

32. Paul Geraghty (1983, 557) first argued this in 1983. See also Schütz's (1995, 64) comment on Geraghty's analysis of Anderson's word list.

33. Some Ni'ihau people now include *t* in written Hawaiian, such as *keiti* for *keiki*, *ketahi* for *kekahi*, and *maketau* for *mākaukau*, to mention only a few.

34. Several question phrases are transcribed in his list, including “Eaha, nai” (*He aha nei?* [What is this here?]) and “Ehateinoa” (*He aha ka inoa?* [What is this called?]).

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