

The Evolution of the Hawaiian Dictionary and Notes on the Early Compilers, with Particular Attention to Manuscript Resources of the Bishop Museum Library

Marguerite K. Ashford¹

ABSTRACT

Compilers of vocabularies and dictionaries of the Hawaiian language have for more than 200 years based their work in part on earlier efforts in the same area. This building-block process is especially evident in the manuscript collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library, which contains many of the sources used by compilers of the 1836 L. Andrews vocabulary, the 1865 Andrews dictionary, the 1922 Andrews-Parker dictionary, and the more recent Hawaiian dictionary by M.K. Pukui and S.H. Elbert. Many of these sources are interleaved, annotated copies of earlier dictionaries designed specifically for notations by Hawaiian language authorities. Other unpublished sources include A. Bishop's 1828 vocabulary and a Hawaiian vocabulary of synonyms previously credited to L. Andrews but now believed to be the work of Hawaiian scholar S.M. Kamakau. Twentieth century unpublished collections include those of H.P. Judd and T. Kelsey. The evolutionary process of dictionary development has culminated in the Pukui and Elbert dictionary of today, even now in the process of further revision.

INTRODUCTION

E lawe i ke a'o a mālama, a e oi mau ka na'auao.

He who takes his teachings and applies them increases his knowledge.

—Mary Kawena Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*

The *Hawaiian Dictionary* by M.K. Pukui and S.H. Elbert is the result of nearly 200 years of effort by countless individuals who struggled to convey accurately the sounds and meanings of the Hawaiian language through the medium of writing. The early word list of William Anderson recorded in Captain Cook's journal had 250 simple entries; the latest edition of the Pukui-Elbert dictionary lists more than 25,000 (Pukui & Elbert 1965: xxv-xxvi). Between these 2 landmark works lie numerous word lists, vocabularies, and dictionaries, both published and unpublished. Each successive compiler has been heavily dependent on the efforts of his predecessors. In several cases, a conscious attempt was made at the time of publication of a dictionary or vocabulary to lay the groundwork for its successor and to facilitate its preparation (e.g., see p. 4).

The modern Hawaiian dictionary, then, may be viewed as a composite undertaking: the achievement not only of its compilers, but also of those earlier individuals who cared about preserving and interpreting the Hawaiian language. This building-block process is nowhere so well documented as in the manuscript collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library. It was in this collection that the late Mary Kawena Pukui labored for more than

1. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, P.O. Box 19000-A, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96817, USA.

25 years compiling the dictionary that bears her name and that of Samuel H. Elbert. The collection contains not only her own notes but also those of earlier compilers, together with some of the source material used by them.

This paper briefly discusses some of the sources now in the Bishop Museum Library manuscript collection that were used by L. Andrews, H.H. Parker, H.P. Judd, J.F.G. Stokes, and M.K. Pukui and S.H. Elbert in their individual efforts to create a comprehensive guide to the vocabulary of the Hawaiian language. A linguistic analysis of each source has not been attempted; instead, an indication of the type of source, its extent, and a glimpse of the material contained is presented. Where possible, a concise biographical sketch is given for the author of the source. There is also a discussion of the major dictionaries, their compilers, and the documents cited as sources by the compilers.

In characterizing the various efforts leading up to the Pukui-Elbert dictionary I have used two terms: "vocabulary" and "dictionary." A vocabulary is usually defined as a list or collection of the words and phrases of a language, arranged alphabetically and frequently defined. A dictionary expands on this, providing information on meanings, pronunciations, etymologies, etc. In this paper I refer to each work by the term used on its title page. An exception is Kamakau's list of synonyms, which lacks a title page, and I believe should properly be termed a vocabulary.

Artemas Bishop's 1828 Vocabulary

The Reverend Artemas Bishop (1795–1872) and his wife were among the members of the Second Company sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to Hawai'i. They arrived 27 April 1823 and were initially stationed at Waimea, Kaua'i. In subsequent years the Bishops were sent to Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i (1824–1836) and 'Ewa, O'ahu (1836–1856). During the later years of his life, Rev. A. Bishop lived primarily in Honolulu, although he continued to visit 'Ewa frequently and preached there as often as possible. He was released from the ABCFM at his own request in 1849.

Throughout his nearly 50 years in the islands, Rev. Artemas Bishop took an active interest in the Hawaiian language. He assisted in the translation of the Bible and was responsible for the translation of many contemporary American schoolbooks into Hawaiian, primarily in the areas of arithmetic and algebra. Bishop translated John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into Hawaiian; he also compiled the first Hawaiian and English phrase books: *English and Hawaiian Words and Phrases, for the Use of Learners in Both Languages*, and *Na Huaolelo a me na Olelo Kikeke ma ka Beritania, a me ka Olelo Hawaii, no na Haumana e Ao ana i Kela a me Keia*, both published by Henry M. Whitney in 1854. He also collaborated with John S. Emerson¹ on the 1845 English-Hawaiian dictionary published at Lahainaluna, *He Hoakaka Olelo no na Huaolelo Beritania, i Mea Kokua i na Kanaka Hawaii e Ao ana ia Olelo*.

Bishop provided the vocabulary of some 240 words published in the 1825 edition of William Ellis's *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii*. Ellis states that the words were taken from a larger list prepared by Bishop and obtained by a Mr. Pickering in 1825 (Ellis 1825: 244). There must have been several of these lists compiled over the years by Bishop (e.g., the Ely-Bishop vocabulary cited on p. 4). In the Bishop Museum Library manuscript collection is a photographic copy of one such list, the original of which is in the Ethnographic Museum in Copenhagen. The holographic manuscript is headed "1828 Vocabulary of the Hawaiian Language," and the following note appears on the initial page:

This vocabulary is not presumed to be current, it being the first rough copy before it was corrected and is valuable only as a curiosity of past years. It was originally collected word by word from the lips of the natives in conversation, and inserted into the vocabulary sheets in my possession. A.B. May 12, 1844

Despite Bishop's apologia, the vocabulary is a fine copy; it is all in one hand, with no insertions or corrections, and was apparently made from an earlier rough copy or copies. It consists of Hawaiian words, with their definitions and parts of speech. No diacritical marks are included except for an occasional hyphen, an apparent inconsistent attempt at syllabification. A sample is given below:

Aa-hu-a-poo	(S) A supporter, a defence; a shield in time of peril
Kawalawa	(adj.) Few here & there one, applied to persons
makapouli	(n) The darkness that precedes fainting

The vocabulary is 368 pages long and, according to a note with the Bishop Museum copy, was presumably given by Bishop to the Reverend Aleth Hansen, Chaplain of the Danish corvette *Galathea*, in 1845. The *Galathea*, however, was in Hawaiian waters from 5 October to 16 November 1846. The ship was at anchor at Hilo from 8 to 13 November and sent a party ashore, where the men met with the missionaries and other residents and travelled to Kilauea for an exploratory tour of the volcano. Hansen was among those going ashore, and he was probably given the original that week.

Andrews' 1836 Vocabulary

The Reverend Lorrin Andrews (1795–1868) was surely one of the most influential of the American missionaries. He and his wife, members of the Third Company, arrived in Honolulu 30 March 1828 and were stationed at Lahaina, Maui. In 1831 Andrews established the Lahainaluna Seminary, where he served as principal and teacher until 1842. In this role he guided Hawaiian students, training them to become teachers and missionaries. Under his leadership the famous press at Lahainaluna was launched, where students were taught the techniques of printing and copper-plate engraving.

Abolition was a dominant issue in American society beginning in the 1830s, and many of the missionaries in Hawai'i held stronger pro-abolition views than did their directors at the Missionary Rooms in Boston. In 1842 Andrews resigned from the mission to protest the acceptance of funds for missionary support from the slave states by the ABCFM. To support himself and his family he took charge of the printing office and bindery at Lahainaluna and taught music and penmanship at the school. He opened a 2nd school there for his own children and those of nearby families and served as Seamen's Chaplain at Lahaina from 1844 to 1845.

As was the case with many of the missionary brethren, Andrews became active in government service. In 1845 the king and chiefs named him judge of the Court of O'ahu in Honolulu, and he later was appointed a member of the Superior Court of Law, secretary of the Privy Council, and first associate justice of the Supreme Court. He resigned the latter position in 1855 to become judge of probate and divorce cases.

Andrews is perhaps the best known of the missionaries in the area of Hawaiian language. He translated numerous works on various subjects for his students at Lahainaluna and collaborated with Rev. William Richards on the translation of portions of the Bible. In 1836 he published a Hawaiian vocabulary, followed by a grammar in 1854 and the landmark *Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* in 1865. In his last years he turned to the *mele*, or "chants," of Hawai'i, translating "*Hau'i ka Lani*" and "*Kuali'i*."

In June 1834 the mission requested that Andrews prepare a vocabulary of the Hawaiian language. He was asked to complete the project quickly, with the understanding that the work would necessarily be imperfect.

In the preface to his work Andrews notes that 2 vocabularies were provided to him as source documents. The first was a vocabulary believed to have been collected primarily by Elisha Loomis² and transcribed by Andrews during his voyage from the United States.

Putting this vocabulary to use immediately upon his arrival, Andrews attempted to insert within it every word that he “saw in print or heard in conversation, or could obtain in any other way, besides correcting such mistakes as had been made in transcribing from the copy of Mr. Loomis” (Andrews 1836: ii–iii). Whenever possible he cited the authority for the additions. He admitted, however, that his ignorance of the language in those early days resulted in errors in both orthography and definitions.

The 2nd source was a vocabulary compiled in part by Mr. James Ely³ at the request of the mission and completed by Artemas Bishop. This copy was received and transcribed by Andrews in the summer of 1829. In the transcription, every other page was left blank for the insertion of new words, additions, and corrections.

Andrews wanted to have every word in the 1836 vocabulary checked by “intelligent natives or by examining the *usus loquendi* from such manuscripts as could be obtained, or from the books that had been printed” (Andrews 1836: iii), but he realized that this would excessively prolong the preparation process and resigned himself to imperfections. He worked from his 2 source lists without searching out additional words, extending definitions, or consulting Hawaiians with regard to the accuracy of any definition. He cites 5 major problems in the final product: (1) order not alphabetical; (2) words unfamiliar to him, included on the authority of his source documents; (3) errors in definition arising from the setting down of a definition that was perhaps not the best, or from the use of the figurative definition rather than the literal one, or vice versa; (4) errors in orthography, owing to the rapid enunciation of the Hawaiians, which made it difficult to distinguish between some of the vowel sounds, particularly when unaccented; and (5) words not included, or included with incomplete definitions.

In the Hawaiian collection at Punahou School’s Cooke Library is the draft of Andrews’ manuscript. Titled “The Original Mss of The Hawaiian Dictionary by Lorrin Andrews,” it closely resembles the published vocabulary in content and wording but is less complete. Bound in the same volume is a transcription of a Hebrew vocabulary, probably made by Andrews for use in his work with William Richards on translations of the Bible. It is likely that the draft dates to late 1834 or early 1835.

Only 20 months after his initial assignment, a remarkably short time given Andrews’ other responsibilities, his vocabulary was completed and published. Printing actually commenced at Honolulu in 1835 and was completed at Lahainaluna the following year (Andrews 1865a: iii). One thousand copies of the vocabulary were printed (Windley 1966: 279), and at least several of these were bound in a way that was to have a strong impact on the Hawaiian language dictionaries of the future: just as Andrews had left blank pages in his own transcription of the Ely-Bishop vocabulary, a blank sheet was inserted after each printed page. These were obviously intended for the same purpose—the insertion of new words, and the addition and correction of definitions. The interleaved copies were probably distributed among those members of the mission family with the greatest aptitude for, and interest in, the Hawaiian language, to facilitate the compilation of a later vocabulary or dictionary.

Andrews refers to this practice in the preface to his 1865 dictionary, citing his use of the interleaved 1836 vocabularies as references. He had 2 copies of his own into which he inserted corrections and new words gleaned from his reading of Hawaiian documents, “giving preference in all cases to such as were written by Chiefs to other Chiefs, and such as were written by one intelligent Hawaiian to another” (Andrews 1865a: iv). He did not refer to works written in Hawaiian by “foreign” authors, with the exception of a few textbooks on technical subjects (surveying, anatomy, and geography) and, of course, the Hawaiian translation of the Bible.

In addition to his own interleaved copies of the 1836 vocabulary, Andrews consulted

interleaved copies belonging to William Richards,⁴ Artemas Bishop, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd.⁵ Andrews noted that Mr. Richards' intimacy with the *ali'i* enabled him to obtain many new words, but his many responsibilities precluded his taking the time to define them well. "He frequently obtained a new word, but instead of giving a radical definition, merely mentioned that the *Princess* [Nahi'ena'ena] or *Hoapili* or some other Chief used the word, *apparently* meaning so and so, leaving the Author to find out as best he could the *real* meaning of the word" (Andrews 1865a: v). Bishop is credited with correcting or improving many definitions and with adding more than 200 new words, while Judd primarily contributed colloquial terms (Andrews 1865a: v). Judd's *Anatomia* was also the source for many new technical terms.

Bond Collection copy

Bishop Museum Library has in its collection an annotated interleaved copy of Andrews' 1836 vocabulary known as the Bond Collection copy. It was evidently the property of Rev. Elias Bond (1813–1896), a member of the Ninth Company, which arrived in Honolulu on 21 May 1841. The Bonds were stationed at Kohala, Hawai'i, where Mr. Bond labored for more than 55 years. He founded a boys' boarding school in 1842 (later merged with the 1st Government English School) and the Kohala (Mauna Oliva) Girls' School in 1874. Devoted to the welfare of the people of Kohala, he established the Kohala Sugar Plantation in 1861 to furnish jobs for local Hawaiians who had begun to drift to the city. When the plantation began to produce dividends after the passage of the U.S. Reciprocity Treaty, Bond channeled his profits to the ABCFM and to mission work among the Hawaiians and Chinese in Hawai'i.

Bond translated primers and Sunday school books into Hawaiian and worked on editing the Hawaiian hymnal. The building of Kalahikiola Church in Kohala was an achievement of which he was most proud. Earlier thatched churches were replaced by a great stone cathedral, dedicated in 1855.

Although the Bonds arrived in Hawai'i 5 years after the publication of Andrews' vocabulary, interleaved copies must still have been available, at least to members of the mission. The Bond interleaved copy has annotations in both pen and pencil; these were made over a period of time, apparently in the same hand. The printed vocabulary itself labels parts of speech but gives no indication of vowel length or of the glottal stop, though occasionally length or emphasis is indicated with an accent or a macron.

There are ca. 275 handwritten entries in the Bond copy, most of which are for new words and definitions; some are additional definitions for words already in the vocabulary. In most cases definitions are given for the new words; a "?" indicates uncertainty. Definitions are usually in English but occasionally in Hawaiian, and authorities other than the Bible are rarely given. A sample of entries is given below:

alake	lele, jump, make haste fr. one place to another
kaae	kaawale
poaeae	obscure, faint
polohiwa	black, as a cloud or bruised skin [an added definition]
uwae	to move anything along

Kamakau's Vocabulary of Synonyms

Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau (1815–1876) was a Hawaiian scholar renowned for his dedication to his people and his culture. Born at Mokulē'ia O'ahu, he entered Lahainaluna Seminary in 1833 at the age of 17 as a member of the school's 2nd class. After graduation

4 years later he was invited to remain as a teaching assistant, a post that he held for 3 years. Rev. Sheldon Dibble, then stationed at Lahainaluna, had a keen interest in Hawaiian culture and encouraged the students to share it. His activities led to the formation in 1841 of Hawai'i's first historical society, whose aim was "to collect from Hawaiians first-hand accounts of antiquities, traditions, genealogies, and similar historical and ethnographic material" (Kamakau 1961: vii). Kamakau was treasurer of this society and, although it lasted only 3 years, it served as the inspiration for his enduring interest in the history and traditions of Hawai'i.

Kamakau served in various official capacities on Maui, including a brief period as district judge in Wailuku. His career continued on O'ahu, where he was active in politics and served numerous terms in the legislature, representing Maui and, later, O'ahu. Throughout his life he continued to write on the subjects of Hawaiian history and culture, publishing a series of articles in the newspapers *Ku'oko'a* and *Ke Au 'Oko'a* from October 1866 to February 1871. These articles, translated and edited, formed the basis for the contemporary *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (1961), *Ka Po'e Kahiko* (1964), and *The Works of the People of Old* (1976).

In the early 1840s Kamakau was encouraged by the Reverend J.S. Emerson, then an instructor at Lahainaluna, to develop a Hawaiian vocabulary. There is some indication that Emerson also supported Kamakau financially in this endeavor (Andrews 1865a: v). The vocabulary was to provide definitions in Hawaiian, and it was probably intended to assist the missionaries and other nonnative speakers rather than the Hawaiian students at the seminary. The completed vocabulary was used by Andrews in developing his 1865 dictionary. Although Andrews evidently found it helpful, he had some strong criticism for Kamakau's presentation: "Its value as a vocabulary is diminished, not for want of information in the writer, but for want of skill in making definitions. Instead of giving a definition in other words, he merely added the *synonyms* of the word in question" (Andrews 1865a: v).

Bishop Museum Library's manuscript collection has a holograph volume identified as "Lorrin Andrews Quotations from his Dictionary." The folio-sized volume is written in a fine hand, similar to those of the early students at Lahainaluna. I believe that this is not a compilation of quotations from Andrews' dictionary, but the Kamakau vocabulary of synonyms. The volume is unique; I know of no similar source in any other collection in Hawai'i. The vocabulary has great potential for contemporary Hawaiian language scholars and deserves serious study.

The book is a Hawaiian vocabulary, with definitions in Hawaiian. These definitions for the most part are lists of synonyms. Following the synonyms leads one in a circle, and Andrews' criticism is easily understandable. A sample of the entries is given below:

Kiu-hoo-pu-lu	E hana maalea e punihei ai na mea a pau, e malimali aku me na olelo
Ku-ni-nihi	He mahiole, he mea nihinihi
Ni-hi-ni-hi	Kuninihi, lapalapa, moali, maawe, kulipilipi
Ni-ni-hi	E kuninihi, e lapalapa, e lae nihi

There are no diacritical marks in the vocabulary aside from hyphens irregularly used to separate syllables. On each page a 2-inch margin is left on the inner (binding) edge, possibly for comments and additions or for ease in actual writing. The margin has been used for annotations, in several hands, none of which is that of the original author; one of these hands is strongly reminiscent of that of Lorrin Andrews. A few additional pages with added definitions have been tipped into the book.

A stamp of the Board of Education is inside the front cover of the volume, and next to it is pencilled "\$200." This reinforces my belief that the volume is Kamakau's. One of

Bishop Museum Library's manuscript copies of David Malo's *Moolelo Hawaii* has the same Board of Education stamp. It was purchased by the board from Andrews' estate and came to the Museum from the board. It is likely that the Kamakau manuscript, which was also in Andrews' possession (at least at one time), came to the Board of Education and thence to the Museum in the same way.

Andrews' 1865 Dictionary

Immediately after publication of the 1836 vocabulary, Lorrin Andrews began work on a revised and expanded version. As noted earlier, he had 2 of his own interleaved copies of the 1836 vocabulary and access to the interleaved and annotated copies of Rev. William Richards, Rev. Artemas Bishop, and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd. Kamakau's Hawaiian vocabulary was available to him and Andrews cites a manuscript of Dr. D. Baldwin⁶ of Lahaina in his preface: "This manuscript was especially useful, not so much for definitions fully written out, as for its suggestions of what might be and what should be further investigated. In noting down the ideas that appeared to belong to the word under review, he appears to have had a shrewd Hawaiian at his elbow. Some of his definitions have been copied in the entire" (Andrews 1865a: v).

Despite the care he had taken with the dictionary, Andrews was quick to point out its flaws. He wrote of certain subjects in Hawaiian life not represented, especially

in the Kaaos or Legends of different classes,—that which relates to what may be termed their philosophical views, i.e. their mode of accounting for natural phenomena, as the creation of their own islands,—the Origin of their Religious rites,—and especially the power of imagination displayed in their Meles and the consequent richness of their language for expressing the nicest shades of love, of hatred, of jealousy and revenge, and the language employed by the priests when drawing on their gods for assistance. . . . (Andrews 1865a: vi)

Perhaps with successors in mind, a number of copies were bound in the same interleaved style of the 1836 vocabulary. Again, distribution of the interleaved copies seems to have been primarily to members of the mission, particularly the language scholars. Copies of 4 of these are in Bishop Museum Library's manuscript collection.

Arthur Alexander copy

The first of the interleaved copies of Andrews' 1865 dictionary is known as the Arthur Alexander copy. Annotations appear to be in at least 2 hands, probably those of William DeWitt Alexander and his son Arthur C. Alexander. The preface, however, is edited in pencil, evidently with the intention of reprinting it in an altered form. A comparison of the editing with the preface of the Andrews-Parker 1922 dictionary indicates without question that this particular copy was used by the editorial staff of Bishop Museum in preparing the 1922 edition. Thus it is possible that only one of the annotating hands is an Alexander and that the other or others are associated with the Museum.

William DeWitt Alexander (1833–1913) proofread the 1865 dictionary and provided the introductory remarks. He was the son of American missionaries to Hawai'i and was educated at Punahou and in the United States. He returned to Hawai'i in 1857 to take a post at Oahu College (Punahou School). Alexander served at the school for 13 years, as professor and as president. In 1870 he accepted a position as head of the Hawaiian Government Survey and remained Hawai'i's surveyor general for more than 30 years. Alexander also served as a member of the Privy Council under both King Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uokalani. He was a member of the Board of Education and founder of the Hawaiian Historical and Polynesian societies. His greatest interest was the study of Hawai'i's history,

and he wrote numerous articles and books on the culture and history of the islands. Westervelt (1913) styled Alexander "Hawaii's best historian."

Arthur Chambers Alexander (1863–1954) was the son of William DeWitt Alexander and Abigail Charlotte Baldwin Alexander. Raised with a keen interest in Hawaiian culture, he became a surveyor and civil engineer, devoting particular attention to Hawaiian land tenure and writing several articles on the subject. Arthur Alexander began his career with the Hawaiian Government Survey (1882–1884) and moved from there to the Bishop Estate (1884–1885). He spent many years in the United States in the physics departments of Yale (1888–1895) and the University of California (1895–1901). Returning to Hawai'i, he established a private practice as a surveyor and engineer until 1919, when he became manager of the Land Department of American Factors. He held this last post until his retirement in 1937.

The Alexander copy of Andrews' 1865 dictionary is annotated in both pen and pencil. There is frequent comparison with New Zealand Maori in the "a" section, a sure sign of W.D. Alexander's work. Again in the "a" section, an effort was made to indicate pronunciation with the addition of glottals and accent marks. New terms are given on the interleaved pages, nearly always with definitions, and parts of speech are occasionally indicated. A sampling of entries is given below:

Aá	adj. staring, said of the eyes
A-i	(the neck) [is amended to] 'Á'i; N.Z. <i>kaki</i> [added]
'Aí	a glutton
Kaimimiki	s. earthquake wave
Ku-honua	sudden
Minimini	v. to dissect, as a post mortem exam
Nokonoko	[no definition]
Paalá	a beach of large round stones

W.J. Forbes copy

The Bishop Museum Library holds a microfilm of an annotated interleaved 1865 dictionary made from a copy held by a private collector. The inside front cover bears the name "W.J. Forbes," and I believe that the annotations were made by Forbes' grandfather, the Reverend Anderson Oliver Forbes.

Rev. A.O. Forbes (1833–1888) was the oldest child of Rev. and Mrs. Cochran Forbes, members of the Fifth Company. Educated at Punahou and in the United States, Forbes was ordained in 1858 and returned to Hawai'i to marry Maria Jane Chamberlain, another child of missionary parents. Rev. A.O. Forbes was stationed at Kalua'aha, Moloka'i, from 1858 to 1868 and was pastor of Kaumakapili Church from 1868 to 1871. After leaving that pastorate he assisted Rev. Sereno Bishop in the direction of Lahainaluna Seminary. In 1874 he was called to the First Foreign Church of Hilo, where he remained until 1880 when he was elected corresponding secretary of the Hawaiian Board. He served in this position until his death.

The "W.J. Forbes copy" is not heavily annotated. There are ca. 136 entries, most in the first part of the book. Definitions are added, parts of speech are indicated, and some effort is made to show pronunciation through the use of accents. In the "a" section the annotator carefully indicates stress with accents on each word. The following examples show accents added, with contemporary orthography in parentheses:

A-la-mé-a	('alamea)
A-la-kó	(alakō)
A-ma-kí-hi	('amakihī)

Accents in general seem to indicate macrons or stressed syllables, and it is difficult to tell which of the 2 is intended. At times an umlaut is used to indicate the glottal:

A-mu [¨] e-m [¨] u [¨] e	(‘amu‘emu‘e)
A-mo [¨] o-m [¨] o [¨] o	(‘amo‘omo‘o)

Forbes' annotations frequently criticize definitions given by Andrews. Andrews' "*A-na-a-na-pu*" has as a 3rd definition, "to crook often; to have many crooks." Forbes marks the word "*a-na[¨]-na[¨]-pu*" and notes, "Def. 3 belongs to a totally different word. Should be placed under the next word, *Ana[¨]-ana-p[¨]u[¨]*." Definitions are also added: "*Ana-m[¨]i-u* s. The stem of a potato connecting it with the vine. (See *Ana-nio* below)." New terms are added: "*Hala-hu* — missed its object." Occasionally he reflects on grammar; for "*Hoo-ka-laku-pu-a*," listed as a verb, he notes, "Used also as a substantive . . . 'ka hele ana oua *hookalakupua nei*.'" In a few cases, a source is cited: "*Lanakoi* s. Fixed purpose. Determination. 'manao iho la me ka *lanakoi* loa o kona manao e hooko' S.M.K. [Samuel M. Kamakau]."

The microfilm of the Forbes copy was not in the Bishop Museum Library collection until 1983, and according to the owner of the volume, it was not consulted in the revision of Andrews' dictionary nor in the preparation of later works such as the Pukui-Elbert dictionary.

C.M. Hyde copy

A 3rd annotated interleaved copy is stamped on the cover: "HYDE COPY OF ANDREW'S [sic] DICTIONARY (Contains Dr. Hyde's manuscript notes)." The Reverend Charles McEwen Hyde (1832–1899) was ordained in Massachusetts in 1862 and 10 years later received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. After serving at 2 pastorates in the United States, he departed for Hawai'i, arriving in 1877 with his wife and family. In Honolulu he reorganized the Theological School and served as its principal, training native pastors for Hawai'i, the Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati), and the Marshall Islands. Hyde made substantial contributions to the social welfare of Honolulu's citizens, acting as secretary of the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, supporting the Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese mission churches, acting as trustee for numerous educational trusts, and initiating the Social Science Club. Hyde also played a leading role in the organization and development of the Kamehameha Schools and was instrumental in encouraging Charles Reed Bishop to establish a museum in honor of his wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi. Hyde was one of the first trustees of both the Bishop Estate and the Bishop Museum.

At the age of 45, C.M. Hyde began to learn Hawaiian, and "he learned it so well that he is said to have written the language most grammatically, and . . . no one . . . ever possessed as copious and as accurate a vocabulary" (Kent 1954: 9). He translated hymns into Hawaiian and was an ardent admirer of the work of Rev. Lorenzo Lyons. Hyde wrote numerous articles and essays on Hawaiian legends, names, riddles, proverbs, and other topics, and in 1896 produced a Hawaiian grammar, *He Wahi Olelo Ao no ka Piliolo Hawaii*. Hyde also had a hand in the development of later dictionaries. "Upon finding that Andrews had omitted all accents in his notable Hawaiian Dictionary, Hyde retreated to Waimea on the island of Hawaii and laboriously copied the entire dictionary, entering the accents as he went along" (Kent 1954: 10).

It is this volume, the result of a highly productive stay in Waimea, that is Bishop Museum Library's "Hyde copy." On the title page, in pencil, Hyde has written "\$7.50. Bought Aug 10/80." At some later date he began his annotations, which appear throughout the volume in minute, at times illegible, pencil on interleaving, printed pages, and endpapers. No page was safe from Hyde's pencil. On the front endpaper is a note dated 16 February 1923 from

B. Metzger, assistant to the director of Bishop Museum and a woman who often served as editor for Museum publications:

I have been informed by Mr. Lydecker of Board of Archives & by T.G. Thrum that Hyde copied his notes from the Lyons dictionary, now the property of the Board of Archives. Mr. Thrum was of the opinion that therefore this book would be more accurate, having thus the Lyons corrections and notes, supplemented by those of Hyde.

There is no indication as to which annotations are Hyde's and which are those of Lyons. Each word is checked in pencil, but it is not clear whether this was done by Hyde himself or by others when the volume was used later in preparing the Andrews-Parker dictionary.

The annotations include many examples of usage; phrases in Hawaiian, with the relevant vocabulary word underscored, are particularly frequent. Some pronunciation marks are indicated, although not to the extent mentioned by Kent. These are usually in the form of long marks over the vowels to indicate syllable stress and/or macrons, as in *Hū-li-mō-ku* and *Hū-lī-lū-a*. Definitions are crossed out or amended, and some portions of them are underlined. Additional definitions are also given:

Ha-nai	n. cogs in a wheel
Hoo-po-ha	to blister

Some sources for words and definitions are given, usually when they are quotations from the Bible. On the title page Hyde has noted a key: "F. Words compared by Fornander in Polynesian Race vol. 3."

Finally, Hyde has attempted to indicate colloquial Hawaiian English pronunciation on p. ii, the dedication page:

"Newa maina ke ola o ke kanaka" [and] "Hui iu? Ip iu no tela mi iu namu ai ki ia oe me ka pu. Who are you? If you no tell me your name I shoot you." [and] "Ai sepika iu pololei. Wasi maka iu nao?"

and on p. iii: "Keki no me ka uhane. Ke kono me ka uhane."

Bond-Lyons copy

The Reverend Lorenzo Lyons (1807–1886) was a member of the Fifth Company of missionaries. He was stationed at Waimea, Hawai'i, on his arrival in 1832, where he labored for 54 years. Beloved of the Hawaiian people, he literally wore himself out in the service of his congregation. A foremost Hawaiian scholar, he edited numerous collections of hymns and was a prolific writer and an eloquent preacher. Lyons translated many titles for the mission, and "the influence of his work in correctly establishing Hawaiian as a written language was probably second only to that of those who established the Scripture" (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969: 144).

Predictably, he was modest about his own language abilities:

It is a mistake made somehow or other by some that I am the best Hawaiian scholar living. I think there are those now living who are better Hawaiian scholars than I am. Though I have heard, and talked, and read, and preached, and taught, and written and studied the Hawaiian language for 46 years, yet I am by no means perfect in it. I ought to have made far more proficiency. It is an interminable language. I might make an approximation to its end should I live and study 46 years longer. (Lyons 1878: 73)

Lyons was one of those most harshly critical of Andrews' 1865 dictionary, writing:

On the examination of the book I was greatly disappointed. There was much that was good, and correct, and helpful, and enlightening in it; but there were great defects—many blunders, wrong definitions, an unpardonable jumble of words spelt the same way but differently pronounced . . . no marks showing how words should be pronounced or what articles should be used . . . no mark to show the guttural words . . . some bad words that ought not to appear in a dictionary.

Well I said to myself, it is a good dictionary under the circumstances, but not good enough to be transmitted to posterity. I will go to work and revise it for my own use and for the use of others, perhaps hereafter. So I obtained or came into possession of a Dictionary with blank leaves, and set about the revision, employing all the reliable Hawaiian help I could find within my reach or fell in my way. I commenced June, 1867 and ended September, 1870. (Lyons 1878: 73)

The "Bond-Lyons copy" in Bishop Museum Library is not the personal copy of Elias Bond or Lorenzo Lyons, nor is it an interleaved volume. It is Princess Ka'iulani's own copy, and it came to the Bishop Museum with her collection of books. This particular copy was used to record the annotations appearing in Elias Bond's own interleaved copy, which, in turn, contained the notes Bond had copied from Lyons' annotations. A tipped-in page facing the front endpaper perhaps clarifies matters:

This copy has been marked thruout with a careful transcription of emendations found in the interleaved copy belonging to Rev. Elias Bond. As resident missionary at Kohala, Hawaii from 1841-1896 [sic] Mr. Bond became a proficient Hawaiian scholar.

Key letter and explanations referred to in manuscript on these pages will be found in nine accompanying notebooks which are likewise careful copies of the original manuscript interleaves. A few necessary explanations by the copyist are enclosed in parentheses. Apparent inconsistencies in the original have not been changed.

[Signed] Ethel M. Damon April 4, 1926

A preliminary page in the first of the 9 notebooks states "Copied with the permission of the owners of the Bond copy, Miss C.S. Bond and Dr. B.D. Bond of Kohala, for the use of the Bishop Museum in a revised edition of the Parker-Andrews Hawaiian Dictionary."

In the last of the notebooks Miss Damon notes that on p. 519 of the interleaved dictionary following the "z" introduced words, Bond has written: "The notes are largely copied fr. Br. Lyons. I began late, to my regret, to make a record of Hawn words not found in this Dicy—or only partially defined or wrongly defined.—Bro. Lyons' notes are not always correct."

Bond did not note which annotations were copied from Lyons' and which were his own. As is the case with the "Hyde copy," careful comparison would have to be made with Lyons' own copy to determine the proper attribution of each annotation. Bond indicates 3 abbreviations that are to be used throughout the annotations: "Ob. obsolete; vi. vile; and H. not used on Hawaii."

For nouns beginning with a vowel he indicates whether the article "ka" or "ke" is appropriate and if the noun takes the "a" or "o" possessive form. This would indicate the possibility of an initial glottal and is probably Lyons' work, given his specific criticism of Andrews' dictionary. Some effort is also made at marking proper pronunciation; page 18, for instance, is almost entirely taken up with *A-a* in all its various meanings. Bond attempts to distinguish pronunciation through the use of the macron and glottal: *ā'a*, *aā*, *āā*, etc. and indicates any initial glottals.

New vocabulary is given, some words or a portion of their definitions are crossed out, and new definitions are added.

aa-o	anything growing wild [added definition]
ho-ko	v. to imitate [crossed out, as is second meaning, "blundering, careless" for ho-ka]
Holehelekekii	[added word, no definition]
Holina	Eng. haul in [added word]

Grammar is also corrected. Andrews has added to *Ho-mai* (v.), "Homai i wahi wai inu na'u, give me here some water to drink" and Bond notes: "The sign of objective never used with Homai. Homai kahi buke, It is not an active or a transitive verb. The Imp. sign e never used with it."

Following the "w" section is the date "23 June 1876," which Miss Damon believes is the date on which Bond finished that section of corrections. The following pages of the dictionary list words introduced from foreign languages, and here again there are annotations. In the entry "Berena, s. Eng. bread; food generally," he has crossed out "food generally" and written "*Palaoa* is the usual term for ordinary soft bread."

Andrews-Parker Dictionary

By the turn of the century Andrews' dictionary had been long out of print, and an increasing interest in other Polynesian languages, as well as the need for an authoritative source for the spelling, pronunciation, and definition of Hawaiian words, led to arrangements for the preparation of a new Hawaiian dictionary under the direction of the Board of Commissioners of Public Archives. A 1913 act of the Territorial Legislature provided for the compiling, binding, and publishing of the dictionary, and substantial grants in subsequent years by the legislature and by Bishop Museum provided the necessary funding.

The Reverend Henry Hodges Parker, then 81 years of age, was appointed compiler and released from other obligations for 5 years beginning 1 January 1915. Rev. Parker (1834–1927) was the son of Benjamin W. Parker, an American missionary who arrived with the Sixth Company. A member of the 1st class at Punahou and later a student at the Royal School, Parker completed his education in Hawai'i. He taught at Lahainaluna Seminary in 1860–1861 and was assistant pastor of Kawaiaha'o Church in 1862–1863. In June 1863 he was ordained pastor of Kawaiaha'o, where he remained for more than 54 years. During this period he saw many changes in the life of the Hawaiian people and served as counselor and friend of the Hawaiian monarchs.

Parker learned Hawaiian as a child and became so devoted to the language that he is said to have refused to preach in English. He brought this great knowledge and profound feeling for the language to his work with the dictionary. Parker transcribed the words from the 1865 dictionary onto cards, and onto these he incorporated the revisions from Lorenzo Lyons' interleaved copy of the 1865 dictionary. In the preface of his dictionary (Andrews 1922), Parker lists other sources made available to him: a few old letters written by Hawaiians, a manuscript from the Catholic Mission in Honolulu dating back to the days of Bishop Maigret; a manuscript from the Hawaiian Board of Missions made available by Rev. W.D. Westervelt, a "Lexicon of the Hawaiian Tongue taken from the Apograph of Hiram Bingham" dated 4 July 1832, and a brief list of Hawaiian words with their definitions in the hand of W.P. Alexander. Also used were a list of words made by W.F. Wilson of Honolulu, William T. Brigham's *Ka Hana Kapa*, N.B. Emerson's *Pele and Hiiaka*, and Ellis's *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii*. Parker also credits various individuals who assisted with specific subject areas.

The cards were scrutinized and revised. Some 500 new words were added, as were diacritical marks for all entries. Certain features of Andrews' dictionary were omitted, including a list of words taken from foreign languages and the English-Hawaiian vocabulary. Parker also omitted most scriptural references, "since alterations made in the text of later editions of the Hawaiian Bible make these references unserviceable" (Andrews 1922: vi).

Early in 1921 the cards were brought to Bishop Museum, where the staff had agreed to undertake the necessary editorial work. Scientific terms were verified, and a list of Hawaiian geographical terms was compiled. With the assistance of J.S. Emerson, Stephen Mahaulu, L.A. Dickey, Thomas C. White, Clifford Gessler, Theodore Kelsey, E.H. Bryan, Jr., and Bertha Metzger, many definitions were clarified and a few new words added. Also, the cards were arranged in the order of the English rather than the Hawaiian alphabet as in the previous dictionaries.

The Parker revision was printed by the Bishop Museum in 1922 in an extremely short run of 400 copies. Again, interleaved versions were presented to scholars of the Hawaiian language that they might assist in the production of yet another dictionary. A pencilled note by Herbert Gregory, Bishop Museum director, indicates the distribution of some of these. Headed "Memorandum for Henry P. Judd," the note states that interleaved dictionaries have been delivered to Joseph Emerson, William Hyde Rice, Thomas G. Thrum, Lahilahi Webb, Henry P. Judd, Ethel Damon, and Theodore Kelsey. Gregory notes that 2 interleaved copies are on hand and that more will be provided if necessary (Kelsey 1922-193?: bk. vi). Although the note is undated, inscriptions in interleaved dictionaries presented to individuals not on the above list indicate that it must have been prepared no later than 19 July 1923. Furthermore, it is likely that the above list was the initial distribution list of interleaved copies, in part to thank the recipients for their efforts in producing the revision.

Five interleaved annotated copies of the Andrews-Parker dictionary, including at least one from the initial list, are now in the Bishop Museum Library manuscript collection. These are described below.

"Unknown" copy

The first of the copies is very sparsely annotated in pen by an unknown hand. Reproduced below are the *only* annotations in the volume.

Kukapihe	Ku—to stand; ka—to draw or drawn; pihe—suffering internally hence the ill effect of loosened bowels
Kokaipu	hardened bowels directly caused by bad case of constipation
Pika'ō	small; about ½ of anything
Pali-ku	steep precipice, almost at right angles
Pali-loa	A long steep precipice
Pali-paa	Pali—precipice; paa—firm; immovable. This refers to a sudden & almost perpendicular rise of the side of a mountain from the elevation where it stands. The following illustration serves to explain [see Fig. 1]
Papali	where the ground suddenly slopes down into a ravine [see Fig. 2] thus: pa, before pali, refers to a size somewhat like a fence (pa) or a wall (palia). It limits the idea of a pali to that of a small sized precipice

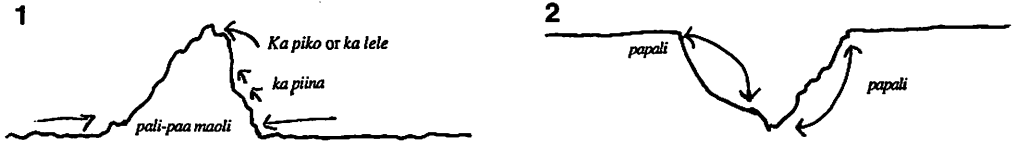


FIG. 1-2. Illustrations of (1) *pali-paa* and (2) *papali* from “unknown copy” of Andrews-Parker dictionary. Typeset lettering has been used in place of original pencil handwriting on both figures. Fig. 1 includes additional terms for the incline (*piina*) and summit (*piko/lele*). The addition of “*maoli*” to “*pali-paa*” emphasizes that the illustration is of a “true” *pali-paa*.

I‘aukea copy

The 2nd copy is inscribed to Curtis P. I‘aukea with compliments of Bernice P. Bishop Museum, dated September 1923. Curtis Pi‘ehu I‘aukea (1855–1940), a descendant of Hawaiian *ali‘i*, was for many years chamberlain of the royal Hawaiian household and special crown representative for the rulers of Hawai‘i. At birth he was adopted by his uncle, a personal attendant of Kamehameha IV. The young boy was reared at the palace, beginning a lengthy service to the government of Hawai‘i that was to continue until his retirement in 1921 from the office of secretary of the territory.

In 1880 I‘aukea was appointed chief secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and 3 years later he was made special envoy to the coronation of the czar of Russia. He visited all the royal courts of Europe as the Hawaiian envoy and then travelled to India and Japan to study the immigration question and to open negotiations for a labor convention. His mission to Japan resulted in the admission of Japanese laborers to Hawaiian sugar plantations. In 1884 I‘aukea was appointed collector-general of customs and chamberlain of the king’s household. As chamberlain, he took charge of the royal party attending Queen Victoria’s jubilee in London in 1887. In 1889 he became crown land agent and commissioner, and in 1897 again journeyed to London with the embassy from the Republic of Hawaii for Victoria’s diamond jubilee. The following year he accompanied the President of the Republic of Hawaii, Sanford Ballard Dole, and Mrs. Dole to Washington, D.C., as secretary and military attaché.

I‘aukea was county sheriff from 1906 to 1908 and served a term as a senator in the Territorial Legislature of 1912. His last governmental position was secretary of the territory, beginning in 1917. In 1909 he assumed the responsibility of business representative for Queen Lili‘uokalani and later became managing trustee and treasurer of the Lili‘uokalani Trust.

A note by Margaret Titcomb, Bishop Museum librarian, on a preliminary page of the interleaved volume states that it was loaned to I‘aukea for addition and revision of words, and that “Col Iaukea’s additions have been added to Mary Pukui’s list toward a new dictionary.” This particular copy does not have the blank leaves following each printed page, but rather a series of blanks bound in following the section for each letter of the alphabet.

Pencil notations are added in several hands, including that of Col. I‘aukea (CPI) and Margaret Titcomb (MT). In some cases I‘aukea simply added words without definitions, and definitions were later supplied by other hands. An example follows:

Hanewanewa [CPI hand]	to whisper [MT hand]
Hawanawana [CPI hand]	same as, according to Lahilahi’s definition [MT hand]

(i.e., *Hanewanewa* same as *Hawanawana* according to Lahilahi Webb’s definition).

Cox copy

On 20 July 1923 another interleaved copy bound in the same style as I'aukea's was inscribed by Bernice P. Bishop Museum to O.P. Cox. Oscar Pihanui Cox (1875–1936) was educated in Waialua, O'ahu, at The Kamehameha Schools, and later at the Honolulu Normal School. He taught school on O'ahu and Kaua'i in 1897 and the following year joined the police force, serving as a court officer. In 1900 he became camp police officer and also worked at Waialua Plantation. Cox was elected to the legislature in 1904, serving 2 years as vice-speaker of the House. In 1905 he was also elected deputy sheriff of Waialua, a position he held until 1915. In 1916 he was appointed road supervisor and served in this capacity for 3 years. Meanwhile Cox began to study law, qualifying for practice in 1920. The following year he was made U.S. marshal and served in this position until 1934.

Cox lightly annotated his copy of the Andrews-Parker dictionary in pencil and pen. Most of the definitions relate to fishing, and frequently usage is demonstrated in sentences:

Ma loeloe	tight—stiffened—Ua maloeloe ka'u huki ana i ke kaula. The rope is tight. Ua paa maloeloe ua pau o ka pau. I have stiffen [sic] the parts of the fence
Muu	(missed). I ka ki ana iho nei o einei i ka mapala o ka muu iho no ia. When he shot his marble he missed.

Judd copy

The 4th interleaved copy is a recent (1983) addition to the Bishop Museum manuscript collection. It was the personal copy of Henry Pratt Judd (1880–1955), a clergyman and professor of Hawaiian language. A descendant of the missionaries Dr. Gerrit P. and Laura F. Judd, Rev. H.P. Judd was educated in Hawai'i and on the mainland, where he began his religious career. In 1908 he returned to Hawai'i and began an association with the Hawaiian Board of Missions that endured for 27 years. In 1908 he began his serious study of the Hawaiian language, announcing that since he worked with the Hawaiian people, he felt it necessary to know their language. As a young minister he travelled extensively throughout the Islands, preaching in English and later in Hawaiian. From 1910 to 1913 he served as pastor of Kahului Union Church. As his knowledge of Hawaiian grew, so did his scholarly interest in the language. He published a book of Hawaiian proverbs in 1930, *The Hawaiian Language* in 1939, and was the senior compiler of the 1943 dictionary (Judd et al. 1943). In addition to community service performed as a trustee for the Library of Hawaii, Palama Settlement, Hawaiian Historical Society, and other organizations, Judd found time to teach. In 1935 he was appointed professor of Hawaiian at the University of Hawaii, and he continued there for 10 years. He also taught Hawaiian language courses at various schools and in his own home. Contemporaries credit his efforts as a one-man crusade to keep the Hawaiian language alive, and at his death it was written that the Hawaiian people had lost a valued friend. Their history, customs, and language found in Henry Judd a tireless and articulate spokesman.

The interleaved, annotated copy of the Andrews-Parker dictionary belonging to Henry Judd was bound in the usual way, with a blank page following each printed page. There are occasional question marks by new words, probably indicating that he had heard or seen the word but did not know the meaning. There are notes on usage particular to certain islands or parts thereof, and many new definitions for words. Frequently the sources for these are given, at times by initials: Malo, Kaaiakamanu, JFGS [John F.G. Stokes], I.L., etc. Markings on the new words are restricted to an occasional glottal. A sample of Judd's entries follows:

aipalu	hobo, bum
hoemu	weeding of plants
kupoupou	(Kauai) to descend

Pukui copy

The last interleaved copy of the Andrews-Parker dictionary in Bishop Museum Library is marked in the hand of Mary Kawena Pukui, with additions by a number of other individuals. It is bound as Judd's and contains annotations by Kawena in her familiar pencil on the printed as well as the blank pages. A note by Margaret Titcomb on the front flyleaf reads: "All these pencilled additions copied by Mary Pukui into her catalog of additions." Kawena's own annotations are primarily new definitions, which usually include the glottal stop. She has carefully indicated the source of each definition, the sources being various manuscripts in the Bishop Museum Library collection. Kawena and Kenneth P. Emory have indicated some pronunciation by dashes, accents, glottals, etc. in the early pages, but this does not carry through the entire volume. It appears that the two were experimenting with methods of marking. Finally, a few annotations are dated; these are in the 1930s.

Others worked on this same copy. In addition to the hands of Margaret Titcomb and Kenneth Emory, there are several others not familiar to me. According to Patience Namaka Bacon, Kawena's *hānai* daughter, a number of volunteers recruited by Kenneth Emory worked on the project. A sample of entries follows:

A'ea'e	hair that has begun to turn grey; the hair of one that is prematurely gray—Liliuokalani M14—P.231 [MKP hand]
² ₁ ² āhāaha	(pronounced aha ha), no glottal, K. E. fr. M. P. [KPE hand]
Luke	to break open sea shells [MT hand]
Luka	one who can eat a great deal [MT hand]
Lukau	to be careful of; to be watchful [MT hand]
Muala	feeble-minded, half wit [MT hand]

Notes for a New Hawaiian Dictionary

The Andrews-Parker dictionary was scarcely off the presses before work was begun on a new dictionary by the staff of the Museum. A letter from Bertha Metzger, responsible for much of the editorial work on the Andrews-Parker dictionary, to Dr. Gregory, the director, dated 16 February 1923 recites the history of the Andrews-Parker edition and expresses her dissatisfaction with the finished product:

From the acts of the legislature it seems that the intent was to compile a new dictionary. What we really have is a revised dictionary.

If a new dictionary is ever to be compiled, it seems to me that the best thing to do would be to start all over again. In a letter which Churchill wrote to Tregear he says, speaking of the Samoan language,

"A noun may be a noun or an adjective or an adverb by turns. To attempt to catch a Samoan sentence in the classical categories of grammar is much such an employment as picking up quicksilver on a table top with the bowl of a teaspoon, you will have an afternoon of innocent sport, but with little accomplished. We owe so much to Pratt that he should be sacred against derision, yet one must smile at his effort to reduce the Samoan verb, as full of life and mischief as Puck, to a dead rule of the Hebrew grammar."

From my work on the Hawaiian dictionary I should say that the same holds true with Hawaiian. (Kelsey et al. 1922-193?: bk. vi)

In continuing, Miss Metzger urges that the work begin in the Museum's own manuscript collection, which she says has perhaps the best source material in the world for such an undertaking, and that it be expanded to include court reports, publications, and newspapers, as well as Hawaiian informants.

The work on a new dictionary had already begun, although it was not announced as such. The previous year the Museum had sent a general letter to the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, the *Maui News*, and undoubtedly to other papers asking them to run a story on Hawaiian proverbs. The Museum had just published *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* and wanted to continue the work with a compilation of Hawaiian proverbs. The letter was, in effect, a news release that included ca. 100 Hawaiian proverbs with their translations and asked that knowledgeable Hawaiians comment on them, send in additional proverbs, or contribute in other ways.

One of the Museum staff says: "We have met with such enthusiasm from the few who know of our plans that we hope to publish a book of sayings that will be of interest not only to the Hawaiians and to the scientific student, but to the general reader as well. The language is exceptionally rich in proverbs and beautiful figures of speech. Of course, the Museum will search the published mele, and the great wealth of Hawaiian literature, but it is upon the Hawaiians themselves that the burden of the work falls for many of the most picturesque sayings are retained only in the speech of the Hawaiians. The Museum does not consider that it is the author of the work. We of the staff are merely the clearing house. We hope that we may have a deluge of proverbs, sayings and conundrums mailed in to us from every quarter of the islands" (Kelsey et al. 1922-193?: bk. iii)

There was good response to the letter, and in addition to providing source material for Mary Kawena Pukui and Henry P. Judd in their work with proverbs, it also assisted greatly in the preparation of a new dictionary. In November 1922 Bertha Metzger wrote to Theodore Kelsey, thanking him for his contributions of proverbs and expressing her frustration with the Andrews-Parker dictionary:

Yes, the dictionary is but a revision but it has dragged on so long now that I presume they felt it must be published. We are not putting in any more new words as the copy is in the hands of the printer. Perhaps some day they will find a suitable person to make a really new dictionary and the money. (Kelsey et al. 1922-193?: bk. iii)

These letters and others are contained in a collection in Bishop Museum Library titled "Notes saved to be used in compiling a new Hawaiian dictionary." The 6 folders that make up the collection consist of a wide variety of scratch notes, loose sheets of memoranda, partial copies of notes, etc., all relating to proverbs or work towards a new dictionary. Also included are lists of people who might be of assistance and leads on manuscript sources or other books in private hands that might be used. One such memo, quoted below, is dated 7 June 1922 and is from A.F. Judd, a Museum trustee.

C.P. Iaukea reports that George Gabriel Keawehaku, late member of the Hawaiian Dictionary Commission, now deceased, left the beginning of an extended MSS planned to be an encyclopedia-Dictionary, and in it is supposed to be an [sic] recorded and explained many proverbs. Iaukea offered to track the mss down and to try and get it from Keawehaku's widow. (Kelsey et al. 1922-193?: bk. iii)

Contributions in the collection are from many sources: N.B. Emerson, Lahilahi Webb,⁷ Martha Beckwith, and pages of *The Hawaiian Annual*, etc. Much is the work of Theodore Kelsey and, for this reason, the collection bears his name.

Theodore Kelsey, born in 1891, arrived in Hawai'i at the age of 4. His mother taught school on Kaua'i, and the family soon moved to Hilo, where Kelsey grew up. He completed his education on the mainland and returned to Hawai'i in 1917. He tells of being so affected by the death of Lili'uokalani in November of that year that "I was moved to devote myself completely to Hawaiian research in an attempt to preserve as much of Hawai'i's perishing ancient language and culture as possible" (Ronck 1981: B-1).

Kelsey had begun to learn Hawaiian about 1905. Initially self-taught, he soon became highly knowledgeable and began systematically to interview native Hawaiians about their culture. He assisted Helen Roberts with her research for *Ancient Hawaiian Music* and over the years was an invaluable aid to most of the ethnographers writing on Hawaiian history and culture. In 1927 Kelsey moved to Honolulu, where he continued to pursue his own interests as well as recording chants for Bishop Museum. For a time he lived at Lalani Village, becoming the close friend and confidant of James P. Kuluwaimaka. His lifework is a new interpretation of the *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian chant of creation, on which he continues to work today.

His contributions to the new dictionary include letters with additional word lists and collections of proverbs. He makes some irregular attempts at indicating stress and glottals, and one letter describes his own theory of marking glottals. In almost every case he names his informant and gives sufficient information to place the individual in context.

Judd's Hawaiian Proverbs and Dictionary

Theodore Kelsey was also an important contributor to the manuscript collection of Henry P. Judd titled "Hawaiian proverbs and words for his dictionary." The collection includes lists of proverbs, words, and phrases on various scraps and full sheets of paper. Included are letters from Kelsey and other informants in English and Hawaiian. Most of the material in the collection bears marginal notations by Lahilahi Webb. Some of her notes are signed, others are not, and her annotations are undated. There is also a 10 page list of words, with a note at the top: "All these words in my dictionary. L. Webb." Her annotations to the list sometimes add new meanings.

A letter from Fr. Reginald Yzendoorn to Judd, date-stamped 21 August 1923, typifies the type of material in the collection. Yzendoorn, replying to a letter of 13 August from Judd, states in part:

I submit a list of words [presumably that mentioned above] which I had added to my old Hawaiian Dictionary, and which I do not find in the new one. . . . Some of these words are entirely absent, others are there but with a different meaning. Then there are quite a few new words transliterated from the English which we may consider thoroughly incorporated into the Hawaiian language. Words like pulapu, bluff; kalapu, club; kaki, to charge; and many others are used by old natives not knowing that they use foreign words, and many of us haoles do not recognize them as English words in their new dress. I add also some "Catholic" words, partly obsolete and not understood by the natives; these are words which the old Fathers coined mostly from the French, and are found in old Catholic books. Others, as the names of the Sacraments, are in current use. . . . Most of these words are taken from the Kuokoa, which as you know of course is a rich source of the various "olelo" you speak of.

Judd's proverbs book was duly published in 1930, with thanks in the preface to all those who had contributed, but without an actual account of the compilation process. The Andrews-Parker dictionary was out of print, and by 1931 it was unavailable except at inflated prices (Elbert 1954: 13).

In ca. 1940 the City Second Hand Bookstore ordered a reprint of Andrews' 1865 dictionary from Hong Kong. One hundred copies are said to have been printed, but this too was soon out of print (Elbert 1954: 13). It was in 1943 that the next dictionary appeared, the work of Henry P. Judd, Mary Kawena Pukui, and John F.G. Stokes. The volume was more a vocabulary than a complete dictionary, containing some 4,500 English-Hawaiian entries and about 6,000 Hawaiian-English entries. It is noteworthy because it is the first vocabulary to fully recognize and indicate the glottal stop as well as vowel quantity throughout. The preface states that "the Hawaiian translations are based on H.R. Hitchcock's English Hawaiian Dictionary (1887) modified . . . [by] reference to the following English-Hawaiian vocabularies: J.S. Emerson (1845), Lorrin Andrews (1865), F.E. Midkiff and J.H. Wise (about 1929), Mary H. Atcherley (1930), an anonymous manuscript used in Hawaiian classes at the University of Hawaii by F.W. Beckley in 1925 and J.F. Woolley in 1928, and subsequently published for the Hawaiian Language League (1936), the Hawaii Tourist Bureau (1937) [Kamehameha Schools]; and O. Shaw 1939 [Shaw 1938]; and, . . . [by] L. Andrews' Hawaiian-English lists (vocabulary, 1836 and dictionary, 1865), and their revisions by H.H. Parker (1921) [Andrews 1922]."

Pukui-Elbert Dictionary

Mary Kawena Pukui was a junior author of the Judd vocabulary, but with the Pukui-Elbert dictionary she came into her own. No brief biographical statement could begin to do justice to this humble and far-sighted woman. The summary of her life written by Eleanor Williamson for the introduction of Kawena's own *Ōlelo No'eau* reveals with love and grace how Kawena was raised as a child of 2 cultures and brought the best of both to a lifetime of caring for the Hawaiian culture and interpreting it for others. As Samuel Elbert wrote, "She is the expert in Hawaiian. This is her dictionary, a monument to her. My task has been the humble one of technician" (Elbert 1954: 14).

Kawena began her association with Bishop Museum ca. 1928 by assisting Martha Beckwith in the translation of Hawaiian newspapers and manuscripts. She was not listed on the staff, however, until August 1938, when she assumed the position of assistant in Hawaiian linguistics.

Over the years Kawena developed a card file in which she noted new words and definitions as she encountered them in newspapers, manuscripts, and in her work with native informants. The Bishop Museum annual reports (1921-1954) contain many references to her famous card file, still in the Museum manuscript collection, and her continual efforts to upgrade it. The report for 1940 notes that Kawena had recorded 5,000 words not listed in Andrews-Parker. Kawena consulted frequently with Denzel Carr, Kenneth P. Emory, J.F.G. Stokes, and Henry Judd among others on the question of indication of the glottal stop and "accents." In 1946 typewritten cards with Andrews-Parker words and definitions were added to the file, and Kawena was reported as feeling that "though words are still being added, the dictionary is nearing completion" (Bernice P. Bishop Museum 1946: 8).

Dr. Samuel H. Elbert, a leading scholar in the field of Pacific languages, was enlisted to assure technically acceptable lexicographic form in the planned dictionary. Born in Des Moines, Iowa in 1907, he trained in linguistics at Grinnell College and, in 1950, earned his Ph.D. from Indiana University. He had worked for the U.S. Geological Survey from 1936 to 1941, and near the end of World War II had an opportunity to put his linguistic training to practical use in Micronesia. In 1949 he began a distinguished career at the University of Hawaii; he retired from the University in 1972, after inspiring generations of students of Pacific languages and linguistics. One of the most prominent leading scholars of Hawaiian, Polynesian, and central Oceanic languages, Elbert has authored a wide range

of titles, from textbooks to folklore. He has compiled several dictionaries of other Polynesian languages as well as the landmark Hawaiian grammar. At the time of his involvement with the Hawaiian dictionary, he served as the Polynesian consultant to the editors of Webster's dictionaries.

It was Kawena's providential collaboration with Dr. Elbert that raised the linguistic standard of the new dictionary far beyond that of earlier efforts. The previous dictionary compilers, native speakers and dedicated scholars of the Hawaiian language, had each in turn contributed much to the various vocabularies and dictionaries published over the years. Without them it is doubtful that, outside of isolated rural pockets, the language would have persisted into the 20th century. However, while all were knowledgeable in the Hawaiian language, none had been trained in linguistics, i.e., in the techniques of language.

The addition of a professional linguist to the dictionary team was to have far-reaching effects. When Dr. Elbert referred to his task as merely the humble one of technician (Elbert 1954: 14), he was undervaluing his own contributions in true Polynesian tradition. Throughout the long and painstaking process, his sense of humor was never failing:

At times I must confess it is monotonous and dreary. . . . But with the slowness of the pace, there are times of hearty laughter. There are times of perplexity, too, and apprehension about shouldering the responsibility of assembling what will probably be the last of the many Hawaiian dictionaries. (Elbert 1954: 16-17)

Efforts in earlier works to indicate pronunciation and phonology had been inconsistent and often confusing. Elbert standardized use of the glottal stop and macron and addressed spelling rules, setting guidelines for Hawaiian orthography that are still valid 30 years later. Landmark features of the new dictionary included Elbert's guide to pronunciation and his Hawaiian grammar, the first by a professional with his linguistic training and a knowledge of other Polynesian languages.

The *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* did not appear until 1957 and, even then, Kawena and Dr. Elbert were not satisfied. Their preface and acknowledgments give a hint of what a monumental task it was to produce the entirely new dictionary for which Bertha Metzger had agitated some 35 years previously. Reference is made to the debt owed to previous dictionaries and other Hawaiian language publications and to a wide variety of "unpublished notes, letters, word lists, and texts, most of which are in the Bishop Museum Library" (Pukui & Elbert 1965: xxvii). There is also an indirect reference to manuscript notes and interleaved dictionaries loaned by a few private collectors. Thanks are given to the many subject specialists who assisted with the project, and especially to those who contributed substantially over the years, including Kenneth P. Emory, Theodore Kelsey, and Henry E.P. Kekahuna.

Three editions of the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* have now appeared, and one edition of the *English-Hawaiian Dictionary*. During revision of the text for the 3rd edition, Andrews' 1865 dictionary was once again scrutinized for new words. Those who compile dictionaries are never satisfied with their work, and they know that they can progress only with the assistance of others.

Much remains to be discovered in examining the history of the Hawaiian dictionary and its growth through the years. Interleaved and annotated dictionaries in public and private collections need to be located and studied. Many of these have not been used in the compilation of current dictionaries and may offer new insights. In addition to the annotated dictionaries, a myriad of other sources have influenced the evolution of the dictionary. Some are mentioned in dictionary and vocabulary prefaces and need to be rediscovered. One excellent source is the letters of the missionaries and other Hawaiian scholars, which contain information on the Hawaiian language and the Hawaiian language dictionaries. Comparisons and contrasts need to be drawn between the various individuals who have

worked at annotating and revising the dictionaries—their knowledge of Hawaiian, expertise in particular subject areas, familiarity with the speech community of certain geographic areas, etc. This account is only a beginning, a brief description of the dictionaries and some of the other sources in Bishop Museum Library that relate to the Hawaiian dictionary and its evolution.

E ku'i ka māmā a loa'a 'o Ka'ohēle.

Let your fastest runners run in relay to catch Ka'ohēle.

—Mary Kawena Pukui, *'Ōlelo No'eau*

NOTES

1. The Reverend John S. Emerson (1800–1867) and his wife were members of the Fifth Company of missionaries, arriving in Honolulu on 17 May 1832. They were stationed at Waialua, O'ahu for 10 years, where Emerson taught the Hawaiians agricultural methods as well as the gospel. From 1842 to 1846 they were at Lahainaluna Seminary; then returned to Waialua, where Emerson continued to serve until 1864, when he resigned owing to ill health. Emerson translated *Daily Food* (*Ka Ai o ka La*), several children's primers, and compiled letters A–N of the 1845 English-Hawaiian dictionary.

2. Elisha Loomis (1799–1836), a member of the Pioneer Company, arrived at Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i on 4 April 1820. By trade Loomis was a teacher and a printer. He was initially stationed at Kawaihae, where he taught school to Kalanimoku and his family. In November 1820 the school and its pupils were moved to Honolulu, where Loomis continued to teach and began his work as the Mission printer. On 7 January 1822 he struck off the first page on the missionary press. In 1827 Loomis and his family returned to the United States for health reasons and to supervise printing in the Hawaiian language for the missions. It was late that same year that the *Parthian*, with Lorrin Andrews aboard, departed for Hawai'i.

3. James Ely (1798–1890), was a member of the Second Company. He and his wife were stationed at Honolulu and Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i (1823) and established the station at Ka'awaloa, Hawai'i in 1824. They remained there until they returned to the United States in 1828 for reasons of health. While in the islands, Mr. Ely translated sections of the Bible.

4. The Reverend William Richards (1793–1847), yet another member of the Second Company of the ABCFM, was stationed at Lahaina, Maui, where he established close ties with the Hawaiian royal family. In July 1838 he left the Mission to become chaplain, translator, counselor, and political advisor to the throne at the request of Kamehameha III. In 1842 he became Hawai'i's ambassador to England, and in 1845 he was appointed minister of public instruction. Richards' proficiency in the Hawaiian language brought him in close contact with many of the Hawaiian *ali'i*, for whom he frequently served as translator and who trusted him implicitly. He translated major portions of the Bible and several textbooks, as well as the Hawaiian almanac.

5. Dr. Gerrit P. Judd (1803–1873) was a member of the Third Company. Stationed in Honolulu throughout his career, he nevertheless made frequent professional visits to the other islands and was one of the most travelled of the missionaries. In April 1842 he left the Mission to become translator and recorder for the Hawaiian government and a member of the Treasury Board, and to transact business with foreigners on the government's behalf. In November 1843 he was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, and in March 1845 he became minister of the interior. Appointed commissioner to France, Great Britain, and the United States in September 1849, he accompanied Princes Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha on a mission to those countries. He resigned from the government in September 1853, resuming his medical practice and devoting himself to various commercial propositions.

Aside from his translation work for the government, Judd is probably best known in the realm of Hawaiian language for his exquisite *Anatomia*, published in 1838 with some of the finest examples of Lahainaluna copper-plate engraving ever produced. Early in their life in Hawai'i Dr. and Mrs. Judd began to include Hawaiian words and phrases in their letters to friends and relatives in the United States. Soon those same words were appearing in letters directed to them in the Sandwich Islands.

6. The Reverend Dwight Baldwin (1798–1886) and his wife were members of the Fourth Company, arriving in Honolulu on 7 June 1831. They were stationed at Lahaina, Maui from 1832 to 1835, made a brief trip to the Society Islands for Baldwin's health in 1835, and returned to Lahaina where they labored until 1870. Dr. Baldwin served not only as a minister, but also as a physician. He had taken extensive medical training before his assignment to the mission field, but had to leave before official recognition of his medical degree when the call arrived from the Prudential Committee. In 1859 he belatedly received an honorary medical degree from Dartmouth, which came as small comfort after the embarrassment he had suffered for years at the hands of the medical community of Honolulu, who would not grant him a medical license without documentary evidence of his medical degree.

Dr. Baldwin combined an active ministry with an exhausting medical practice, was also an educator, examining and reporting on schools, and taught at the Theological School in Honolulu from 1872 to 1877. He worked diligently for the seamen of Lahaina and was active in the temperance movement and in campaigns to diminish the use and sale of tobacco. During the smallpox epidemic of 1853, Baldwin was government commissioner for Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i and was responsible for preventing the spread of the epidemic to those islands.

Dr. Baldwin's labors left little time for translation, but he did produce a tract on temperance and worked with Mr. Alexander on translating portions of the Bible.

7. Elizabeth Lahilahi Webb (1862–1949) was for over 20 years a guide to the exhibits at Bishop Museum. Born and educated in Honolulu, Mrs. Webb was a friend of Queen Lili'uokalani for years and served as her lady-in-waiting from 1914 until the queen's death in 1917. When she joined the Museum staff in 1919 she brought with her an intimate knowledge of the Monarchy in its final days and bright memories of Kalākaua's court. Her own background, coupled with her love of Hawaiian tradition and her interest in historical fact, made her a valuable informant for members of the Museum staff and a charming and entertaining "hostess" to visitors to the Museum. Her involvement with political, civic, and social activities made her a valued leader in the wider community as well.

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