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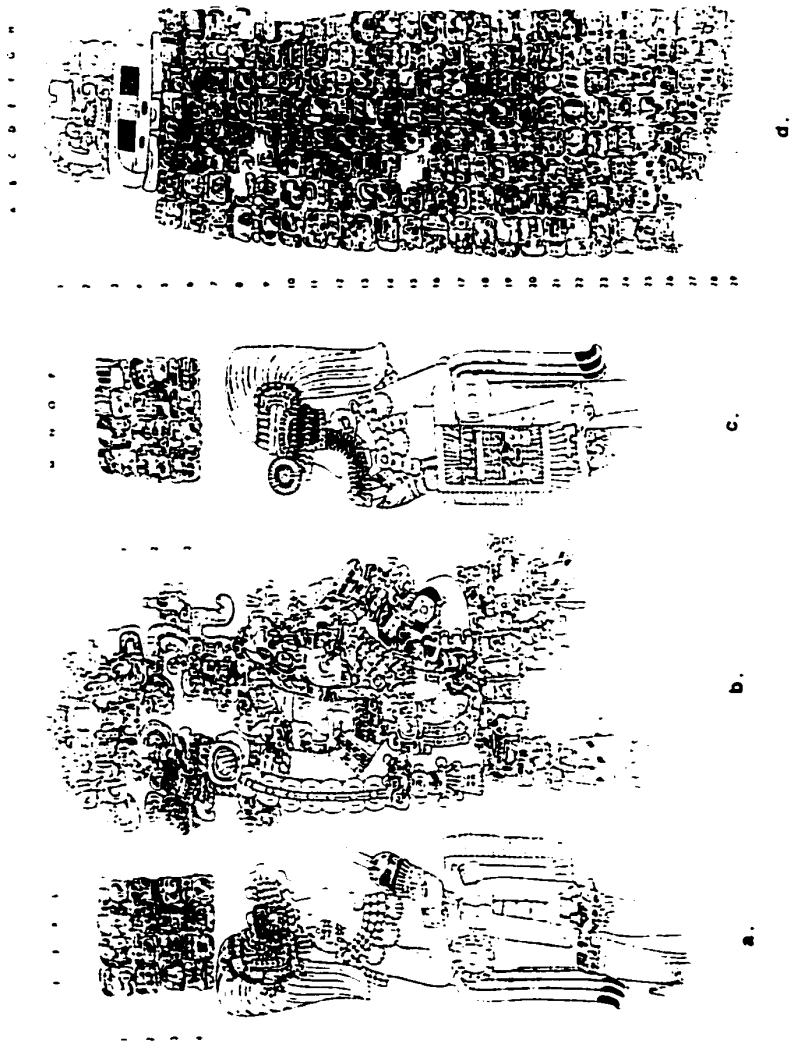
Figure 0.1.



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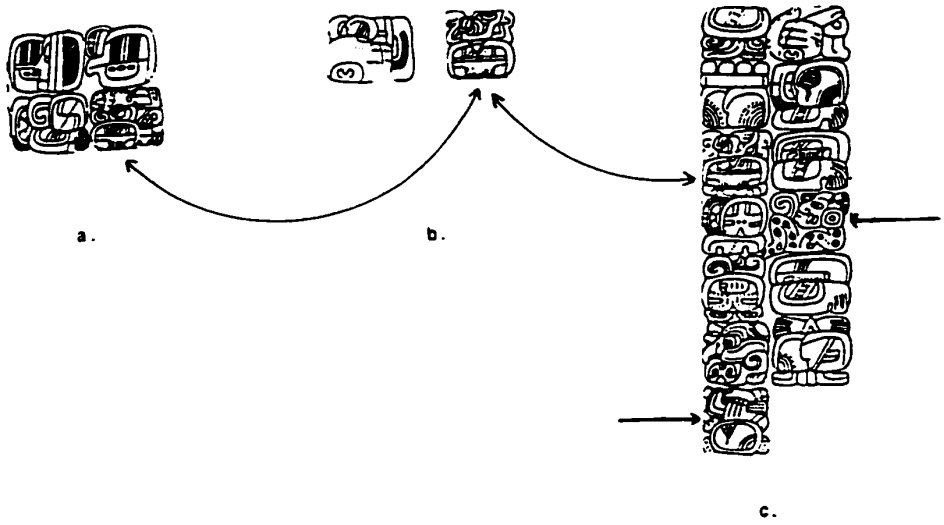

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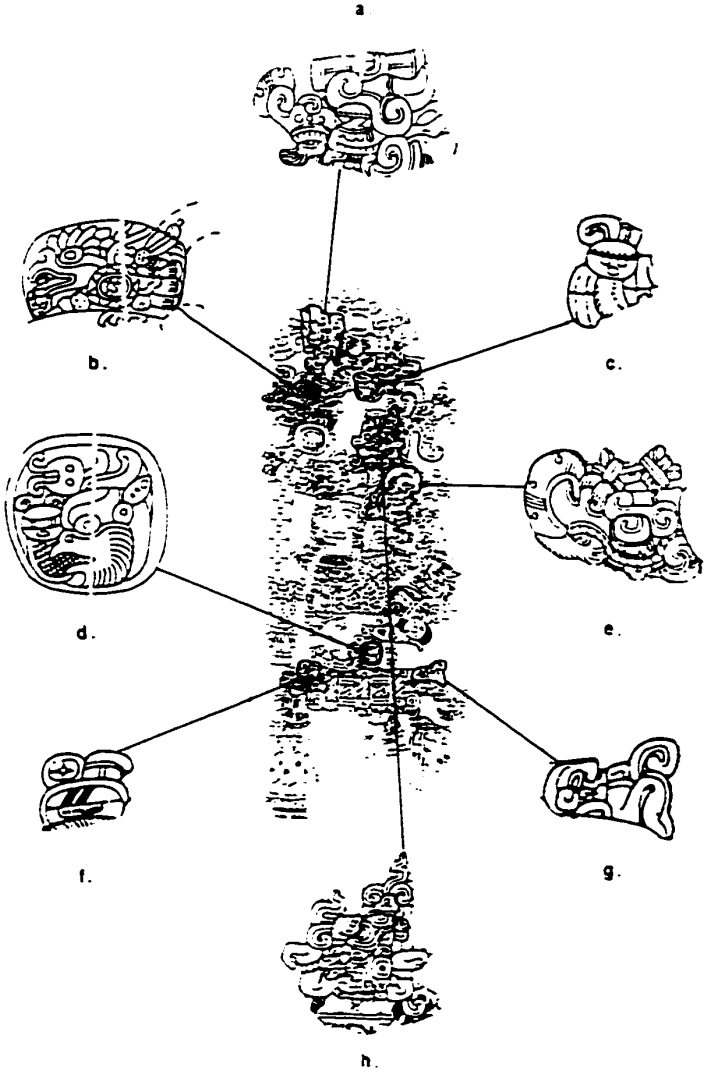

CHAPTER I: LIST OF FIGURES

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Figure 1.19. Two early texts from Mesoamerica. (a) San Jose Mogote Monument 3, Zapotec, dated to ca. 600-500 B.C. by Marcus (1976), and to ca. 500-300 B.C. by Cahn and Winter (1993). The monument shows a sacrificed individual and below him at least two glyph blocks, each made up of a single sign, arranged into a vertical column. The top glyph is the day sign EARTHQUAKE, and the bottom glyph is the numeral ONE, rendering EARTHQUAKE-ONE or 'One Earthquake', a ritual calendar notation probably referring to the sacrificed individual's name. From Flannery and Marcus (1983:58). (b) La Venta Monument 13, Olmec, dated to ca. 600-500 B.C. based on radiocarbon evidence by Drucker, Heizer, and Squier (1959:267). It shows at least four glyphs: a right-pointing FOOTPRINT glyph, a weathered oval sign, a weathered trilobed sign, and a right-facing BIRD.HEAD sign. It is possible, given the position of the pictorial figure

in between the FOOTPRINT glyph and the oval sign, that the portrayed figure functions as a hieroglyph, probably as a proper name for the individual. If so, the text then consists of five hieroglyphs, three of which are arranged into a single vertical column. The fact that they all face right, rather left as one would expect, is probably due to the orientation of the portrayed figure (cf., La Mojarra Stela 1). Drawing from Marcus (1976:Figure 4).

Figure 1.20. La Mojarra Stela 1. The text contains two Long Count dates (A.D. 157), various distance numbers, and according to Justeson and Kaufman (1992, 1993, 1997) and Kaufman and Justeson (2001) it may represent pre-proto-Zoquean. Drawing by George Stuart (Winfield Capitaine 1988:7).

Figure 1.21. El Sitio Celt. It shows thirteen signs, arranged into nine glyphs (A1-A9). Some resemble Epi-Olmec signs very closely (e.g., A1a, A1b, A2, A3, A6a, A7), while some resemble Mayan signs (e.g., A1a, A2, A5b, A6a, A7, A8). Given its proximity to Izapa, and the possible presence of iconographically-embedded Epi-Olmec glyphs in the stelae at that site (Kappelman 1997; Kaufman and Justeson 2001), it is not implausible that this may be a form of Epi-Olmec writing too, or at least its closest relative (Kaufman and Justeson 2001). It is possible that the text may not be coeval with the incised figure on the front; the former may be Late Preclassic, while the latter may be Middle Preclassic (Taube 1995). Drawing by this author after Navarrete (1971:Figure 5).

Figure 1.22. (a) El Porton Monument 1 (ca. 450-350 B.C.). The topmost glyph was destroyed by looters; it consisted of a FLAT.HAND sign visible still in a polaroid photograph from the time of discovery. (b) Justeson and Mathews (1990) have pointed out possible presence of a predecessor of the Classic T644 SIT glyph in what is now the topmost surviving glyph. From Sharer and Sedat (1973:Figure 3).

Figure 1.23. Monuments from Late Preclassic Kaminaljuyu. (a) Stela 10, with two glyphic panels, each headed by an oversized day sign with an elaborate cartouche and pedestal. It may date to ca. 400-200 B.C., based on associated Verbena phase (400-200 B.C.) sherds. (b) Stela 11, with no glyphic panels but with possible iconographically

embedded glyphs, and with iconographic motifs related to glyphs attested on Stela 10 and in other Late Preclassic texts. It was associated with Verbena (400-200 B.C.) and Arenal (200 B.C.-A.D. 100) sherds, and could thus date to ca. 200 B.C. Drawing by James Porter. (c) Stela 21, fragmented monument with two surviving hieroglyphs. It dates to the late Arenal phase, ca. A.D. 100. Drawing by James Porter (Taube 1995:Figure 12a).

Figure 1.24. Day signs from Kaminaljuyu and Izapa. (a) Possible 7-MULUK notation on Kaminaljuyu Stela 10. Drawing by James Porter. (b) Possible 8-IX or 8-OK notation on Kaminaljuyu Stela 10. Drawing by James Porter. (c) Possible 10-[DAY.NAME] notation on Izapa Stela 27. Drawing from Norman (1976b:139). (d) Possible 7-DEATH notation on Izapa Miscellaneous Monument 60. It may date to the Guillen phase (300-50 B.C.). Drawing by this author based on photograph in Lowe, Lee, and Martínez (1982:194).

Figure 1.25. Texts from El Mirador, El Peten, Guatemala. (a) El Mirador Stela 2, dated to ca. A.D. 1-100, and 94 cm in height. From Hansen (1991:Figure 6). The drawing is incomplete, since until very recently the upper portion of the text (glyphs A1-A6) was thought to be uncarved. Richard Hansen (personal communication 2000) has shown, however, that there are in fact a few additional glyphs at A1-B2 that may be recoverable. Drawing from Hansen (1991). (b) El Mirador Chicanel potsherd, dated to ca. 200-100 B.C. I argue in this dissertation that the glyph, while iconically related to T533 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler', is probably read in this case as **NIK** 'flower', a reading that T533 also had in the Classic period. Drawing by author based on photograph in Matheny (1987:338).

Figure 1.26. Polol Altar 1, Peten, Guatemala. The remains of a Long Count date which may fall within the range of 176 B.C.-A.D. 35 can be seen in the center. Drawing from Pahl (1982:24, Figure 1a).

Figure 1.27. Texts from Abaj Takalik, Pacific Coast of Guatemala. (a) Abaj Takalik Stela 2, with an incomplete Long Count date placing it between ca. 235-18 B.C. Drawing by unknown author after drawing by James Porter. (b) Abaj Takalik Stela 5, with two

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Figure 1.29. Three stelae of about a meter in height. (a) Plain Stela from Cuello, 80 cm in height, dated to ca. A.D. 50-100. Drawing from Hammond (1982:Figure 4). (b) Antwerp Stela, unprovenanced, 90.5 cm in height but incomplete (one-fourth missing from bottom perhaps). Drawing by Erik Boot (1999:Figure 2). (c) Hauberg Stela, with date placing it at A.D. 197, 83.3 cm in height. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 1.30. Three inscribed portable objects from Belize with noncalendrical texts. (a) Kichpanha Inscribed Bone, dating to ca. A.D. 150. It was recovered from a burial of a possible scribe, and may have been used as a stylus. The text opens with **K'UHUL K'INICH-B'ALAM** '(He is a) Divine Sun-faced Jaguar'. The glyph at A5 may be a conflation of two glyphs: **BAK-le** for b'ak-el and **WAY(AL)** for wäy(-al), a term for a type of sorcerer. The glyph at A7, finally, may be the BEHEADED.JAGUAR glyph, the name of a type of wäy 'animal spirit; shapeshifter'. I discuss this text further in Chapters VI and VII. Drawing by Peter Mathews. (b) Kendal jadeite bivalve shell effigy, Protoclassic context (70 B.C.-A.D. 400). All the glyphs in this text are either deity heads or personified glyphs. The first and third glyphs may be verbs, the glyph at A6 may be a third person ergative/possessive prefix, and the glyph at A7 may be a possessed noun with a nominal -Vl suffix. Drawing by Linda Schele (Schele and Miller 1986:79, Plate 10a). (c) Kendal jadeite axe, Protoclassic context (70 B.C.-A.D. 400). The glyph at A4 is a form of the JESTER.GOD motif, read **HUN** 'paper, book, headband'. A4-A5, at least, may comprise a proper name of a person. Drawing by this author from photograph in Schele and Miller (1986:Plate 90a).

Figure 1.31. Pomona jade earflare, from Belize. It is dated to ca. A.D. 1-250 given its archaeological context according to Justeson, Norman, and Hammond (1988). Like the texts from Kichpanha and Kendal, this one also lacks calendrical information. Drawing by this author.

Figure 1.32. Relief from Loltun Cave in northern Yucatan. The first glyph is a ritual calendar day count, possibly **3-CHUWEN** or **3-7AJAW**. The glyph at A4a appears to be T1 **7u**, possibly functioning as a third person ergative or possessive prefix. The glyph at A6 may be an example of T17 **yi**. The glyph at A3 resembles that at A3 from El Porton Monument 1. It could spell a verbal suffix, since in both texts it follows a sign that could be a verb: in El Porton Monument 1 it follows a possible form of T644 SIT, while in the Loltun relief it follows the first noncalendrical glyph of the text, which might be a verb given the verb-initial word order of Mayan. The pose of the figure and the overall composition resemble Stela 11 from Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by this author after rubbing in Sharer (1995:Figure 3.23).

Figure 1.33. Scribal titles. Examples from Xcalumkin Panel 4. (a) A1: **7AJ-K'IN(-ni)** for 7aj-k'in 'priest' and **7AJ-tz'i-b'(a)** for 7aj-tz'ihb' 'scribe'. (b) A3: **NA7/7IX-7AJ-K'IN(-ni)** 7ix-7aj-k'in 'priestess'. Drawings from Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions. The text actually states that the person carrying the **7AJ-K'IN(-ni)** and **7AJ-tz'i-b'(a)** titles was the son of the woman carrying the **NA7/7IX-7a-K'IN(-ni)** title.

Figure 1.34. Stela 63 from Copan. Drawing by Barbara Fash in Fash (1991:82, Figure 37).

Figure 1.35. Inscribed preciosity owned by ancestor. (a) Inscribed bivalve shell beginning with phrase (A1-A2) **yu-ha MAM** for y-uh(-al) mäm '(It is) the bead of a(a)/the ancestor/grandfather(/grandson/nephew)'. The text follows with **7u**-SHELL '(It is) the shell of' at A3, and **k'u^{2X} 7u-KAB' CHAK-?-na** 'Quetzal...', the ancestor's proper name. On the other side of the shell the portrait of the ancestor is shown, and his glyphic name **7u-KAB'** is placed on his headdress. Photograph in Coe and Kerr

(1998:Plate 39). (b) Panel from Chichen Itza showing God N, the prototypical ancestor, wearing the same type of shell as part of a necklace. Drawing from Taube (1992).

Figure 1.36. Gift and Tribute Presentation Themes. (a) Scene from a painted pottery vessel from Tikal Burial 116 showing a group of men wearing tribute mantles and presenting gifts to a seated lord. Drawing from Culbert (1993:Figure 68A). (b) Panel from Palenque showing three persons handling possible tribute mantles. From Stuart (1995:Figure 10.17).

Figure 1.37. Slate disk reportedly from Bagaces, northern Costa Rica, on display at the Jade Museum in San Jose (INS 6528). It contains, at A7-B8, a possible reference to a gift (**7u-si** for 7u-sih 'his gift') given to a lord from Uaxactun, Sihjyaj Chan-7ahk K'uhul-Chan-7ajaw, by a lord from El Peru, K'inich B'ahläm Wak-7ajaw. The gift may have been the slate disk itself. Dated to ca. A.D. 300-400 based on style of glyphs and the references to historical personages. Drawing by this author.

Figure 1.38. Evidence suggesting scribes crafted and blessed preciosities, and were thus artisans and priests the same time. (a) Glyphic verb for wrapping: **k'a-la-j(a)** 'it was wrapped'. It was used as a dedicatory verb referring to the wrapping of monuments and portable objects, as well as of time periods in a more metaphorical sense. (b) Wrapped-up tribute mantles and other goods, such as pottery containers. (c) Wrapped-up gods. Diego de Landa describes how the priest that supervised the crafting of wooden gods wrapped them up in cloth before presenting them to the person who commissioned them. (d) Scene showing a scribe with a codex and paint brush tied to his head with a headband presenting a wrapped-up vessel to a seated lord.

Figure 1.1.

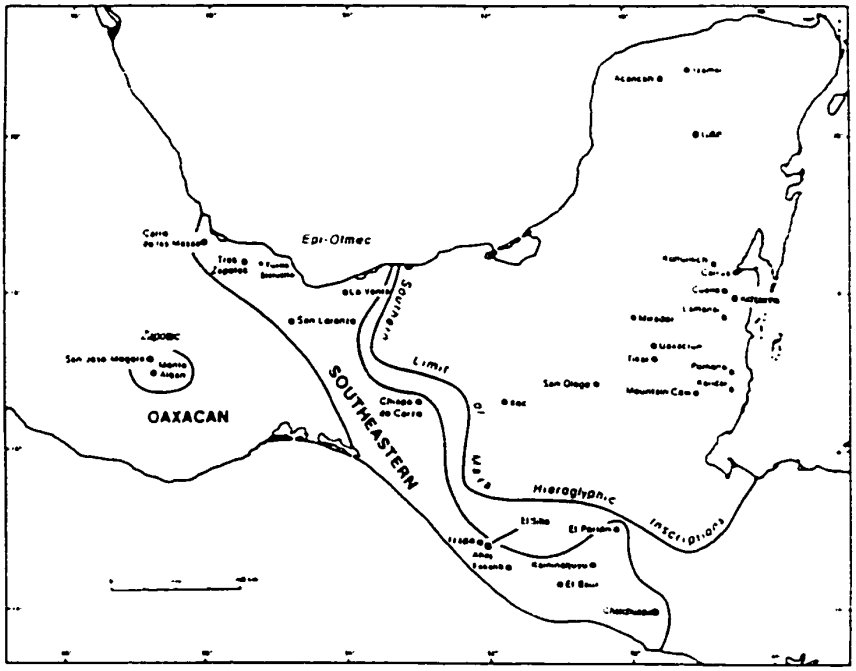
Epi-Olmec
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Figure 1.2.

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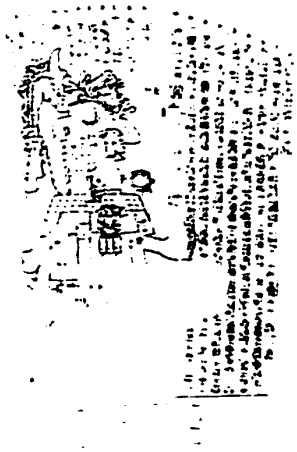

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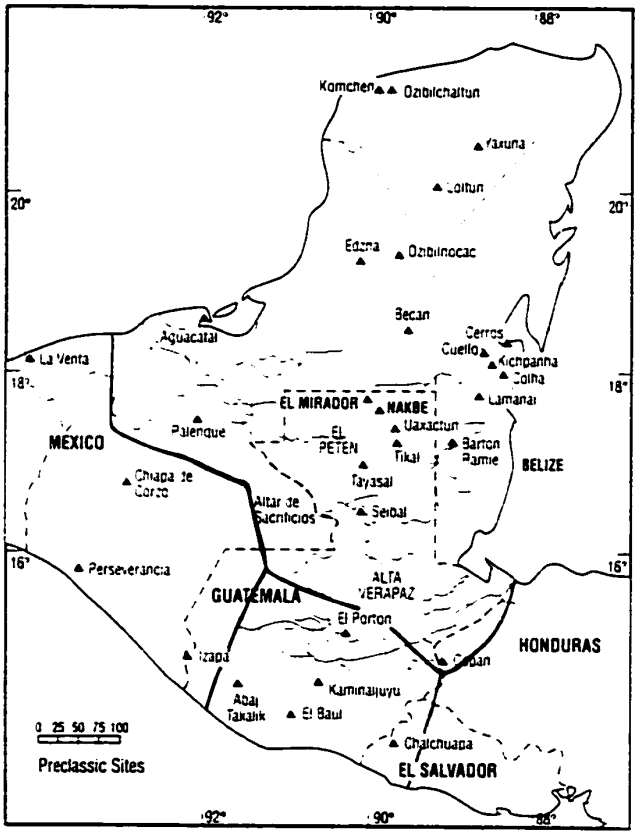
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Palenque
EL PETEN
Tikal
Barton Ramie
MEXICO
BELIZE
Chiapa de Corzo
Tayasal
Altar de Sacrificios
Seibal
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Perseverancia
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Preclassic Sites

Figure 1.4.

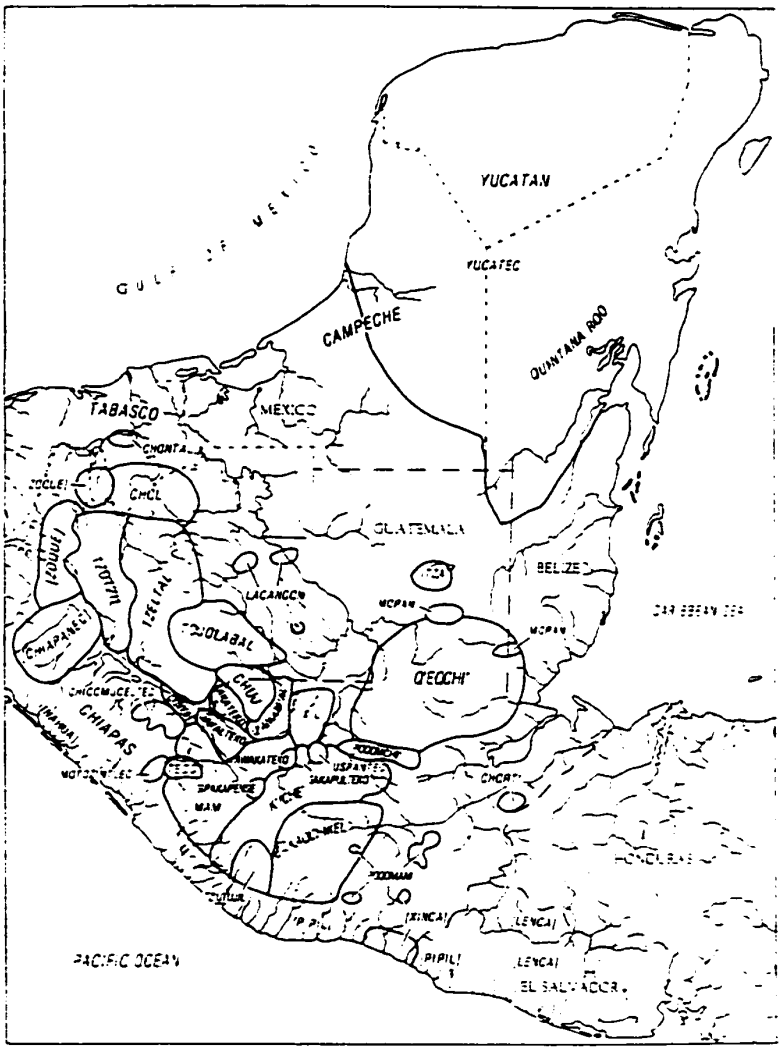
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Figure 1.5.

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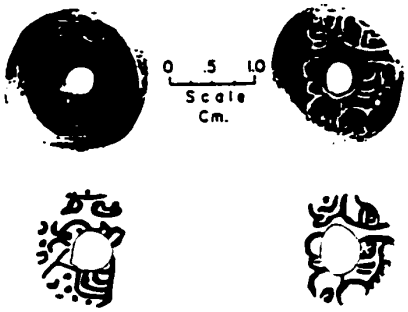

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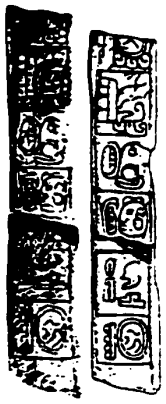

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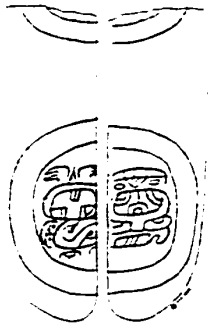

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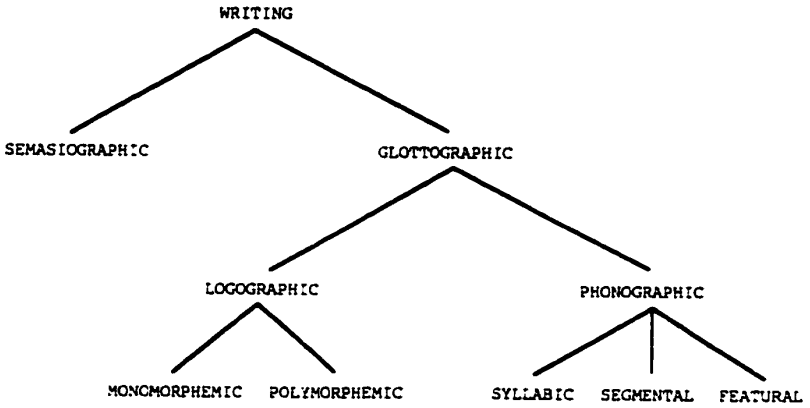
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GLOTTOGRAPHIC
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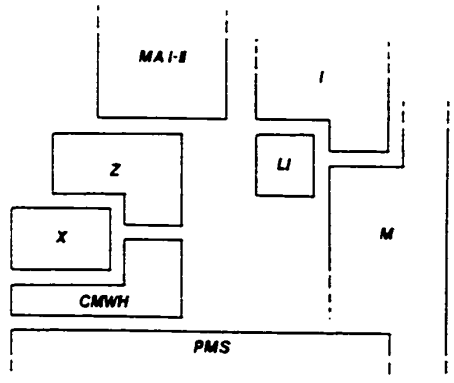
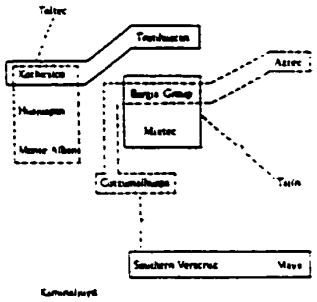
SYLLABIC
SEGMENTAL
FEATURAL

Figure 1.7.



MA I-II Monte Albán Writing
Z Zapotec Writing
I Intermediate Writing
LI Late Isthmian Writing
CM WH Central Mexican Writing Horizon
X Xochicalco branch of the Central Mexican Writing Horizon
PMS Post-Classic Manuscript Style
M Classic Maya Writing

a.



b.

Figure 1.8.

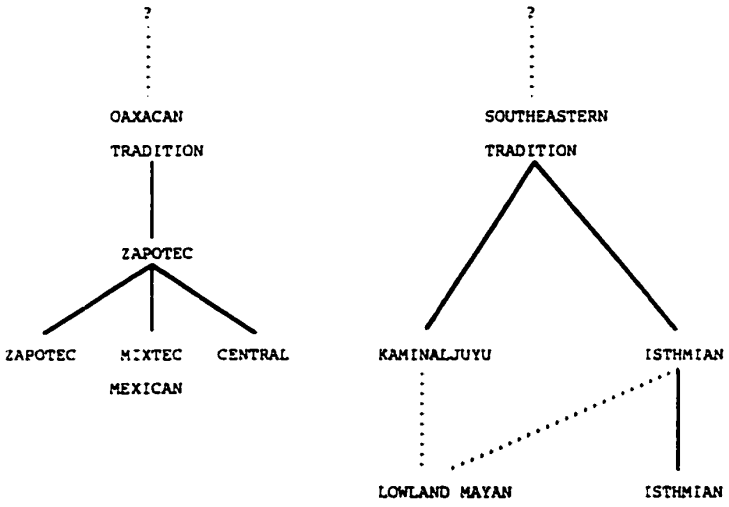
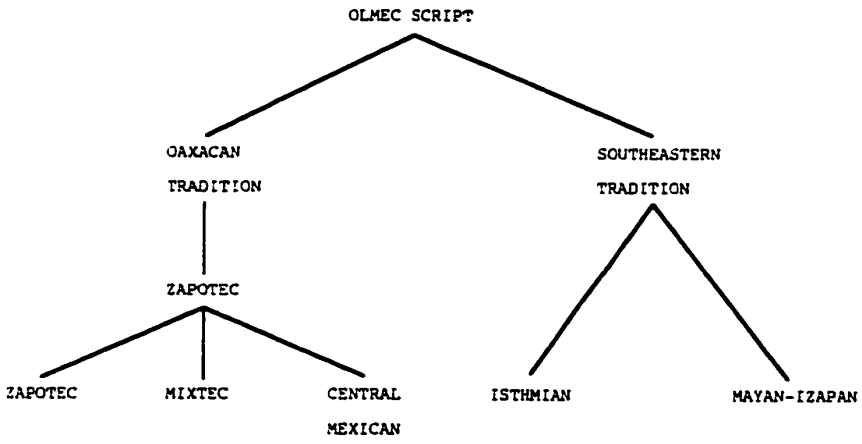

?
OAXACAN
TRADITION
ZAPOTEC
ZAPOTEC
MIXTEC
CENTRAL
MEXICAN
?
SOUTHEASTERN
TRADITION
KAMINALJUYU
ISTHMIAN
LOWLAND MAYAN
ISTHMIAN

Figure 1.9.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OAXACAN TRADITION
SOUTHEASTERN TRADITION
ZAPOTEC
ZAPOTEC
MIXTEC
CENTRAL MEXICAN
ISTHMIAN
MAYAN-IZAPAN

Figure 1.10.

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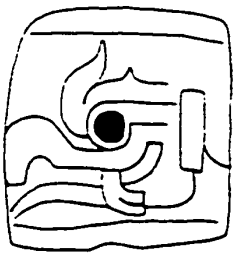

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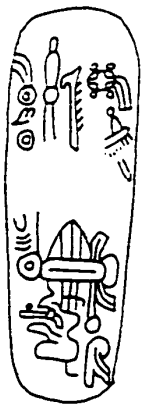

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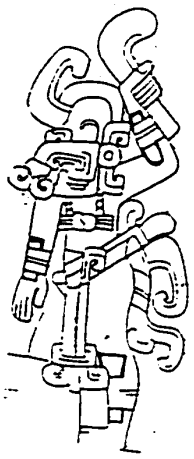

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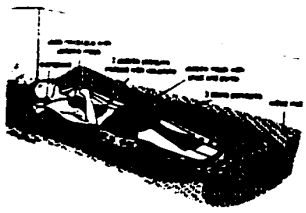

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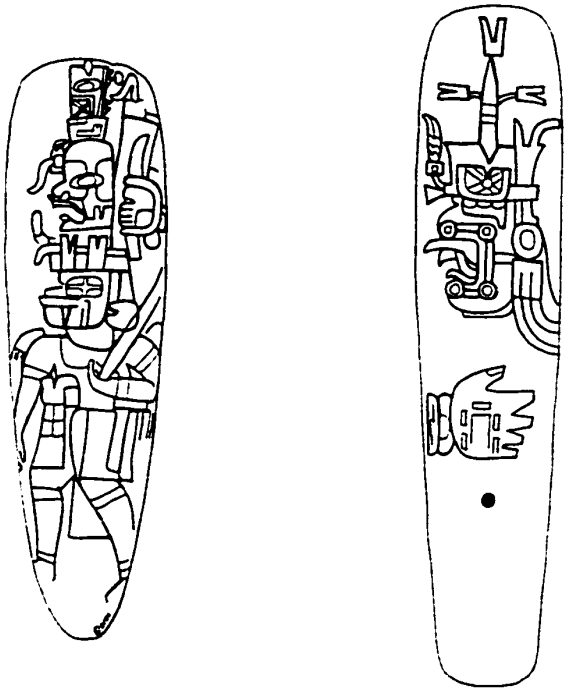
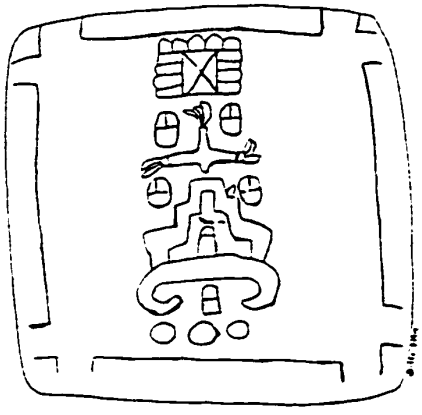


a.

b.

Figure 1.13.

a.



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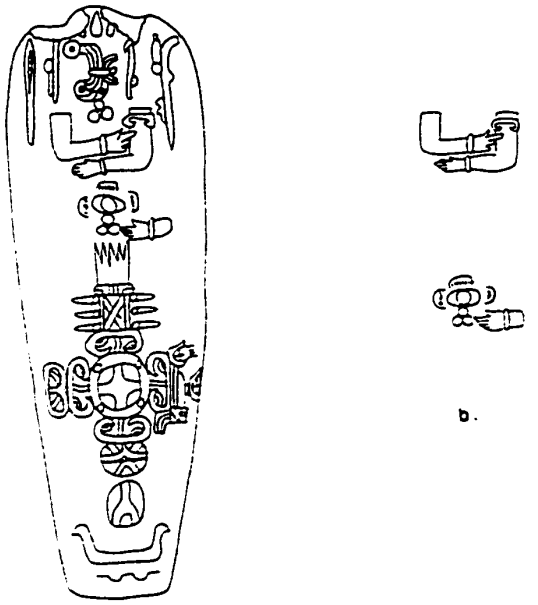

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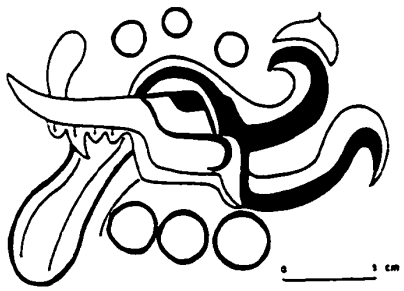

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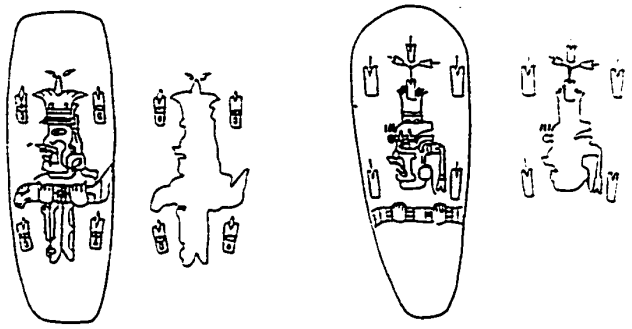

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b.

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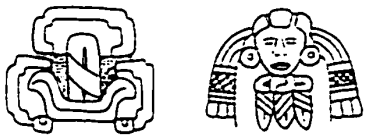

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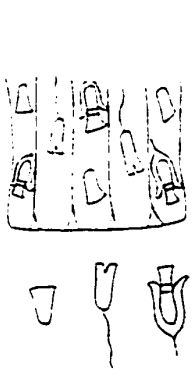

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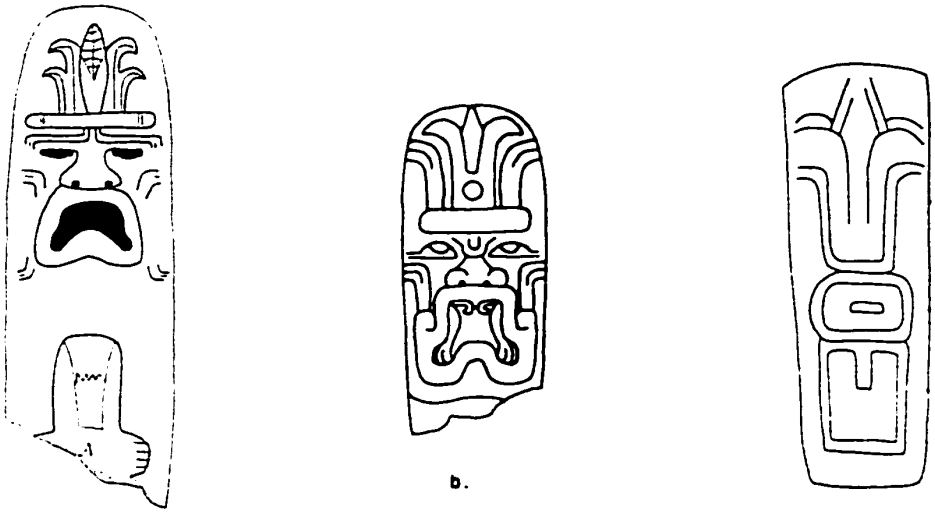

a.

b.

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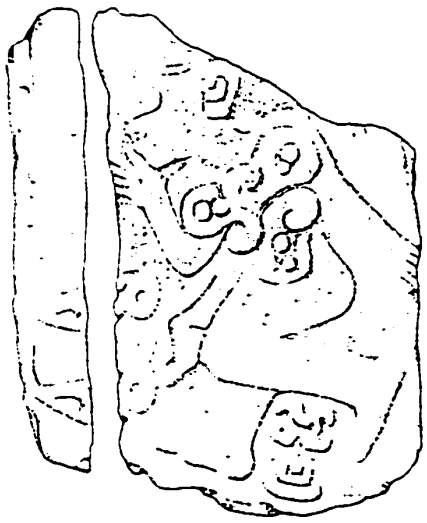

a.

b.

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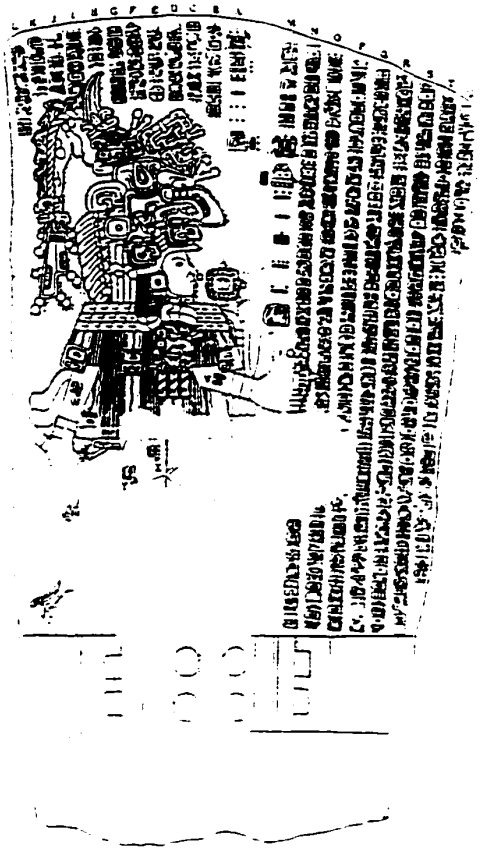

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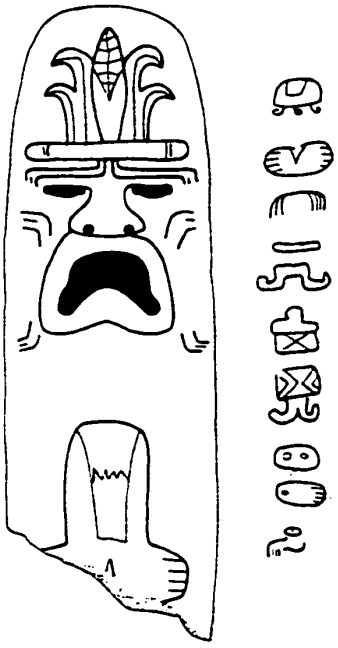

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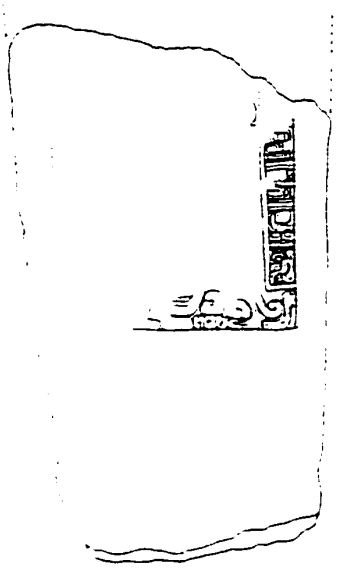

a.

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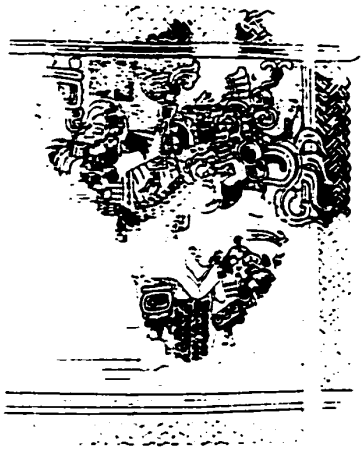

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b.

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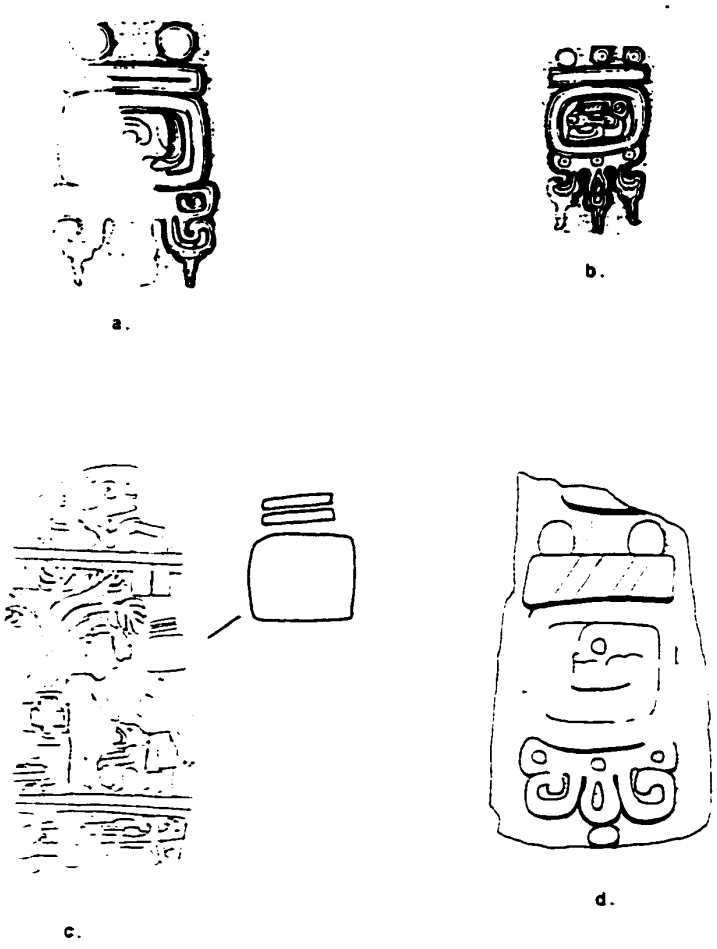

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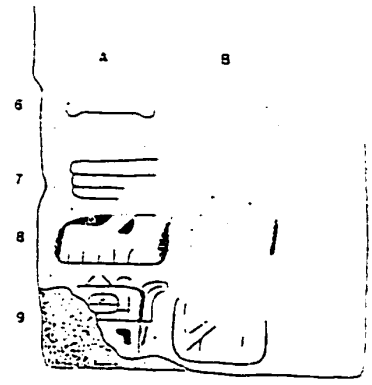

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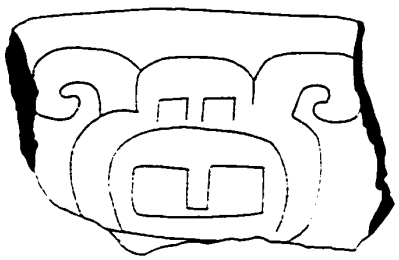

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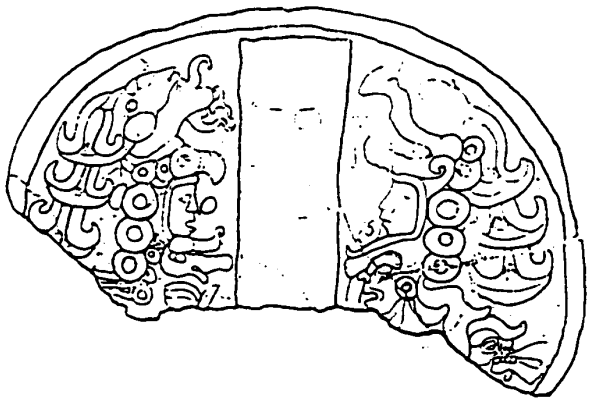

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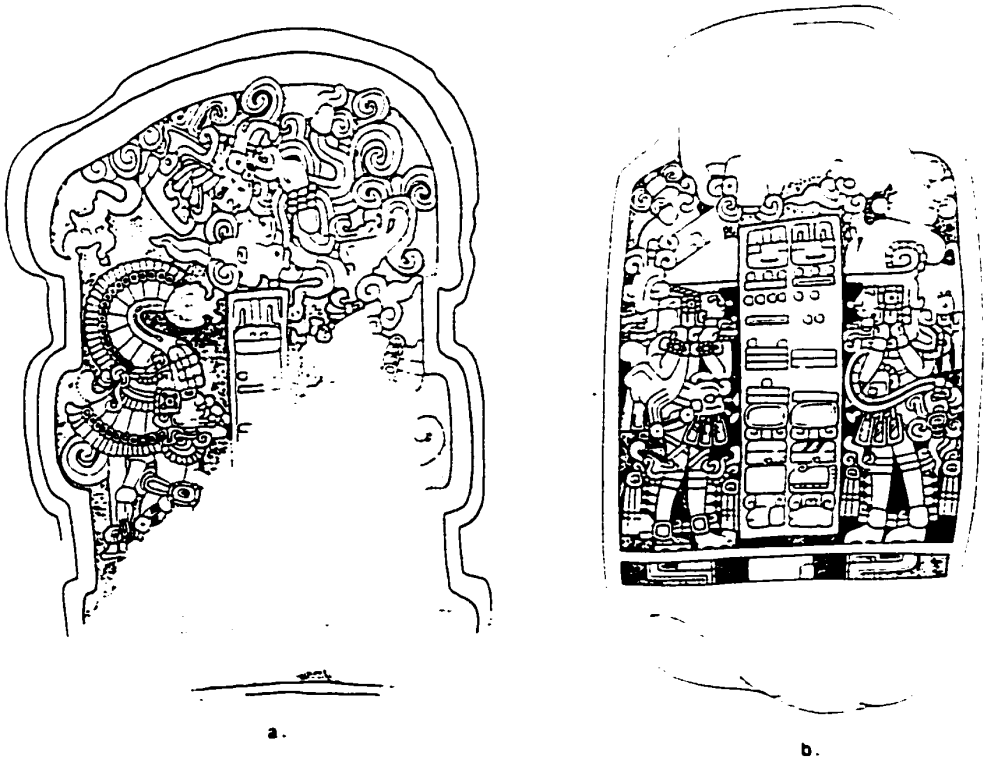

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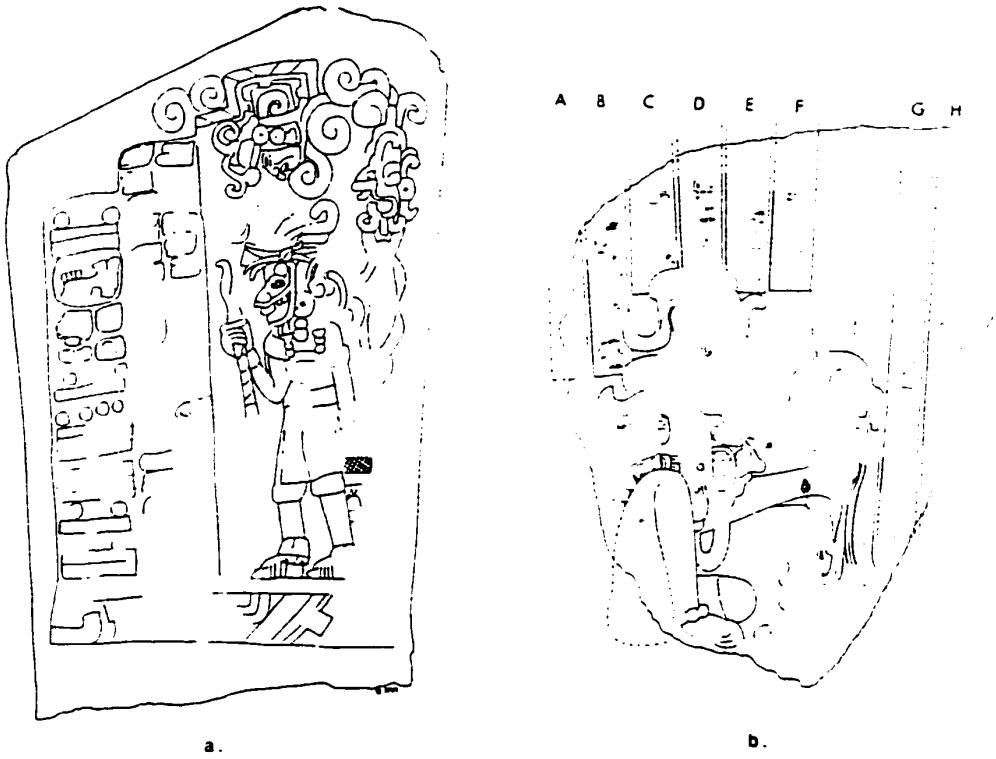

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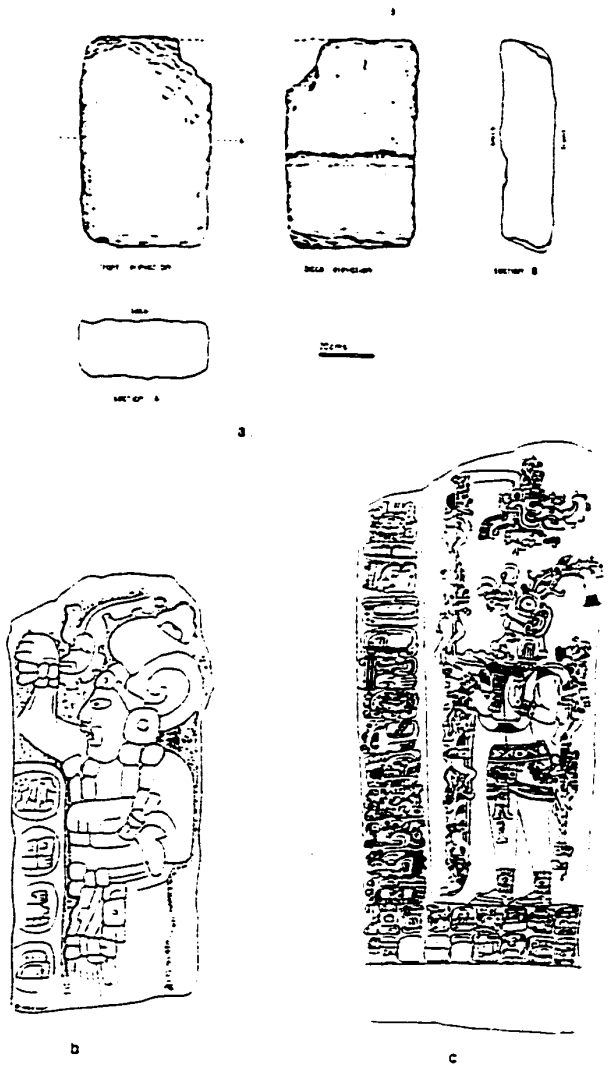

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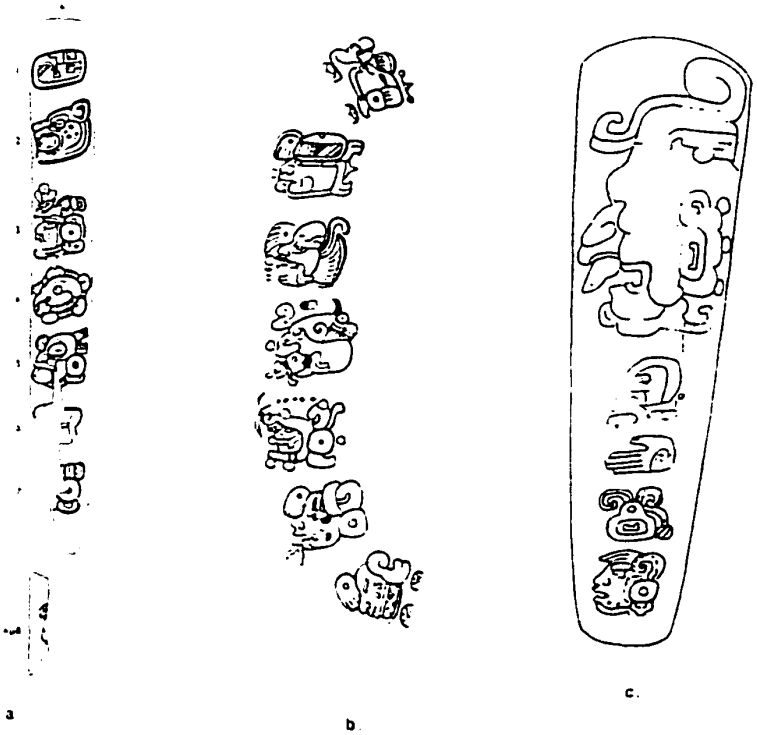

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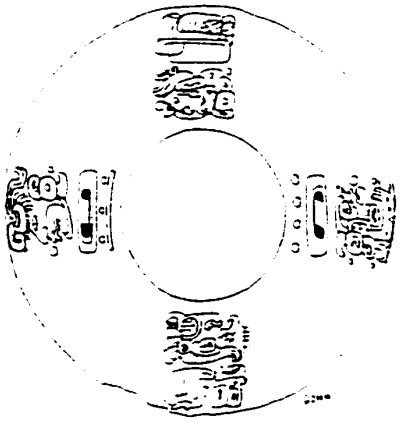


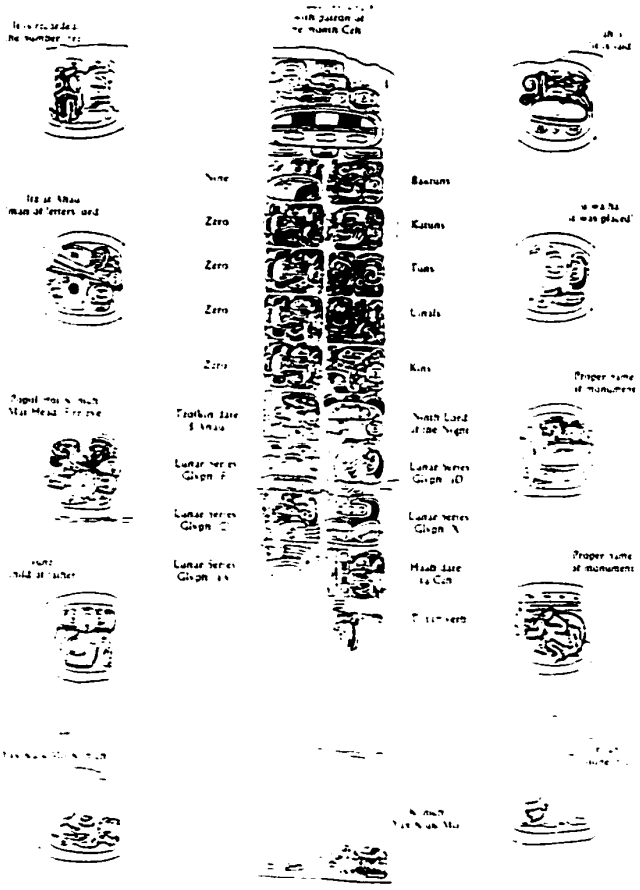
Figure 1.32.

Figure I.33.

a.

b.

Figure 1.34.



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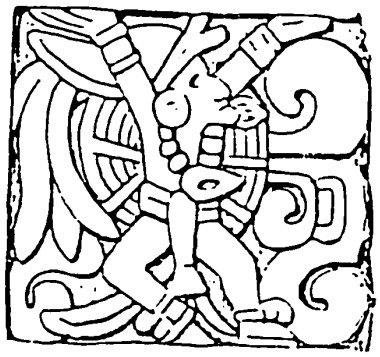

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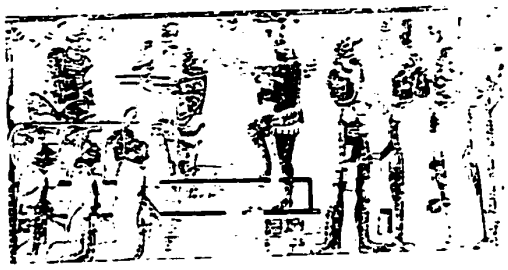
Figure 1.36.

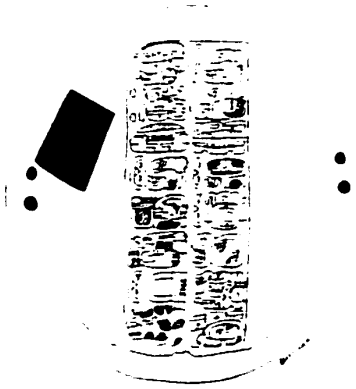


a.

b

Figure 1.37.

a.



b.

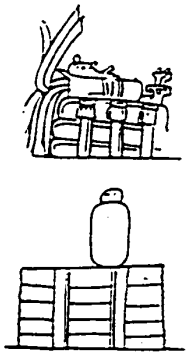
c.

Figure 1.38.

a.

b.

c.



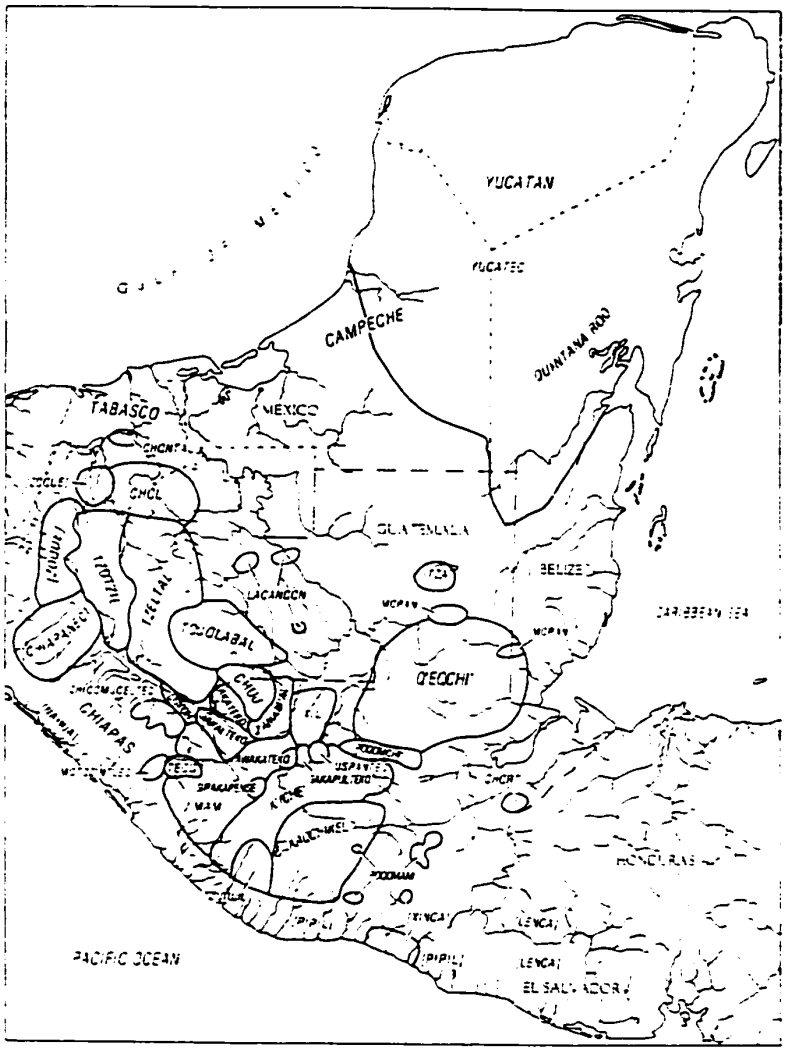
d.

CHAPTER II: LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Map of distribution of Mayan languages. After Campbell (1997:363).

Figure 2.2. Genetic classification of Mayan language family. After Kaufman (1976, 1989) but with alternative reconstructions by other authors as well. (J et al. = Justeson et al., K = Kaufman, K&N = Kaufman and Norman, R = Robertson.)

Figure 2.1.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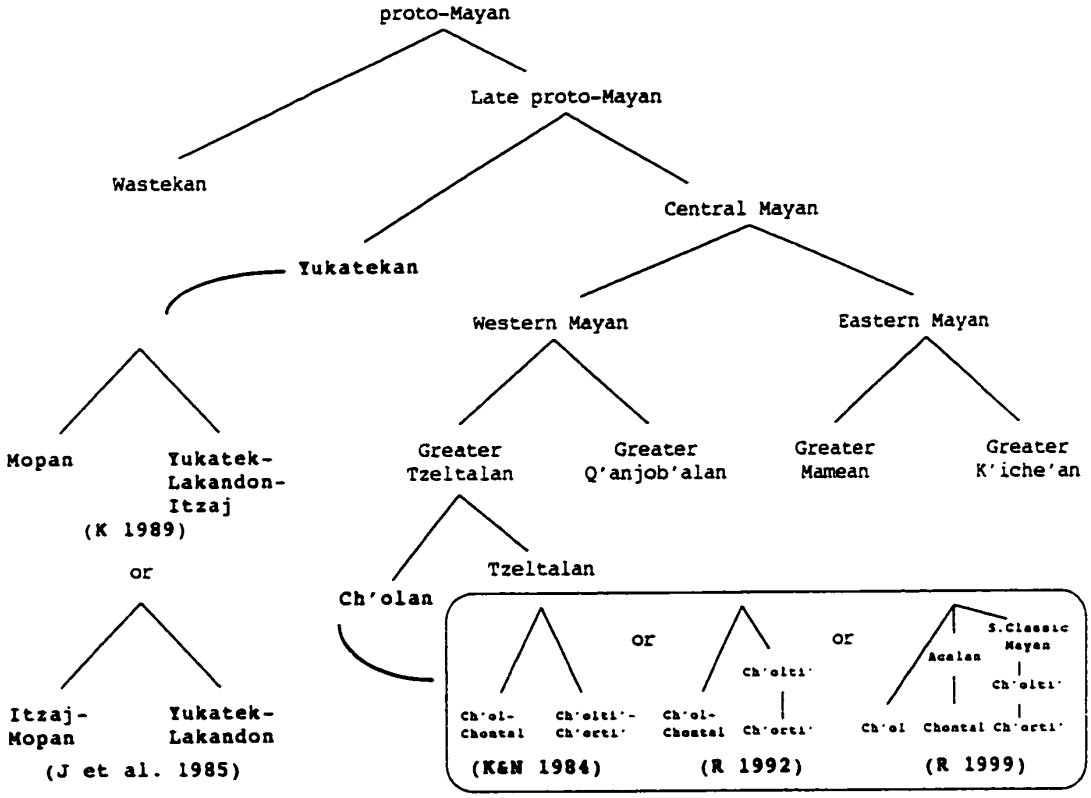
YUCATEC
CAMPECHE
QUINTANA ROO
TABASCO
MEXICO
CHONTAL
CHOL
GUATEMALA
BELIZE
LACANDON
MOPAN
TZOTZIL
TZELTAL
TZOLABAL
CHAPANEC
CHICOMUCELTEC
CHIAPAS
CHUJ
IXCATEC
JACALTEC
KANJOBAL
MAM
KEKCHI
CHOL
CHOR
HONDURAS
LENCA
PIPIL
PACIFIC OCEAN
EL SALVADOR

Figure 2.2


proto-Mayan
Late proto-Mayan
Wastekan
Central Mayan
Yukatekan
Western Mayan
Eastern Mayan
Mopan
Yukatek-Lakandon-Itzaj
(K 1989)
or
Itzaj-Mopan
Yukatek-Lakandon
(J et al. 1985)
Greater Tzeltalan
Greater Q'anjob'alan
Greater Mamean
Greater K'iche'an
Ch'olan
Tzeltalan
Ch'ol-Chontal
Ch'olti'-Ch'orti'
(K&N 1984)
or
Ch'olti'
Ch'ol-Chontal
Ch'orti'
(R 1992)
or
Acalan
S.Classic Mayan
Ch'olti'
Ch'ol
Chontal
Ch'orti'
(R 1999)

CHAPTER III: LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Examples of variable formats in Mayan texts. (a) Single-column format from inscribed pot. Read: A1, B1, C1, D1, D2, D3. From K1398 in Kerr (1989:81). (b) Double-column format from pot. Read: A1, B1, A2, B2, etc. From K1398 in Kerr (1989:81). (c) Triple-column format from Nim Li Punit. Read: A1, B1, C1, A2, B2, C2, etc. Drawing by Nikolai Grube in Grube, MacLeod, and Wanyerka (1999:Figure 6).

Figure 3.2. Glyph Blocks. (a) Glyph block delineating personal name at F1. (b) Glyph block delineating verb at C4. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.3. Reading order within glyph blocks. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.4. Graphic "Main Signs" and "Affixes": Prefix-Superfix-Main Sign arrangements. Drawings by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.5. Pars-pro-toto convention of Mayan signs. (a) T203/738 FISH (syllabic **ka**). From Delataille pot, after Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985). (b) T25 FISH.FIN (syllabic **ka**). Based on K1383 in Kerr (1989:78). c) T236 BIRD (proposed **k'i**). After Grube (1990:Figure 1a). (d) T77 WING (proposed **k'i**). From K504 in Kerr (1997:729).

Figure 3.6. Four basic spelling compositional strategies. (a) Graphic phrase: **CHUM-(m)u + TUN(-ni)** for chum-u(l)-Ø tun 'The stone/year is/was seated'; each glyph is rendered as its own glyph block. (b) Graphic compound: **CHUM-(m)u-TUN(-ni)**; a two-glyph collocation or compound. (c) Graphic infixation: **CHUM[TUN(-ni)]**. In this case the glyph **TUN(-ni)** is graphically infixed. (d) Graphic conflation: **CHUM:TUN**. The two main glyphs (without phonetic complements) are conflated with one another. All drawings by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.7. More examples of infixation, compounding, and conflation. (a) Infixation: **NA(HA)L[TE7]**. Incised tripod pottery bowl. From Coe (1973:110). (b) Conflation: **NA(HA)L:TE7**. Incised tripod pottery bowl. From Coe (1973:110). (c) Compounding: **ma-cha-ye-la**. Rio Azul jade plaque. Drawing by unknown artist. (d) Conflation: **ma-**

cha:ye. Rio Azul jade plaque. Drawing by unknown artist. (d) Logographic: **K'AB'A7** *k'aab'aa7 'name'. Drawing by this author based on photograph in Coe (1982:123). (e) Logograph with infixed phonetic complements: **K'AB'A7[-k'a-b'a]** *k'aab'aa7 'name'. Drawing after Grube (1994:Figure 2, 180).

Figure 3.8. Animation. (a) T501 **b'a**. (b) Animated T501 **b'a**. (c) Full-figure T501 **b'a**. Drawings by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.9. Generic heads. (a) T36 **K'UH/K'UHUL** 'god/divine'. (b) T36.1016 **K'UH/K'UHUL** 'god/divine'. Here T1016 GOD.C is just a generic 'god' head as a semantic determiner. (c) T36.SPOTTED.CHEEK.HEAD **K'UH/K'UHUL** 'god/divine'. Here the SPOTTED.CHEEK.HEAD sign substitutes for the T1016 GOD.C without any apparent change in meaning or reading. Drawings by Linda Schele.

Figure 3.10. Overlaying of signs. (a) T168:518 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler'. (b) Emblem Glyph: **K'UHUL-MAN-7AJAW**. These examples show how **MAN** is overlaying T518, but T168 is still visible and provides the reading **7AJAW**. Drawings by this author.

Figure 3.11. Types of signs. (a) Logograph: **B'ALAM** for b'ahläm 'jaguar'. (b) Syllabograph: T563 **tz'i**. (c) Semantic determiner: ROYAL.HEADBAND sign, indicates **7AJAW** reading when placed on top of a generic man's or vulture's head. (d) Diacritic: REDUPLICATION.DOTS.

Figure 3.12. Polymorphemic logographs. (a) T740:561.365 **SIJ(YAJ)-CHAN-K'INICH**. (b) **SIJ(YAJ)-CHAN-K'AWIL**. (c) **SIJ(YAJ)-ja-CHAN-K'AWIL**.

Figure 3.13. Semantic determiners. (a) T1000 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler'. The head of the person with the spot on the cheek is a generic head. The reading **7AJAW** is assigned to the sign only when the so-called ahau (Jester God) headband is placed on top of the generic head. (b) T747 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler'. The head of the vulture appears to be another generic head; it is given a specific reading by placing a semantic determiner on its head: a royal headband will give it the reading **7AJAW**, a T59 TORCH sign will give it the reading **ti**. Drawings from Schele and Freidel (1990:54, Figure 1:4).

Figure 3.14. Use of diacritic for 'read twice'. (a) **^{2X}ka-wa** for *käkäw 'chocolate'. From Delataille pot, after Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985). (b) **7u-^{2X}ne** for 7unen 'child'. Drawing by Marc Zender. (c) **yu-ne^{2X}** for y-unen 'his child'. Drawing by Marc Zender.

Figure 3.15. Logographic signs. (a) Different spellings of the word *b'ahläm 'jaguar': **B'ALAM**, **b'a-B'ALAM**, **B'ALAM-ma**, **b'a-B'ALAM-ma**, **b'a-la-ma**. Drawings from Schele and Freidel (1990:52, Figure 1:2). (b) **ma-MAN-na**. Drawing by Linda Schele (www.famsi.org). (c) **MAN-ma-na**. Drawing by Linda Schele (www.famsi.org). (d) **wa-WAY** for *wäy 'animal spirit'. (e) **WAY-ya**. (f) **wa-ya-WAY**. (g) **WAY-wa-ya**. (d)-(g) are from Stuart and Houston (1991:3, Figure 1).

Figure 3.16. Use of CVC logographs as purely phonetic signs. (a) **7u-K'UHUL-hu-lu tza-ku** for 7u-k'uhul-tzak 'his divine conjuring'. Yaxchilan Lintel 25. Drawing by Ian Graham. (b) T918 **JUL** as a phonetic sign **hul**: **7u-K'UHUL-hul-TZAK** for 7u-k'uhul-tza(:)k 'his divine conjuring'. Seibal. Drawing by James Porter. (c) Pot K1837: **ta-yu-ta-la** for tä-y-ut-al (PREP+3sERG-finish-PARTC) 'for his finished [...]'. From Kerr (1989:116). (d) Pot K791: T573 **TAL** as a phonetic sign **tal**: **ta-yu-TAL** for tä-y-ut-al 'for his finished [...]'. From Kerr (1989:49). (e) **wi-WINIK** for *winik 'man, person'. Piedras Negras Stela 15, fourth glyphic panel. Drawing by John Montgomery. (f) T533 **NIK** 'flower' as **nik**: **wi-nik-ki**. Xcalumkin Miscellaneous 5:Q1. Drawing by Ian Graham.

Figure 3.17. Conventions involving purely phonetic spellings. Consonant insertion: (a)-(d). (a) **ti-CHAN-na-li** for ti+chan-al 'in the sky'. (b) **7u-K'IN-ni-le** for 7u-k'in-il 'his/her/its day'. Drawings (a) and (b) from Bricker (1989:Figure 4.3). Vowel insertion: examples (c) and (d). (c) **chu-ku-ja/AJ** for chu[h]k-aj-Ø-Ø 's/he/it was captured'. Drawing by Linda Schele in Houston, Robertson, and Stuart (2001:23). (d) **yo-ko-b'i-li** for y-ok-b'-il 'his doorway'. Drawing by David Stuart in Houston, Robertson, and Stuart (2001:22). Consonant deletion: examples (e)-(k). (e) **K'UK'-mo-7o-7AJAW** for k'uk'=mo7 7ajaw 'Quetzal-Macaw Lord'. (f) **k'u-mo-7o** for k'uk'=mo7 'Quetzal-

Macaw'. Only one **k'u** sign is used. Drawing from Bricker (1989:Figure 4.11). (g) **ka-tze/se-wa** for kasew 'month name', full spelling. Drawing from Bricker (1989:Figure 4.14). (h) **ka-tze/se** for kasew, spelling with final consonant deleted. Drawing from Bricker (1989:Figure 4.14). (i) Pot K1837: **ka-ka-wa** for *käkäw 'chocolate', full spelling. From Kerr (1989:116). (j) Pot BOD 185: **ka-ka** for *käkäw 'chocolate', spelling with final consonant deleted. From Robicsek and Hales (1981:200). (k) Pot K532: **ka** for *käkäw 'chocolate', spelling with deletion of CVC sequence. From Kerr (1989:18).

Figure 3.18. Possible evidence for commutativity rule. (a) **HUN-NAL-ye**. (b) **HUN-NAL-7e-ye**. In this examples it appears that **ye** and **7e-ye** are in free substitution, suggesting that **ye**, a CV phonetic sign, could be read as though it were a (7)VC sign. Drawings by this author.

Figure 3.19. Additional evidence for commutativity rule. (a) **K'INICH** for k'in-ich 'Sun-faced (Sun God)'. (b) Simojovel Shell, C1: **K'IN-ni-chi** for k'in=ich 'Sun-faced (Sun God)'. From Mathews (1994:Figure 7). (c) Unprovenanced carved human femur, at A3, A7, C1: **K'IN-chi** for k'in=chi 'sun-face (Sun God)', inscribed on bone rattle. From Coe (1973:146). (d) **K'IN-chi** for k'in=chi 'sun-face (Sun God)', inscribed on Early Classic conch shell trumpet. From Schele and Miller (1986). (e) **TUN-chi** presumably for tun-ich 'stone', inscribed on jade belt plaque from Costa Rica. Drawing by this author.

Figure 3.20. Some spellings of inflected verbs. Inflection of root transitive *chok 'throw down': (a) **7u-CHOK-wa** and **7u-cho-ko-wa**, possibly both 7u-chok-ow-Ø(+a) (3sERG-throw.down-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 's/he threw it down (here)'. (b) **7u-CHOK**, possibly 7u-chok-o-Ø (3sERG-throw.down-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 's/he threw it down'. (c) **CHOK-wa**, possibly chok-(o)w-Ø-Ø(+a) (throw.down-AP-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 's/he threw (down) here'. (d) **CHOK**, possibly cho[h]k-Ø-Ø (throw.down[MPASS]-CMP-3sABS) 'it was thrown down'. (e) **CHOK-(k)a-ja**, possibly cho([h])k-aj-Ø-Ø(+a)

(throw.down([MPASS])-PASS-CMP-3sABS) 'it was thrown down (here)'. (f) **ti-CHOK-(k)o**, possibly ti+chok-o(l) (PREP+throw.down-PARTC) 'throwing (down)'. Inflection of root intransitive *hul 'to arrive (here)': (g) **hu-li**, possibly for hul-i-Ø (arrive.here-CMP-3sABS) 's/he/it arrived here'. (h) **hu-li-ya**, possibly for hul-iy-Ø(+a) (arrive.here-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 's/he/it arrived here'. (i) **hul-(l)i-ya**, spelled with a CVC sign. (j) **(hu-)hul-ya**, possibly for hul-(i)y-Ø(+a), underlyingly /hul-i-Ø(+a)/. (k) **7AK'-ta-ja**, possibly for 7ahk't-aj-Ø-Ø, underlyingly /7ahk'ot-aj-Ø-Ø/ (dance-IVZR-CMP-3sABS) 's/he danced'. (l) **7AK'-ta**, possibly for 7ahk't-a(j)-Ø-Ø 's/he danced', underlyingly same as previous example. Drawing of Dos Pilas Stela 2 by Stephen Houston.

Figure 3.21. Positional verbs. (a) **CHUM-wa-ni**, possibly for chum-wan-i-Ø 's/he sat', on Tortuguero Monument 6. Monument 6. Both drawings by Ian Graham.

Figure 3.22. Typology of antipassive constructions based on Lacadena (1998) and Mora-Marín (1998, 2001). Incorporative antipassive clauses: (a)-(b). Absolutive antipassive clauses: (c)-(e). Agentive antipassive clauses: (f)-(g). Antipassive nominalization: (h). (a) **YUWAL CHOK-wa-ch'a-ji** for yuwal chok-(o)w-Ø-Ø(+a)=ch'aj (CONJ throw.down-AP-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)=incense.drops) 'and then he incense-threw'. (b) **CHOK-wa-ch'a-CH'AJ CHAK-b'i-? 7a-ku** for chok-(o)w-Ø-Ø(+a)=ch'aj chak-? 7ahk (throw.down-AP-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)=incense.drops great/red-? turtle) 'Great-? Turtle incense-threw'. (c) **YAX-ch'a-**T712**-wi SAK-K'AN-WITZ** for yäx+T712-w-i-Ø sak-k'an-witz for (first+T712-APASS-CMP-3sABS white-precious-mountain) 'White Precious Mountain T712ed for the first time'. (d) Copan Altar 157: **7u-CHOK-no-ma** for 7u-chok-n-om(+a) (3sERG-throw.down-APASS-POT) 's/he would throw.down'. Drawing form Schele and Grube (1988:Figure 1). (e) Oblique patient: **7u-7UK'-ni ti-ka-la-ka^{2X}-wa PAWATUN K'IN-7AJAW** for 7uk'-n-i-Ø ti+kal-a(l)=käkäw Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw (drink-APASS-CMP-3sABS PREP+shake-PARTC=chocolate Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw) 'Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw(Agent) drank of/from the alcoholic chocolate(Patient)'. (f)

ha-7i TZAK-wi-ya for ha7-Ø-i tzak-(a)w-iy-Ø(+a) (PRO-3sABS+ENCL conjure-APASS-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 'He (is the one who) conjured (it)'. (g) **ha-7i TZAK-wi-ya** [War Serpent] for ha7-Ø-i tzak-(a)w-iy-Ø(+a) [War Serpent] (PRO-3sABS+ENCL conjure-APASS-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL) [War Serpent]) 'He (is the one who) conjured the War Serpent'. (h) **7u-CHOK-wi 7AJ-wo-sa** for 7u-chok-(o)w-i(l) 7aj+wos(-a) (3sERG-throw.down-APASS-POSS PROCL+Wos(a)) 'the throwing of Mr. Wos(a)' (i.e., 'the throwing' that he performed).

Figure 3.23. Independent and possessed absolutive antipassives. (a) Independent, Copan Monument 157: **7u-to-ma 10-7AJAW 8-SAK 7u-CHOK-no-ma** for 7u[h]t-om-Ø 10-7ajaw 8-sak 7u-chok-(o)n-om(+a) (finish[MPASS]-POT-3sABS 10-7ajaw 8-ch'en 3sERG-throw.down-APASS-POT(+ENCL)) 'It would be finished on 10-Ahau 8-Chen. He would throw down'. (b) Possessed and nominalized antipassive clause (functions as subject of verb 7uht-om), Naranjo Altar 1:J9-J11: **7u-to-ma 7u-CHOK-wi 7AJ-wo-sa 5-7AJAW 3-CH'EN** for 7u[h]t-om-Ø 7u-chok-(o)w-i(l) 7aj+wos(-a) (finish[MPASS]-POT-3sABS 3sERG-throw.down-APASS-POSS PROCL+Wos(a)) 'Mr. Wos(a)'s throwing would be finished on 5-7ajaw 3-Ch'en'.

Figure 3.24. Possible absolute/generic and possessed forms of nouns, according to Zender (2001). The epigraphic transcription and linguistic transliteration for each form is my own based on Zender's analysis. (I do not think that disharmonic spellings signal a preceding complex vowel). (a) Absolute form: **7u-ha-ja** for 7uh-aj 'bead' (Zender's 7uh-aj). (b) Possessed form: **yu-(7)UH-li** for y-uh-Vl 'bead'. (It is not clear what is the vowel of the -Vl suffix. The glyph always takes **li**, but modern Ch'olan languages have -al ~ -äl for this word.) (c) Absolute form: **tu-pa-ja** for tup-aj 'earring' (Zender's tup-aj). (d) Possessed form: **7u-tu-pa** for 7u-tup 'his/her/its earring'. (e) Absolute form: **TI7-si** for ti7-is(?) 'mouth'. (Zender's **TI7-IS** ti7-is). (f) Possessed form: **7u-TI7** for 7u-ti7 'its mouth'. (g) Absolute form: **7o-la-si** for 7ol-as 'heart' (Zender's **7o-l(a)-IS** for 7ol-is). (h) **yo-(7)OL-la** for y-ol(-Vl) 'his/her/its heart'. All the drawings are from Zender

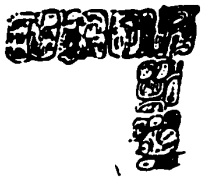
(2001).

Figure 3.25. Expression of oblique roles as complements to preposition ti(7). (a) Oblique addressee noun phrase: **ya-la-hi/ji-ya hu-b'i ti-chi-hi/ji** for y-äl-a-Ø+hiy(+a) hub' ti+chij (3sERG-say-CMP-3sABS+ENCL(+ENCL) conch.trumpet PREP+deer) 'The Conch Trumpet(Speaker) said to Deer(Addressee)'. Drawing by Linda Schele from Schele and Miller (1986:159, Plate 59a). (b) Oblique patient noun phrase: **7u-7UK'-ni ti-ka-la-ka^{2X}-wa PAWATUN K'IN-7AJAW** for 7uk'-n-i-Ø ti+kal-a(l)=käkäw Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw (drink-APASS-CMP-3sABS PREP+shake-PARTC=chocolate Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw) 'Pawahtun K'in 7ajaw(Agent) drank of/from the alcoholic chocolate(Patient)'. (c) Expression of Causer: **chu-ku-ja b'a-wa-WAY-b'i 7u-KAJ-hi/ji-ya 7AJ-CHAK-ma-xi** for chu[h]k-aj-Ø-Ø(+a) b'ah=wäyab' 7u-kaj-iy(-Ø)(+a) 7aj+chak-mäx (seize[MPASS]-PASS-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL) top/first=sorcerer 3sERG-do/cause-CMP/ENCL(-3sABS)(+ENCL) PROCL+red-spider.monkey) 'The Top Sorcerer(Patient) was captured. It was done/the.doing by/of Mr. Red Spider Monkey(Causer)'. (d) **na-wa-ja 7u-B'AK-ki ti-ya-(7)AJAW** for na[h]w-aj-Ø-Ø(+a) 7u-b'ak-i(l) ti+y-ajaw (adorn[MPASS]-PASS-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL) 3sERG-prisoner-POSS PREP+3sERG-lord) 'His prisoner(Patient) was adorned for/by his.lord/the.captain(Benefactive/Agent)'.

Figure 3.26. Word orders attested in CLM texts. (a) VS: **CHAM-ya 7ix-TUN(-ni)-ka-ya-ka-wa** (chäm-(a)y-Ø(+a) 7ix+tun kay-kaw) 'Lady Tun Kaya-kawa died'. (b) VOA: **7u-CHOK-wa ch'a-hi** [Copan Lord] (7u-chok-(o)w-Ø(+a) ch'aj [Copan Lord]) '[Copan Lord] threw down incense'. (c) AVO: [Copan Lord] **7u-CHOK-wa ch'a-hi** ([Copan Lord] 7u-chok-(o)w-Ø(+a) ch'aj) '(It was) [Copan Lord] (who/that) threw down incense'. (d) V=OS (Antipassive clause): **CHOK-wa ch'a-hi** [Copan Lord] (chok-(V)w-Ø(+a)=ch'aj [Copan Lord]) '[Copan Lord] incense-threw'. (e) OVA: **ha-7i 7u-b'u-t'u-wa** [Palenque Lord] (ha7-$Ø_i$(+i) 7u-b'ut'-uw-$Ø_i$(+a) [Palenque Lord]) 'As for him_i, [Palenque Lord] buried him_i'. (f) AVO: **ha-7o-b'a pa-sa-no-ma wa-ya** (ha7-ob'(+a)

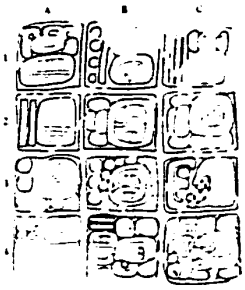
(d) V=OS (Antipassive clause): **CHOK-wa ch'a-hi** [Copan Lord] (chok-(V)w-Ø(+a)=ch'aj [Copan Lord]) '[Copan Lord] incense-threw'. (e) OVA: **ha-7i 7u-b'u-t'u-wa** [Palenque Lord] (ha7-$Ø_i$(+i) 7u-b'ut'-uw-$Ø_i$(+a) [Palenque Lord]) 'As for him_i, [Palenque Lord] buried him_i'. (f) AVO: **ha-7o-b'a pa-sa-no-ma wa-ya** (ha7-ob'(+a) pas-(a)n-om-Ø(+a) wäy) 'It was they(/these.ones) who would open the wäy'.

Figure 3.1.



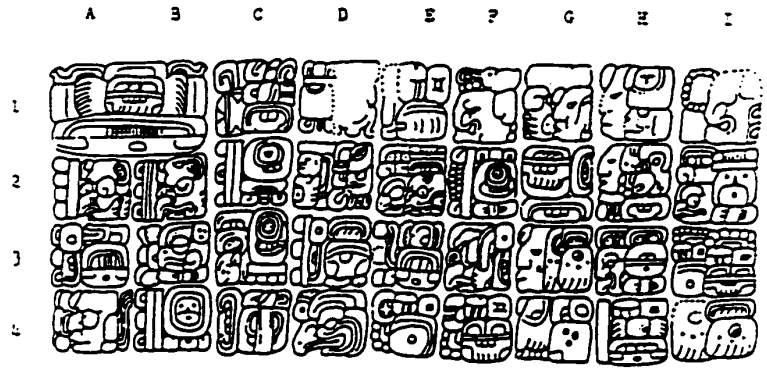
a.

b.



c.

Figure 3.2.



Yaxchilan Stela 11, main text (drawing by Linda Schele);

below, a diagram of the same text, showing its reading order

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	1		8	9	16	17	24	25	32
2	2	3	10	11	18	19	26	27	33
3	4	5	12	13	20	21	28	29	34
4	6	7	14	15	22	23	30	31	35

Figure 3.3.

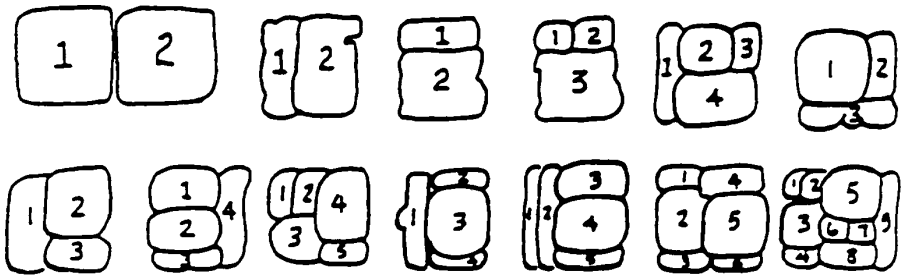
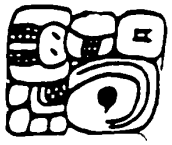


Figure 3.4.



a.

b.

Figure 3.5.

a.

b.

c.

d.

Figure 3.6.

a.

b.

c.

d.

Figure 3.7.

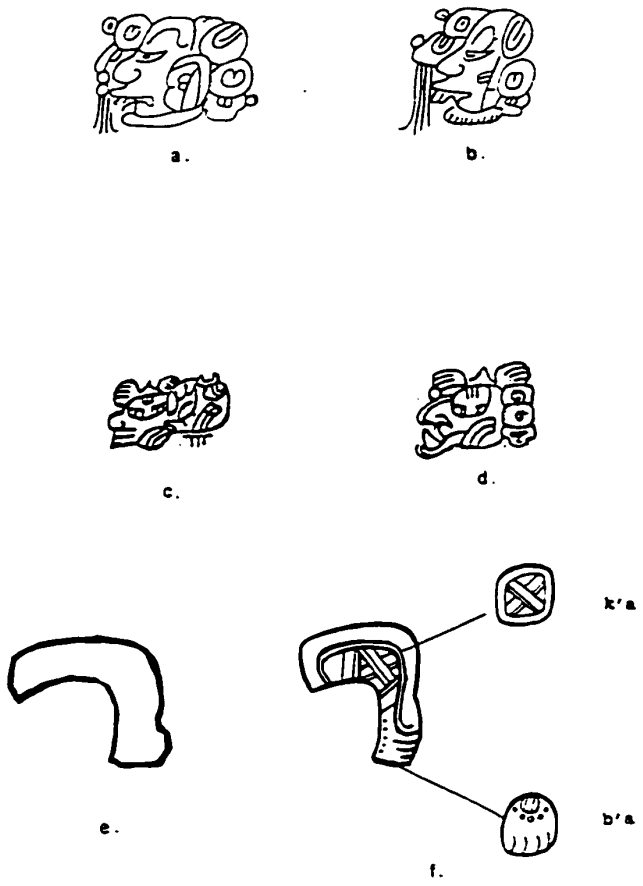


Figure 3.8.

a

b c

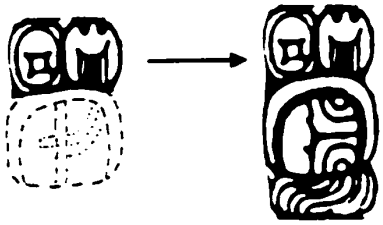
Figure 3.9.

a.

b.

c.

Figure 3.10.



a. b.

Figure 3.11.

a.

b.

c.

d.

Figure 3.12.

a.

b.

c.

Figure 3.13.

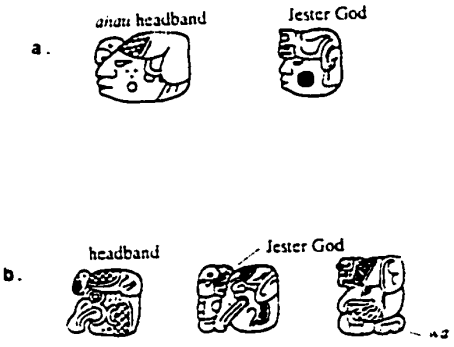


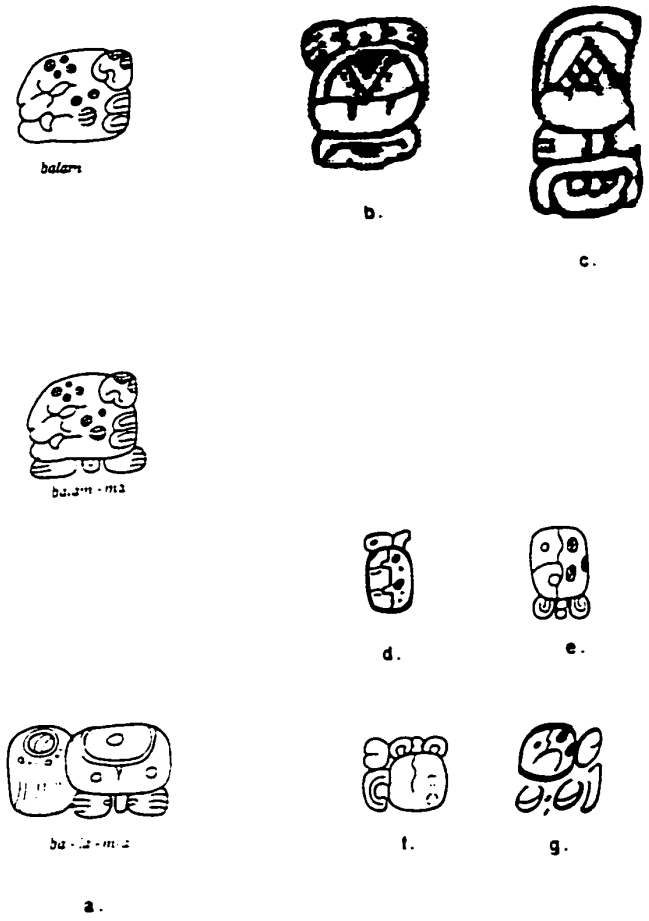
Figure 3.14.

a.

b.

c.

Figure 3.15.



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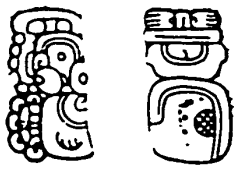


a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

f.

Figure 3.17.

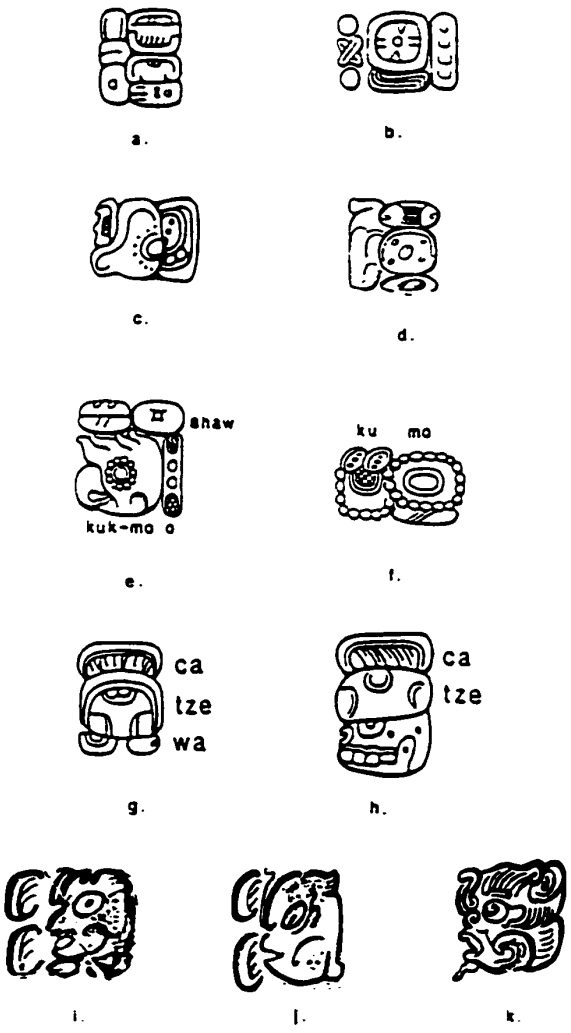


Figure 3.18.

a.

b.

Figure 3.19.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

Figure 3.20.

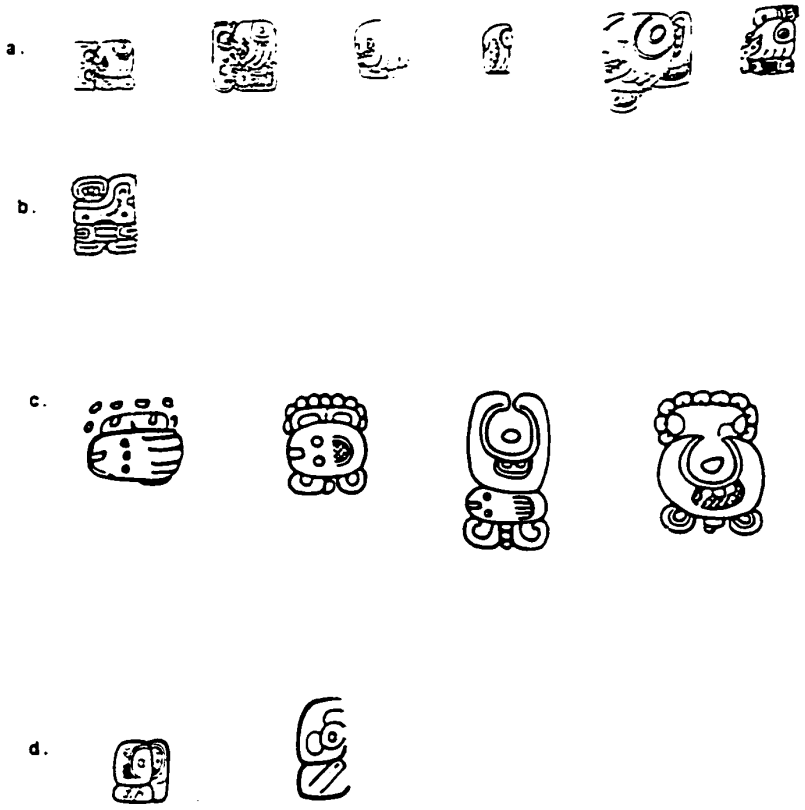
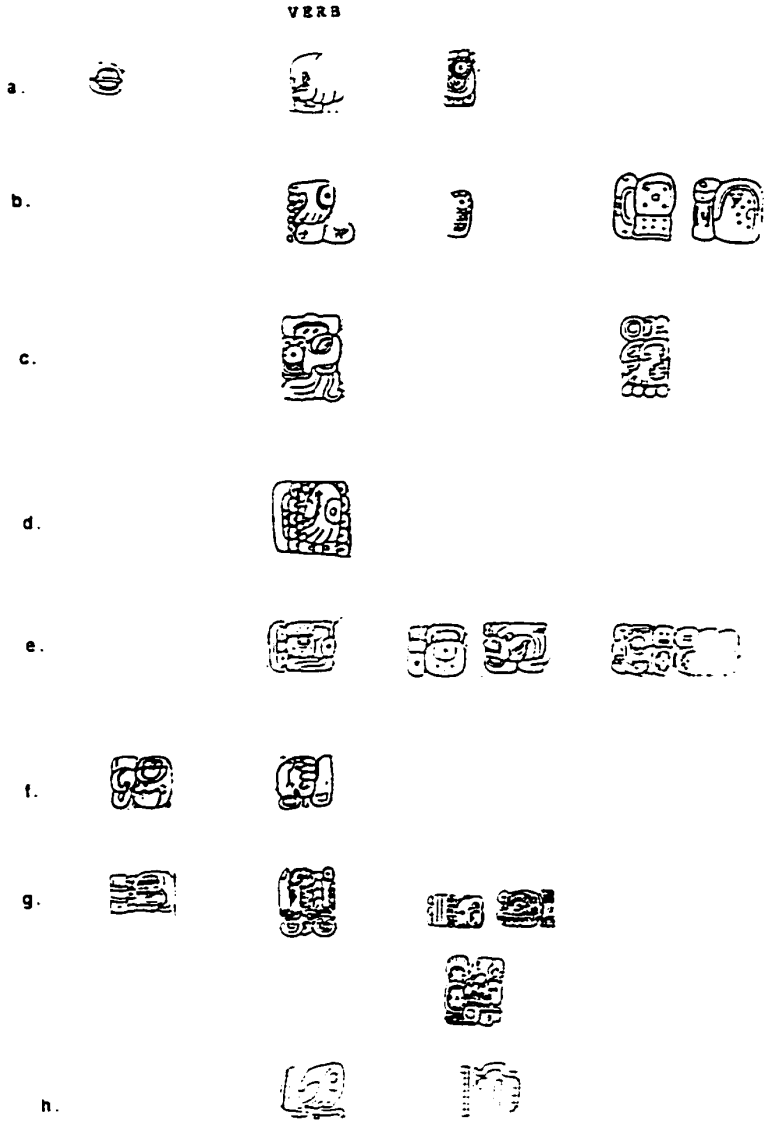


Figure 3.21.

a.

b.

Figure 3.22.



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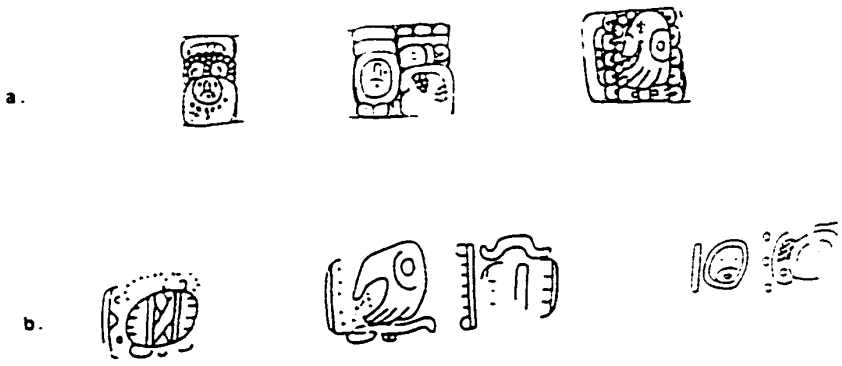

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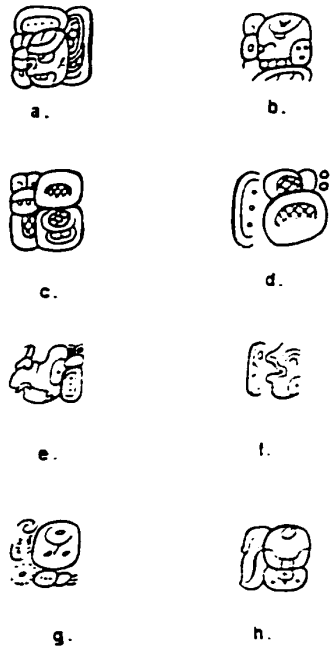

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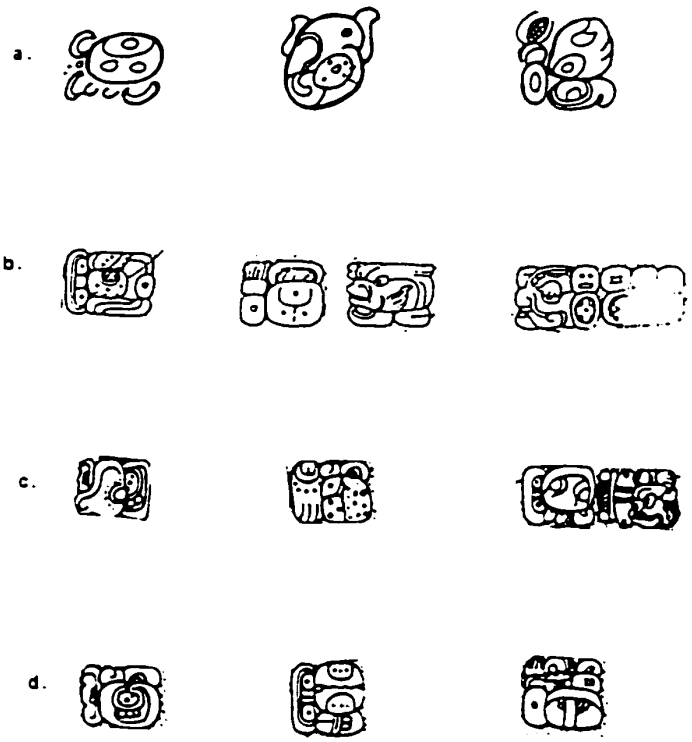
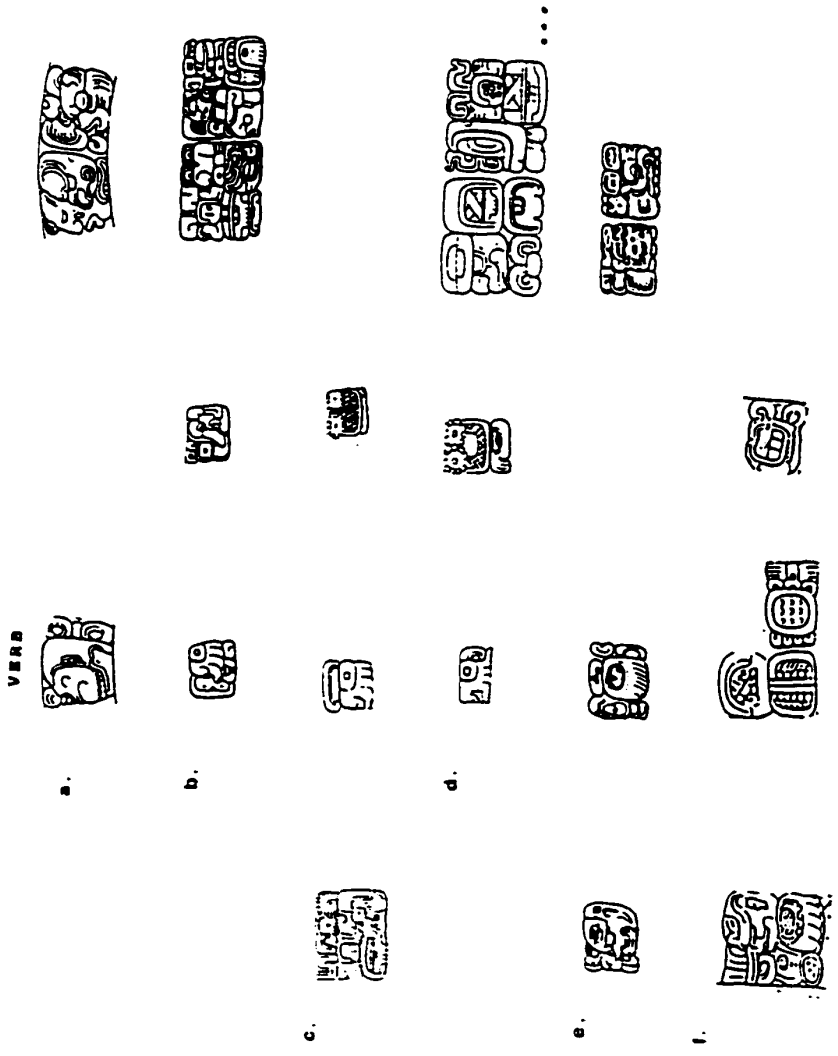


Figure 3.26.



CHAPTER IV: LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1. The PSS. From Houston, Stuart, and Taube (1989:Figure 1).

Figure 4.2. Inscribed Early Classic obsidian earrings from Altun Ha, Belize. Glyph A is read **7u-tu-pa**, for 7u-tup 'his earring', and is followed by the owner's name (B-C), rendering '(It is) the earring of [B-C]'. Glyphs D-F may show the same structure. Glyph D may be a possessed noun as well, and glyphs E-F may refer to its possessor.

Figure 4.3. Four-way emic nomenclature of pottery containers according to Houston, Stuart, and Taube (1989). (a) **(7u-)la-ka** for (7u-)lak '(his/her) dish'. (b) **(7u-)ja-wa-TE7** for (7u-)jawan=te7 '(his/her) tripod plate'. (c) **yu-k'i-b'i** for (y-)uk'-ib' '(his/her) cup'. From Houston, Stuart, and Taube (1989:2).

Figure 4.4. The Initial Sign of the dedicatory formula. Chahk and FISH variants: (a)-(e). MAW.OF.UNDERWORLD variant: (f)-(g). TAMALE variant: (h)-(i). T617 variant: (j)-(o). (a) Pot K1183: **7a-**IS. From Kerr (1989:65). (b) Pot K2695: **7a-**IS. From Kerr (1990:255). (c) Pot K4689: **7a-**IS**-ya**. From Kerr (1994:592). (d) Pot K3844: **7a-ya-**IS. From Kerr (1992:443). (e) Tikal Stela 26, zB1: **7a-ya-**IS. From Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Figure 44). (f) Pot K5722: **7a-**IS**-ya**. From Kerr (1997:819). (g) Pot K1440: **7IK'-WAY(-ya)**. From Kerr (1997:83). (h) Pot K1398: **7a-**IS**-ya**. From Kerr (1989:81). (i) Pot K1440: **7IK'-WAY(-ya)**. From Kerr (1989:83). (j) Balakbal Stela 5: IS**-ya**. Drawing from Justeson and Mathews (1990). (k) Chichen Itza Cenote tubular bead: IS**-la**. After photograph in Proskouriakoff (1974:110-111, Plate 45-3) and visit to the Peabody Museum. (l) Tikal Stela 31: IS**-ya-la**. Drawing in Jones and Satterthwaite (1982). (m) Tikal Stela 31: **7a-**IS**-ya-la**. Drawing in Jones and Satterthwaite (1982). (n) Tikal bowl: **la-**IS**-ya**. From Culbert (1993). (o) Pot: **7a-la-**IS**-ya**.

Figure 4.5. Contexts where the IS, if representing Ch'olan-Tzeltalan *7ay 'existential particle', could be used for predicative possession. (a) Xcalumkin Jamb 6: **7a-**IS**-ya 7u-wo-jo-li** [PERSONAL.NAME] '[PERSONAL.NAME] has glyphs'. Drawing by Ian

Graham. (b) Xcalumkin Capital 5, A-B: **7a-IS-ya 7u-wo-jo-li** 'S/he/it has glyphs'. Drawing by Eric von Euw. (c) Vessel 55: **7a-IS-ya yu-(7)UH-li ti-WINIK-ki HUN-b'a-ka-b'a** 'Winik Hun B'akab' has a bead/necklace'. From Robicsek and Hales (1981:34).

Figure 4.6. Three different readings of the GOD.N glyph, the Old God glyph. **PAWATUN**, with obligatory net hat, optional infixed **K'AN** sign, and TURTLE.CARAPACE substitution: (a)-(b). From MacLeod (1990:Figures 4.6d,g). **HO7** 'five', with a **HAB'/TUN** sign worn as a headdress: (c). From MacLeod (1990:Figure 4.6h). **MAM** 'grandson, grandfather, ancestor': (d)-(e). (d) From Delataille pot, after Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985). (e) Pomona Tablet 8, drawing by I. Graham.

Figure 4.7. GOD.N glyph as dedicatory verb. GOD.N verb with netted hat: (a)-(f). GOD.N verb with fishlike attributes: (a)-(c). GOD.N verb with bird in hat: (b), (d). GOD.N verb identical to **MAM** glyph: (g)-(i). (a) Carved bowl from Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985:351, 355). (b) Carved bowl from Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985:351, 355). (c) Pot K623 from Kerr (1989:25). (d) Unprovenanced mace head drawn by J. Montgomery. (e) Pot K1398 from Kerr (1989:81). (f) Jauncy Vase, drawing by J. Taschek, from Kerr (1992:504). (g) Yaxchilan Lintel 25 from Graham (1979:56). (h) Tikal pot from Culbert (1993:Figure 19b). (i) Pot K1383 from Kerr (1989:78).

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Kerr (1997:836).

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Figure 4.14. Drinking cup glyph with **b'i** and **b'a** to spell the consonant of the instrumental suffix -ib'. (a) **yu**-T77-**b'i** on Early Classic inscribed bowl. (b) **yu**-T77-**b'a** on same Early Classic inscribed bowl. Both drawn after photograph in Coe (1973:110).

Figure 4.15. Spelling variation for the drinking cup glyph, underlying /y-DRINK-ib'/, where DRINK is either Yukatekan *7uk' or Ch'olan *7uch'. (a) T61.77:585 **yu**-T77-**b'i** (K 504). (b) T61.236:585 **yu**-T236-**b'i**. After Grube (1990:Figure 1a). (c) T61.128:501 **yu**-T128-**b'a** (K 1728). (d) T61.128:501.585 **yu**-T128-**b'a-b'i** (K 1226). (e) T1.77:585 **7u**-T77-**b'i** (K 4379). (f) T1.77:585 **7u**-T77-**b'a** (K 6997). (g) T1.128:501 **7u**-T128-**b'a**.

After Robicsek and Hales (1981:170, Vessel 140).

Figure 4.16. PSS structure types 1-4. (a) Type 1: Unpossessed label: **7u-**T128**-b'a** '(It is a) drinking cup'. BOD 140 from Robicsek and Hales (1981). (b) Type 2: Without possessor: **7u-ja-yi yu-k'i-b'i** '(It is) his thin one, his drinking cup'. Kerr No. 5466. (c) Type 3: **yu-k'i-b'i** [POSSESSOR] '(It is) the cup of [Possessor]'. Kerr No. 4332. (d) Type 4: **NA(HA)L ja-yi 7u-K'UHUL-K'AB'A7(-b'a) yu-k'i-b'i** 'Na(ha)l jay is the divine name of his cup'. Uaxactun pot.

Figure 4.17. PSS structure type 5. Possessed label followed by complement prepositional phrase: **yu-k'i-b'i ta-NA(HA)L-la TE7-le ka-wa** '(It is) his cup for na(ha)l- and te7-el-type chocolate'. BOD 30 from Robicsek and Hales (1981:25).

Figure 4.18. PSS structure type 6. (a) **yu-k'i-b'i ta-NA(HA)L TE7-le ka-wa** [POSSESSOR] '(It is) the cup for na(ha)l- and te7-el-type chocolate of [Possessor]'. (b) **yu-k'i-b'i ta-TE7-li ka-wa** [POSSESSOR] '(It is) the cup for te7-el-type chocolate of [Possessor]'.

Figure 4.19. PSS structure type 7. PREDICATE + Type 6: **7a-7AY-ya** GOD.N **yu-k'i-b'i ti-yu-ta ka-wa** [POSSESSOR] 'The cup for y-ut-a(l)-type chocolate of [Possessor] was GOD.Ned'. Pot K2085 from Kerr (1989:214).

Figure 4.20. PSS structure types 8 and 9. (a) Type 8, {Type 7} {Type 3}: **7a-7AY** GOD.N **7u-k'i-b'a | yu-k'i-b'i** [POSSESSOR] 'The cup was GOD.Ned | (It was) the cup of [Possessor]'. Pot K6997 from Kerr (1997). (b) Type 9, {Type 7} {Type 3}: **7AY-ya** GOD.N **7u-k'i-b'i | na-ja-la yu-k'i-b'i ta-yu-ta NA(HA)L TE7-le ka-wa** [POSSESSOR] 'The cup was GOD.Ned | The cup for y-ut-a(l)-, na(ha)l-, and te7-el-type chocolate of [Possessor] was na(ha)l-ed'. Pot K4379 (Kerr 1994).

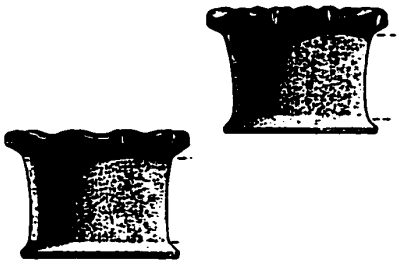
Figure 4.21. Type 10, 11, and 12 structures. (a) Type 10: **7a-7AY-ya tz'i-b'i na-ja hi-chi**. Pot K2285. (b) Type 11: **7a-7AY-ya tz'i-b'i na-ja hi-chi yu-k'i-b'i ta-yu-ta ka-wa** [POSSESSOR]. Pot K3433 from Kerr (1992). (c) Type 12: **7a-7AY-ya tz'i-b'i na-ja hi-chi | hi-chi yu-k'i-b'i ta-yu-ta ka-wa** [POSSESSOR]. Pot K3366 (Kerr 1992).

Figure 4.1.

A B C D E F G H

Figure 4.2.

a.



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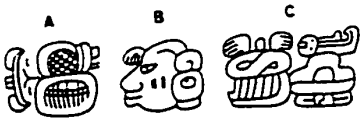

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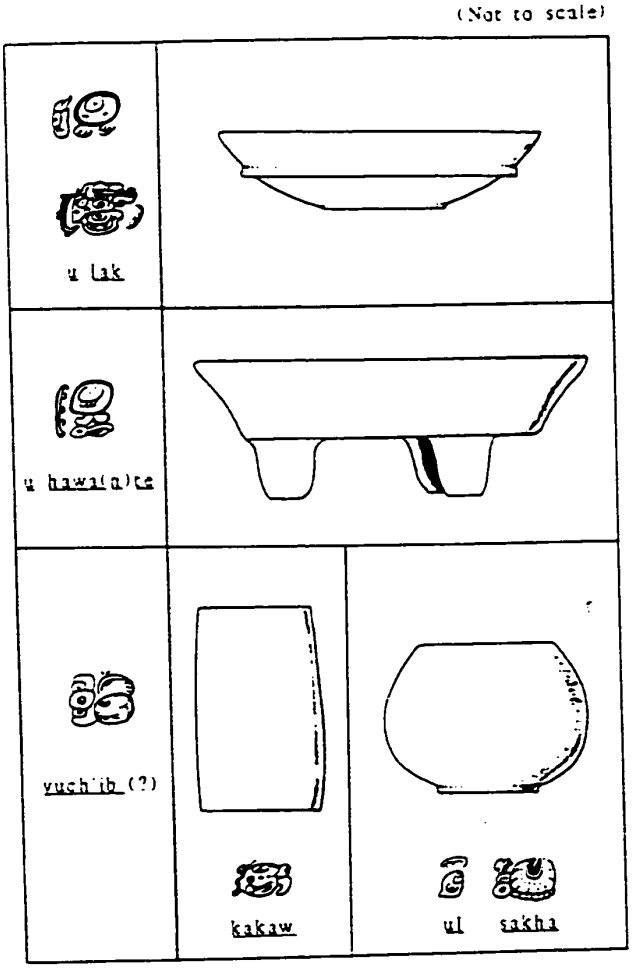

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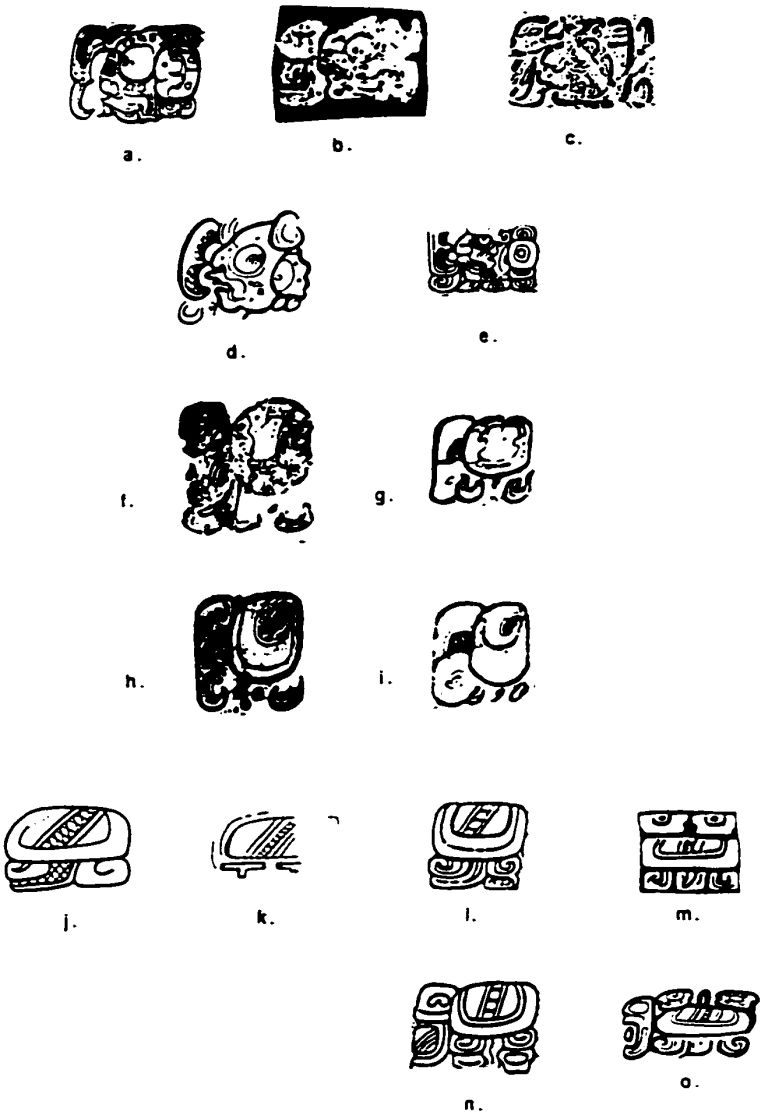

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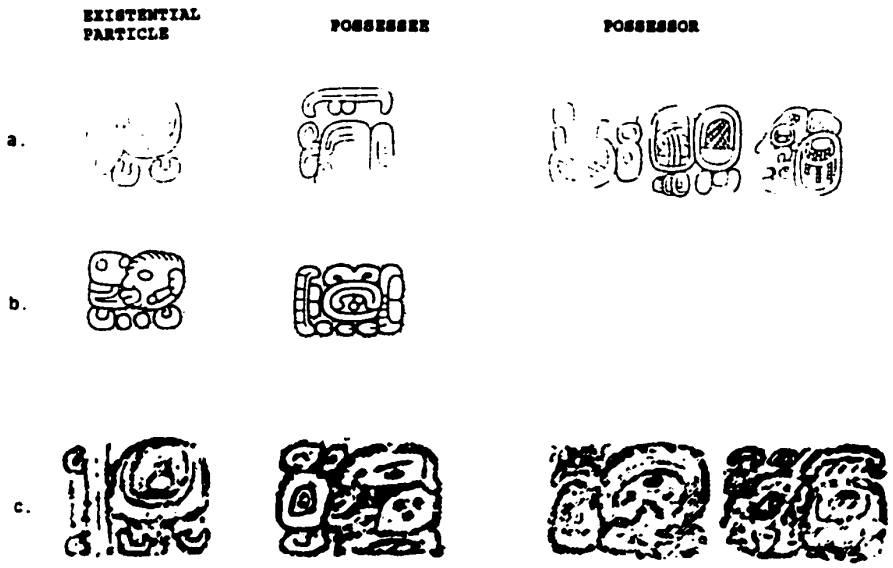

Figure 4.6.

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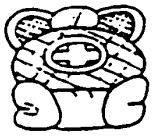


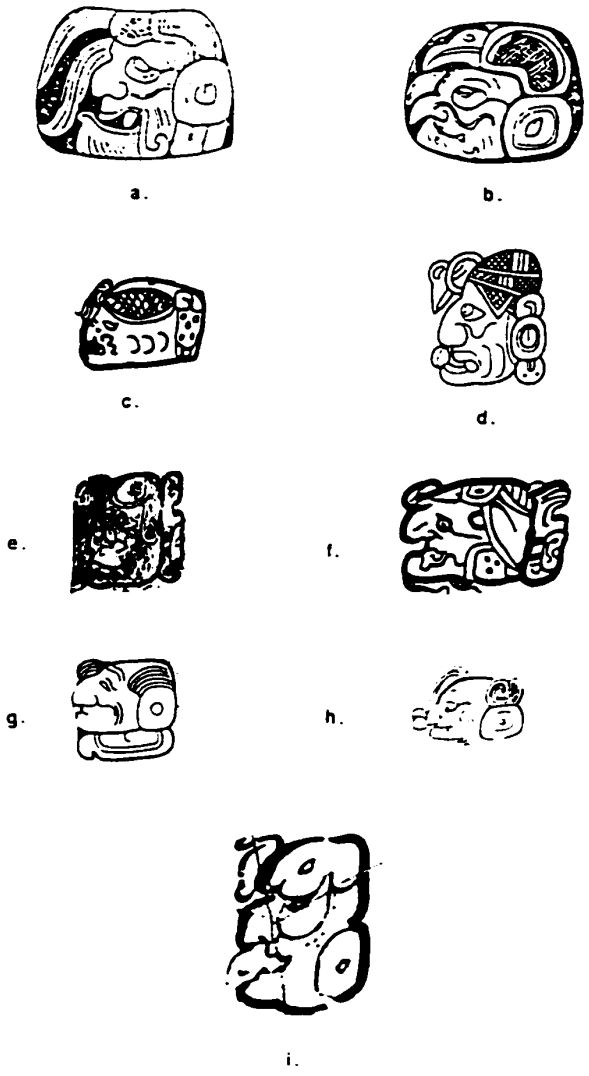
b.

c.

d.

e.

Figure 4.7.



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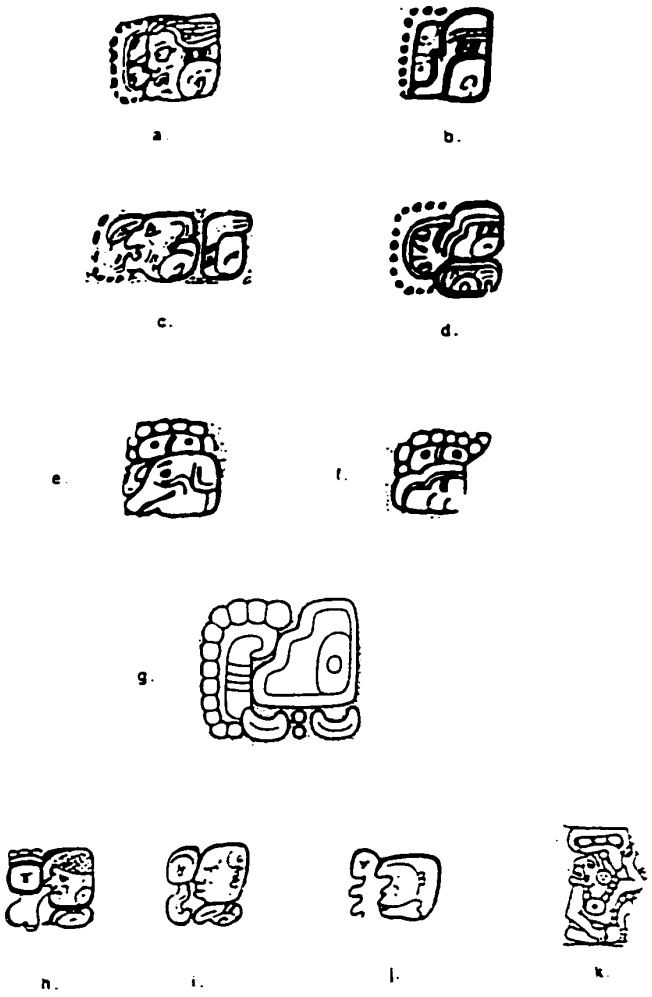


Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.10.

a.

b.

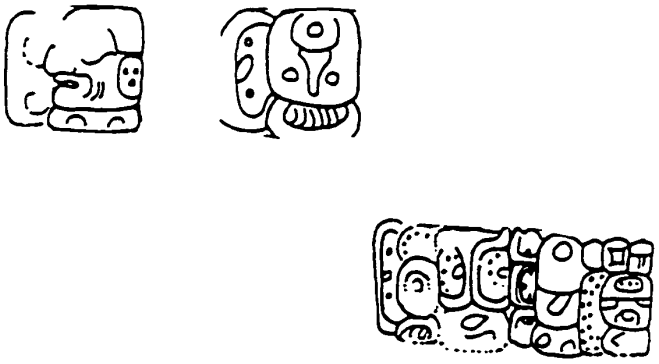


Figure 4.11.

a. 

b. 

c. 

Figure 4.12.

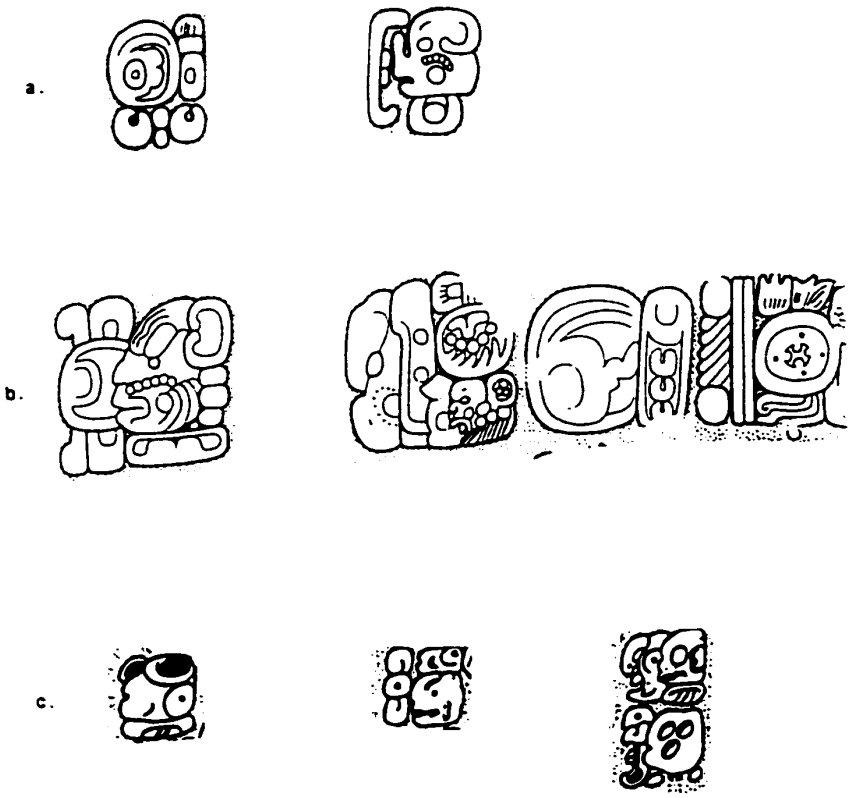


Figure 4.13.

a.

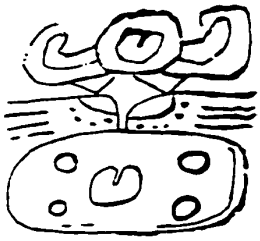
b.

c.

d.

e.

Figure 4.14.



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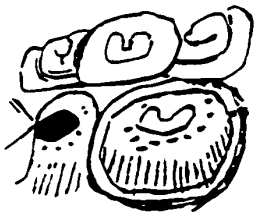
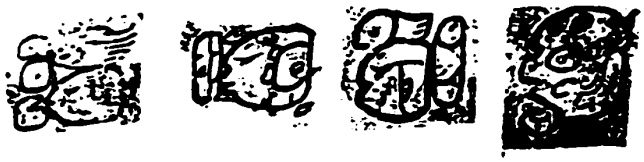


b.

Figure 4.15.

Figure 4.16.



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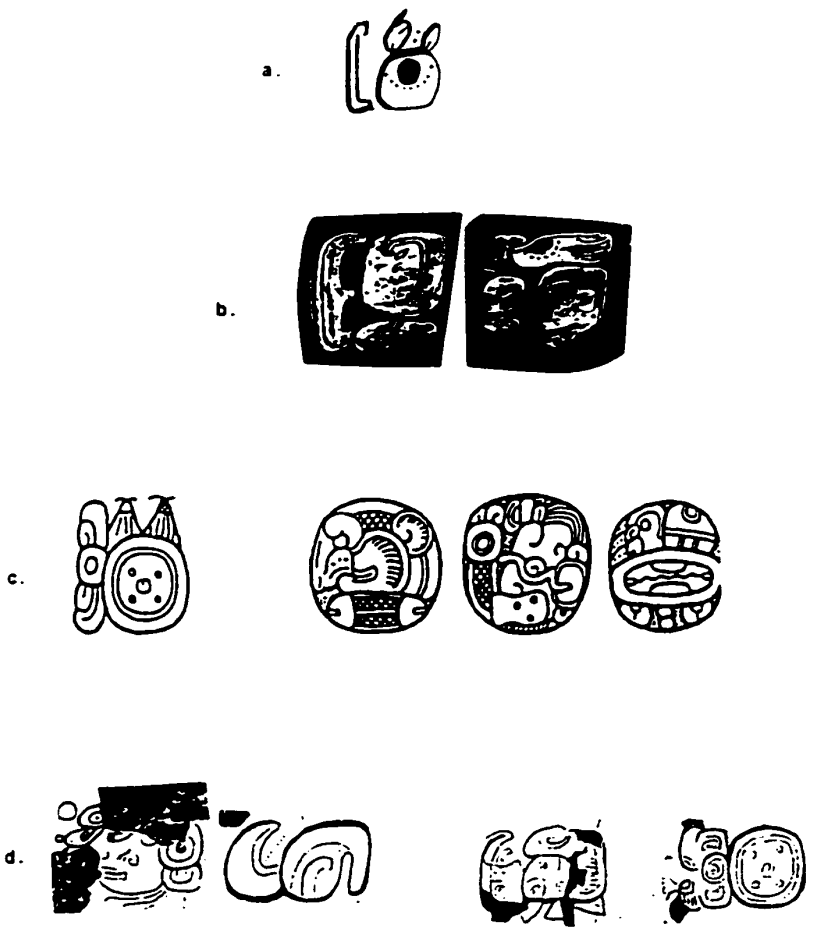

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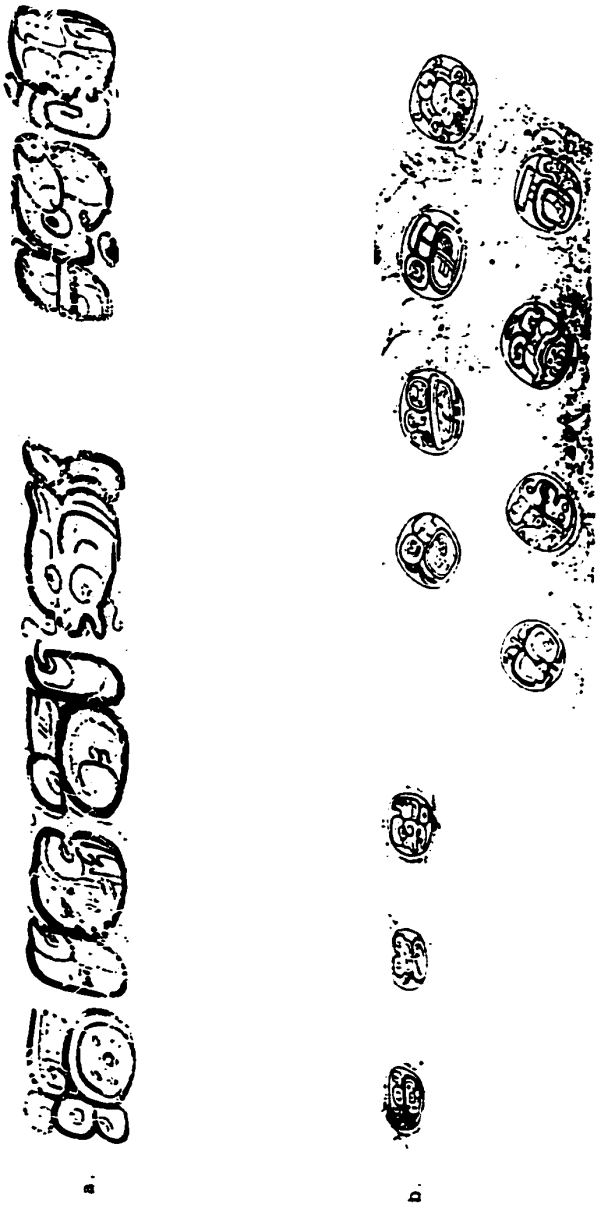

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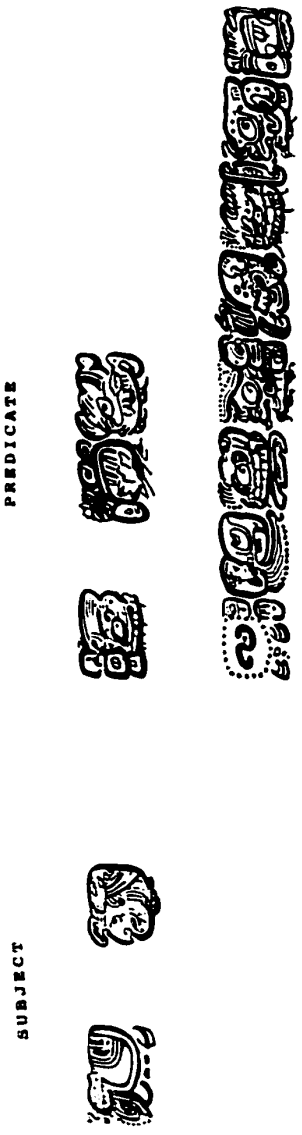

Figure 4.20.

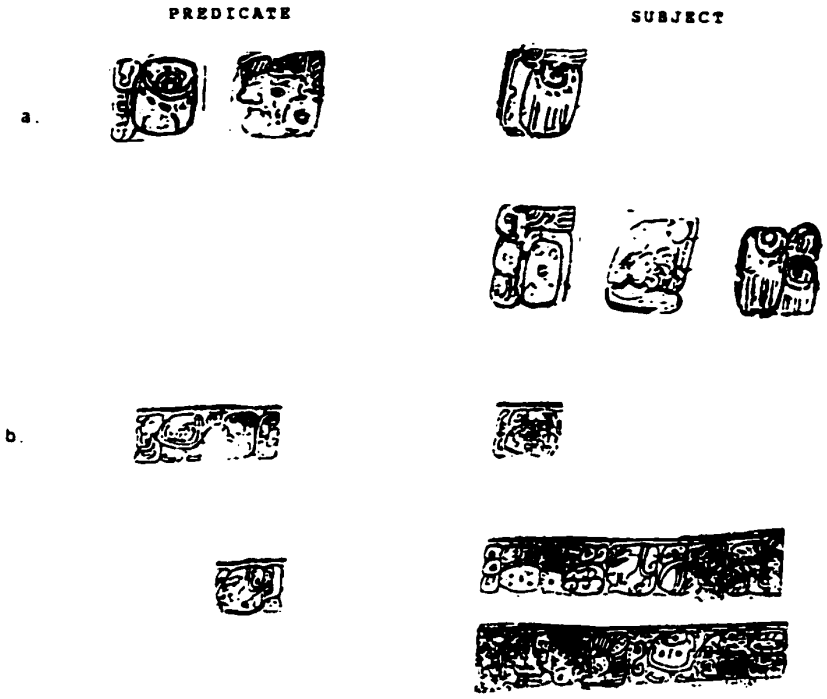

Figure 4.21.

CHAPTER V: LIST OF FIGURES

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Figure 5.15. Lake Güija Plaque. (a) Text showing the following: **7u**-JADE.PENDANT HAND-**ma-?-b'a MAM-ma ?-li-7e ?-TUN/HAB'** [proper.name]. (b) Iconographic support for the identification of **7u**-SHARK.HEAD as referring to the jade plaque pendant itself. Drawing from Houston and Amaroli (1988:FIgure 4).

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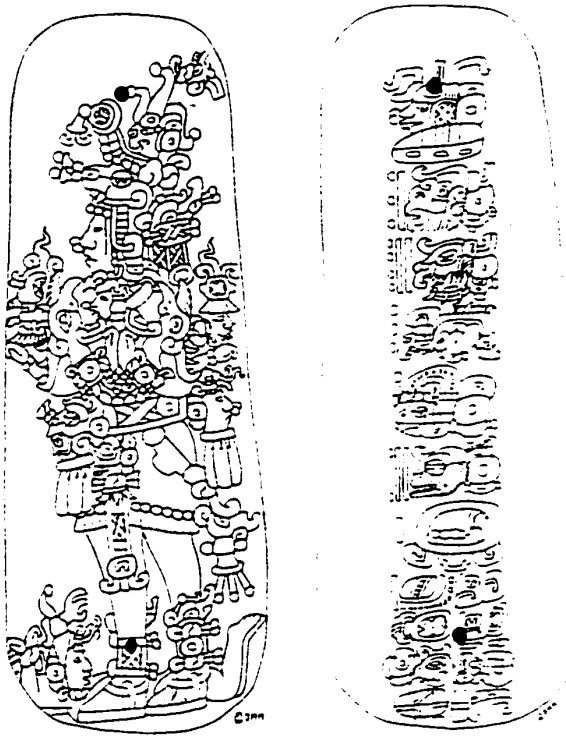
Figure 5.18. Use of T712 as a derived verb. (a) Tikal Stela 10, D11-D12: **YAX**-T712-**ja/AJ** [PERSONAL.NAME] '[PERSONAL.NAME] T712ed for the first time/once'. From Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Figure 14). (b) Caracol: **YAX-ch'a**-T712-**wi SAK-K'AN-WITZ** 'Sak K'an Witz T712ed for the first time'.

Figure 5.19. Use of T712[841] as an instrument role. (a) **7o-chi-ya tu**-T712 **ti**-T841 7och-iy-Ø(+a) t-u-T712 ti+T841 'S/he entered with his/her T712 with/at T841'.

Emiliano Zapata Panel. Drawing by Nikolai Grube. (b) **7IL-hi tu-**T712 **ti-**T841 'S/he/it was seen with T712 with/at T841'. (c) **7u-TZAK-K'UH nu-CHAN ya-(7)AJAW 7ITZ'AT tu-7u-**T712[841] 'Nun-Chan Y-ajaw 7itz'at conjured a/the god with his T712 (and) T841'.

Figure 5.20. Water jug with infixed T841, possibly referring to its contents as **7AK'** 'water, moist'. Dumbarton Oaks Panel. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 5.1.



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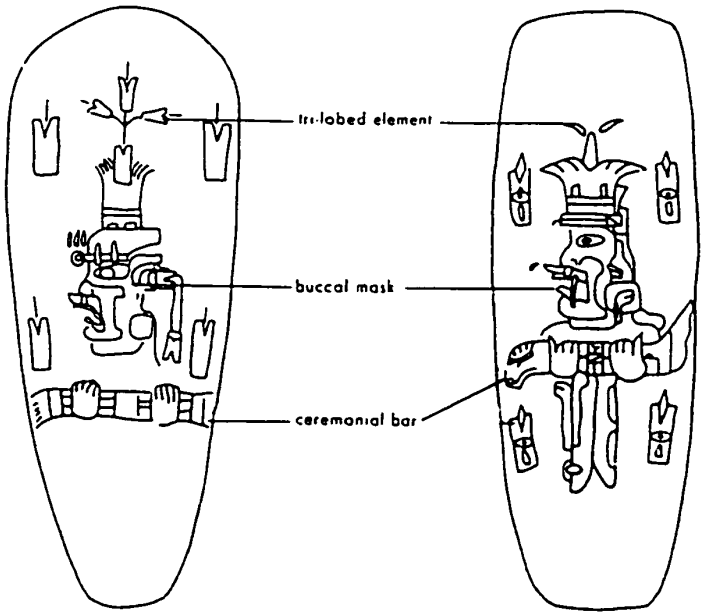

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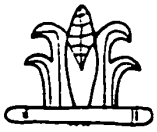


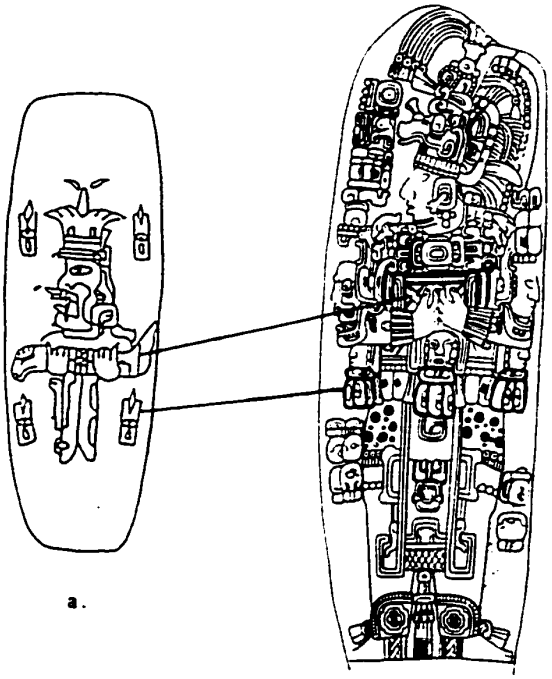
a.

b.

c.

d.

Figure 5.4.



a.

b.

Figure 5.5.

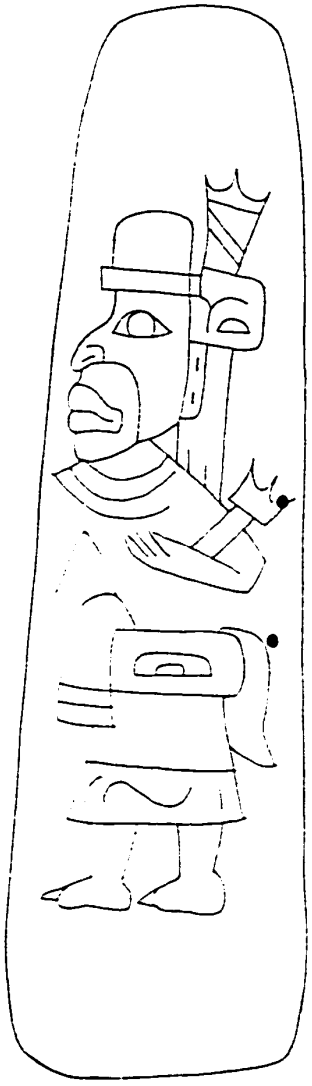


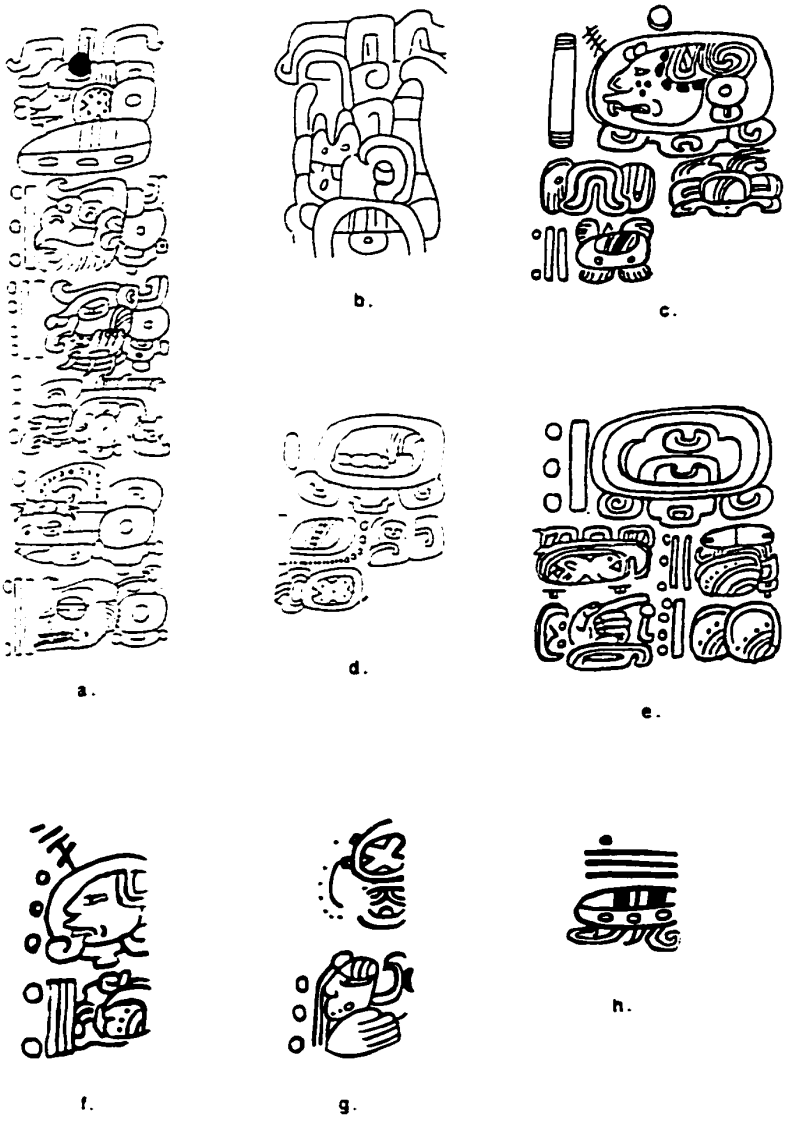
Figure 5.6.

a.

b.

c.

Figure 5.7.



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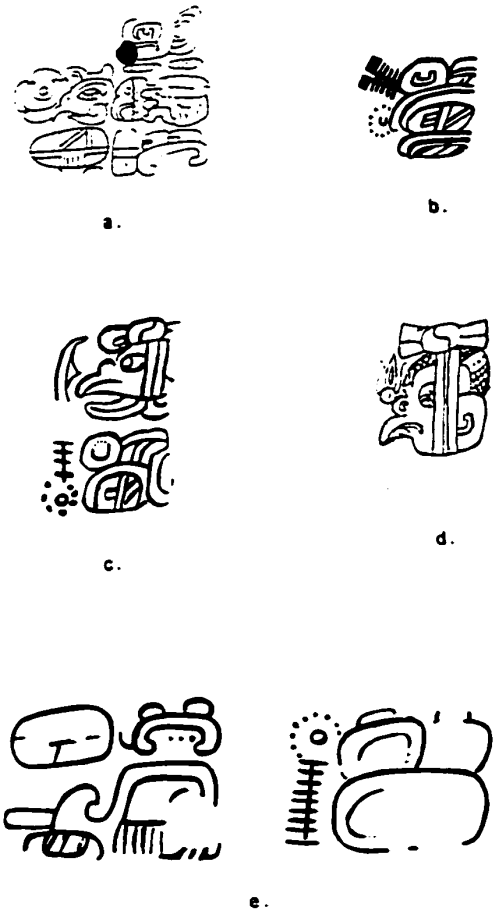


a.

b.

c.

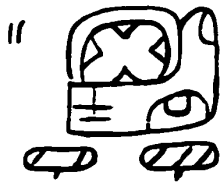
d.

e.

Figure 5.9.

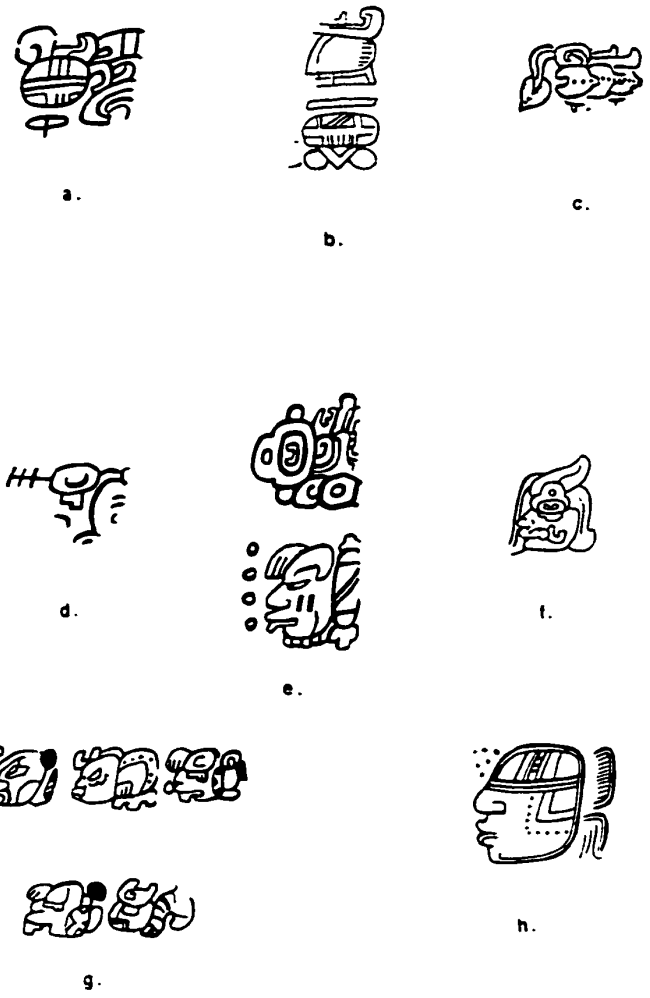
a.

b.



c.

Figure 5.10.



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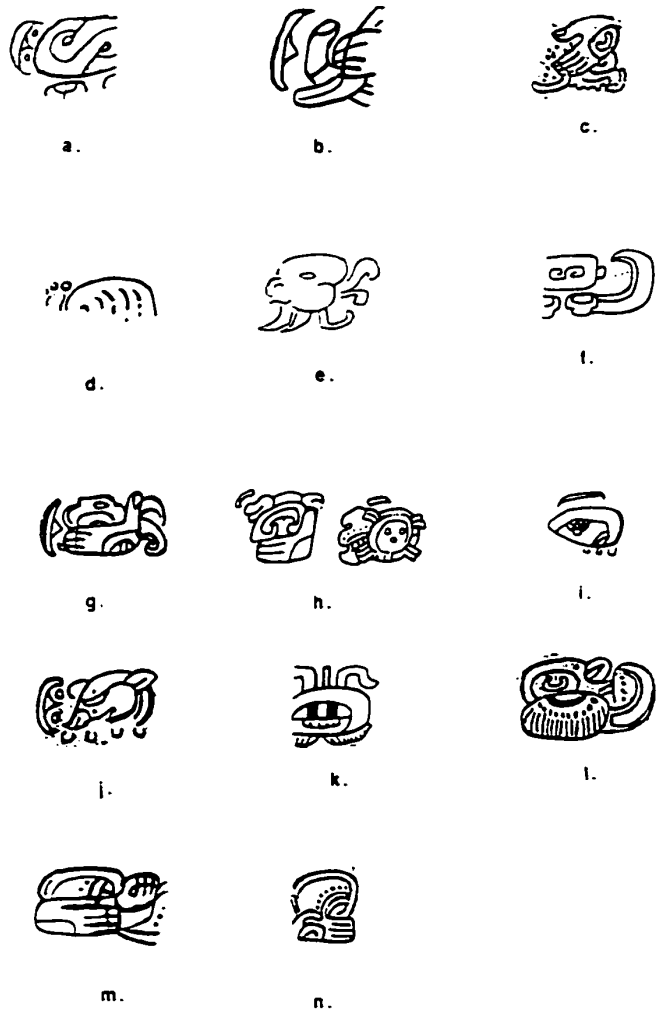

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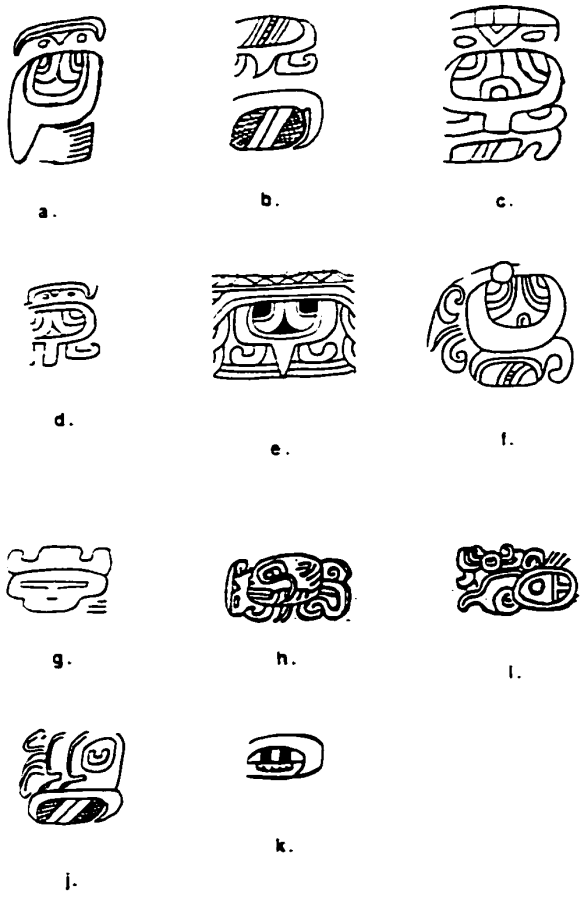
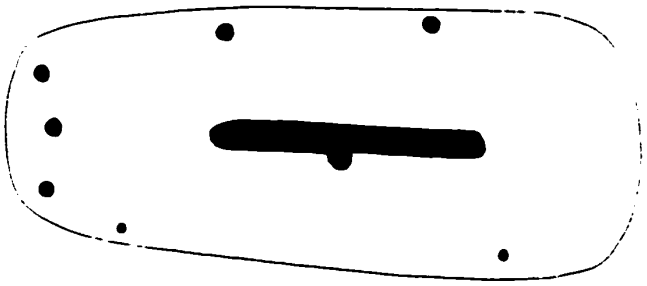


Figure 5.13.

a. b.

c.



d.

Figure 5.14.

a.

b.

Figure 5.15.

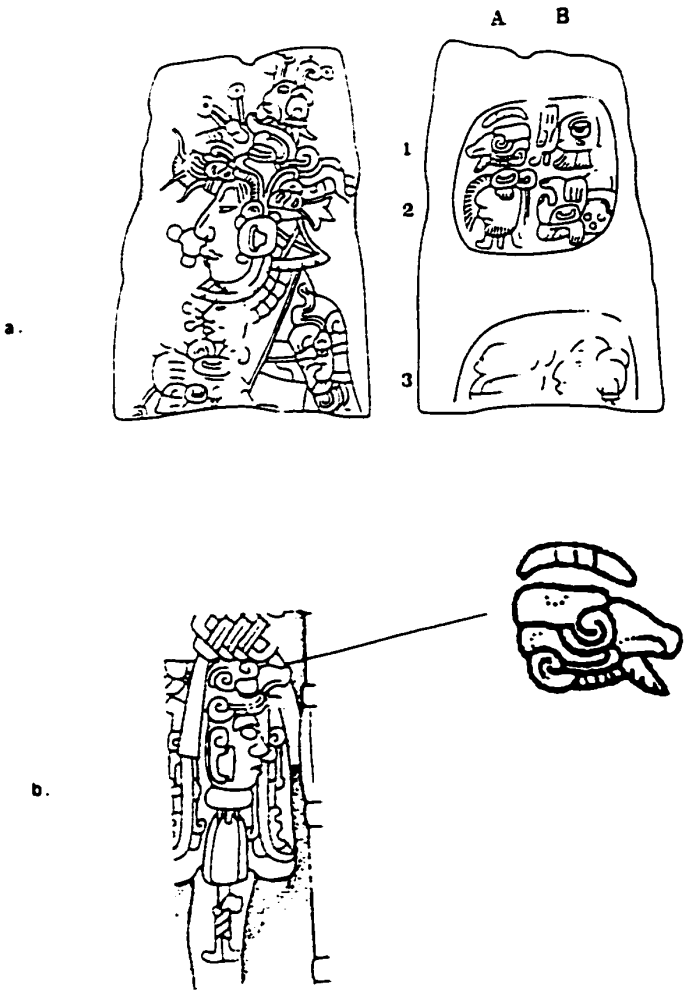
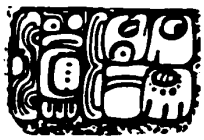


Figure 5.16.

a. 

b. 

c. 

Figure 5.17.

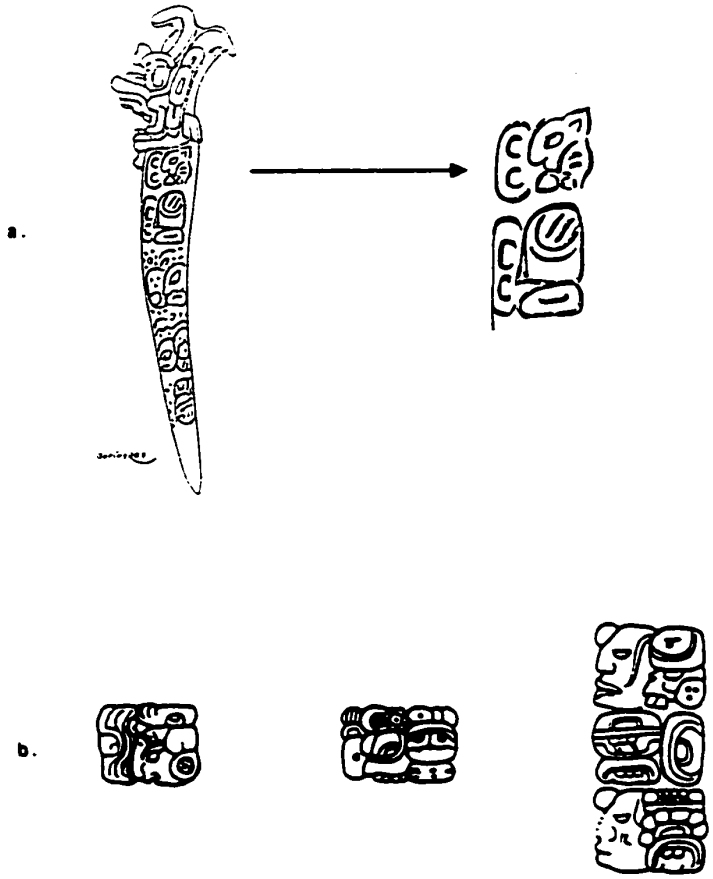
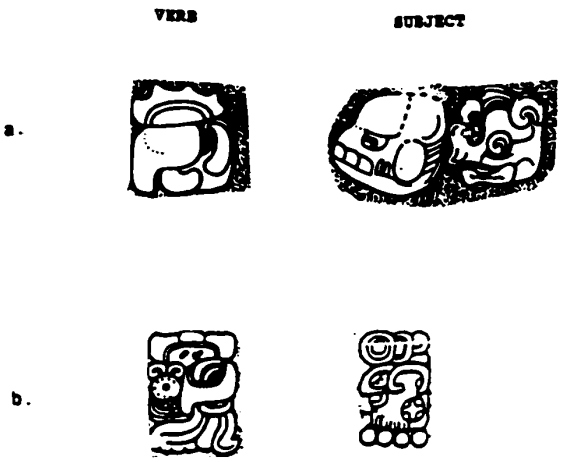


Figure 5.18.



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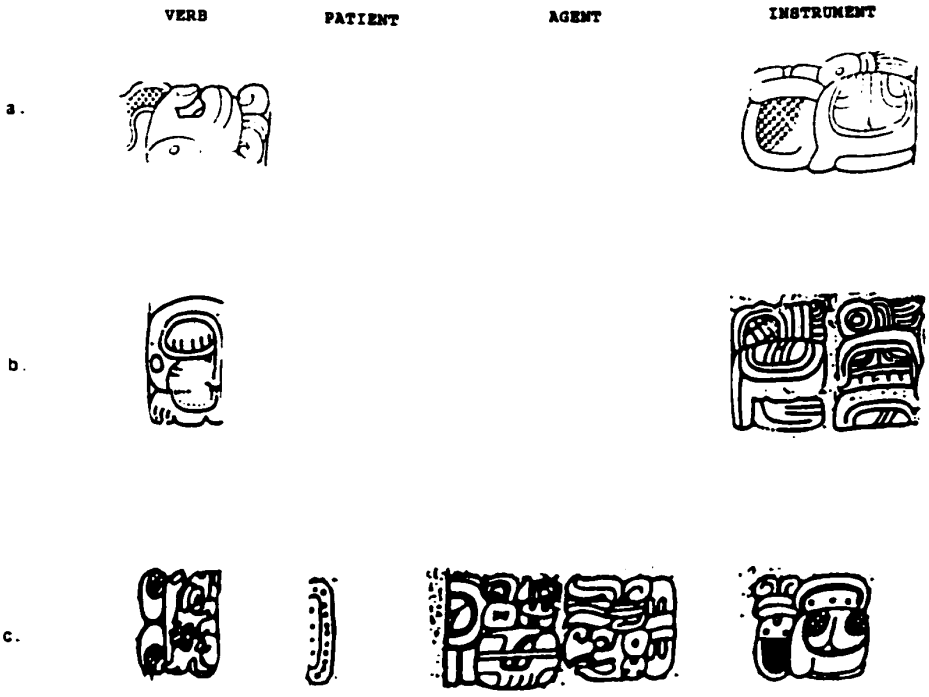

Figure 5.20.

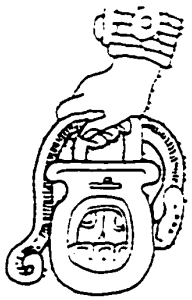

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Figure 6.15. Signary of DO subset of texts: Human heads. (1) BEARDED.GOD.N. Attributes: Beard, shark's tooth, tuft of hair over forehead, square nose, earflare. Frequency: 5x. (2) FOREHEAD. Attributes: T-shaped element projecting from forehead, otherwise generic head with or without earflare ornament. Frequency: 3x. (3) Human head with possible tuft of hair and earflare, otherwise generic-looking. Frequency: 1x. (4) Human or godlike head with tuft of hair over forehead and in back of the head, absence of eye and presence of rectangular outline over forehead, shark's tooth. Possibly early form of T1013. Frequency: 1x. (5) GENERIC.HEAD. Attribute: spot on the cheek.

Figure 6.16. Signary: Animals. (31) HAWK. Probably hawk or eagle species. Attributes: feather horns like harpy eagle's (especially clear in version to the right of seated personage), long curved beak, feather beard (cf. Classic **MUWAN** 'hawk' and avian form of **CHAN** 'sky'). Frequency: 2x. One iconographic occurrence. (32) BIRD.HEAD. Attributes: Curved beak, nostril, eyebrow surrounds eye. Frequency: 1x. (33) SPOTTED.BAT.HEAD. Attributes: Bat nose and ear, spot on the cheek. Frequency: 1x. (34) MONKEY.HEAD. Attributes: Wears earflare and has hair in the back of the head. Frequency: 1x. (35) Unknown. Possibly two signs: a superfix on top of a GOPHER head. Possible third sign present: two circles may correspond to phonetic T1 **7u**. Frequency: 1x. (36) BEHEADED.JAGUAR. Attributes: headless jaguar body, with infixed cartouche containing two stub elements, and with a tail. Unclear whether H-element to the right is a separate sign or a stylistically appropriate iconic element with no orthographic value. Frequency: 1x. (37) GOPHER. Attributes: outline of T757 GOPHER, with tongue sticking out. (38) IGUANA. Attributes: depicts an upended

iguana head with two of its legs below. Frequency: 1x. (39) Possible SHARK sign. Attributes: curved element on back of head, earflare. Frequency: 1x.

Figure 6.17. Signary: Body parts. (51) Precursor to T671. Attributes: thumb touching index finger with tip, infixed cartouche with or without an infixed double-stub element. Frequency: 2x. (52) Precursor to T713 or T670. Attributes: open hand, infixed cartouche with or without an infixed double-stub element. Frequency: 1x. (53) Precursor to T644. Attributes: lower torso and left thigh of person, no U-shaped infix, no cartouche infix. Frequency: 1x. (54) SKULL. Attributes: headband ornament on forehead, enclosing eye-socket element, teeth rendered with one horizontal line and three vertical lines. Frequency: 1x.

Figure 6.18. Signary: Other main signs. (71) T503 **7IK'** 'wind'. Attributes: T-shaped element inside of horizontally-oriented T-shaped cartouche. Frequency: 1x. (72) T504 **7AK'AB'/7AK'B'AL//7AK'**. Attributes: Rounded outline, symmetrical abstract design. Frequency: 1x. (73) T505 **7AK'AB'/7AK'B'AL//MAN**. Attributes: T504 rotated ninety degrees to the right. Frequency: 2x. (74) T617. Attributes: Oval cartouche with diagonal band inside. Frequency: 1x. (75) CROSSED.BANDS.JESTER.GOD headband. Attributes: two plant elements on top. Frequency: 2x. (76) T517 with plant elements on top, iconically equivalent to pear-shaped T533 and to T535. Attributes: oval outline with U-shaped element inside an infixed cartouche and two hooked elements as superfixes. Frequency: 1x. (77) REED sign. Attributes: tripointed reed tassel with diagonal bands suggesting a shiny surface (i.e., a jade tassel effigy jewel). T60 sign below may be phonetic complement **hi/ji** for **7AJ** 'reed'. The sign could be the basis for T518, and it in fact may be read **7AJ(AW)**. Frequency: 1x. (78) Double cartouche with diagonal band. Attribute: one of the two components of T518. (79) T518. T60 subfix may be optional (see discussion in dissertation). Frequency: 2x. (80) Possible T188 **le**. Attributes: elongated sign with slit surrounded by quarter-circles. Frequency: 1x. (81) MOUNTAIN sign. Attributes: sprouting vegetation on top, diagonal bands, striations at the bottom, or

if animated, long snout, curving elements coming out of the mouth, and a shark's tooth. Frequency: 2x. (82) T17 **yi**. Attributes: rounded hook-shaped outline with a small hook element inside a cartouche. Frequency: 1x. (83) STAR sign. Attributes: characteristic star sign. Frequency: 1x. (84) T843 STEP sign. Attributes: shows a staircase with either a FOOTPRINT or RUBBER.BALL element on one of the steps. Frequency: 1x. (85) T712 BLOODLETTER sign. Attributes: depicts an obsidian bloodletter, as indicated by the diagonal reflection sign. Frequency: 1x. (86) Possible instance of 134[595] **no**. Attributes: three horizontally-arranged rectangular elements on each side, an oval-shaped main sign with vertically-arranged rectangular elements. Frequency: 1x. (87) unclear; possibly a MOUNTAIN sign graphically cognate with the Epi-Olmec MOUNTAIN sign, or perhaps a sign with a similar shape as **chu**. Frequency: 1x.

Figure 6.19. Signary: Signs with unclear iconic motivation or composition. (110) Unknown. Attribute: generally oval shape with rectangular edge on top right, with inner details mostly eroded. (111) Uncertain. Attribute: resembles STEP sign, shows two diagonal bands, and may be subfixed with a form of T88 **hi/ji** or a conflation of T60:88, both **hi/ji**. Frequency: 1x (if different from glyph 83). (112) Uncertain. Attribute: diamond shape, with vegetation-like motifs on top sides, and oval-shaped motifs, one of which has diagonal bands possibly indicating a reflective surface (and hence a hard surface), on the bottom sides. Frequency: 1x. (114) Uncertain. Possible T761 PENIS sign, **7AT** 'penis'. Attributes: U-shaped element rotated ninety degrees to the left and resembling the head of the penis, a somewhat rounded bottom part possibly representing testicles, and two striations possibly representing scars from bloodletting sacrifice. Frequency: 1x. (115) Uncertain. Possibly two separate signs. Top sign resembles Glyph 155. Frequency: 1x. (116) Uncertain. Frequency: 1x. (117) Uncertain. Coe (1966) suggests a SHARK sign. Frequency: 1x. (118) Possible T504 **7AK'AB'/7AK'B'AL//7AK'**, T683 MOON/**ja**, T774, T769 **WAY**. Frequency: 1x. (119) Uncertain. Resembles T178/534 **la**, but also T510a STAR and T544 **K'IN**. Has a

possible **ni** suffix attached and possible **chi** sign following, perhaps for **K'IN-ni-chi** spelling. Frequency: 1x.

Figure 6.20. Signary: Graphic affixes. (141) T1 **7u**. Frequency: 1x. (142) DOUBLE.MERLON and FLAME.EYEBROW motifs. Frequency: 3x. (143) T147/165/194. Possibly **la** or **nal/NAL**. Attributes: consists of a circular bead with another bead attached to it. Frequency: 1x. (144) Possibly T89/90/91 **tu** or T57 **si**. Frequency: 1x. (145) LEAF/SPROUT. Frequency: 1x. (146) T126 **ya**. Frequency: 2x. (147) T124 **tzi/TZIK**. Frequency: 1x. (148) NOSE/CLEFT/FINGER.TIPS sign. Attributes: this sign may actually be two or three separate signs, the NOSE sign, the CLEFT sign (Classic **SIJ(YAJ)**), and the FINGER.TIPS sign. Frequency: 1x. (149) EARFLARE sign. Attributes: sign depicts an earflare ornament, and is characterized by a broken diagonal band. Frequency: 1x. (150) T23 **na**. Frequency: 1x. (151) Possible precursor to T139 **la**. Attributes: pair of triangular signs pointing downward. Frequency: 4x. (152) T24 **li**. Attributes: hook-shaped outline with an inner cartouche which may or may not contain one diagonal band or more. Frequency: 2x. (153) T60 **hi/ji**. Attribute: this sign may be iconically related to a reed tassel, rather than functioning orthographically as **hi/ji**. Frequency: 2x. (154) T116 **ni**. Frequency: 4x. (155) T130 **wa** or T168 **7AJAW**. Attributes: this sign may actually be simply phonetic T130 **wa**. Frequency: 1x. (156) T517.130 **7AJAW**. Attributes: Composed of T517, the U-shaped element, and T130 **wa**. This is the true predecessor to T168 **7AJAW**. (157) Possibly a conflation of T60:88; Lachlan Duncan (personal communication, 2000) suggested to me that it could correspond to T88. If correctly identified as a form of T60:88 it could function phonetically as a verbal suffix **-hi** for -(V)h-i, a suffix of intransitives. (158) Possibly a form of T116 **ni**, partly eroded. Frequency: 1x. (159) T568 **pa**. Frequency: 2x. (160) POLISHED.SURFACE sign, a semantic determiner or classifier ('polished object'). Attributes: shows a pointed outline suggesting intense glare, and a diagonal band that commonly denotes reflection of light. Frequency: 1x.

Figure 6.21. Name of seated personage on DO pectoral identified by Coe (1966). (a) Glyphic name embedded in pictorial representation of seated figure. Drawing by this author. (b) Glyphic name at B6: FLOWER-HAWK. (c) The same glyphic name at C2-D2. (d) Example of **MUWAN(-na)** or **CHAN(-na)** glyph in jade earring from Palenque, Late Classic. Drawing from Ruz Lhuiller (1973:203). The HAWK glyphs in the DO pectoral corresponds iconically either to the Classic period **MUWAN** 'hawk' glyph or the bird form of the SKY glyph. The beak is rendered in the same way, the example at D2 and the Palenque example both have a prominent eyebrow, all three glyphic examples exhibit a beard-like set of lines, and both D2 and the Palenque example show two feather horns, although in different locations (the DO pectoral example shows both horns in the back, the Palenque example shows one in the front and the other in the back.

Figure 6.22. REED signs. (a) B3 in DO pectoral: REED-**hi**. Drawing by this author. (b) REED day signs from Monte Alban Tablet 14 and Chiapa de Corzo Stela 2. Drawing from Justeson et al. (1985:Figure 8). (c) REED-**hi** glyph as part of name phrase in Early Classic looted jadeite turtle shell effigy pectoral. After drawing in Schele and Grube (1994:82). (d) Uaxactun Early Classic mural: Day sign Ben depicting a REED. (e) T517.130:518:60 form of **7AJAW** in UNP clamshell text at A7. Drawing by this author. (f) Manik 1 (ca. A.D. 200-300) pottery plate from Tikal with possible use of REED sign as **7AJ** in the spelling of **NA7/7IX-7AJ-K'IN** 'priestess'. Note the T60 sign held in common by B3 in DO pectoral, A7 in UNP clamshell, and the looted turtle shell example. Note also the diagonal lines in B3 of the DO pectoral and the turtle shell example and their close similarity to those in T518. These examples suggest that T518 is a REED sign, and that its full form is in fact T518:60. This also suggests a reading **7AJ-wa** for (e), rendering *7ajaw, based on proto-Mayan *7aaj 'reed'.

Figure 6.23. Iconographic use of tripointed REED tassel as a symbol of rulership. (a) Headband on stucco architectural mask at Cerros. (b) JESTER.GOD centerpiece on ruler's headband in Dumbarton Oaks pectoral. (c) Tikal Burial 85 mask.

Figure 6.24. Titles. (a) DO pectoral: B5. Possible **7AJ-wa** or **7AJAW** title, precursor of T168:518 **7AJAW**. The top sign, equivalent to the T168 sign, corresponds to a likely early form of T130 **wa**. The second sign corresponds to the right half of T518, possibly **7AJ**. (b) Example from Early Classic Xukpi stone: P1. It reads STAR/T687-**wa**-T518, but the T518 form is only half of the normal T518, just as in the DO pectoral example. Another example in the same text at E2, this time showing T168:518 also shows T518's second half only. After Schele, Grube, and Fahsen (1994:1). (c) JM spoon: A8. The glyph is made up of four signs: Glyph 142 as a prefix, the T168 equivalent, made up of T517 (U-shaped element) followed by half of T130 **wa**, T505 **7AK'AB'/7AK'B'AL//MAN**, and Glyph 152 **?li**. Glyph 142 takes the place of T36 **K'UH/K'UHUL** in Classic period Emblem Glyphs. (d) PMY jaguar: B4. It shows three signs: Glyph 142, presumably the T168 equivalent, now mostly eroded, and the remains of T518. (e) DO celt: A6. It shows the same composition as B4 in the PMY jaguar. The components of T518 are shown as separate entities, rather than as one as in the Classic T518. (f) UNP clamshell: A7. It shows the same form of the T168 equivalent as in (b)-(d), and it shows too a T60 sign beneath the T518 equivalent, as a possible phonetic complement or iconic compound. The T518 form is also divided as though made up of two separate signs. (g) Early Classic-period example of T168:518 from Tikal Stela 31:J2 showing T518 already rendered as a though made up of a single sign. This was the case already by A.D. 416 in the Tikal Ballcourt Marker. (h) INS 4442 possibly dating to A.D. 270: at A6 it shows a form of T518 still split into two parts. The Hauberg Stela also has the split version of T518, consonant with its early date of A.D. 197. (i) Title from Piedras Negras Stela 3: **7IX//NA7-na-MAN-ni-7AJAW** 'Lady of Man'. Drawing by John Montgomery. (j) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10: E9. It shows a sign equivalent to the T168 precursor in the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral, and two signs below that, one of which corresponds to the half T518 that also occurs in the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral as a graphic main sign. (k) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10: H3. It shows T518, with its two disjointed halves,

followed by T533. This is a likely spelling of **7AJAW** possibly as **(7AJ-)7AJAW**. (l) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10: H8. Possible title: it shows the second half of T518.

Figure 6.25. BEARDED.GOD.N forms. (a) UNP clamshell: A1. It shows tuft of hair, shark's tooth, earflare, long and narrow nose, long and narrow eye. Drawing by this author. (b) JM spoon: A4. It shows tuft of hair, full beard, earflare and curling hair, long and narrow nose, long and narrow eye. Drawing by this author. (c) DO pectoral: B2/C1. It shows in both cases a tuft of hair over forehead, full beard, long and narrow nose, and long and narrow eye. Drawing by this author. (d) PMY jaguar: A1. It has a tuft of hair over forehead with added dots, a full beard with the hairs ending in dots, a long and narrow nose, a long and narrow eye with an iris, a pair of teeth, and a upward-curling hair in the back. Below the upward-curving hair is the sign T116 **ni**, showing what may be hairs ending in dots. Drawing by this author. (e) KND bivalve: A3. It shows a tuft of hair with a single circle, a more normal-looking nose, a spherical bead in front of the nose with three lines underneath as though indicating movement or vibration, a shark's tooth, a beard, a pair of fish barbels, a prominent eyebrow, a more normal-looking eye with an iris. The back shows a T116 **ni** sign. Drawing by Linda Schele. (f) Bellote stone effigy bowl: Glyph F. It shows a tuft of hair, a polished diagonal band on forehead, a curling eyebrow, a long and narrow nose, a long snout, a sharp tooth, a fish barbel, a beard, an earflare, hair or reeds sticking up from earflare, and a T178 **la** sign infixed in his eye. Drawing from Easby and Scott (1971:Figure 76).

Figure 6.26. Olmec predecessors of DO pectoral's CROSSED.BANDS sign. (a) Tripointed crossed-banded jewel as centerpiece of royal headband on Teopantecuanitlan sculpture. After (b) Tripointed cross-banded and clefted motif in Olmec celt. (c) Tripointed cross-banded motif in Olmec-style Shook Altar. Drawing from Shook and Heizer (1976:Figure 2). (d) Tripointed cross-banded motif from Dumbarton Oaks pectoral. Drawing by this author based on photograph in Coe (1966:Figure 2).

Figure 6.27. JESTER.GOD with early T533 **7AJAW** pear-shaped outline. (a)

JESTER.GOD headband from Rio Azul Plaque. Drawing by this author. (b) Glyph at A4 on KND axe: It corresponds to the tripointed JESTER.GOD motif. As such, it probably reads **HUN** 'paper, book, headband'. (c) Glyph at A2 on Kaminaljuyu jade earflare: It corresponds to the JESTER.GOD headband with one of the points omitted. As such, it probably reads **NIK/NICH** 'flower'. From Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946:Figure 41). (d) Iconographic example of JESTER.GOD-JAGUAR on Abaj Takalik Stela 5. The JESTER.GOD motif shows three points and an early form of pear-shaped T533. The three points suggest the reading **HUN**. (e) El Mirador Chicanel Sherd: It shows the early form of T533 with one of the points omitted, suggesting also the reading **NIK/NICH** 'flower'. Otherwise, the form of the early T533 is very similar to that in the Abaj Takalik example with three points. (f) Possible iconographic spelling of **HUN-B'ALAM** with JESTER.GOD motif showing an oval rather than pear-shaped outline and only two points rather than three. (g) PMY jaguar: Form equivalent to the JESTER.GOD motif rendered on Tikal Stela. It shows an infixed U-shaped element infixed inside a cartouche, which is itself infixed inside the oval element of the JESTER.GOD motif. This form is equivalent to the JESTER.GOD motif in the Leyden Plaque. The jaguar figurine glyph may therefore read **NIK/NICH** flower.

Figure 6.28. Possible FLOWER glyphs with two-pointed tops. (a) DO pectoral at B6a. (b) Kaminaljuyu earflare. (c) HTZ axe at A5. (d) El Mirador Chicanel Sherd. (e) PMY jaguar. (f) PRL conch: **NIK[TE7]**. The T646 **TE7** sign is infixed within what would otherwise be identical to the glyph from the PMY jaguar: an oval sign with an U-shaped element.

Figure 6.29. Forms and readings of the basic T533 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler' glyph. (a) T533 **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler' and **NIK/NICH** 'flower'. (b) T535 **NIK/NICH** 'flower'. (a) substitutes freely for (b), but (b) is never used with the reading **7AJAW** in the Classic period. (c) **HUN** 'paper, book, headband'. (d) T534 **la**. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.30. JESTER.GOD motif in iconography and script. (a) Nosara jade plaque:

HUN-B'ALAM. It uses pear-shaped form of T533 with O-shaped element rather than U-shaped or ||-shaped element. Drawing by this author. (b) Copan Peccary Bone text: **HUN**. It shows transitional form between pear-shaped and circular-shaped form of T533 also. Drawing by unknown author. (c) Copan Stela 6: **K'INICH-ya-HUN-na**. JESTER.GOD sign uses Late Classic form of T533. Drawing by Barbara Fash. (d) DO celt: **HUN-na**. Iconographic use of JESTER.GOD sign with phonetic complement **na**. Drawing by Linda Schele. (e) INS 4442: **HUN-na**. Iconographic usage of JESTER.GOD sign with phonetic complement **na**. Drawing by this author. (f) INS 4442: Phonetic sign T23 **na** used as a complement to glyph **TAN** in same jade plaque. It is identical to the sign used in the JESTER.GOD sign in the DO celt and the front side of INS 4442. Drawing by this author. (g) Verbal phrase from Tikal whose subject is the JESTER.GOD sign: **K'AL-ja/AJ 3-HUN ta-7u-B'AH** 'Three JESTER.GODs were wrapped on his head'.

Figure 6.31. Possible phonetic **7u** sign in DO pectoral at C5a. (a) C5: **?7u**-T712. Drawing by this author. (b) INS 2007: **7u**-T712[841]. Drawing by this author. (c) Earflare assemblage on K3863. The centerpiece is iconically identical to the sign at C5a in the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral.ing by this author.

Figure 6.32. Early forms of T757 GOPHER, phonetic **b'a**, logographic **B'AH** for homophonous *b'ah 'self/head/top/image' and *b'ah 'gopher'. (a) DO pectoral: D5. It shows a tongue. Drawing by this author. (b) HTZ axe: A6. Drawn by this author based on photograph in Thompson (1931). (c) CNT 6125: A3b. Drawn by this author based on Proskouriakoff (1974:110-111, Plate 45) and first-hand examination at the Peabody Museum at Harvard. (d) BMA mask: A1b. Drawing by this author based on photograph in Soustelle (1971:Plates 60 and 61) and first-hand examination of the piece. (e) National Museum of Costa Rica La Fortuna slate disk: B1c. Drawing by this author based on photograph and personal examination of the piece. (f) INS 6528: B1b. Drawing by this author based on photograph and personal examination of the piece. (g) JAGUAR sign

from La Mojarra Stela 1 showing tongue rendered in similar fashion as that in (a). Drawing by this author after rubbing by John Justeson.

Figure 6.33. T24 **li**. (a) DO pectoral: D6. (b) DO celt: A7c. (c) INS 4444: B1c. (d) INS 4440: B2. (e) INS 6528: A5c. (g) Dumbarton Oaks jadeite celt: B4c. All drawings by this author.

Figure 6.34. Signs from dedicatory formula or PSS identified by Coe (1966), Ayala (1983), and Freidel and Schele (1989) in the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral. (a) Initial Sign. (b) STEP sign.

Figure 6.35. T740 IGUANA signs. (a) Possible T740 IGUANA glyph at A2b in DO pectoral. (b) T740 IGUANA glyph from Yaxchilan Lintel 35:B6. Note possible correspondence in legs. Drawing by Ian Graham. (c) Immediate context of T740, as a possible logograph **SIJ** for sihj 'to be born', from Yaxchilan Lintel 35:B6.: **7AJ-si-SIJ-NAH** 'He of the Birth House'. Note possible correspondence between T57 **si** in Yaxchilan example and A2a in DO pectoral. (d) Placename in Hombre de Tikal text at E6. Note possible correspondence between T91 **tu**, the first sign, and A2a in Dumbarton Oaks pectoral. Drawing from Fahsen (1988a).

Figure 6.36. MOUNTAIN/PLATFORM-LORD epithets. (a) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10:G3-H3. The first glyph is a MOUNTAIN glyph showing the following traits: sprouting vegetation on the top, a diagonal band, a base with striations and a cave. The second is composed of T518 (vertically-oriented) and T533, and might spell either **(7AJ-)7AJAW** or more simply **7AJAW** 'lord, ruler'. Drawing by this author. (b) PMY jaguar: A4-B4. The first sign is the MOUNTAIN sign showing sprouting vegetation on the top, two diagonal bands, striations at the base, and a likely phonetic sign **la**. The second shows three elements: EYEBROW:DOUBLE.MERLON-T168-T518. It probably reads DIVINE-**7AJAW**. Drawing by this author. (c) JM spoon: A2-A3. The first sign is an animated version of the MOUNTAIN sign in the PMY jaguar text. The second sign appears to be a full-blown Emblem Glyph: DIVINE-**MAN-7AJAW-?la** 'Divine Man

Lord'. Drawing by this author.

Figure 6.37. MOUNTAIN/PLATFORM glyph across Mesoamerica. (a) PMY jaguar:A4. (b) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10:G3. (c) Sacatepequez Stela (MNAEG 2081). This carving shows pyramidal temple on top with ray-like elements emanating from it and sprouts on the corners, a stepped structure, and a personified mountain head with a cave underneath. Drawing by author based on photograph in Schmidt, de la Garza, and Nalda (1998:611, Plate 369). (d) Unprovenanced ceramic sherd from Oaxaca. Drawing from Urcid (1993). (e) Building J Tablet, Monte Alban. Drawing by Alfonso Caso.

Figure 6.38. Animated versions of MOUNTAIN signs: Classic and Late Preclassic. (a) Copan Stela B: **7u-B'AH MO7-WITZ 7AJAW** '(It is) the image of Macaw-Mountain Lord'. Here the regular logographic form of T529 **WITZ** 'mountain, hill' is used. Drawing by Barbara Fash in Fash (1991:31). (b) **MO7-WITZ** 'Macaw Mountain'. Here the animated version of T529 **WITZ** 'mountain, hill' is used: it shows a long snout, an eye, an earflare, and two entangled strands. Drawing by Linda Schele. (c) PMY jaguar:A4. Late Preclassic MOUNTAIN glyph. Drawing by this author. (d) Animated MOUNTAIN/PLATFORM glyph from Jade Museum jadeite spoon. It shows long snout, shark's tooth, and two long curving strands. Drawing by this author.

Figure 6.39. BIRD.HEAD sign. (a) JM spoon:A7. The BIRD.HEAD sign appears to take two graphic subfixes that might read together **la**. Drawing by this author. (b) Kaminaljuyu Esperanza phase (A.D. 400-600) jade earplug. Drawing Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946:Figure 41). (c) Late Classic painted pot K1398. From Kerr (1989:89).

Figure 6.40. BEHEADED.JAGUAR sign. (a) PMY jaguar:A3. BEHEADED.JAGUAR sign. Drawing by this author. (b) Possible expression of **B'AKEL:WAYAL + B'OLAY** in KCH bone at A5-A6. Drawing by Peter Mathews. (c) Tablet of the Sun at Palenque: **B'AKEL(-le) WAYAL.** Drawing by this author based on drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 6.41. BEHEADED.JAGUAR sign in Classic and Late Preclassic texts. (a) PMY jaguar:A3. Drawing by this author. (b) KCH bone:A6. Drawing by Peter Mathews. (c)

Yaxchilan Stela 18 at C1-B2: **K'IN(-ni) TAN(-na) B'OLAY-la-yu**. Drawing by Ian Graham. (d) Yaxchilan Lintel 47 at C3-D3: **CHAK-TAN-na B'OLAY-yu[b'u]**. Drawing by Ian Graham. (e) Tikal Stela 3 at C3-D3: **CHAK-TAN-na b'o/B'OLAY-yu[b'u]**. Drawing from Jones and Satterthwaite (1982). (f) Unprovenanced pot: **K'IN-TAN-la B'OLAY-TE7**. Drawing from Grube and Nahm (1994).

Figure 6.42. Comparison of two seated jaguar sculptures. (a) PMY jaguar. From Coe (1973:Figure 1). (b) El Baul Monument 14. Squatting jaguar. From Parsons (1986:Figure 138).

Figure 6.43. A compositional orthographic convention: generic heads. (a) PMY jaguar at B1: SPROUT-GENERIC.HEAD. (b) Palenque: **TZAK-wa-K'UH**, with T35 spelling **K'UH** 'god'. Drawing by Linda Schele. (c) Palenque: **7u-TZAK-K'UH**, with T35 spelling **K'UH** 'god'. Drawing by Linda Schele. (d) Palenque: **7u-TZAK-K'UH**, with T35:GENERIC.HEAD spelling **K'UH** 'god'. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 6.44. Jaguar-like animal spirit named **B'UTZ'(-tz'i) HIX** 'Smoke(y)-Jaguar'. Note sprout on jaguar's head; it is identical to sprout at B1a in basalt jaguar figurine text. Drawing from Grube and Nahm (1994:Figure 1).

Figure 6.45. T671 **chi** sign. (a) Dumbarton Oaks quartzite pectoral: B1b. The sign appears as a graphic subfix to T843 STEP, which may represent a dedicatory verb. (b) Peabody Museum at Yale basalt jaguar figurine: B8. The sign is preceded, at A8a by what could be an unusually-rendered T544 **K'IN**, and at A8b by what could be an eroded version of T116 **ni**. If so, A8-B8 could spell **K'IN-ni-chi**. (c) Tikal Stela 7:A7: **YUWAL-TZUTZ-yi[chi] ta-2-7AJAW** possibly for yuwal tzutz-ch-iy-Ø(+i) tä+2-7ajaw '(and.then/when) it became completed on 2-Ahau'. Drawing from Jones and Satterthwaite (1982). (d) INS 4442: **K'AL-ja/AJ TUN-chi**. **TUN-chi** or **TUNICH(-chi)** presumably for tun-ich 'stone', inscribed on jade belt plaque from Costa Rica. Drawing by this author. More common Classic period form of T671: (e)-(g). (e) **chi**-THRONE. (f) **chi**-THRONE **ya-(7)AJAW-TE7**. (g) **chi**-THRONE **ya-(7)AJAW-TE7**. (e)-(g)

drawings from Villela (1993:Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 6.46. Possible phonetic **la** signs precursors of T139 **la**. (a) JM spoon:A8d. (b) PMY jaguar:A4b. (c) PRL conch shell:D1b. All drawings by this author after photograph in Coe (1982).

Figure 6.47. T124 in DO pectoral. (a) Possible T124:134[595] **TZIK-no** compound in Dumbarton Oaks pectoral: C4. (b) Example of **TZIK-no** from Chinikiha Throne 1. Drawing from Morley (1937-1938). (c) Side of Chinikiha Throne 1. The **TZIK-no** glyph follows the statement of a ruler's death expressed as follows: '(It was) 8 days, 7 months, and 8 years since K'inich B'atal sat as lord, (when) he entered the road (i.e., died)'. The immediately following **TZIK-no** glyph could represent tzik-n-Ø-o7b' (count/recount/honor/read-AP-CMP-3pABS) '(And) they counted/recounted/honored/read', or tzik-n-om-Ø (recount-AP-POT-3sABS) 'S/He/They would count/recount/honor/read'. Either interpretation seems appealing as a verb closing a passage. It is possible that instead of closing the passage from A1-D1, that it opens the passage from D2-H2, which narrates the seating in office of the successor of K'inich B'atal. (d) Copan: **ha-7o-b'o ko--ko-no-ma 3-wi-ti-ki** for ha7-ob'-Ø kok-(o)n-om-Ø 3-witik 'They (are the ones who) would watch/guard the 3-Witik'. Phonetic sign **no** used to spell both an antipassive marker and a potential/future suffix. Drawing from Stuart, Houston, and Robertson (1999a:II-24).

Figure 6.48. Passage from Copan showing an example of a word-final m being underspelled. (b) **7u-to 4-7AJAW 18-YAX** spelling 7uht-om-Ø 4-7ajaw 18-yäx 'It would be finished on 4-Ahau 18-Yax', without the final m of the potential suffix spelled out explicitly. (c) **TZUTZ-ho/jo-ma 7u-15-K'ATUN** spelling tzu[h]tz-((a)j-)om-Ø 7u-15-k'a(l)=tun 'The 15th K'atun would be completed'. In **TZUTZ-ho/jo-ma** the h/j of **ho/jo** is either silent (used to spell phonetically the suffix -om) or representing an hypothetically possible allomorph -hom of /-om/.

Figure 6.49. Graphic variants of T1 **7u** and iconographic motivation. Common graphic

variants: (a)-(d). After Thompson (1962). (a) T1. (b) T2. (c) T3. (d) T232. (e) Iconic motivation of T1/2/3/7/11/13/211/232: Beads and bead assemblages. Note the SKULL necklace centerpiece which corresponds to T211/232. Late Preclassic forms: (f)-(h). (f) T1 **7u** in unprovenanced Brooklyn Museum of Art jadeite pectoral mask at A1. (g) T1 **7u** in Chichen Itza tubular jade bead at A3 and A4 currently at the Peabody Museum at Harvard. (h) T1 **7u** in Dumbarton Oaks pectoral at C6. Drawings of (f)-(h) by this author.

Figure 6.50. The FOREHEAD sign and graphic infixing. (a) DO pectoral at A3/D4: **[pa]**FOREHEAD. The infixed **pa** sign may serve as a phonetic complement, possibly for pam 'forehead/surface'. (b) UNP clamshell at A2: FOREHEAD[POLISHED.SURFACE]. (c) PRL conch at C3: TURTLE.SHELL[POLISHED.SURFACE]. Here the POLISHED.SURFACE sign is infixed inside a turtle shell sign, indicating it is a polished turtle shell. The same may be true of the FOREHEAD[POLISHED.SURFACE] sign: the POLISHED.SURFACE semantic classifier may indicate here that the referent of FOREHEAD is a polishable object/material. All drawings by this author.

Figure 6.51. Possible iconographic referent of FOREHEAD sign. (a) DO pectoral:D4. Drawing by this author. (b) Early Preclassic ceramic figurine head from Paso de la Amada showing a person of status with a polished mica mirror bound to his forehead. Photograph from Clark (1991).

Figure 6.52. Possible clauses defined by BEARDED.GOD.N glyph. (a) UNP clamshell at A1-A2: Text-initial sequence with BEARDED.GOD.N + FOREHEAD[POLISHED.SURFACE]. (b) DO pectoral at B2-B6: Sequence with BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + **[pa]**FOREHEAD + [B3-A6] + FLOWER-HAWK. (c) DO pectoral at C1-D2: Clause-initial sequence BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + BAT.HEAD + FLOWER-HAWK. (d) JM spoon at A4-A8: Clause-initial sequence BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + **7IK'** + A6-A7 + DIVINE-**MAN-7AJAW-?la**. (e) PMY jaguar

at A1-B2: Text-initial sequence BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + SPROUT + FLOWER + **?**PENIS/**?TE7**. All drawings by this author.

Figure 6.53. Structural Analysis 1 (SA1). JM spoon A4-A8: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** **7IK'** + GLYPH.4-BIRD.HEAD-GLYPH.143 + DIVINE-**MAN-7AJAW-?la**. Assuming BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** is a verb, and that T503 **7IK'** refers to the jade pendant itself, the structure appears to be VOA at least semantically. Drawing by this author.

Figure 6.54. Alternative to SA1. Given the fact that glyphs A6-A7 are not attested elsewhere and their function cannot be supported from external evidence, they could perhaps be a verbal or nominal predicate with A8 as its subject. If so, A4-A8 would make up two clauses: VS + PS, where P stands for predicate (verb or adjective or noun). There is nothing to support this interpretation in favor of that in 6.54. Drawing by this author.

Figure 6.55. Structural Analysis 2 (SA2). JM spoon glyphs A1-A3. (a) VERB/ADJECTIVE/NOUN-**?la** + SUBJECT '[A2-A3] is/was [A1]ed' or '[A2-A3] is/was a/an/the [A1]'. (b) ***7u**-POSSESSED.NOUN-**?la** + POSSESSOR '(It is) the [A1] of [A2-A3]'. The second analysis assumes that there was originally a third person ergative/possessive prefix (i.e., **7u**-A1-**?la**) that has been eroded beyond legibility, as noted by the asterisk. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.56. Structural Analysis 3 (SA3). Comparison of four separate passages from three different texts. (a) DO pectoral B2-B6: GOD.N-**ni** + **[pa]**FOREHEAD + [B3-A6] + FLOWER-HAWK. Possible VOA by analogy with SA1. (b) DO pectoral C1-D2 or C1-D3: GOD.N-**ni** + BAT.HEAD + FLOWER + HAWK (+ [C3-D3]). Possible VOA clause by analogy with SA1. (c) JM spoon A4-A8: GOD.N-**ni** + **7IK'** + GLYPH.4-BIRD.HEAD-GLYPH.143 + DIVINE-**MAN-LORD-?la**. Possible VOA clause. (d) PMY jaguar A1-B2 or A1-A4: GOD.N-**ni** + SPROUT + FLOWER-?PENIS/**?TE7** (+ [A3-B4]. All drawings by this author.

Figure 6.57. Structural Analysis 4 (SA4): implications for DO pectoral text, A1-B6. (a)

Clause 1. V_(S) + PP at A1-A2: INITIAL.SIGN + STEP-**chi** + **tu/si-SIJ//?SIH//hu** '[A2] got/was/became STEP-ed'. If A2 is a prepositional phrase, then this clause has no explicit subject phrase: 'it got/was/became STEP-ed'. (b) Clause 2. V[=O]S at B2-B6: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + [**pa**]FOREHEAD + [B3-A6] + FLOWER-HAWK '[B3-A6] FLOWER-HAWK FOREHEAD-BEARDED.GOD.N-ed'.

Figure 6.58. Alternative to SA4, Part I. (a) Clause 1. VS at A1-A2: IS + STEP-**chi** + **tu/si-SIJ//?SIH//HUH/hu** for '[A2] got/was/became STEP-ed'. (b) Clause 2. V[=O]S at B2-B4: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + [**pa**]FOREHEAD + REED + SKULL + MOUNTAIN for 'REED-SKULL-MOUNTAIN FOREHEAD-GOD.N-ed'.

Figure 6.59. Alternative to SA4, Part II. DO pectoral. Clause 3. PS at A5-B6: SIT/SEATED + LORD + NAME/TITLE + CROSSED.BANDS:HAWK/EAGLE for 'Lord [A6] CROSSED.BANDS HAWK is/was seated'.

Figure 6.60. Similarity of early T89 **tu** and T57 **si** phonetic signs. (a) INS 6528 at A5a: T89 **tu**. (b) INS 6528 at A7b: T57 **si**. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.61. Structural Analysis 5 (SA5). DO pectoral. (a) Clause 4. V[=O]S at C1-D3: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + BAT.HEAD + FLOWER + HAWK + [C3-D3] 'FLOWER-HAWK [C3-D3] BAT.HEAD-GOD.N-ed'. (b) Clause 5. V[=O] _ at C4-D4: **TZIK-no** + [**pa**]FOREHEAD 'He would FOREAHEAD-read/honor'. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.62. Alternative to SA5. (a) Clause 4. V[=O]S at C1-D2: GOD.N-**ni** + BAT.HEAD + FLOWER + HAWK 'FLOWER-HAWK BAT.HEAD-GOD.N-ed'. (b) Clause 5 at C3-D3: Insufficient data to decide what type of clause, but most likely V[=O] _ (incorporative antipassive verb, with omitted S likely coreferential with S of preceding and following antipassive clauses). (c) Clause 6. V[=O] _ at C4-D4: **TZIK-no** + [**pa**]FOREHEAD 'He would FOREAHEAD-read/honor'. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.63. Structural Analysis 6 (SA6). (a) DO pectoral at C5-D6: **?7u-CH'AB'-b'a** + **7u-ya-(7)AK'//(7)AK'AB'/(7)AK'B'AL-li/IL**. (b) Active transitive: **7u-CH'AB'-(b')a** **7u-y(a)-(7)AK'//(7)AK'AB'/(7)AK'B'AL-li/IL** for 7u-ch'ahb'-ä-Ø-Ø y-ak'(äb'/b'äl)-il

'He T712ed his T841'. (c) **7u-CH'AB'(-b'a) 7u-y(a)-(7)AK'//(7)AK'AB'/(7)AK'B'AL-li/IL** 'It is/was his/its T712, it was his/its T841' or 'It is/was the T712 of his T841'.

Figure 6.64. Structural Analysis 7 (SA7). PMY jaguar text at A1-B4. (a) One clause. V=OA: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + SPROUT + FLOWER + **?**PENIS/**?TE7** + BEHEADED.JAGUAR + [B3] + MOUNTAIN-**?la** + DIVINE-LORD for 'Flower [B2-B3] Mountain Divine Lord SPROUT-GOD.N-ed'. (b) Clause 1. V[=O]S at A1-B2: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + SPROUT + FLOWER + **?**PENIS/**?TE7** for 'Flower [B2] SPROUT-GOD.N-ed'. (c) Clause 2. PS at A3-B4: BEHEADED.JAGUAR + **7u-B'AH(-hi)** + MOUNTAIN-**?la** + DIVINE-LORD for 'The image of Mountain Divine Lord is a/the [BEHEADED.JAGUAR]'. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.65. Structural Analysis 8 (SA8). Comparison of the BEARDED.GOD.N glyph in all four texts. (a) DO pectoral B2-B6: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + [**pa**]FOREHEAD + [B3-A6] + FLOWER-HAWK. Possible V[=O]S clause. (b) DO pectoral C1-D2 or C1-D3: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + BAT.HEAD + FLOWER + HAWK (+ [C3-D3]). Possible V[=O]S clause. (c) JM spoon A4-A8: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + **7IK'** + GLYPH.4-BIRD.HEAD-GLYPH.143 + DIVINE-**MAN-7AJAW-?la**. Possible V[=O]S clause. (d) PMY jaguar A1-B2 or A1-A4: BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni** + SPROUT + FLOWER-**?**PENIS/**?TE7** (+ [A3-B4]). Possible V[=O]S clause. (e) UNP clamshell. A1-A2: BEARDED.GOD.N + FOREHEAD. Possible VS clause where is underlying O. Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.66. Structural Analysis 9 (SA9). UNP clamshell text. (a) Clause 1. VS at A1-A2: BEARDED.GOD.N + FOREHEAD fro 'A/An/The FOREHEAD was/got GOD.N-ed'. (b) Clause 2. VS at A3-A8: STAR-**yi** + **7u-**[A5-A6] + **7AJAW** + [NAME/TITLE] for 'The [A5-A6] of Lord [Name/Title] was/got STAR-ed'.

Figure 6.67. Examples of spellings and inflections of STAR(:EARTH) verb. (a) Tonina Monument 122: STAR. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin

(1998:II-51). (b) Piedras Negras Stela 12: STAR:EARTH. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-53). (c) Yaxchilan Lintel 41: STAR-**yi**. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-53). (d) Altar de Sacrificios Panel 4: STAR:EARTH-**ya**. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-51). (e) Tortuguero Stela 6: STAR:EARTH-**yi-ya**. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-49). (f) Piedras Negras Stela 12: **2**-STAR:EARTH-**ja/aj**. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-54).

Figure 6.68. Examples of **CH'AK** 'to cut/chop' verb, shown with the following suffixes: **-(k)a** or **(-ka)**, **-(k)a-ja**, or **-yi**. (a) **CH'AK-(k)a** for ch'a[h]k-a-Ø-Ø (chop[MPASS]-TH-CMP-3sABS) 's/he/it was/got chopped' or **CH'AK(-ka)** for ch'a[h]k-Ø-Ø (chop[MPASS]-CMP-3sABS) 's/he/it was/got chopped'. (b) Tortuguero Stela 6: **YUWAL + CH'AK-(k)a-ja** for yuwal ch'a[h]k-aj-Ø-Ø(+ENCL) (AND.THEN chop[MPASS]-TH-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 'and then s/he/it was/got chopped (here)'. Free-hand drawing by author after drawing in Grube and Martin (1998:II-57). (c) **YUWAL + CH'AK-yi** for yuwal ch'a[h]k-(i)y-Ø(+i) (AND.THEN chop[MPASS]-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) or yuwal ch'a[h]k-(a)y-Ø(+i) (AND.THEN chop[MPASS]-?CMP-3sABS(+ENCL)) 'and then s/he/it was/got chopped (there)'.

Figure 6.69. Text on DO celt: Part I. (a) A1-B1: **TZUTZ-ma + 8-B'AKTUN** for tzu[h]tz-(o)m-Ø(+a) 8-b'aktun '8 Baktuns would be completed (here)'. (a) A1-B1: **TZUTZ-ma + 8-B'AKTUN** for tzu[h]tz-(o)m-Ø(+a) 8-b'aktun '8 Baktuns would be completed (here)'. This calendrical information suggests a date of A.D. 120 for the text (Schele and Miller 1986). Drawings by this author.

Figure 6.70. Text on DO celt: Part II. (a) A3-A4: **?-la** + T548/561-**7u-?-la + ta-7AJAW** for '(He) [A3-B3] as lord'. Unclear which (A3 or A4) is the verb or the subject. (b) B4-A5: **?ya-**K'IN.IN.HAND-**la** + IGUANA/SNAKE-**la** for '(He is) the [B4b] of [A5]'. (c) B5-B6: **?7u-**[PERSON'S.HEAD] + DIVINE-**7AJAW + ?-?-?WINIK** for '(He is) the

[B5b] of Divine Lord ?-?-Person/Man'. All of A3-B6 could potentially be one clause, with B3-B6 as the name of the subject of the verb expressed in either A3 or B3.

Figure 6.71. Text on DO celt: Part III. A7-B7: **7u-K'IN-li/IL + yo-TE7-7AT** for 7u-k'in-il yopol=te7 7at 'It is the k'in of Yopol Te7 7at'.

Figure 6.72. Beaded necklaces as the iconic motivation of T62 **yu**. (a) Glyph A3 on tubular bead text: **yu-yu** or **y(u)-(7)UY** for *y-uhy 'his/her bead/necklace'. (b) Earflare ornament on Kaminaljuyú Stela 10, shown as T62 and supporting a logographic reading **7UY** for *7uhy 'bead/necklace'. Drawing by James Porter in Sharer (1995:94, Figure 3.12). (c) Representation of tubular bead necklace piece on Tikal Stela 31. Drawing from Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Figures 51 and 52). (d) Representation of tubular bead necklace piece on Uolantun Stela. Drawing from Jones and Satterthwaite (1982).

Figure 6.73. Possessed noun in tubular jade bead. (a) A4: **7u-?-b'i-li** for 7u-CVC-b'-il 'her/his/its ?'. **b'i-li** may spell an instrumental suffix followed by a possessive suffix, /-ib'-il/ > -b'-il. (b) A6: **?-?-li**. The sign at A6a is identical to that at A4a, and is most likely a CVC logograph or phonetic sign.

Figure 6.74. Possessed name-tag on Early Classic conch shell trumpet: **7u-yu-b'i** for 7uy-ub' /7u-hub'/ 'his shell trumpet'. Drawing by Linda Schele (Schele and Miller 1986:83-84, Plate 27).

Figure 6.75. Iconic identity of glyph at A5c on CNT 6125. (a) A5c: **tzi**-SKY-PRINCIPAL.BIRD.DEITY. (b) Principal Bird Deity from El Mirador Stela 2. Note the avian beak and human jaw bone. Drawing from Hansen (1991).

Figure 6.76. Structural analysis of CNT 6125. (a) Predicate: **4-HAB'/TUN**. (b) Head of Subject phrase: **y(u)-(7)UY 7u-B'AH 7u-?-b'i-li** 'the bead of the image of the ? of...'. (c) Complement to the head of the subject phrase: **tzi**-STAR-PRINCIPAL.BIRD.DEITY **?-?-li**. Whole text: 'The bead/necklace of the image of the ?? of the Principal Bird Deity is 4-Tun/Hab''.

Figure 6.77. Structural analysis of text on the BMA mask. Text: **7u-B'AH** HAND-

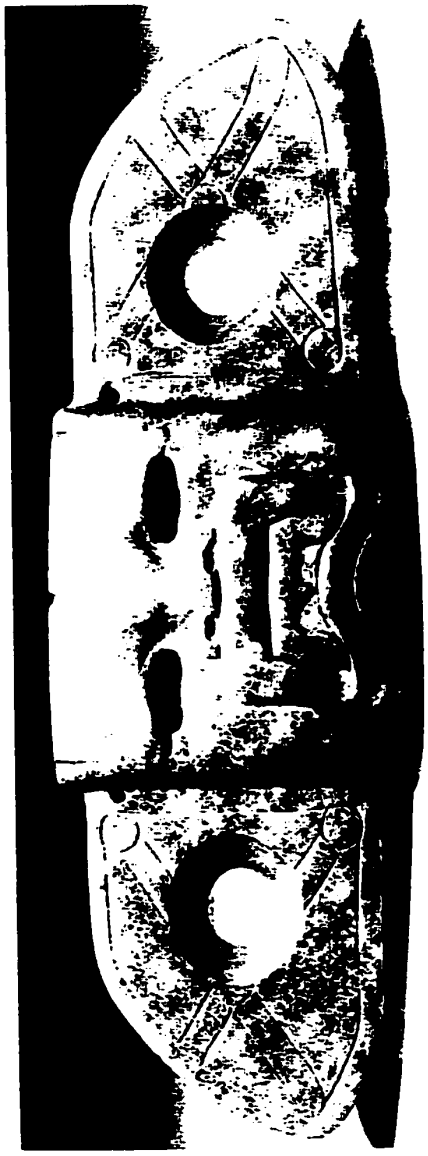
?CHAPAT ?ko-STEP-?T1016 ?7u-?PENIS/?le-WINIK. (a) Option I would be one clause from A1-A4: 'It is the image of (the) ?-Centipede [A3-A4b] Person'. Option II would be two clauses. (b) Clause 1 at A1-A3: 'It is the image of ?-Centipede [A3]'. (c) Clause 2 at A4: '(It is/was) the [A4b] of the person'.

Figure 6.78. Text on PMN flare. (a) A1-B1: **yo-?le/?7o**[A1a] + **K'INICH.7AJAW**[A1b] + **^{d}K'INICH.7AJAW**[B1]. (b) C1-D1: T840**-li-ye**[C1a] + **ta-**SKY(.GOD)[C1B] + **HUN.NAL.YE7**[D1]. Drawing by this author based on photograph in Kidder and Ekholm (1951).

Figure 6.79. Context of the sign at A1b in the PMA flare. (a) Text of the Delataille pot at A2: **na-la** modifier to the **ka-ka-wa** 'chocolate' glyph. From Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985). (b) Covarrubias subjudice text at A1-B1: **na-?le**. From Covarrubias (1957). (c) PMA flare text at A1a: **yo-?le/?7o**. Notice that the general outline of the sign at B1 in the Covarrubias subjudice, **?le**, resembles that of the PMN flare at A1b.

Figure 6.80. Emic nomenclature for various types of objects or for aspects/qualities of those objects.

Figure 6.1.



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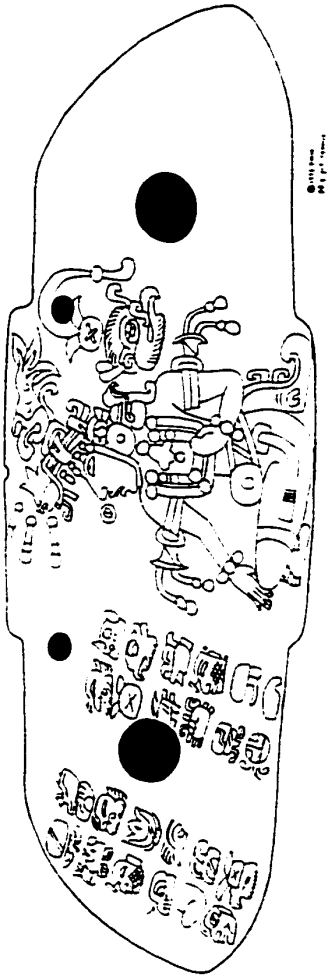

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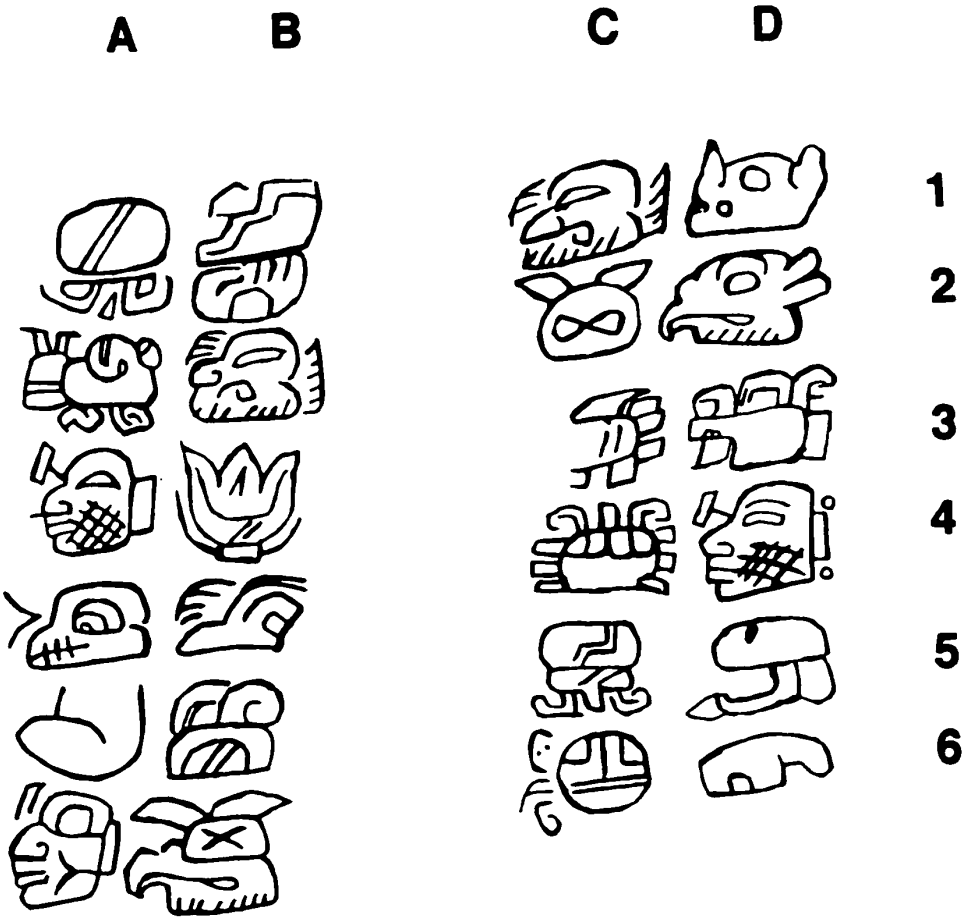

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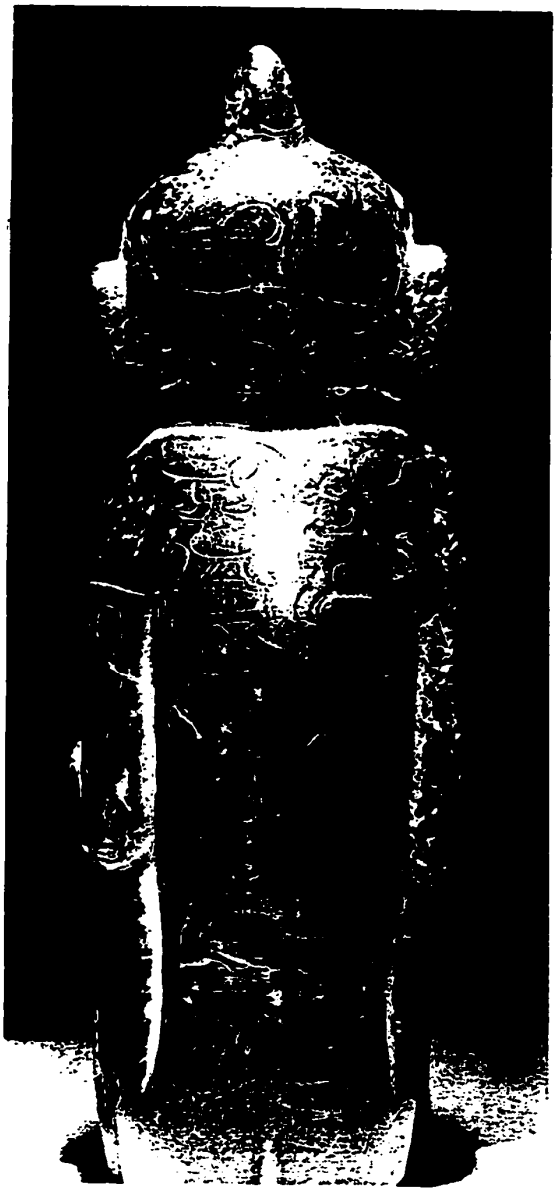

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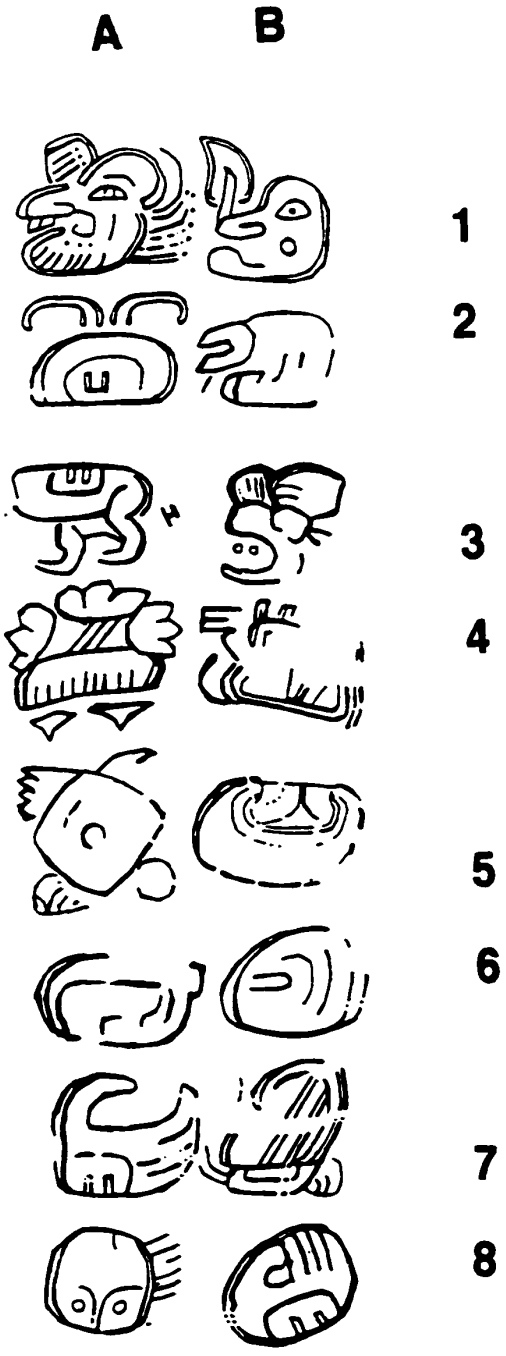

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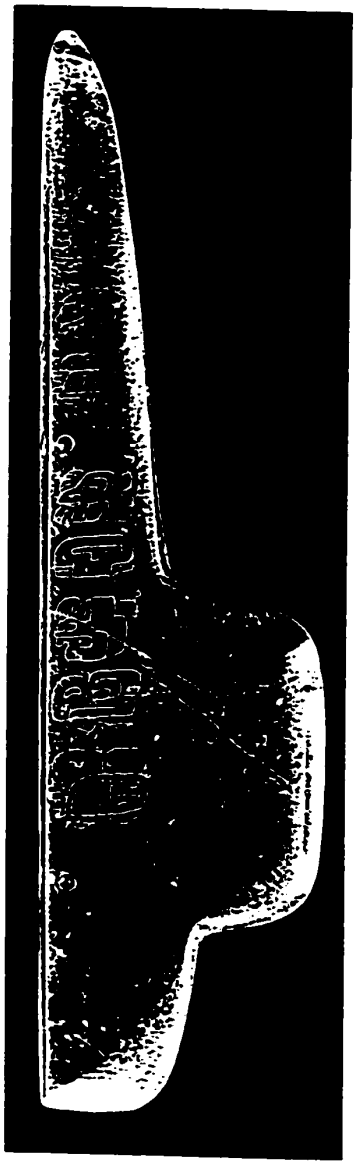

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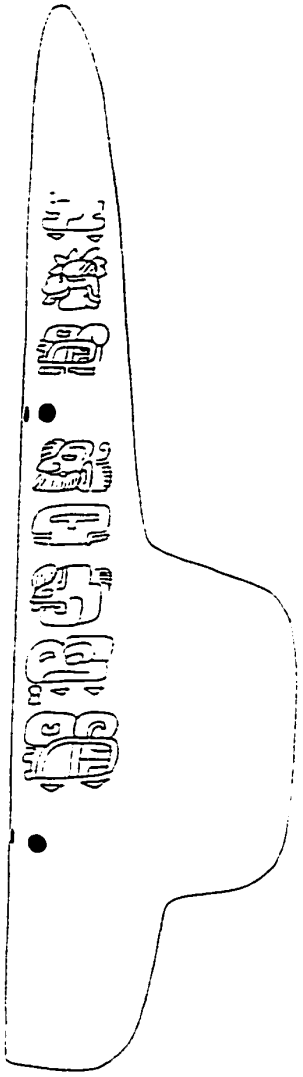

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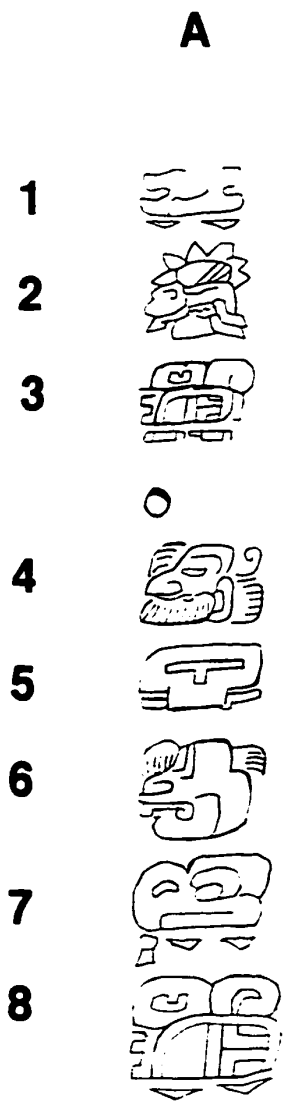

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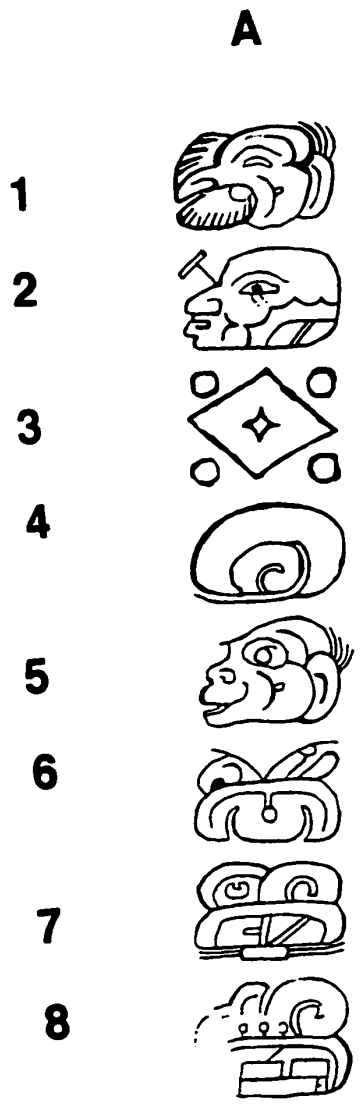
Figure 6.10.



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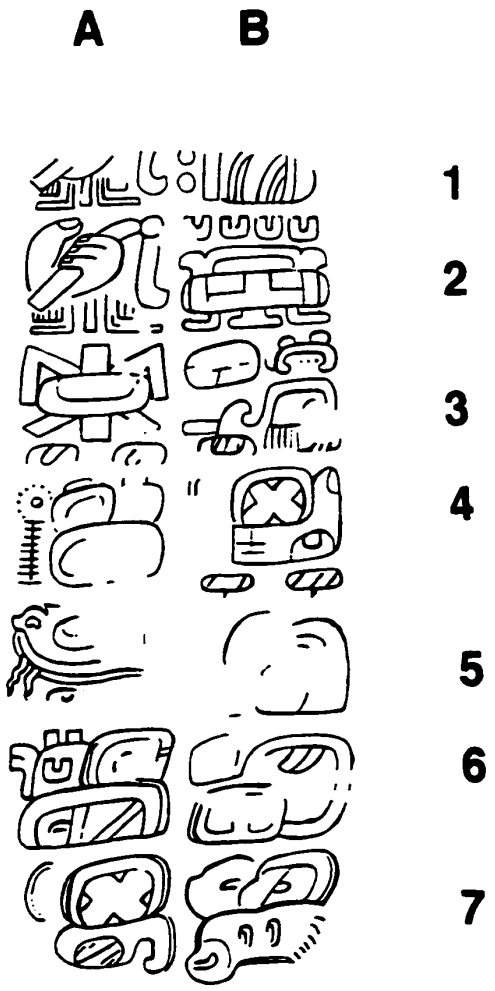

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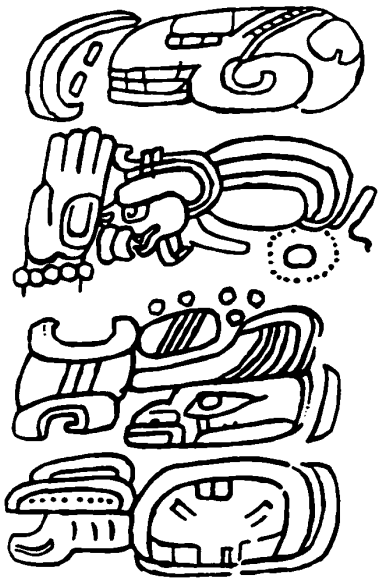

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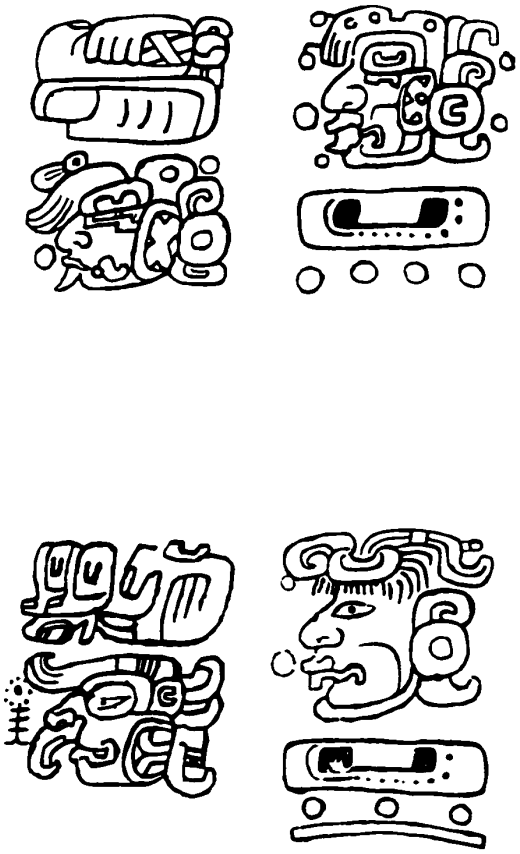

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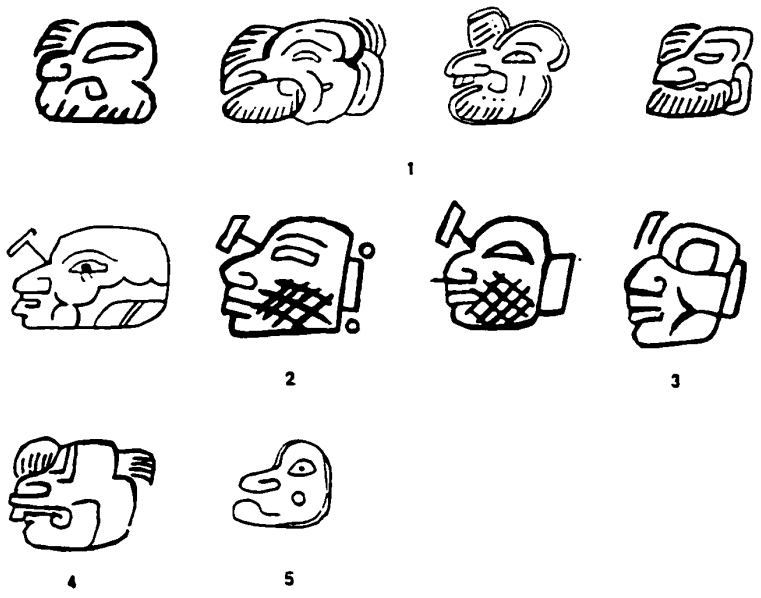

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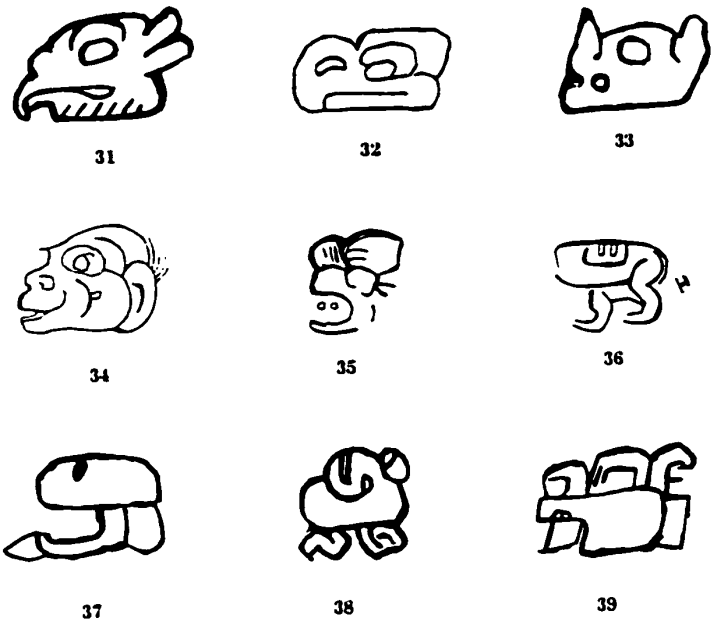

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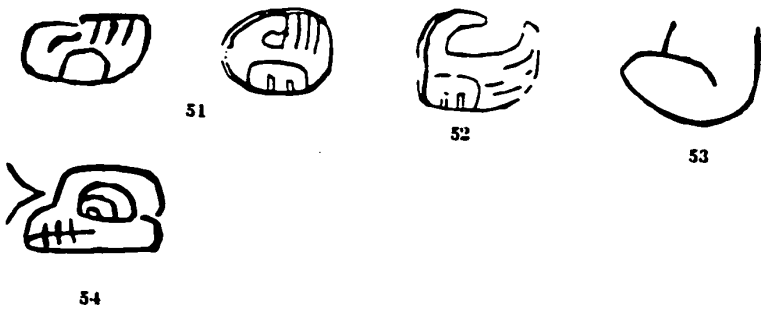

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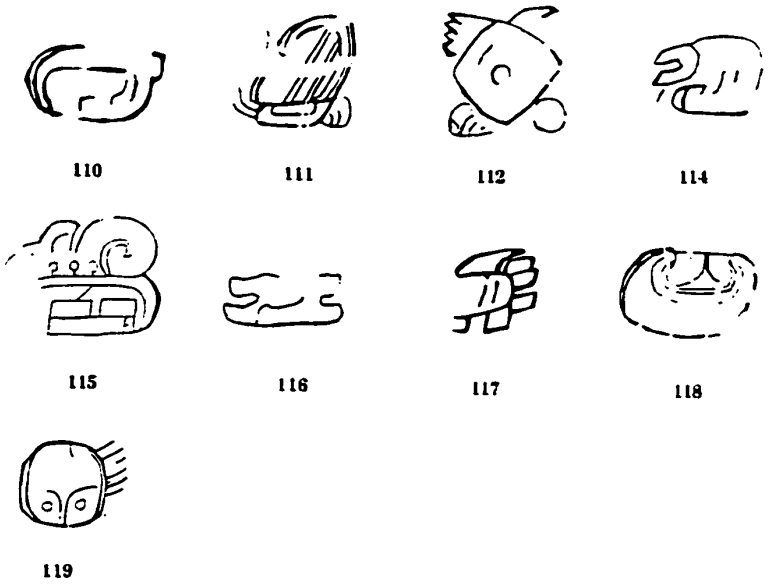

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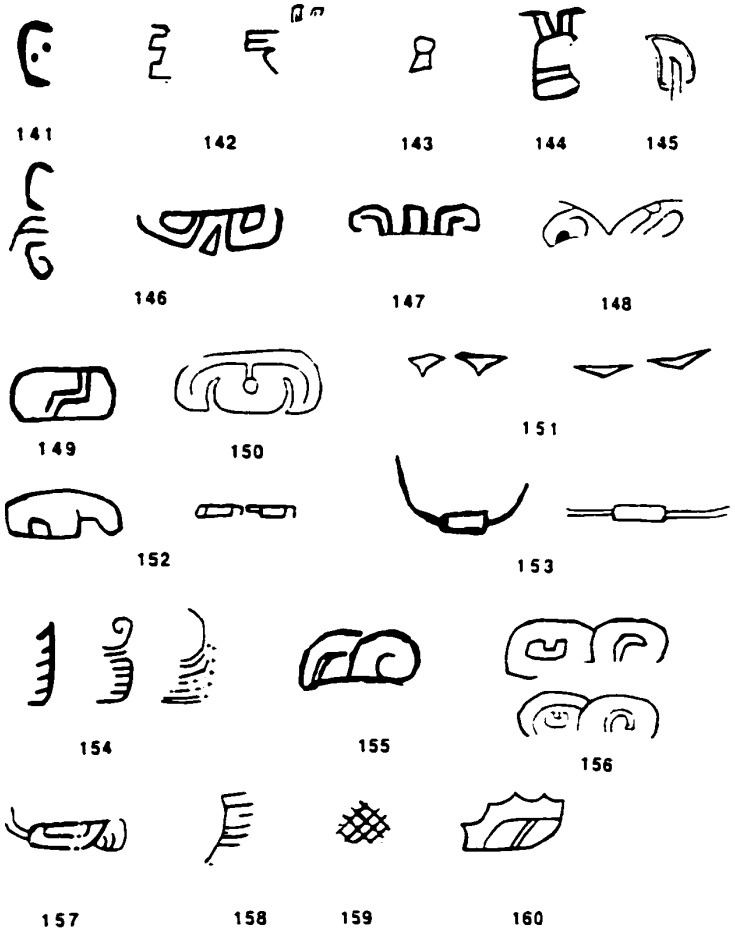
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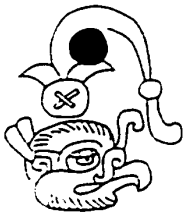
Figure 6.21.



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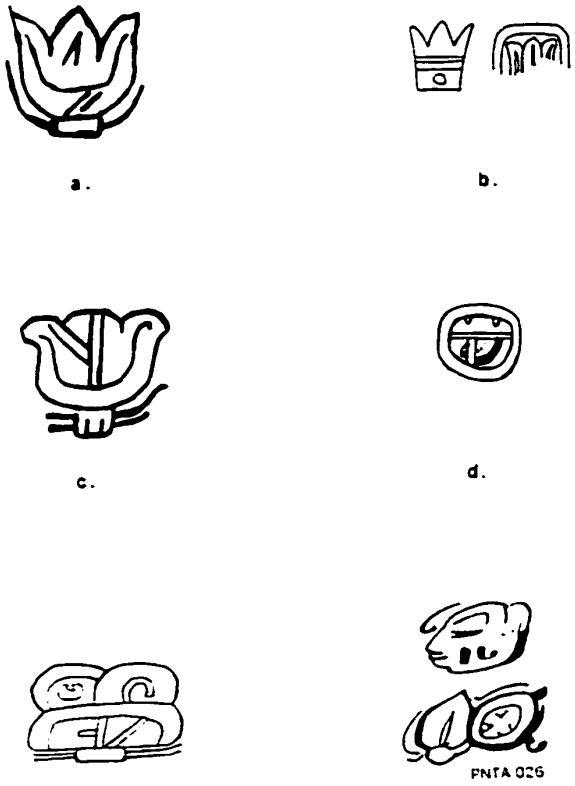

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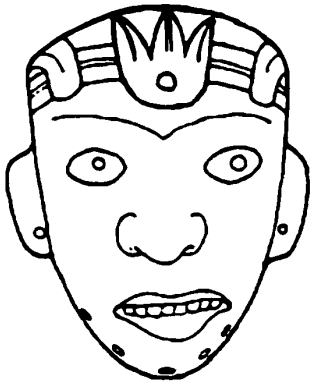

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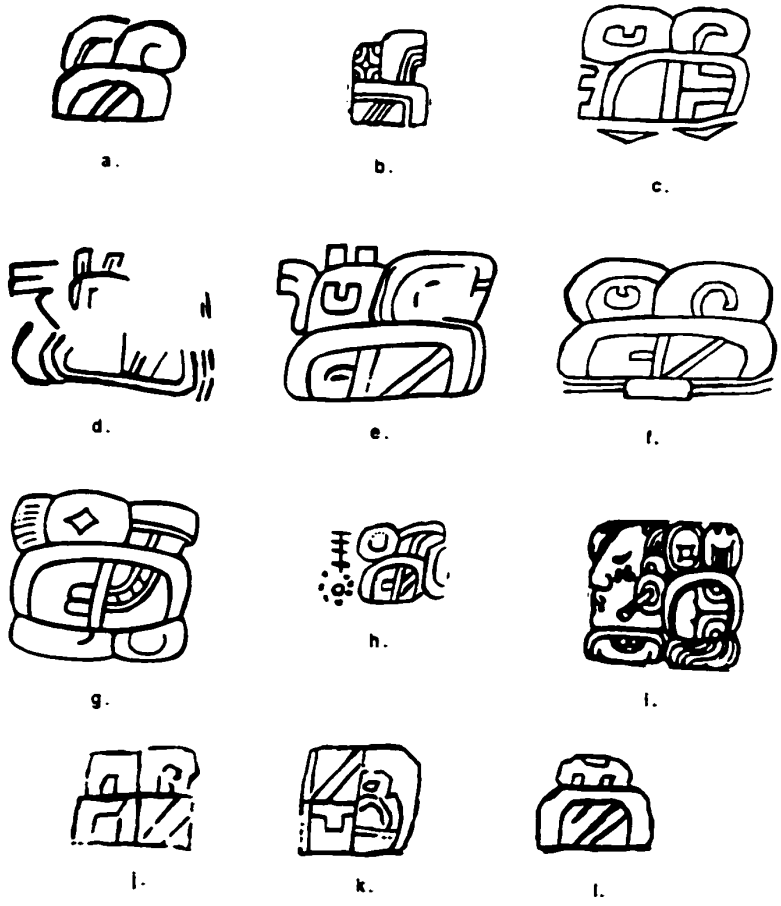

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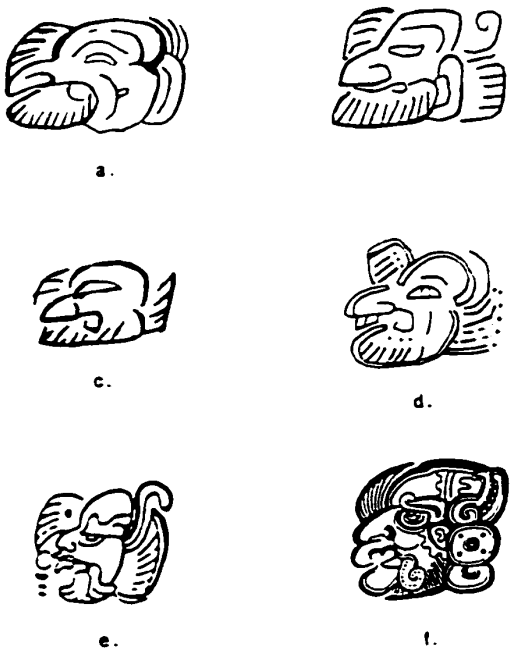

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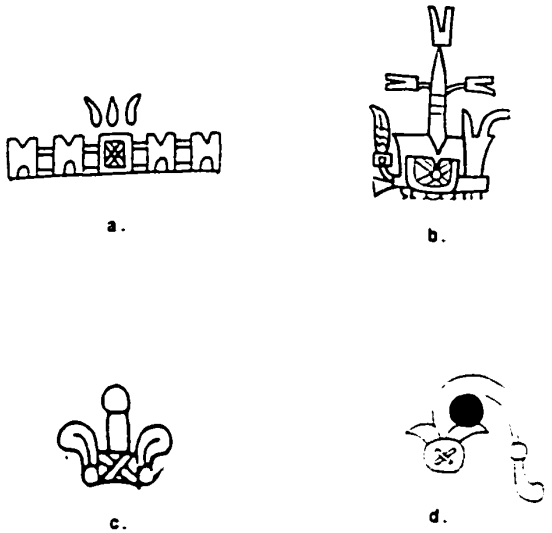

Figure 6.27.

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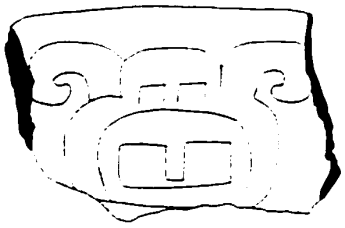

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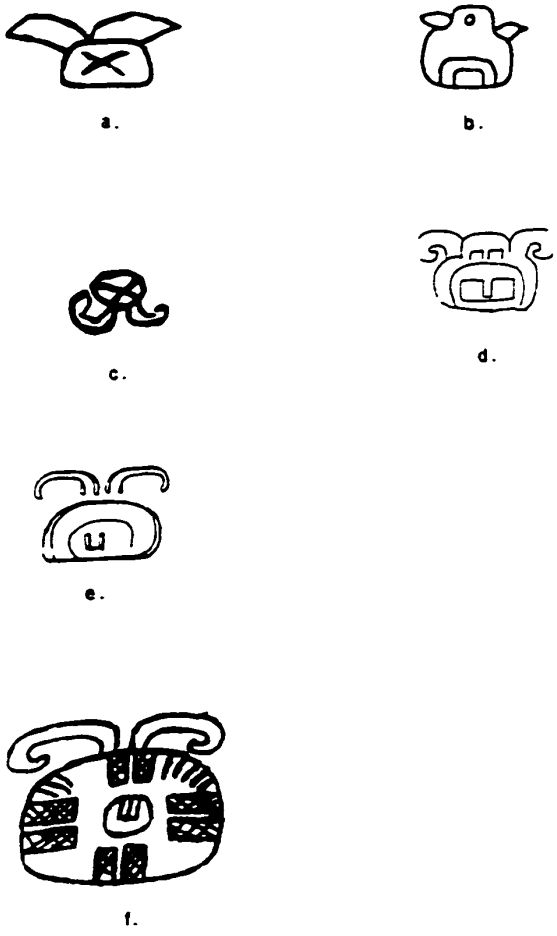

Figure 6.29.

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Figure 6.30.

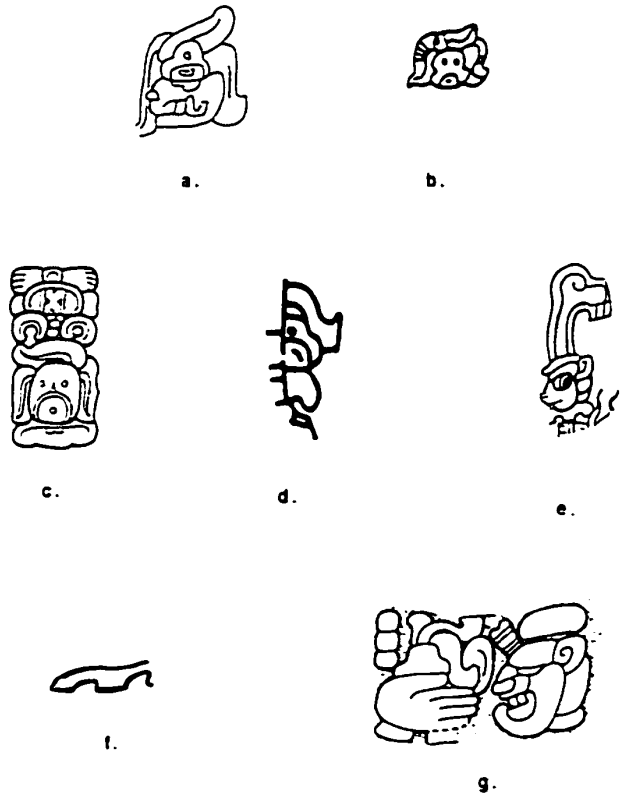

Figure 6.31.

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Figure 6.32.

Figure 6.33.

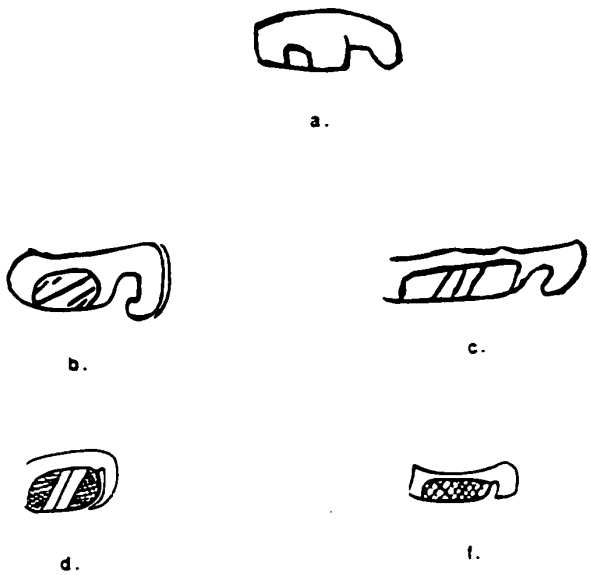

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Figure 6.35.

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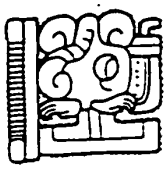
b.



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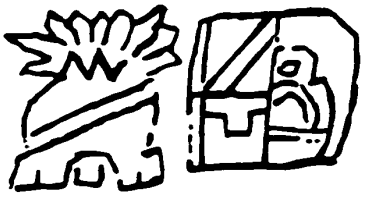

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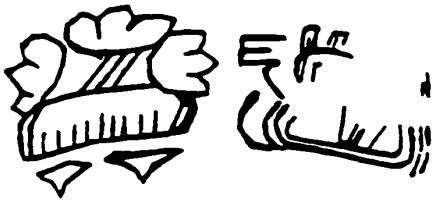

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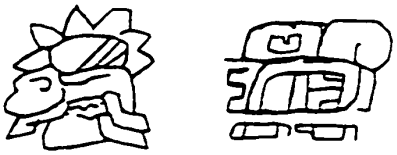

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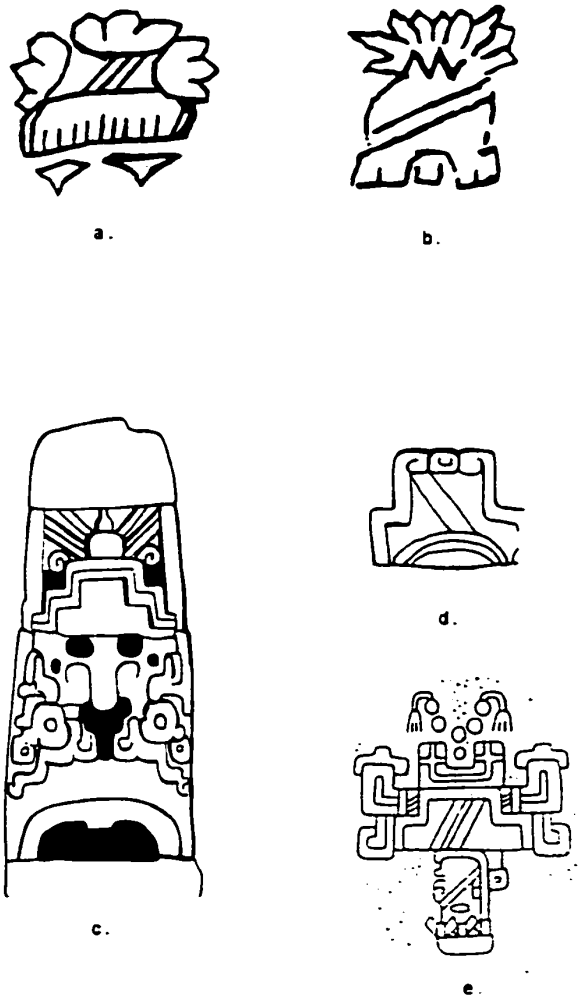

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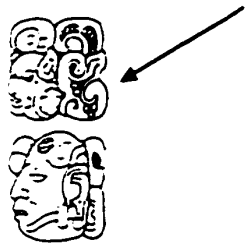

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Figure 6.39.

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Figure 6.40.

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Figure 6.41.

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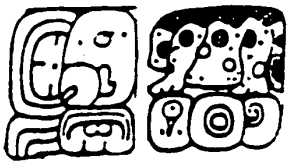

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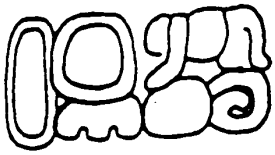

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Figure 6.42.

Figure 6.43.

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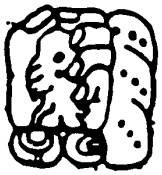

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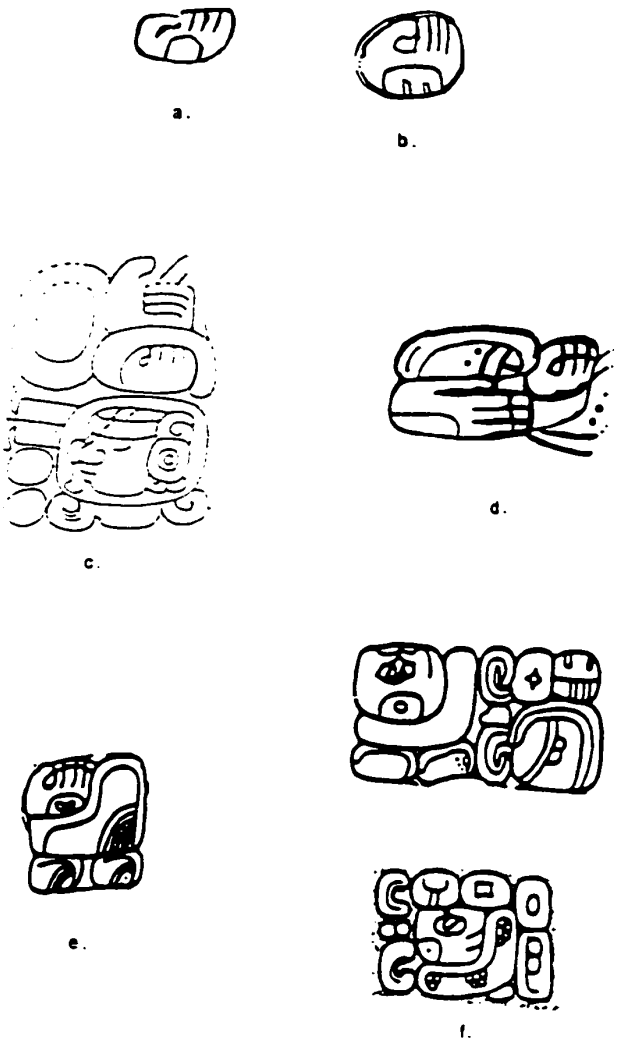
Figure 6.45.



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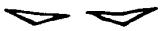

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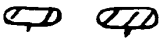

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Figure 6.47.

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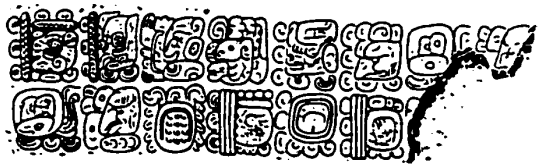

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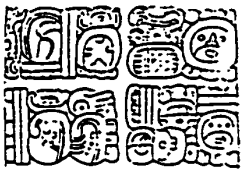

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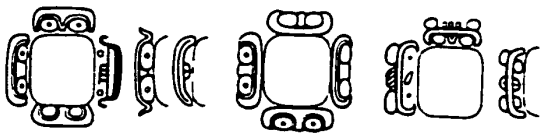
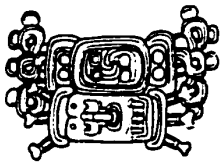
Figure 6.49.



a.

b.



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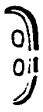


e.

f.

Figure 6.50.

a.

b.

c.

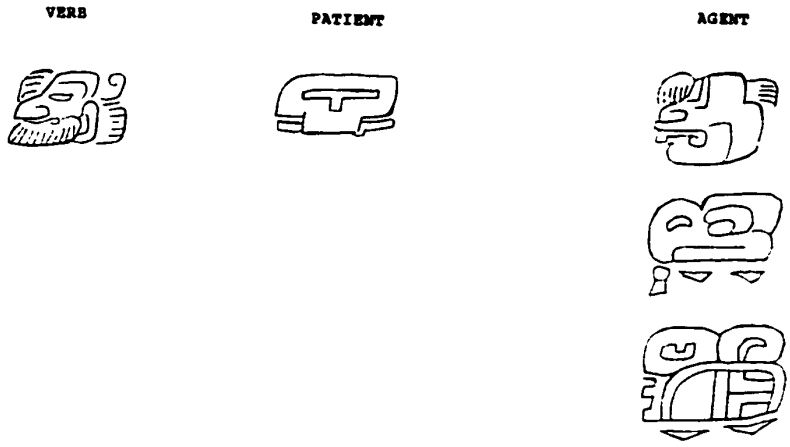
Figure 6.51.

a.

b.

Figure 6.52.

Figure 6.53.



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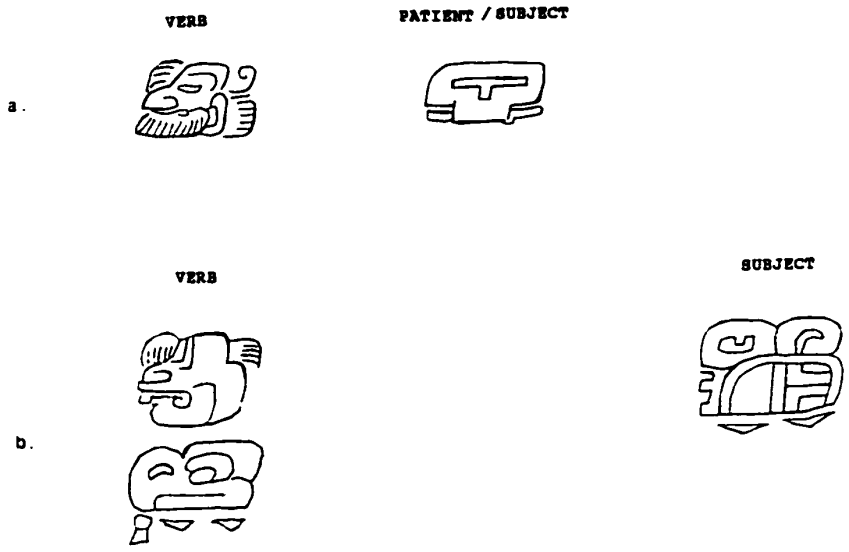

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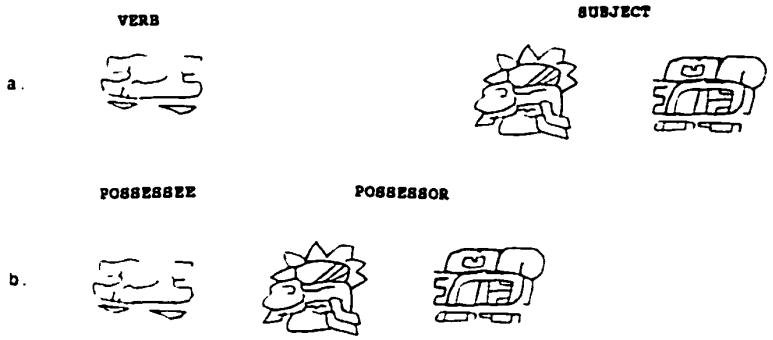

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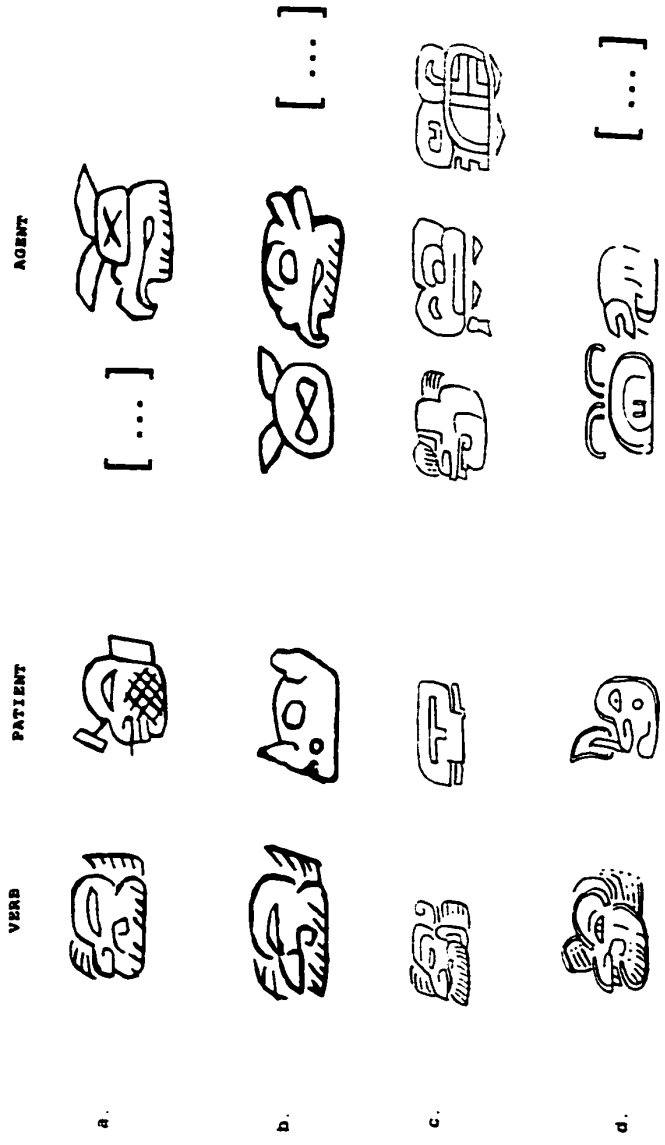


Figure 6.57.

EXISTENTIAL PARTICLE
VERB
a.
VERB
PATIENT
AGENT/SUBJECT
SUBJECT/ OBLIQUE
b.

Figure 6.58.

EXISTENTIAL PARTICLE
VERB
SUBJECT / OBLIQUE
a.
VERB
PATIENT
AGENT/SUBJECT
b.

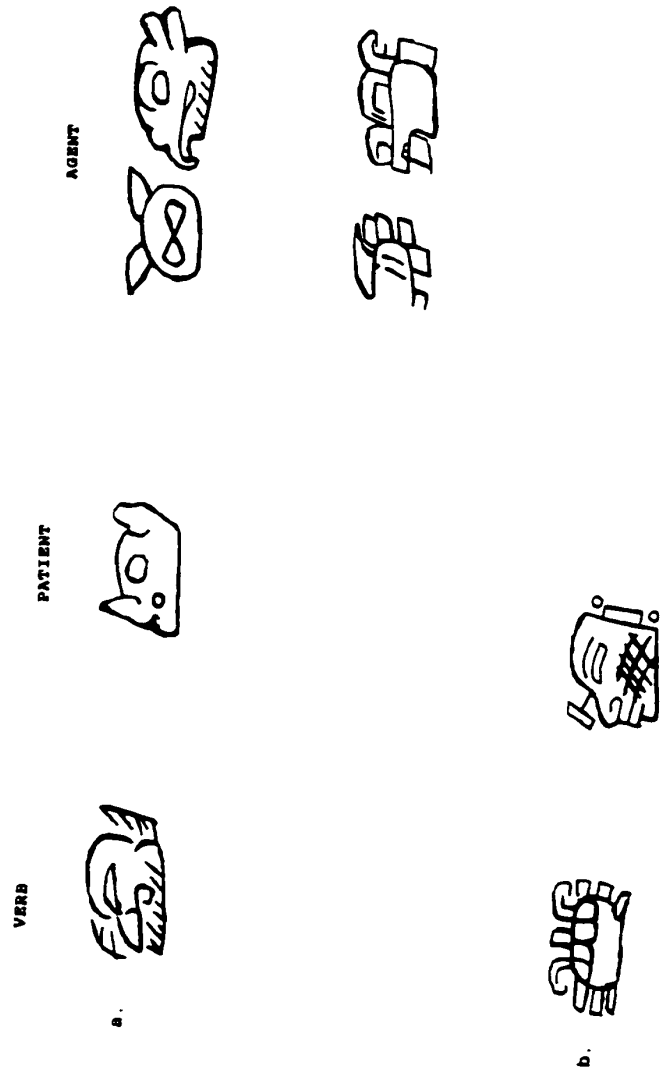
Figure 6.59.

Figure 6.60.

a. 

b. 

Figure 6.61.



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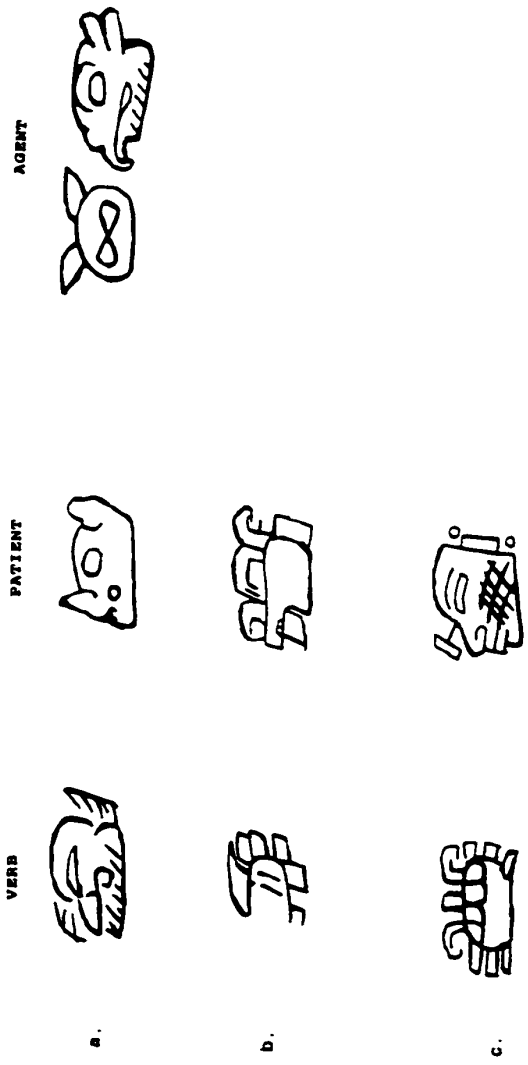
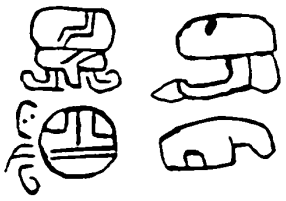


Figure 6.63.

a.



b.

VERB

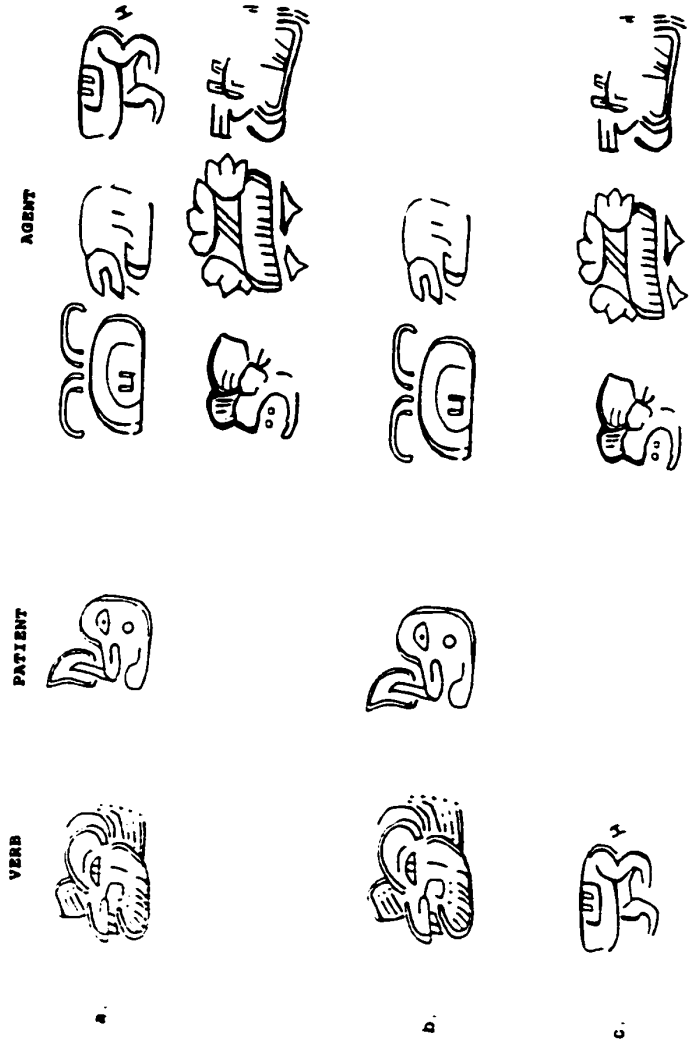
PATIENT

c.

POSSESSEE

POSSESSOR

Figure 6.64.



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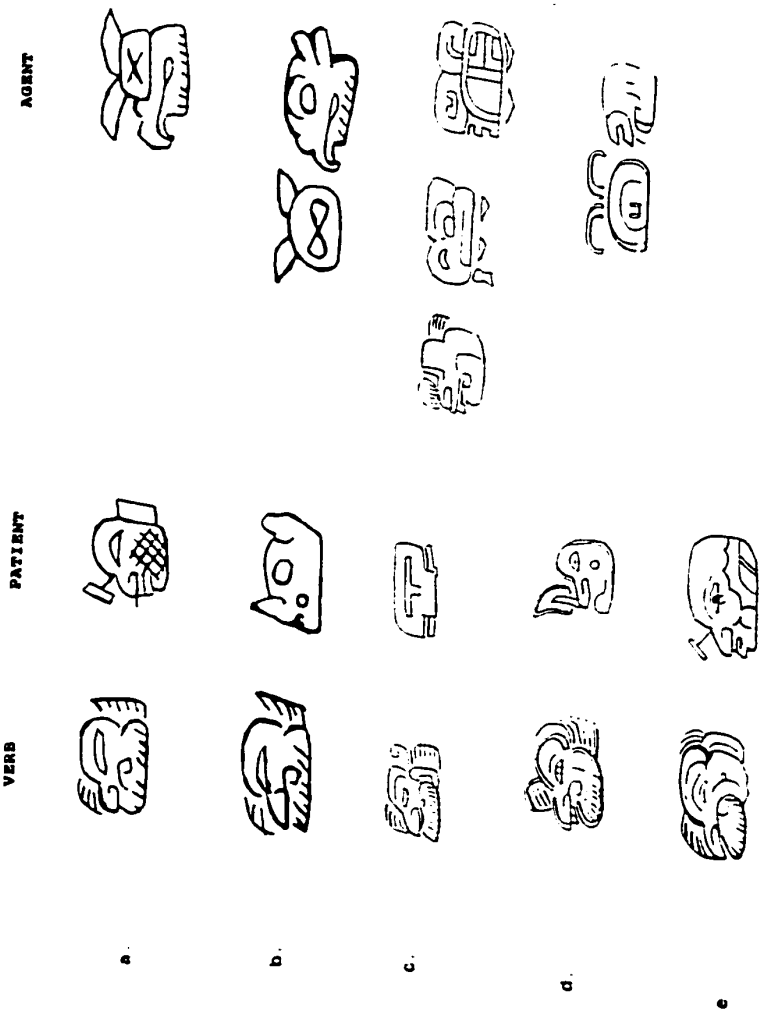


Figure 6.66.

Figure 6.67.

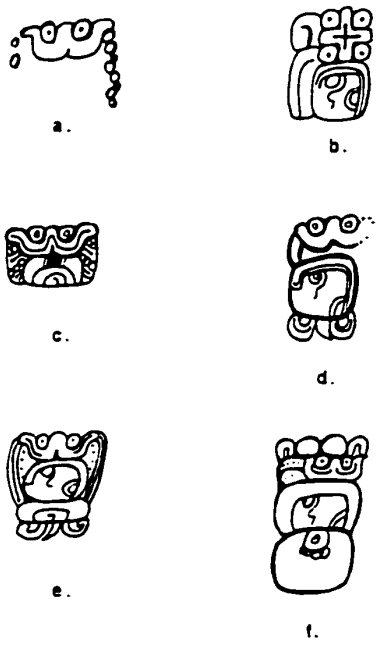
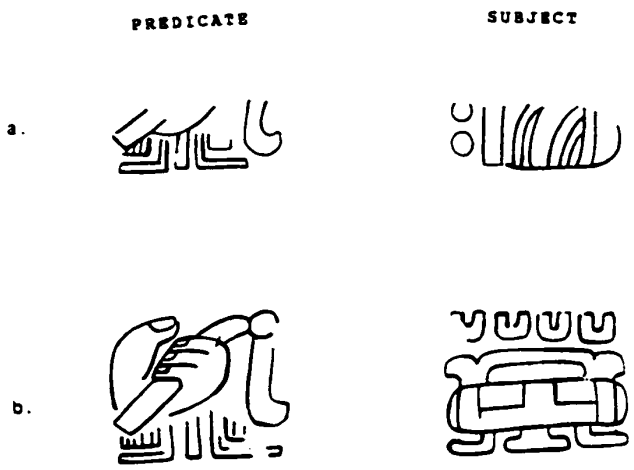


Figure 6.68.

a. b. c.

Figure 6.69.



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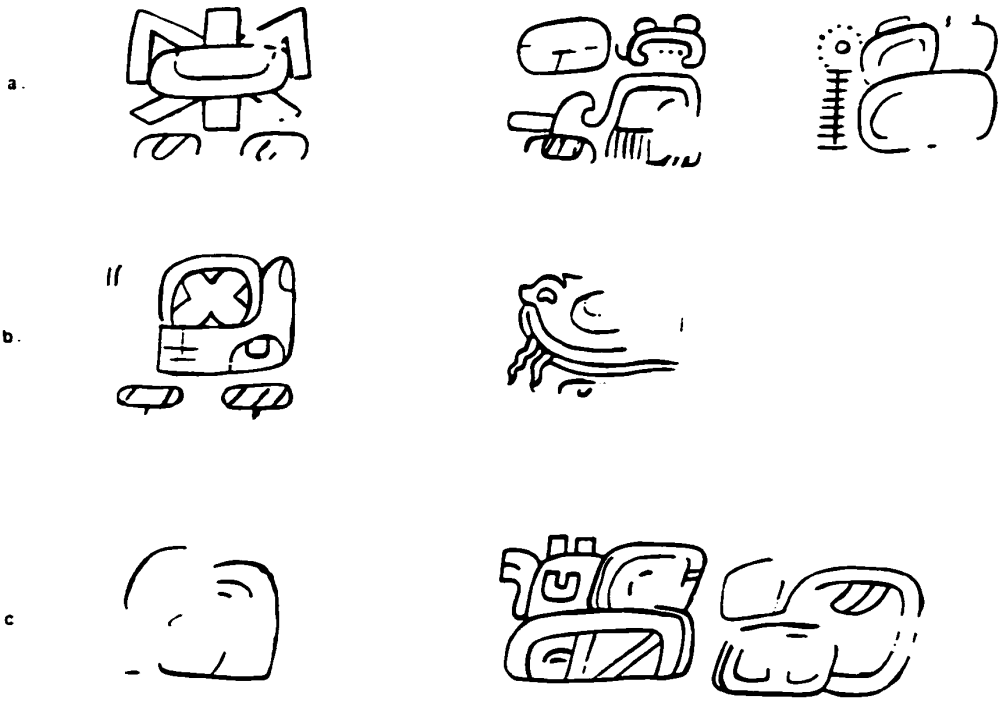

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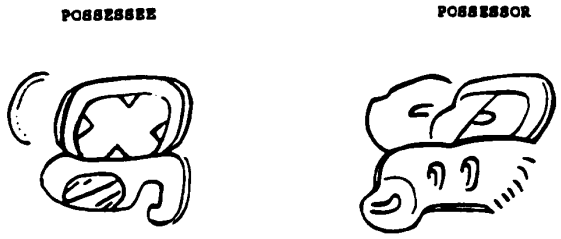
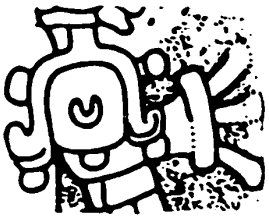


Figure 6.72.

a.

b.

c.



d.

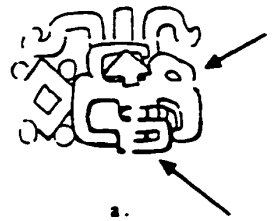
Figure 6.73.

a.

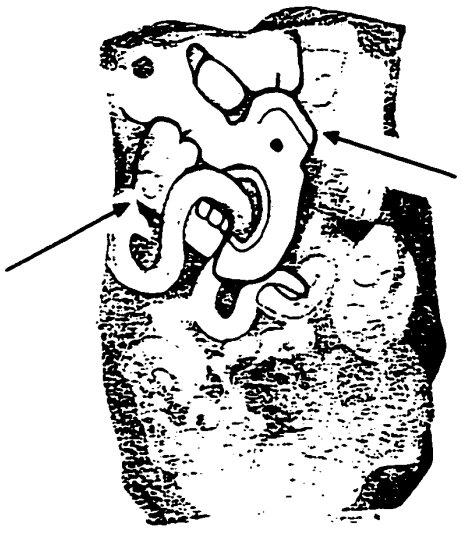
b.

Figure 6.74.

Figure 6.75.

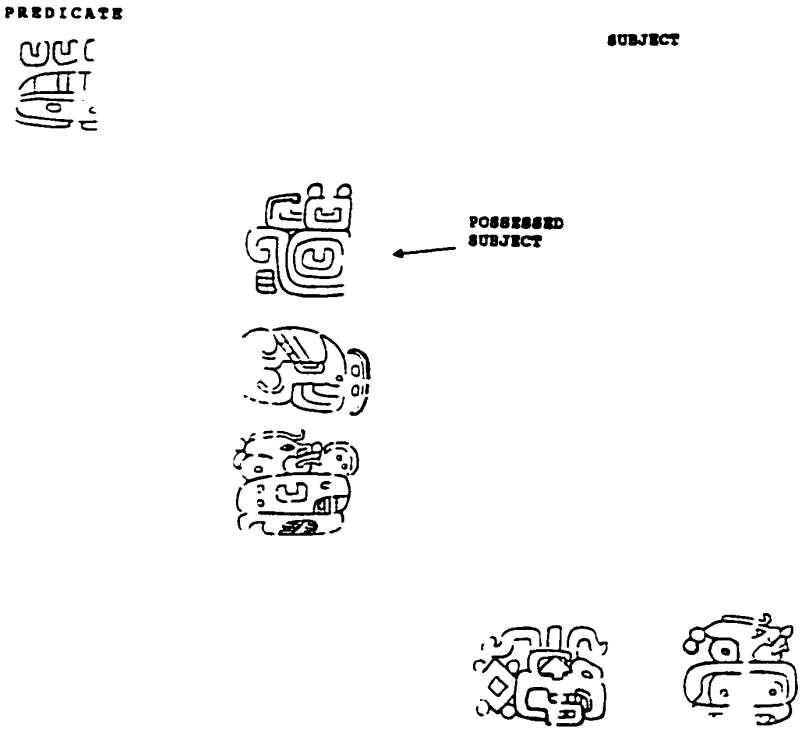


a.



b.

Figure 6.76.



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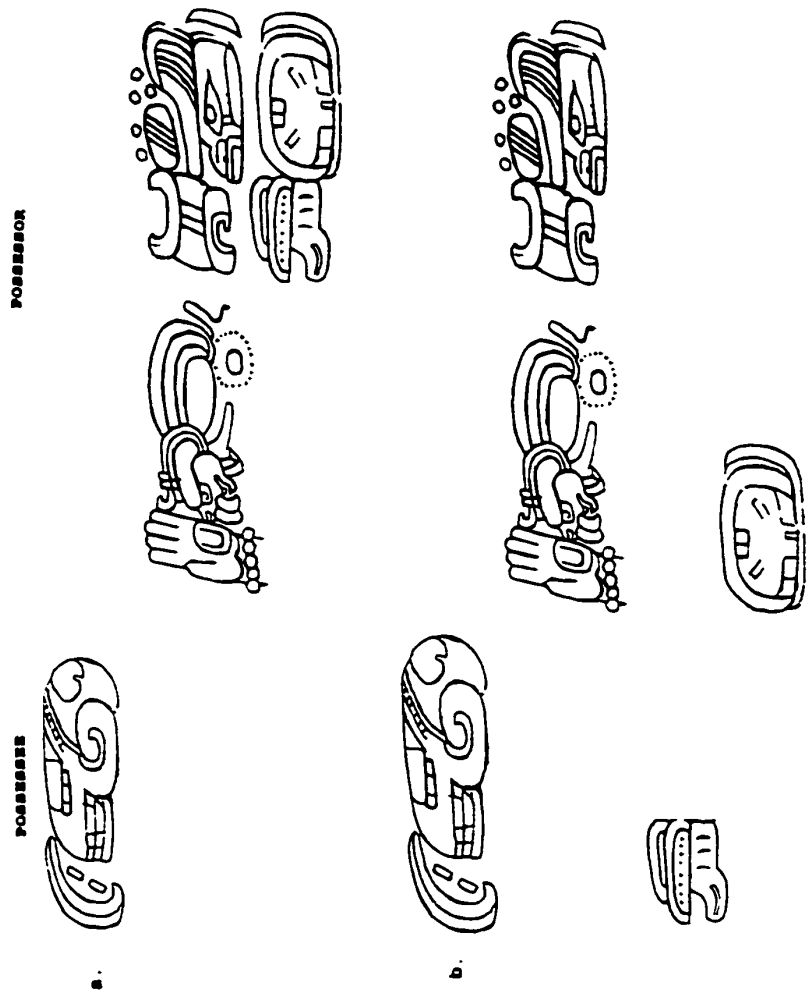

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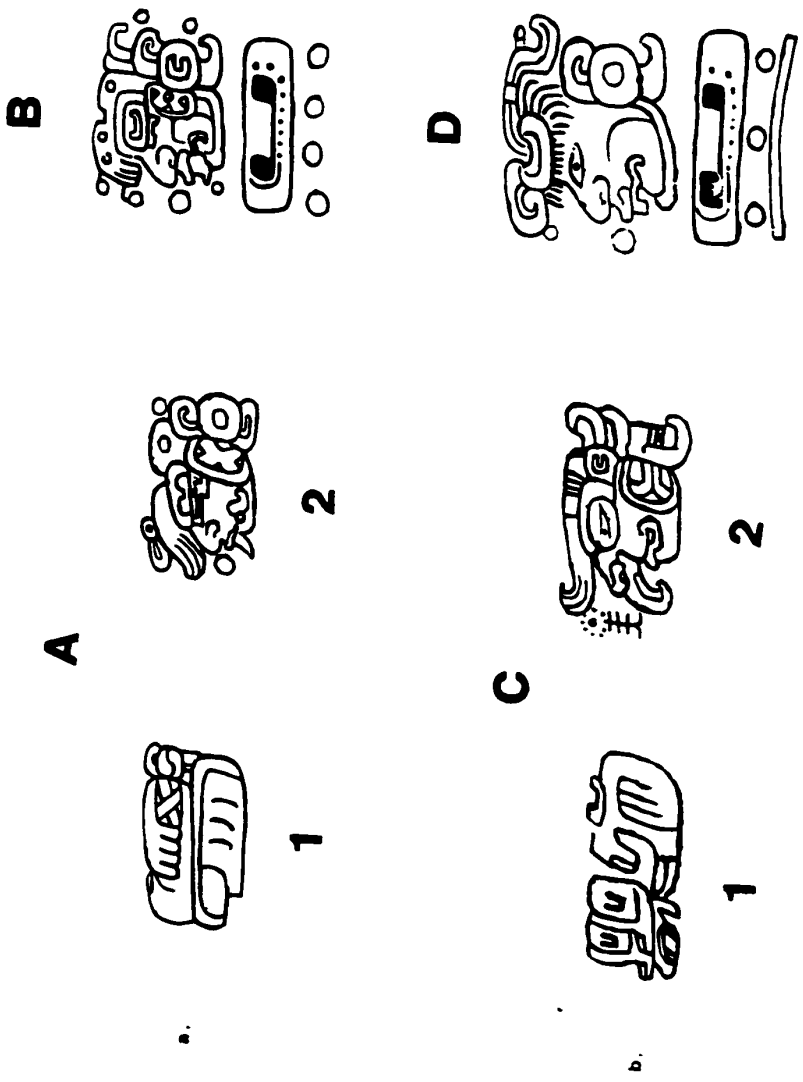
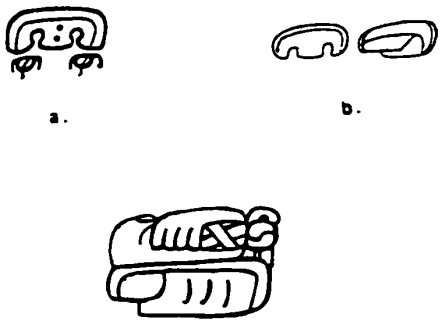


Figure 6.79.

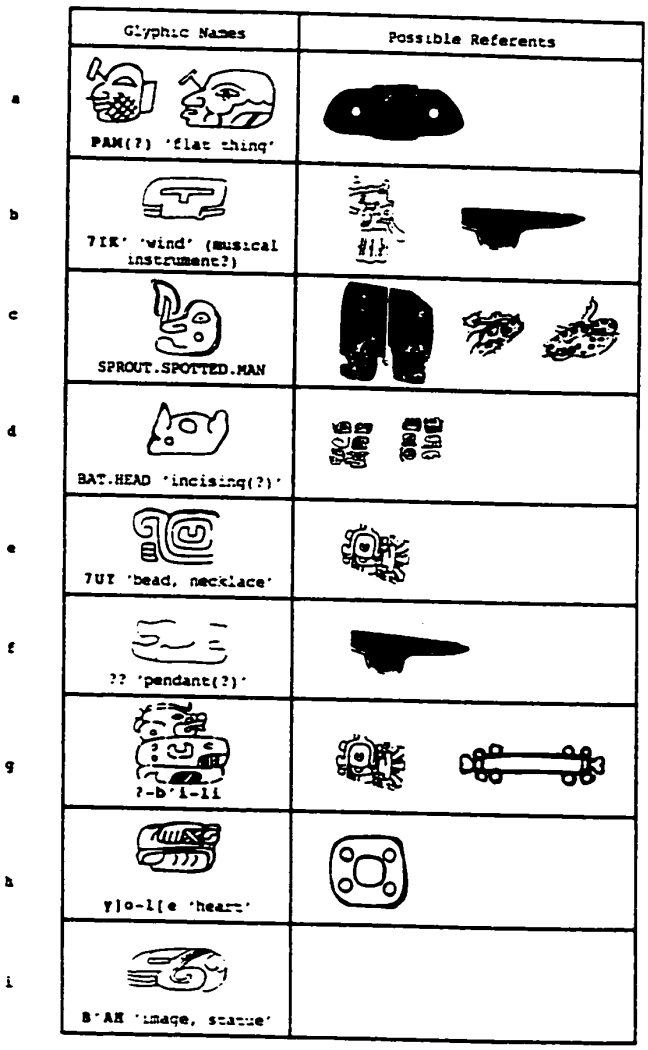


a.

b.

c.

Figure 6.80.


Glyphic Names
Possible Referents
a
PAM(?) 'flat thing'
b
7IK' 'wind' (musical instrument?)
c
SPROUT.SPOTTED.MAN
d
BAT.HEAD 'incising(?)'
e
7UY 'bead, necklace'
f
?? 'pendant(?)'
g
?-b'i-li
h
y]o-l[e 'heart'
i
B'AH 'image, statue'

CHAPTER VII: LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 7.1. Highland texts with numerical coefficients occupying own glyph block. (a) Kaminaljuyu Stela 10, E1-F1: 15-MONTH. Drawing by author. (b) Abaj Takalik Stela 53, A1-B1: 15-?MONTH. Photograph from Orrego (1990).

Figure 7.2. Lowland texts with numerical coefficients occupying own glyph block. (a) El Mirador Stela 2, A7: 15. From Hansen (1991). (b) Delataille pot, A6-B6: **15-TZ'AK(AB')**. From Berjonneau and Sonnery (1985).

Figure 7.3. Abaj Takalik Stela 5. (a) Left and right sides of stela. Shows a seated noble underneath a glyphic column on the left, and a lord seated on a throne underneath a glyphic column on the right. (b) Front of the monument. It shows two nobles facing each other, underneath a floating ancestral figure, and separated by two glyphic columns, each headed by a Long Count date. The left Long Count places the monument in the year A.D. 125 (Justeson 1997). The figure on the left side of the monument may correspond to the figure to the right of the two glyphic columns on the front side of the monument, and vice versa, as suggested by the personages's likely glyphic names embedded in their headdresses. Drawing by James Porter, courtesy of John Graham.

Figure 7.4. Text of DO celt. Drawing by this author.

Figure 7.5. Comparison of iconic elements and iconography of portrayed individuals. (a) Abaj Takalik Stela 5, dated to A.D. 125. Drawing by James Porter, courtesy of John Graham. (b) DO celt, dated to A.D. 120. Drawing by Linda Schele (Schele and Miller 1986:82, Plate 22b). The following details correspond closely in arrangement and style: chin mask of Rain God, belt head and jade plaques, jade shark heads on knees with speech/music scrolls coming out of their mouths (these were probably made of dangling cloth and bead assemblages), and sets of three beaded tinklers along sheens.

Figure 7.6. Isolated grammatical markers in DO celt: (a) B3: T1 **7u-** for 7u- 'third person ergative prefix'. (b) A7: T1 **7u** for 7u-, and T24 **li** for -V1 'possessive suffix' in possible

7u-K'IN-li/IL 7u-k'in-Vl '(It is) the reign/day/property of' expression. (c) A4: T51/53 **ta** for proto-Ch'olan *tä 'generic preposition' in possible **ta-7AJAW** tä+7ajaw 'as lord' expression.

Figure 7.7. Possible T168 **7AJAW(-wa)** 'lord' glyph on side of Stela 5, pointed out by John Justeson.

Figure 7.8. (a) Kichpanha bone stylus, dated to ca. .A.D 150 but not much earlier (Kathryn Reese-Taylor, personal communication 2001). Drawing by Peter Mathews. (b) Abaj Takalik Monument 11, unclear dating due to prehispanic reburial during early Postclassic period, but showing an elaborate Protoclassic style. Drawing by James Porter, from Graham and Porter (1988).

Figure 7.9. Comparison of KCH bone's A3-A4 with ABT Mon. 11's A2. (a) KCH bone, A3-A4: note bird headdress, feather crest, and earflare on A3, as well as bone-in-beak element on A4. (b) ABT Mon 11, A2: note bird headdress, feather crest, earflare, and bone-in-beak element.

Figure 7.10. Same name spelled in lowlands and highlands. (a) Delataille pot with spelling of name **7EB'-XOK**. (b) Kaminaljuyu Esperanza phase (A.D. 400-600) jade earplug with name **7EB'-XOK**.

Figure 7.11. The iconic motivation of Mayan T23 **na** as EARTH/LAND. (a) Epi-Olmec MS44 **na**. (b) Mayan T23 **na**. (c) Early Classic form of Mayan T23 **na** in Yaxchilan Lintel 22:C2 identical to down-turning ground motif. Drawing by author after drawing in Graham (1982:51). (d) Early Classic form of Mayan T23 in Yaxchilan Lintel 18:C3. Drawing by author after drawing in Graham (1982:45). (d) Early Classic form of Mayan T23 **na** identical to down-turning ground motif. (e) Iconographic use of MS44/T23 EARTH/CAVE in Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 as the basal or down-turning ground motif.

Figure 7.12. The outline of the down-turning ground motif in Mayan art and writing. (a) Early Classic T529 **WITZ** 'mountain, hill' logograph in the Tikal Ballcourt Marker at G6. After drawing by P. Morales. (b) Mountain in Tablet of the Foliated

Cross at Palenque. After drawing by Linda Schele. (c) Late Classic T23 **na** in Dos Pilas Stela 8, dated to A.D. 726, and showing down-turning ground motif outline. After drawing by Stephen Houston.

Figure 7.13. Frozen uses of T23 as EARTH/CAVE icon in Classic Mayan writing. (a) Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque, glyph A4, read **7AJ-5-PYRAMID-NAH** 'He of the 5 [pyramid] house', with no T23 sign. After drawing by Linda Schele. (b) Palace Tablet at Palenque, glyph I14, read **7AJ-5-PYRAMID-T23-NAH**, with T23 sign. (c) Tikal Stela 26:yB2, read **7u-PYRAMID-T23-HEARTHSTONES**, and showing T23 sign. After drawing in Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Figure 45). (d) Middle Preclassic Olmec-style Ahuelican Greenstone Tablet showing PYRAMID-EARTH/CAVE-HEARTHSTONES, with down-turning ground motif in the position where T23 is found in the Tikal Stela 26 example.

Figure 7.14. Source of EYEBROW and DOUBLE.MERLON motif in Olmec art: Maize Iconography. (a) Maize sign with cleft foliation possibly related to flame brow motif. After Joralemon (1971:FIgure 170). (b) Maize sign in serpentine statuette with merlon and clefted foliation. After Taube (1995:FIgure 19c). (c) Maize sign with clefted foliation and merlon on La Lagunita Sculpture 6. After Taube (1995:Figure 19d). (d) Maize God head on Arroyo de Pesquero celt with clefted foliation and double merlon motifs. Drawing by Linda Schele. (e) Maize God head on La Mojarra Stela 1. Drawing by George Stuart. (f) Epi-Olmec Maize God on Bone 3 from Chiapa de Corzo showing clefted foliation and double merlon motifs. After Agrinier (1960:Figure 17b). (g) Epi-Olmec Maize God on Bone 1 from Chiapa de Corzo showing clefted foliation and double merlon motifs. After Agrinier (1960:Figure 17a). (h)-(i) Olmec deities incised on Slim, a serpentine statuette, showing the eyebrow and double-merlon motifs resulting from the conflation of the clefted foliation and double-merlon motifs. After Reilly (1990).

Figure 7.15. Avian Transformation Theme on Izapa Stela 4. (a) Izapa Stela 4, showing a feather-caped noble/ruler performing a transformation dance on top of a platform or

mountain (down-turning basal element), and above him is shown the end result: the almost complete transformation of the noble/ruler into the Principal Bird Deity. Drawing courtesy of John Clark. (b) Detail from wing of flying bird-man showing double-merlon and eyebrow elements surrounding a crossed-bands element.

Figure 7.16. Mayan title components. Classic period: (a) and (b), drawn by Linda Schele. (a) T35(.1016) **K'UH(UL)** 'god/divine'. (b) T35(.1016) + VARIABLE + T168 **7AJAW** 'Divine X Lord'. Late Preclassic and Early Classic examples: (c)-(f), drawn by this author. (c) JM spoon: DOUBLE.MERLON-**MAN-7AJAW-?la**. (d) PMY jaguar: EYEBROW.DOUBLE.MERLON-**7AJAW**. (e) DO celt: EYEBROW.DOUBLE.MERLON-**7AJAW**. (f) JM disk: DOUBLE.MERLON-**CHAN(-na)-7AJAW**.

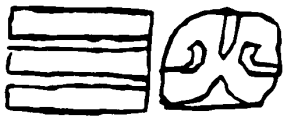
Figure 7.17. Source of EYEBROW and DOUBLE.MERLON motif in Mayan titles. (a) Depiction of Olmec deity in Slim statuette. (b) DO celt: DOUBLE.MERLON-**7AJAW**. Drawings by this author.

Figure 7.18. Persistence of CROSSED.BANDS tripointed hat from Middle Preclassic Olmec to Late Classic Mayan times. (a) Example from Olmec celt. Drawing by this author. (b) Example from DO pectoral. Drawing by this author. (c) Example from Seibal Stela 11. Free-hand drawing by this author.

Figure 7.19. Reintroduction of T168 with T130 **wa** sign during the Late Classic period. Late Preclassic examples: (a)-(c). (a) DO pectoral, B5. (b) JM spoon, A3, A8. (c) UNP clamshell, A7a. Late Classic examples: (d) and (e). (d) Example of T687.130 **7AJAW** design from Itzan Stela 17 at D13. After drawing by Ian Graham in Lacadena (1996:Figure 5.12). (e) Example of T687.130 **7AJAW** design from Seibal Stela 9. After drawing by John Montgomery in Lacadena (1996:Figure 5.12).

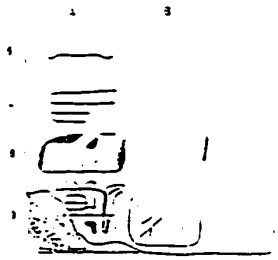
Figure 7.1.

a.



b.

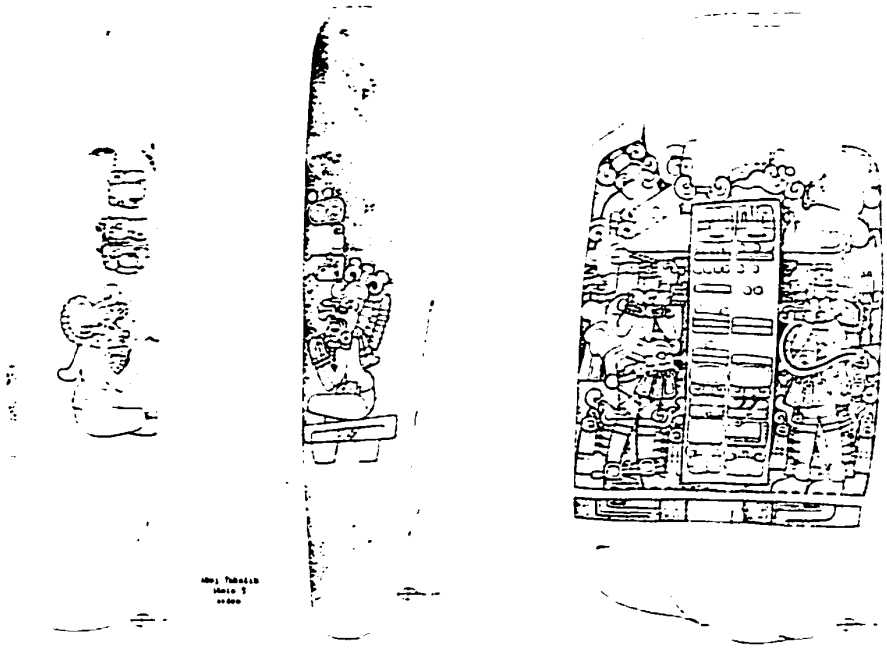
Figure 7.2.



a.

b.

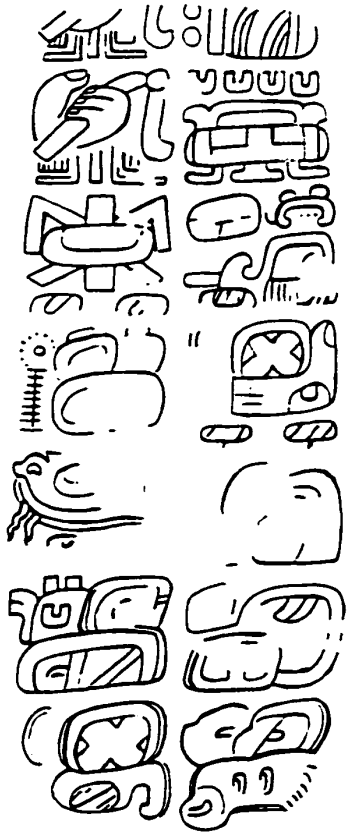
Figure 7.3.



a.

b.

Figure 7.4.



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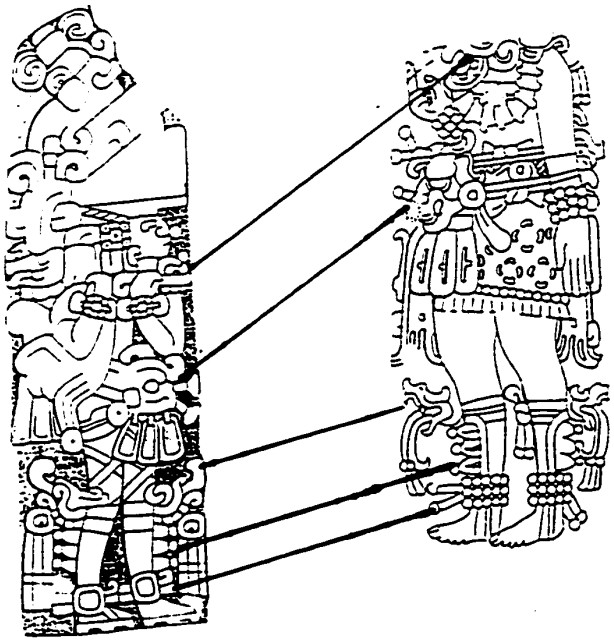


a.

b.

Figure 7.6.

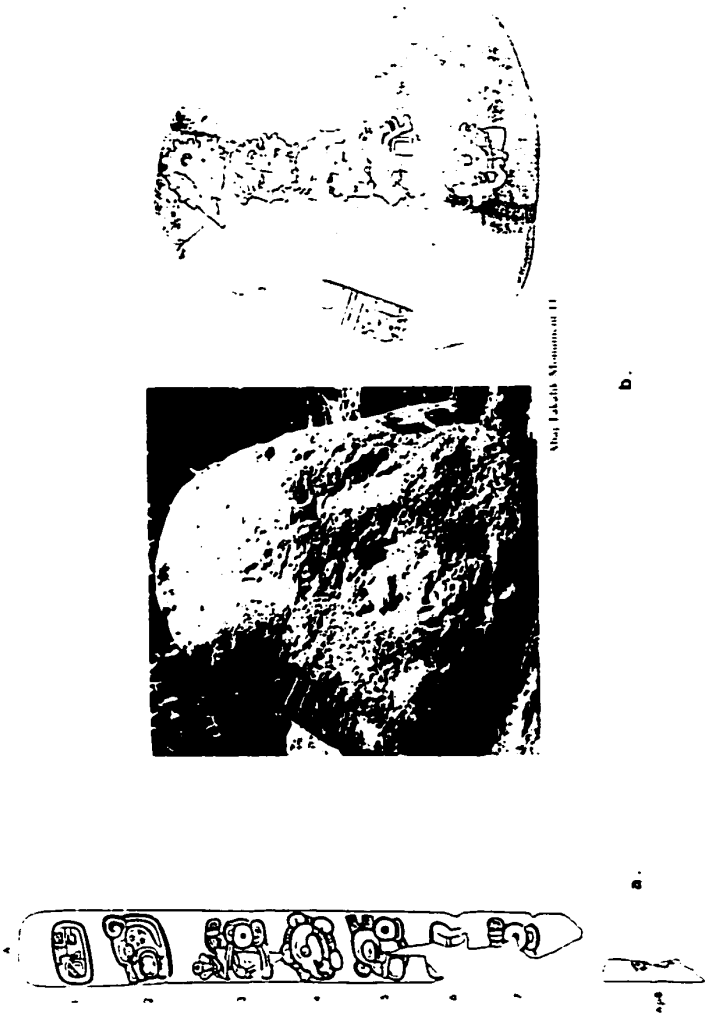
a.

b.

c.

Figure 7.7.

Figure 7.8.



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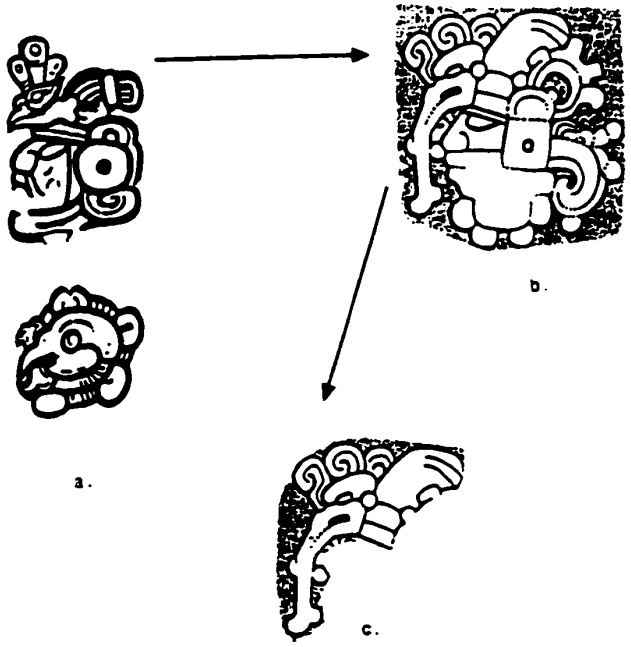
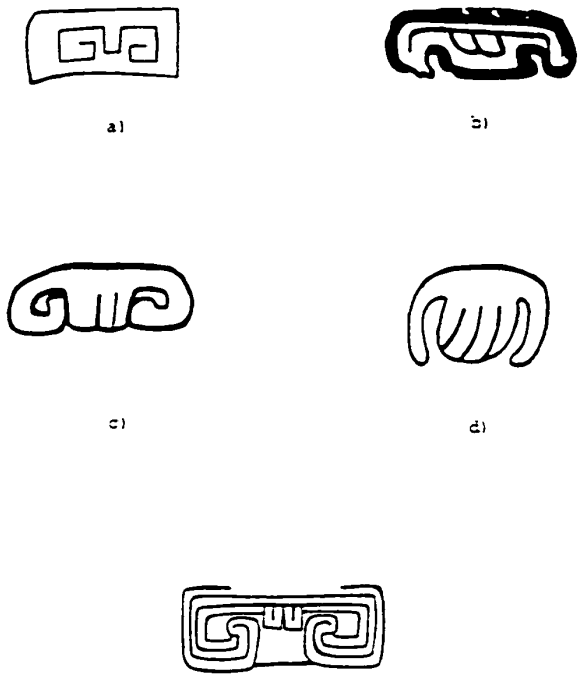


Figure 7.10.

a.

b.

Figure 7.11.



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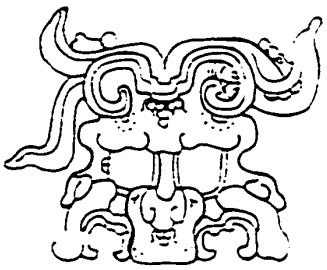
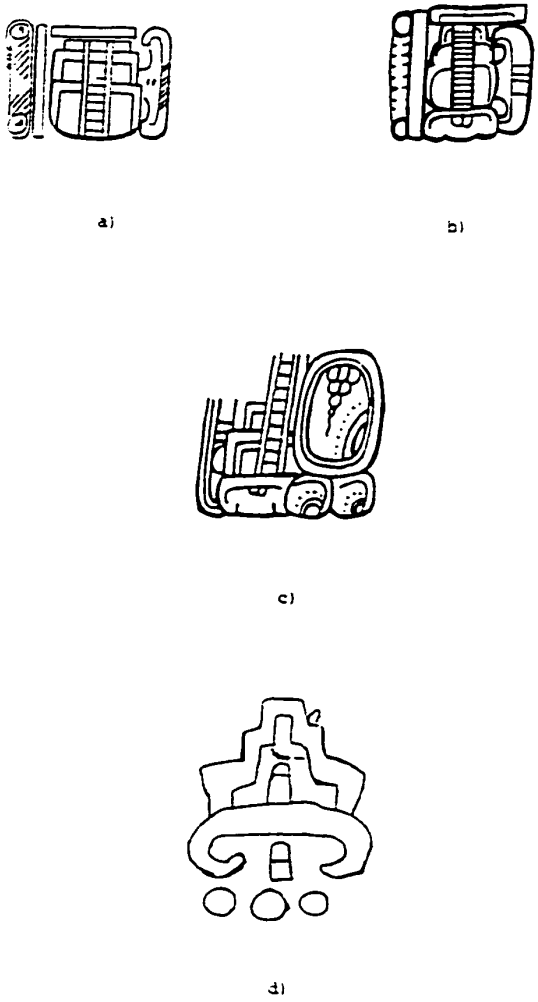
a)



b)

c)

Figure 7.13.



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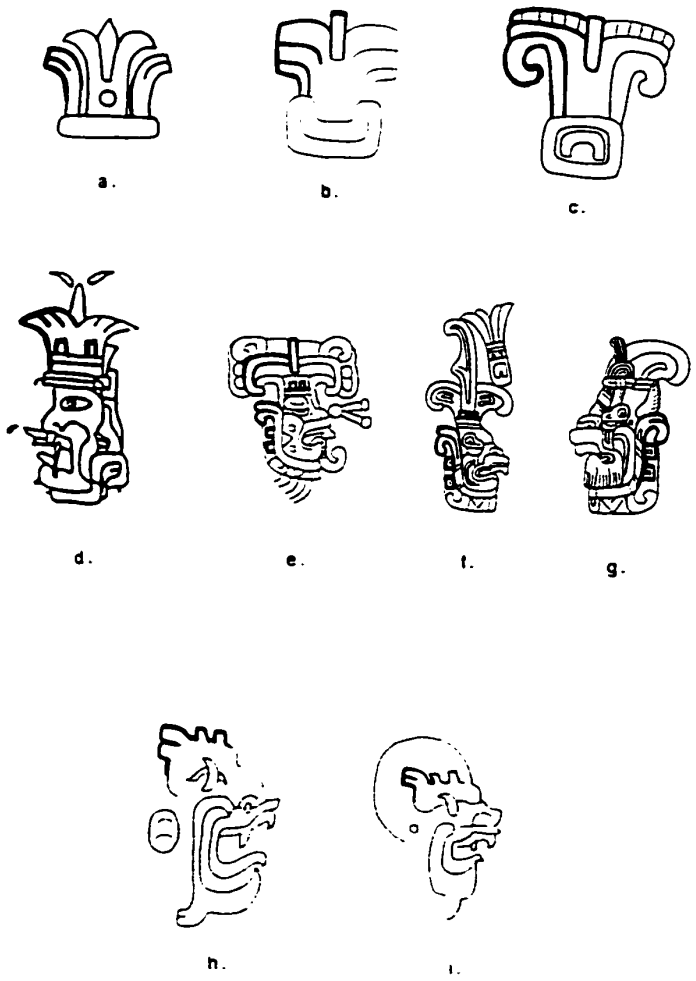


Figure 7.15.

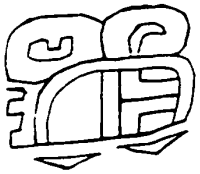
a.

b.

Figure 7.16.

a.

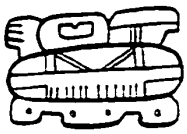
b.



c.

d.

e.



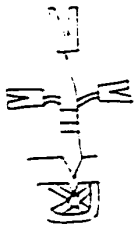
f.

Figure 7.17.

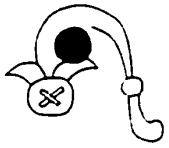
a.

b.

Figure 7.18.



a.



b.

c.

Figure 7.19.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

CHAPTER VIII: LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 8.1. Syllabary Part I: **p**V-**n**V syllabographs.

Figure 8.2. Syllabary Part II: **l**V-**x**V syllabographs.

Figure 8.3. Syllabary Part III: **y**V-**h**V syllabographs.

Figure 8.4. Late Preclassic possessive prefixes and linguistic affiliation. (a) Ch'olan-Tzeltalan + Greater Q'anjob'alan + Yukatekan, y-: **y(a)-(7)AK'(AB')** on Hatzcap Ceel Axe at A6. (b) Ch'olan and Yukatekan, 7uy-: **7u-y(a)-(7)AK'(AB'/B'AL)** on DO pectoral at C6.

Figure 8.5. Ch'olan linguistic affiliation of CNT 6125 text. Spelling **yu-yu** or **y(u)-(7)UY** for *y-uhy 'his/her/its bead/necklace'. Ch'olan only has innovated final y in this term for 'bead/necklace' from proto-Mayan *7u7h. Drawing by this author.

Figure 8.6. Verbal glyphs in the four DO subtradition texts. (a) Existential particle in DO pectoral at A1: **7AY(-ya)** 'there is/was'. (b) STEP glyph in DO pectoral at B1: STEP-**chi** (dedicatory). (c) BEARDED.GOD.N glyph in DO pectoral (B2/C1), JM spoon (A4), and PMY jaguar (A1): BEARDED.GOD.N-**ni**. (d) BEARDED.GOD.N glyph in UNP clamshell (A1). (e) SIT glyph in DO pectoral (A5). (f) **TZIK** glyph in DO pectoral (C4): **TZIK-no**. (g) STAR glyph in UNP clamshell (A3-A4): STAR-**yi**. (h) Possible T712 verb in DO pectoral (C5-D5): **?7u-CH'AB'-(b')a** 'he sacrificed it'. Drawings by this author.

Figure 8.7. Incorporative absolutive antipassive verbs. (a) **K'AL-wa-TUN** for k'al-(a)w-Ø-Ø(+a)=tun 's/he stone-wrapped (like.this/here)'. (b) **K'AL-wi-TUN** for k'al-(a)w-Ø-Ø(+i)=tun 's/he stone-wrapped (like.that/there)'. Examples from Tikal Stela 31 drawn by William Coe.

Figure 8.8. Active transitive and antipassive clauses with generic/indefinite patients. (a) Transitive: **7u-TZAK K'UH** [AGENT] [INSTRUMENT] '[AGENT] conjured a god(s) with [INSTRUMENT]'. Drawing by Linda Schele. (b) Transitive: **7u-TZAK K'UH**

's/he conjured a god(s)'. Drawing by Linda Schele. (c) Incorporative antipassive in PMY jaguar text, A1-B2: GOD.N-**ni** SPROUT-GENERIC.HEAD [AGENT] '[AGENT] SPROUT-GOD.Ned'. Drawhing by this author. (d) Incorporative antipassive in Palenque Tablet of the Foliated Cross: **TZAK-wa K'UH** 's/he god-conjured'. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figure 8.1.

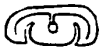
	i	e	a	o	u
p					
b'					
m					
w					
t					
t'					
n					

Figure 8.2.

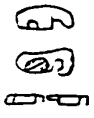
	i	e	a	o	u
l					
tz					
tz'					
s					
ch					
ch'					
x					

Figure 8.3.

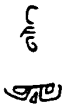
	i	e	a	o	u
y					
k					
k'					
j					
7					
h					

Figure 8.4.

a.

b.

Figure 8.5.

Figure 8.6.

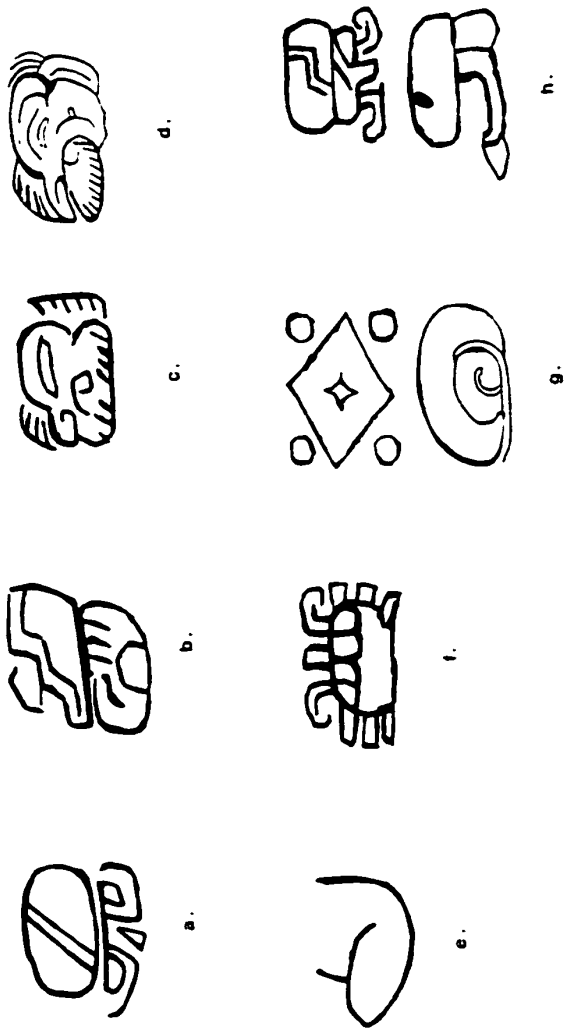


Figure 8.7.

a.

b.

Figure 8.8.