A LOGOGRAPHIC VALUE *HU7 (~ 7U7)* 'TO BLOW' OR 'SACRED, MORAL, POWER' FOR THE GOD.N VERBAL GLYPH OF THE PRIMARY STANDARD SEQUENCE

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Introduction

This paper proposes a logographic reading **HU7 (~ 7U7)** 'to blow (air)' or 'sacred, moral, power' for the GOD.N logogram used as a dedicatory verb in dedicatory statements, whether portable or monumental. The term is based either on Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan *hub' ~ *hu7* 'to blow (air)', or on Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan root *hu7* 'power; to be able to'. This proposal is based to some extent on the work by MacLeod (1990) and Schele and Grube (1997), but is supported by additional evidence from partly and fully phonetic spellings and substitutions involving allograms with the syllabographic values **7u** and **hu**, as well as allograms with the likely logographic values **HU7** and **7U7**. The solutions presented here are not without complications, but they are based on evidence from spellings involving phonetic signs with known values, rather than spellings involving signs with presumed phonetic values (e.g. **t'a**) with no independent external support, and whose graphemic identity can be called into question. Such is the case of the recently popularized logographic value **T'AB'** 'to rise' by David Stuart (1995, 1998) and **T'AB'** 'to anoint' by Elizabeth Wagner (Schele and Grube 1995). Nor does the solution put forth presently rely on iconographic motivations as a starting point—as Stuart's (1995, 1998) proposal does. Before presenting the evidence, a review of the different GOD.N signs and their respective known or suspected values is in order.

The GOD.N Signs: Diagnostic Traits and Contexts

The GOD.N glyph has at least four logographic proposed values: **PAWATUN** '*pawahtun* deity' (Coe 1973:15) or **7ITSAM K'AN 7AHK** (Stuart 1994) or **CHAN-XIW-TUN** (2001), **MAM** 'grandfather, ancestor' (Stuart et al. 1999; Stuart 2000), **HO7** 'five' (Goodman 1905), and the GOD.N dedicatory verb.[1] The **MAM** value has found support from various

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[1] Recently, Grofe (2006) has suggested that two codical deities are in fact slightly distinct versions of the God N deity, and each one shows a slightly distinct glyphic spelling. He has also proposed that Glyph G7 of the Lords of the Night Cycle is in fact a form of God N, possibly with a reading **YIJ** 'old' in that context. However, for now, I prefer to focus on the four most common uses listed above.

authors, especially by David Stuart et al. (1999) and Stuart (2000).[2] In Mora-Marín (2001:113) these values are reviewed and their respective diagnostic iconographic traits compared. Here, additional variants are included, and a more thorough analysis of the distribution of iconographic traits is attempted. This analysis shows that the unique characterization of the GOD.N sign with regard to its different values and contexts can only be achieved after recognizing that many traits are shared by these different forms, more or less interchangeably, but that for each of these signs there is at least one graphic or substitutional trait—independently of their distinct morphosyntactic distributions and contexts—that serve to distinguish each form from the rest.

For example, MacLeod (1990:128) states that "the form of the God N seen in the introductory section of the PSS lacks the **K'AN** cross and T548 'drum' infixes seen in other examples of the God N head." Nevertheless, the verbal GOD.N sign sometimes does bear an infixed T281 **K'AN** cross. My research suggests a distribution of diagnostic iconographic markers as in **Table 1**. A "+" indicates that a certain trait is required, a "±" indicates that a certain trait is optional, a "-" indicates that a certain trait is absent, and a "√" indicates that a certain trait is diagnostic (i.e. when present, it is diagnostic of a specific logographic value).

Table 1

Traits	Logographic Values			
	"PAWATUN"	**HO7**	**MAM**	GOD.N Verb
a. *Netted hat*	+	-	-	±
b. *Earflare*	±	+	±	±
c. *Beard*	±		±	±
d. *Netted TURTLE.SHELL sign variant*	√	-	-	-
e. *T281 **K'AN** cross*	±	-	-	±
f. *T548 DRUM hat*	-	+	-	-
g. *FIVE (bar) variant[3]*	±	√	-	-
h. *Long tuft of hair*	?	?	+	±
i. *Cartouche on forehead with circle inside*	?	?	±	±
j. *Wrinkled face*	±	±	±	±
k. *BIRD.HEAD variant*	-	-	√	-
l. *Fish-like face*	-	-	-	±, √
m. *Shark's tooth*	-	-	-	±, √
n. *Fish barbells*	-	-	-	±, √
o. *Bird's head on hat*	-	-	?	±, √
p. *T843 STEP and T736 SKULL variants*	-	-	-	√

What appears to be especially relevant for the GOD.N verb is the optional presence of fish- and shark-like attributes, and the absence of certain traits (e.g. d, f, g, k); otherwise,

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[2] The term *mäm* 'grandfather, grandson' is known from the codices, where it is found spelled phonetically as **7u-ma-ma** or **ka-ma-ma**, as noted by Bricker (1986, 1995, 2004).
[3] This trait requires qualification: The deity's nominal, "PAWATUN," pending future clarification of the correct reading of this glyph, is not substituted—to my knowledge—by the FIVE sign. Nevertheless, a type of amalgamation is sometimes at work, where a spelling of this deity's name, particularly in the codices, may include the FIVE sign as a component of the spelling. I suspect its function in such contexts is that of a semantic classifier, rather than as a semantic determinative, as a phonetic complement, or as a logographic component of the deity's full name phrase. In other words, scribes my have placed the numeral five in such spellings to remind readers that this is the same deity that also functions as a numeral five head variant. There are examples, however, where instead of FIVE the number FOUR was used, yielding IV-T64:548 or IV-T64:528.

the rest of the features of the GOD.N verb are shared with the other GOD.N logograms. Indeed, some Early Classic GOD.N verb forms are indistinguishable from the form with the **MAM** 'grandfather, ancestor' reading, proposed by David Stuart in the mid-1990s (Stuart 2000), as already observed by Chinchilla and Fahsen (1988), who had suggested this form functioned as a nominal, and more precisely as a nominal that frequently introduces longer nominal phrases. Interestingly, the GOD.N verb does not use the BIRD.HEAD variant that the **MAM** logogram uses; nor does it use the TURTLE.SHELL variant that the *pawahtun* logogram uses. However, the GOD.N verb does in fact show a bird's head located in the deity's headdress, on at least two occasions. It is quite probable, instead, that T843 STEP and the T736 SKULL signs are the variant signs for the verbal GOD.N, as proposed by MacLeod (1990), and as I discuss further below, where I suggest that the T736 SKULL sign might instead be a syllabogram **hu** or **7u**. Figure 1 shows some examples of the various GOD.N logograms and their respective variants.

Figure 1. God N: Various Signs and Typical Variants

Logographic Value	Typical Examples	Variant Signs
i. PAWATUN / **ITSAM-K'AN-7AHK**	a	b
ii. **HO7**	c	d
iii. **MAM**	e	f
iv. 'GOD.N'	g	j
	h	k
	i	

a) T1018a variant of God N. After MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6d). b) TURTLE.SHELL variant from Piedras Negras Lintel 2. After MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6g). c) Head variant of number five from Palenque (Tablet of the 96 Glyphs). Drawing by Linda Schele from MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6h). d) Drawing of numeral five as a BAR sign. e) **MAM** glyph. Glyph at B3 on incised Early Classic tripod bowl, #328. Drawng from Berjonneau et al. (1985:218). f). g) GOD.N verb. Glyph B on Early Classic pottery vessel, #352. Drawing from Berjonneau et al. (1985:231). h) GOD.N verb. Glyph B on Early Classic pottery vessel, #355. Drawing from Berjonneau et al. (1985:231). i) GOD.N verb. Glyph A2c on Late Classic painted pottery vessel, Kerr #1383, at www.famsi.org. j) SKULL verb. Glyph O on Late Classic painted tripod pottery plate, Kerr #1609, at www.famsi.org. k) STEP verb. Glyph B on Early Classic painted pottery vessel, Kerr #4958, at www.famsi.org.

The GOD.N Glyph: Previous Proposals

It is time to review the evidence for previously proposed readings by MacLeod (1990) as **HUY/HOY** 'to debut, to inaugurate' for both GOD.N and STEP; by Wagner (Schele and Grube 1995; Schele and Looper 1996) as **T'AB'** 'to anoint' for STEP; by Stuart (1995, 1998, 2005) as **T'AB'** 'to rise' for both GOD.N and STEP; and by Mora-Marín (2001) as **7UY/7U7UY** (i.e. no specific lexical identification, just a phonetic proposal). The reading proposed by Schele and Grube (1997), based on Ch'orti' *uhui* 'to sigh, to snort', is also reviewed briefly, and is shown to offer substantial advantages over the others.

MacLeod (1990) suggested a reading **HUY/HOY** for the GOD.N and STEP glyphs, and proposed a meaning 'to debut, to inaugurate'. Her phonetic evidence consisted of suggestive and seemingly phonetic cues for the beginning and end of the word represented by these glyphs. The word-final syllabogram, T17 **yi**, however, is now known to be part of the spelling of a $-V_1y$ suffix that these verbs take, and thus it cannot be used as evidence for the final consonant of the lexical root, only of the suffix. Mora-Marín (2001) made the same mistake of assuming that T17 indicated that the final consonant of the root represented by such glyphs. MacLeod (1990) was able to demonstrate that T45, a sign that is often found immediately preceding the GOD.N glyph, could be read phonetically as a syllabogram **hu**. Although she deciphered this sign during the course of her research on the GOD.N and STEP glyphs, and both independently of, and simultaneously with Nikolai Grube, such decipherment rested entirely on evidence external to the GOD.N and STEP glyphs: the spellings of the **hu-li(-ya)** verb for *hul-i* 's/he/it arrived here'. MacLeod then applied this decipherment to the GOD.N and STEP glyphs. Because the initial consonant of this root can be reconstructed as *h* in Proto-Ch'olan and Proto-Yucatecan, it seemed clear that T45 represents **hu**, at least in this context. MacLeod also noted that the FIVE head variant and the FIVE bar sign could be phonetic cues to a *ho*-initial root or stem. These lines of evidence led her to propose a basic intransitive root *hoy* 'to ritually debut', which alternated in the ancient texts with a related form exhibiting vowel modification, namely, *huy*.[4]
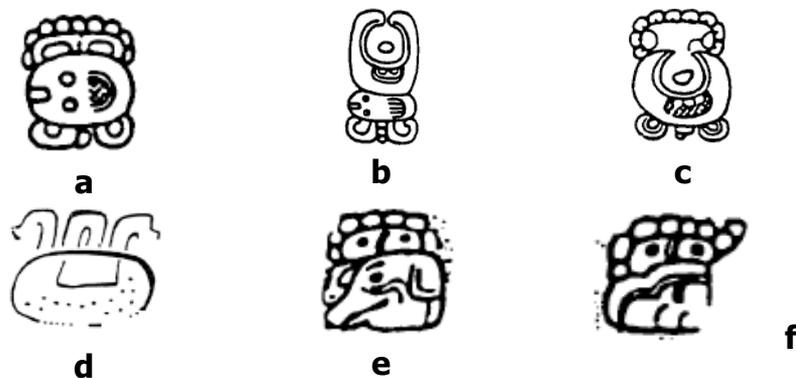
Grube (2004) no longer supports the reading of T45 as **hu**, but instead as **ju**. I agree with his argument: most words where T45 is used reflect cases of *j*, not *h*. These include **jul* 'pierce', **jukub'* 'dugout', and **juhch* 'conch shell', among others. The last one can be reconstructed for Proto-Ch'olan as **juhch* based on Ch'ol *huhch* 'concha' (Aulie and Aulie 1978:59), and Colonial Tzeltal <ghuch> 'ostión' (Humberto Ruz 1986:296), the latter entry cited as evidence by Grube (2004:72). T740, not T45, Grube (2004:72) notes, is phonetic **hu**, given its use in spellings of words with *h*, including **hun* 'paper, book', **chahuk* 'lightning, thunder', and **hul* 'arrive here', among others. Nevertheless, T45 is actually used in two contexts where *h* is called for: the T45-**li** spellings for *hul-i-Ø* 's/he/it arrived here' (arrive.here-PLAIN-3singular.ABSOLUTIVE), and the **K'UH-**T45-**lu** spellings for *k'uh-ul* 'divine' (god-ADJECTIVIZER). How can these be reconciled with the evidence presented by Grube (2004:76)?

The answer is provided by Grube (2004) and Stuart et al. (1999:II-37). These authors argue that T45 is actually, in origin, a conflation of two originally distinct signs: a FOOTPRINT sign with a logographic value **HUL** 'to arrive here', and T45 **ju**. I consider

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[4] MacLeod (1990:149) observed that some Lowland Mayan languages exhibit such type of variation, as in, for example, Yucatec Mayan *hub'* 'conch shell' and *hop* 'trumpet', as well as Lakantun *huub'* 'conch'. Mora-Marín (2001:117) similarly observed that this variation can be found within the same language, as with the case of Itzaj *juy* and *joy*, both 'watery' (Hofling and Tesucún 1997:321, 330).

their argument to be sound, for it provides a rationale for the T45-**li** (*hul-i-Ø* 's/he/it arrived here'), and **K'UH-**T45-**lu** (*k'uh-ul* 'divine') spellings alluded to above: the former yields **HUL-li**, and the latter **K'UH-hul-lu**. In the latter case, consequently, T45 should be transcribed as **hul**—in lowercase letters to indicate its use as a CVC syllabogram, through the process of rebus phoneticism. Nonetheless, this hypothesis of T45 as a logogram **HUL** 'to arrive here' does not readily account for one important set of examples, seen in **Fig. 2**. Whereas the example in **Figs. 2a** and **2b** might simply be read as **HUL-li-ya** under the logographic proposal, the example in **Fig. 2c** would yield **HUL-HUL-ya**. Amalgamation of two allograms—to distinct graphemes with the same orthographic value—is not unknown in Mayan writing. For example, in the case of logographic signs with the same value, T168(:518) **7AJAW** 'lord' is sometimes used in a collocation with other **7AJAW** 'lord' allograms. Also, the same holds for syllabographic signs of the same value; thus, T124 **tsi** and T507 **tsi** occasionally are amalgamated and read once, as **tsi** instead of **tsi-tsi** (**Fig. 2d**). At this point the question is: Which value of T45 is intended in the T45-GOD.N and T45-STEP collocations, **ju** or **hul/HUL**?
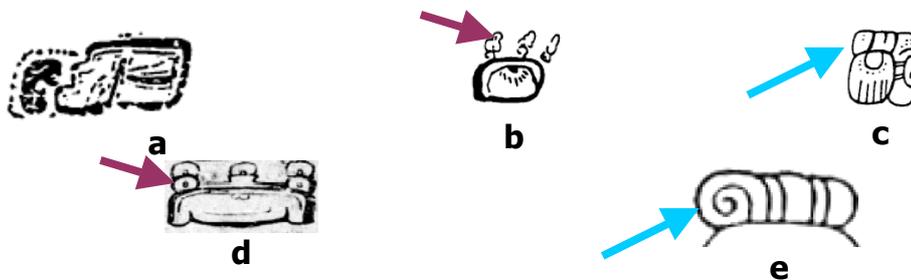
Figure 2. Some uses of T45

a) T45-**li-ya**. b) **HUL-li-ya**. c) **HUL-HUL-ya**. d) T124:506 as **tsi**, not **tsi-tsi**. After drawing in Culbert (1993:Fig. 19). e) T45-**li**. f) T45-STEP**[yi]**.

Before addressing this question, it is necessary to review the other proposals. The following discussion of the **T'AB'** 'to rise' or 'to anoint' proposals is based on Mora-Marín (2001:112-117). There, it is shown that reading **T'AB'** is based on two lines of circumstantial evidence (**Fig. 3**).

Figure 3. Evidence for *T'AB'* reading

a) STEP verb. Glyph B on Early Classic painted pottery vessel, Kerr #4958, at www.famsi.org. b) Likely dedicatory verb from Capstone from Chichen Itza, TGC-29. Drawing after Stuart (1995). c). Dedicatory verb from Lintel from Ikil. d) Example of **hi-na** for *hina7* 'seed' in Dresden 8b. e) T278 **sa**: note resemblance to top sign in Fig. 3c.

First, since the STEP sign shows a footprint climbing up a staircase (**Fig. 3a**), a reading **T'AB'** would seem possible, given Proto-Ch'olan *t'äb'* 'to rise, to go up' (Kaufman and Norman 1984), as noted by Stuart (1995, 1998, 2005). And second, the assumed identity of the values of T843 STEP and T1014a GOD.N, based on what at first appears to be a distribution that can be characterized as free variation, would suggest the same reading for both signs: **T'AB'**. Now, if these glyphic verbs represent passive or mediopassive inflections of a transitive root, the intranstive root *t'äb'* 'to rise, to go up' cannot be the root represented, or else a transitivizing suffix (e.g., *-t, -es*) would be necessary, but no such suffix is present. Two options are then available: either GOD.N/STEP serves as a rebus for a near homophone that does correspond to a transitive root, and consequently allows for mediopassivization or passivization without a prior derivational (transitivizing) suffix; or GOD.N/STEP is not a transitive root, and the −V_1y suffix is not a passive or mediopassive suffix that intransitivizes transitive roots. The latter possibility is arguably better, and I intend to explore it in a future paper. It is also possible that the relationship between the iconic motivation of the sign and the sign's value might simply be indexical of context, not of lexical and phonological identity. For example, the T712 BLOODLETTER sign has a value **CH'AB'** 'to fast', in which case the iconic motivation of the sign is related by context to the logographic value, since bloodletters are ritual implements and fasting was a prerequisite for ritual purity prior to the performance of certain ceremonies, including bloodletting.[5]

To date, this reading for either T843 and T1014a lacks support of the strongest kind: a spelling such as **?t'a-T843/1016-b'a(-yi)** in demonstrated free substitution with the presumed **?t'a-b'a-yi**. The only potential support comes indirectly from signs that are as of yet still undeciphered, or are unspecifiable and restricted to these contexts only. The first is a text from Chichen Itza that shows a dedicatory verb spelled **?-b'a** (**Fig. 3b**). The second is a text from Ikil that shows a dedicatory verb spelled **?-b'a-yi** (**Fig. 3c**). Thus, the signs thought by Stuart and Wagner to be possible cases of a **t'a** syllabogram, which is otherwise unattested or undeciphered to date, are not as crystal clear as one would like. In fact, in the first case, **?-b'a**, the unread sign resembles T66, which in the Dresden Codex appears to represent **hi/HINA7** in the spelling **hi/HINA7-na** for *hina7* 'seed' (**Fig. 3d**), while in the second case, **?-b'a-yi**, the unread sign resembles T278 **sa** (**Fig. 3e**). The presumed reading **t'a** for the sign in the Chichen Itza text is based on a presumed acrophonic derivation based on its iconicity: according to MacLeod (personal communication 2001) the sign resembles rising smoke, and may therefore be indexical of the word *t'äb'* 'to rise (smoke)' or iconic of Itzaj *t'äb'* 'to light' (Hofling and Tesucún 1997:616). However, if it is indeed a case of T278 **sa**, it would provide a reading **sa-b'a-yi** for the Ikil glyph: Such a synharmonic spelling is expected for roots taking *-V$_1$y* suffixes, and might be related to the term *sab'ak* 'tinta (ink)' and *sab'aktah* 'escribir (to write)' (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980:702).[6] Thus, where on orthographic grounds one would expect a C**a-b'a-yi** glyph, T278 **sa**, which closely resembles the first sign of the glyph in question at Ikil, more than fits the bill.

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[5] Mora-Marín (2001:147-149) suggests that T712 BLOODLETTER might have been read **CH'AB'** 'to fast' based on the Yucatecan term *ch'áach'-ab'* 'perforator' (*ch'ach'* 'perforate' + *-ab'* 'instrumentalizer'), and its near homophonous relationship with Proto-Ch'olan *ch'ahb* 'to fast'. I still believe this is likely, but even if this were not an accurate historical explanation of the origin of this glyph, a bloodletter icon would still be associated with a logographic value *ch'ahb'* 'to fast' metonymically through contextual association—the use of a bloodletter perforator during ritual bloodletting acts.

[6] Such roots can be of variety of types: intransitive (**ju-b'u-yi** for *jub'-uy-i* 'it fell'), transitive (**pu-lu-yi** for *pul-uy-i* 'it burned'), positional (**wo-lo-yi** for *wol-oy* 'it became spherical'), adjectival (**na-ja-yi** for *naj-ay-i* 'it filled up').

In summary, I find the evidence for a **t'a** reading of either of the two signs just reviewed uncompelling, and even doubtful, given the closer resemblance that each one shows with the familiar signs **hi** and **sa**. García Campillo (2000:139) expresses similar skepticism:

> A la espera de una comprobación independiente de la lectura *t'ab* propuesta para E1 (the position of the presumed **T'AB'** glyph on the Chichen Itza capstone), y aguardando a que la existencia de signos silábicos de tipo **t'V** en la escritura maya reciba una major comprobación, hemos preferido no incluir la presunta raíz *t'ab'-* en nuestro Catálogo Léxico.
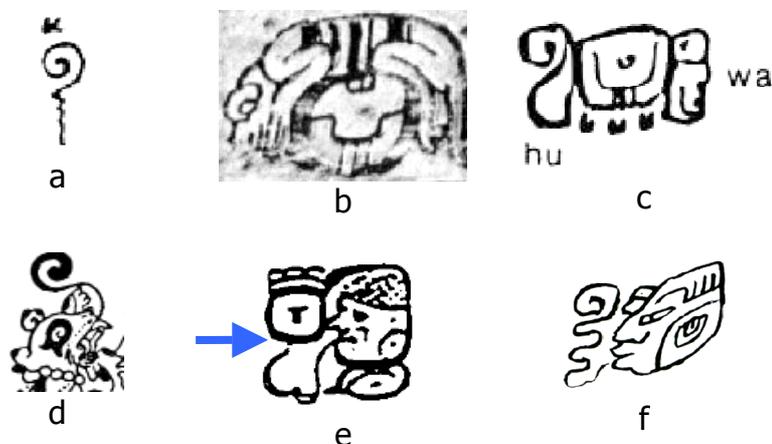
Given the absence of any possible cases of **t'a**-STEP/GOD.N-**b'a-yi** spellings, or of outside evidence for the **t'a** readings of the mystery sign on the Chichen Itza capstone, the reading becomes less plausible.[7]

Keeping these problems with the reading **T'AB'** in mind, it is time to review the proposal by Schele and Grube (1997). Those authors took note of the fact that the T736 glyph, which was already described by MacLeod (1990) as a possible allogram of the GOD.N glyph, often bears a sign transcribed by Diego de Landa as <u> (**Fig. 4a**), and therefore, as a possible **7u** syllabogram, given the syllabographic nature of the signs in Landa's "alphabet." Schele and Grube (1997), who describe the sign as representing breath, note that Bricker (1987) has in fact already surveyed this sign's contexts and uses. Bricker (1987:15) observed that this sign "occurs in entirely different contexts" than T1 **7u**, and emphasized that unlike T1 **7u**, "In no case does [Landa's second <u> grapheme] seem to have a grammatical function, which partially explain its low text frequency." Instead, Bricker (1987) proposes a syllabographic value **hu** for this sign, based on contexts such as the spelling for 'iguana tortilla', which can be attested as IGUANA-**WAJ** (**Fig. 4b**) and BREATH-**wa-WAJ-ji** (**Fig. 4c**). The interchangeability of IGUANA and BREATH in this context suggests that BREATH was read **hu**, for it was used to spell—in part, at least—the term for 'iguana', Proto-Ch'olan **huj*. These suggestions and observations still hold true, except perhaps for the strong version of Bricker's qualification that Landa's second <u> allogram "occurs in entirely different contexts" than T1 **7u**, for as is shown below, there are a few contexts, involving purely phonetic motivations—but not grammatical ones, and thus holding true to Bricker's (1987) second observation—in which overlaps are observed. Bricker (1987) also argued that, iconographically, the BREATH sign represented a "howl scroll," and thus, phonetically, probably the sound *huuuu*, the sound of a howling dog, the creature most commonly depicted with this BREATH sign (**Fig. 4d**). The use of T503, logographic **7IK'** 'wind, air, breath', as an infix to this sign in Late Classic pottery examples (**Fig. 4e**), supports this interpretation, as observed by Schele and Grube (1997), who also suggest a possible reading based on Ch'orti' *uh-* (e.g. *uhuy*) 'sigh; to consecrate', as discussed further below. Furthermore, the use of this BREATH sign in the logograms for *k'ayom* 'singer', as in **Fig. 4f**, also supports the iconographic identification as related to 'breath', more generally, and not just 'howling'. In other words, it seems likely that the T503 sign infixed inside the BREATH sign is functioning as a semantogram, more specifically, as a semantic classifier, indicating that the BREATH sign (Landa's second <u> allogram) was related to 'wind' or 'air' or 'breath'. And similarly, the BREATH sign itself

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[7] It is even possible that T843 and T1016, which may in fact co-occur within the same sentence (MacLeod 1990), may not even bear an identity relationship with one another.

seen in the **K'AYOM** logogram is also likely functioning semantically—to classify 'sing' and 'singer' as part of a realm of related actions performed with the mouth such as breathing, singing, howling, etc.
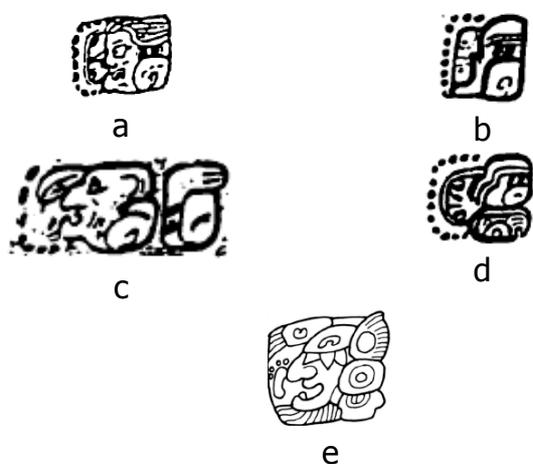
Figure 4. Landa's <u> allogram in various spellings

a) Landa's <u> allogram. From Bricker (1987:Fig. 1). b) IGUANA-**WAJ** in Dresden 30b. After Bricker (1987:Fig. 2f). c) **?hu-wa-WAJ-ji** in Dresden 30b. After Bricker (1987:Fig. 2g). d) Howling dog in Dresden 13c. After Bricker (1987:Fig. 3a). e) Drawing of GOD.N verbal collocation on K2914; note **7IK'** sign. From MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6a). f) **K'AYOM** 'singer', or ^BREATH**K'AYOM** 'singer'. Drawing of Glyph D6 on Pearlman Conch Shell by this author after photograph in Coe (1982).

More will be said about Landa's second <u> allogram below. For now it is necessary to continue with the history of research on the GOD.N verbal glyph relevant to this paper. Mora-Marín (2001), for example, assumed a **hu** reading for T45, and that the T17 **yi** sign cues the last consonant of the root represented by the STEP and GOD.N glyphs. The evidence for the latter assumption, already put forth by MacLeod (1990), lies in the spellings for both the GOD.N and STEP glyphs that are shown in **Fig. 5**.

Figure 5. T45-GOD.N/STEP[*yi*]-*yi* and other spellings

a) T45-GOD.N**[yi]**. After drawing in MacLeod (1990). b) T45-STEP**[yi]**. After drawing in MacLeod (1990). c) T45-GOD.N**[yi]-yi**. After drawing in MacLeod (1990). d) T45-STEP **[yi]-yi**. After drawing in MacLeod (1990). e) **?HUL-ye** for *hul-[i]y-Ø(+e')* arrive.here-CMP-3sABS(+ENCL) 's/he arrived here'. Detail of drawing by Linda Schele: http://research.famsi.org/uploads/schele/hires/05/IMG0035.jpg.

The spellings in **Figs. 5a** and **5b** show T45**-GOD.N[yi]** and T45**-STEP[yi]**, respectively. Thus, T17 **yi** is infixed, shown inside of the GOD.N and STEP glyphs. This is consistent with a logosyllabic spelling convention, whereby signs used to represent all or part of a suffix may be graphically infixed within a preceding sign representing the logogram for the root or stem that may take the suffix. Nevertheless, spellings such as those in **Figs. 5c** and **5d** suggest that there is more to the study: T45**-GOD.N[yi]-yi** and T45**-STEP[yi]-yi**. These show the same as the preceding two spellings, only with an extra **yi** sign. Mora-Marín (2001) suggested that this showed that the infixed T17 **yi** was functioning as a phonetic complement to the root represented by the logogram, and that the suffixed T17 **yi** was partly spelling a verbal suffix. He also assumed that T45 functioned as the syllabogram **hu/ju** (no orthographic phonetic distinction between *h:j* was assumed at the time of writing). The reasoning for such assumption was based on the spellings in **Figs. 2e** and **2f**, two verbal spellings from the same text, which show T45**-li** and T45**-STEP**. At the time of writing, before accepting the likelihood of the use of T45 as a logogram **HUL** in the T45**-li** context, Mora-Marín (2001) argued that such spellings from the very same text had to indicate that T45 in **hu-li** was also used as **hu** in **hu-**STEP. Based on this, and on spellings like T45**-GOD.N/STEP[yi]-yi**, the author had proposed a logographic value **HUY**, possibly lexically based on modern Itzaj *juy* 'watery'. Mora-Marín (2001) then suggested that perhaps scribes were referring to the same dedicatory action described by Landa: priests sprinkled virgin water from caves (*suhuy*) on books and other crafted objects, such as "idols," in order to ritually bless and inaugurate them. Given that $-V_1y$ suffixes attach to a variety of root types, including nominal and adjectival ones, as discussed further below, a verb such as *juy-uy-i* might say something like 'it became/got watery/sprinkled'.

But there are now problems with this interpretation. As already explained, Stuart et al. (1999) and Grube (2004) have suggested that T45 is read syllabographically as **ju**, and logographically as **HUL** 'to arrive (here)' (**Fig. 5e**), and that such polyvalence is the result of graphic convergence of two originally distinct signs. If so, T45 in the Dos Pilas text and other such texts would not have to be read the same, necessarily, in its different contexts—T45**-li** and T45**-STEP[yi]**. However, how should one read T45 in the context of the STEP and GOD.N signs? Again, Stuart (1995, 1998) has suggested that it is meant to signal a reading **T'AB'** 'to rise' for the GOD.N and STEP signs, given that the earlier forms of T45 in association with the STEP sign, though not to my knowledge with the GOD.N sign, it represents an ascending FOOTPRINT sign. Stuart has not discussed, to my knowledge, whether it is meant to be a syllabogram, a logogram, or a semantogram in such contexts.
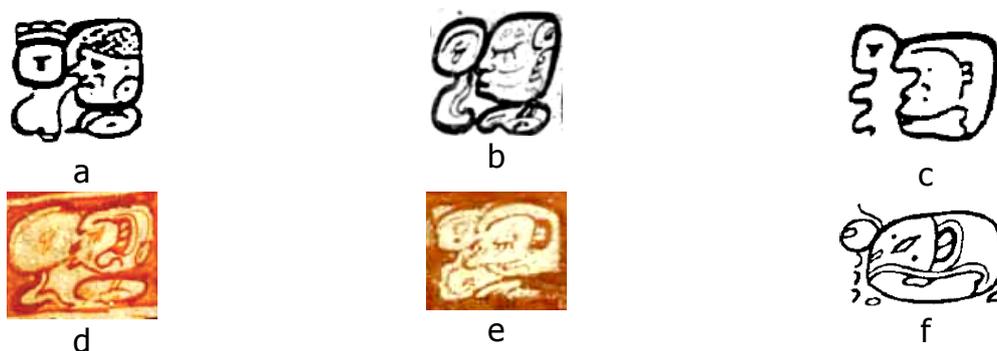
The question I ask here, then, is the following: What is the simplest way to reconcile the use of T45 and Landa's second <u> allogram? There are two possible ways, given the discussion so far. The BREATH sign, which appears to be rising, and the FOOTPRINT sign, which appears to be ascending, could be allograms with a syllabographic value **t'a** derived acrophonically from *t'äb'* 'to rise'. This would almost be too good to be true, for it could support the **T'AB'** reading for GOD.N and STEP proposed by Stuart (1995, 1998) and Wagner (Schele and Grube 1995). To favor such a proposal, however, one should find a set of contexts that is more compelling than the iconicity of the BREATH and FOOTPRINT signs, one ideally based on phonetic substitutions involving signs of known values only. Such a set does exist. But unfortunately, it does not support a **T'AB'** reading. Such substitutional, phonetic evidence, in fact, suggests that the BREATH and FOOTPRINT signs should have a syllabographic value **hu** as proposed by Bricker (1987) for Landa's second

<u> allogram, on the one hand, and the logographic **HUL** reading proposed by Grube (2004) and Stuart et al. (1999) for the T45 FOOTPRINT sign, on the other.

New Evidence, New Possibilities

The evidence in question comes from spellings like those in **Figs. 6a-6c**, first brought to scholarly attention by Grube (MacLeod 1990:132). The remaining examples, shown in **Figs. 6d-6e**, also have been discussed by MacLeod (1990), and more recently by Grofe (2006). These show that the GOD.N verb and its SKULL variant can take Landa's second <u> allogram. To my knowledge there is not a single example of the STEP sign with Landa's second <u> allogram, a fact that could be significant, i.e. potentially indicative of a value distinct from that of the GOD.N head, although this is not yet clear.

Figure 6. BREATH sign and the GOD.N/DEAD.HEAD/SKULL substitutions

a) Drawing of GOD.N verbal collocation on K2914. From MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6a). b) Drawing of verbal collocation with a DEAD.HEAD variant on K4387. From MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6b). c) Drawing of verbal collocation with a T736 SKULL variant on K1609. From MacLeod (1990:Fig. 4-6c). d) Drawing of verbal collocation with T736 SKULL variant on K5366. e) Drawing of verbal collocation with T736 SKULL variant on K4572. f) Drawing of glyph on incised Tikal bone (Miscellaneous Text 29); first sign is EYE(S) allogram with value **7u**. Drawing by A. Seuffert in Grofe (2006:Fig. 11).

MacLeod points out that these variants are not found in the monumental texts. She also argues that they may be regionally restricted variants of the GOD.N verbal collocation in the the *Ik'* polity vases. These variants using Landa's second <u> allogram often have the infixed T503 **7IK'** 'wind, air' sign (**Figs. 6a-6e**). Instead of Landa's second <u> allogram one may find a sign with an infixed EYE element (single or doubled) (**Fig. 6f**), as noted by Grofe (2006), to which I return below. Schele and Grube (1997) have observed that the SKULL variant in **Figs. 6c-6f** is the augury skull from the codices, and in such contexts, they also have noted, the SKULL variant may be preceded by T1 **7u**, a fact also mentioned explicitly in Grube (2006:65-66). It is not clear to me whether this SKULL variant is—by itself—logographic or syllabographic, so for now I include it in **Fig. 1j** as a possible logographic variant of the GOD.N verb. Another of the previously presumed head variants for the GOD.N verbal collocation is, it turns out, no such thing, but a simple syllabogram instead. This is the case of the example on **Fig. 6b**: one finds there Landa's second <u> allogram followed by a person's head with closed, dead eyes. This is none other than the T1008v DEAD.HEAD allogram of **7u**, originally identified as such by Stuart (1991).

However, the various spellings are not unambiguous. The BREATH sign, one might recall, was read as a syllabogram **hu** by Bricker (1987), based on substitutional evidence. Also, given that the DEAD.HEAD glyph—which depicts the suicide goddess as in **Fig. 8g**

below—is read **7u**, the phonetic spelling seen in **Fig. 6b** would then be **hu-7u-yi**. This would call for a logographic reading **HU7**—not **7UH**, recalling the Ch'orti' root *uh-* mentioned above, and first discussed by Schele and Grube (1997) and more recently by Grube (2006). How can these facts be reconciled?

First things first: the term *uh* in Ch'orti', first raised as a contender for the SKULL variant sign by Schele and Grube (1997), and more recently by Grube (2006), has a variety of meanings and uses, summarized in **Table 2**. Item #1 shows the bare root with a seemingly adjectival meaning 'good, sacred, moral'. If used verbally, through the use of the suffix *-uy*, for example, its meaning would be 'to become good/sacred/moral'. This would be a very apt meaning for a verb like the GOD.N verb of the PSS, which of necessity must have a rather general meaning that implies dedication, but which can apply to any type of artifact, big or small, and even to human beings.

Table 2. Potential Lexical Sources

Item No.	Ch'orti' (Wisdom 1950:472, 746)	English Gloss
1	uh	'good, sacred, moral'
2	uh ha'a	'sacred water (from church or sacred spring)'
3	uh-r-an	'be moral or sacred' [cl.3]
4	uh-r-es	'make moral or good, sacralize' [cl.2a]
5	uh-ui	'sigh, snort'
6	uh-uy yar	'sigh, heavy breathing'
7	uh-uy yih	'expel the breath forcefully, sigh, snort' [cl.3]
8	un h-y-i /in-[uhui]-y-i/	'I sigh, I snort'
9	uhuy-y-i e ixik	'the woman sighed'
10	uh=ut /uh=hut/	'good man, good person (term used by sorcerers in reference to their victims)'
11	huht	'exhalation, puff of breath, a blowing'
12	huhta	'blow the breath, blow on'
	Ch'orti' (ALMG 2000:95, 96)	
13	ujt [uht]	'soplo'
14	uyujta ~ ujujta [uyuhta, uhuhta]	'soplar, dar aire'
	Ch'ol (Aulie and Aulie 1999:144)	
15	wujt [wuht]	'hechicería'
16	wujtan [wuhtan]	'soplar'
17	wujtintel [wuhtintel]	'curar'
18	wut	'ojo'
19	wus	'soplar'
	Tzeltal (Slocum and Gerdel 1999:44, 138)	
20	hu'el ~ u'el ['u'el]	'poder (be able to)[8]
21	hu'el c'op [k'op]	'lograr (to achieve)'
22	hu'tesel	'terminar (to finish)'
23	hu'xiyel	'soplar; ritual de curandero (to blow; healer's ritual)'
	Tzotzil (Hurley and Ruíz Sánchez 1978:71-72)	
24	jubel [hub'el]	'soplar (to blow)'
25	jubob c'oc' [hub'ob' k'ok']	'soplador (blower)'
26	juch'tael ~ vuch'tael	'soplar (to blow)'
27	ju'el [hu'el]	'poder, autoridad, dominio; poder (power, authority, domain; be able to)'

The following is one plausible scenario. First, the lexical sources implicate two distinct

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[8] Slocum and Gerdel (1999:138) provide the following example: *ay yu'el*, analyzable as *ay* 'exist' and *y-u'-el* his-power-possessive.suffix, which they translate as 'tiene poder, es poderoso (s/he/it has power, s/he/it is powerful)'. This suggests that this *'u'-el* is in fact a noun that refers to power contained in a person or thing.

lexemes: one with the generalized meaning 'to blow air (Ch'orti', Ch'ol, Tzeltal, Tzotzil)', with a specific association with healing (Ch'orti', Ch'ol, Tzotzil), and the other 'sacred, moral (Ch'orti'); power, authority (Tzotzil)'. It is not immediately clear from a cursory look at these forms whether a relationship between these two lexemes can be established. Second, the lexeme for 'to blow air' is readily reconstructible once the variation within Ch'olan is considered carefully. Ch'orti', in particular, shows a great deal of variants, some related by means of different inflections or derivations, but others possibly variable as a result of dialectal or idiolectal choice. For example: (1) *7uhuy* 'to sigh, snort' (attested) > (2) *7uhuy-t-a* 'to blow air' (unattested but logically plausible) > (3) *7uyuh-t-a* 'to blow air' (attested), (4) *7uhuh-t-a* 'to blow air' (attested), (5a) *7uh[uh]-ta > 7uh-ta* 'to blow air' (attested), and (5b) *[7u]huh-ta > huh-ta* 'to blow air' (attested). The first form, *7uhuy*, is probably morphologically complex: *7uh-uy*, where a root *7uh* would be followed by a suffix *–uy*, possibly underlyingly *-V₁y*. This is quite likely since Mayan roots, and Ch'orti' is no exception to this rule, typically have CVC shapes. Examples 8 and 9 show the use of *uhuy* as an intransitive verb 'to sigh, snort'. The forms with *–t* and *–ta* are derivations too, probably based on a stem *7uhuy-t-a*, but resulting variously in *7uyuh-t-a ~ 7uhuh-t-a ~ 7uh-t-a ~ huh-t-a* 'to blow air'.[9] Four steps are implicated from an original stem *7uhuy* to these resulting forms, including a preliminary form *7uhuy-t-a* which is no longer attested but likely existed given the variants *7uyuh-t-a ~ 7uhuh-t-a* and their implied processes, which, if derived from an original stem *7uhuy*, would require a common source in a form such as *7uhuy-ta*. Such form then would have experienced metathesis, resulting in *7uyuh-t-a*, and then such form, in some speakers, experienced total assimilation of the *y* to the *h*, resulting in *7uhuh-ta*. Then, stem simplification processes led to *7uh-ta* through haplology, in some speakers, and to *huh-ta* through deletion of initial *u* vowel, in others.[10] Other verbs that take this same *–ta* (transitivizing) suffix in Ch'ol include the following (Aulie and Aulie 1998:13, 15, 22): *buchtan* 'sentar sobre' (cf. *buchul* 'sentado'), *cajajtan* 'pelear por' (cf. *caj* 'causa'), *c'axtan* 'cruzar' (cf. *c'axel* 'pasar').

The story does not end here of course. Ch'ol attests only to *wuhtan*, which is analyzable diachronically as *wuh-t-a-n*, as suggested by the Ch'orti' data. The initial *w* of *wuhtan* could be the result of recutting and reanalysis based on the use of the first and second person ergative agreement markers *(in)w-* and *aw-*, which were likely the forms used originally on an ancestral form *7uh-ta* 'to blow air'. And what about Tzeltalan? Tzeltal attests to *hu7-* with *hu7xiyel* 'to blow; healer's ritual', and Tzotzil to *hub'* 'to blow'. It is likely that Tzeltal *hu7-* originated in a form **hub'*, reconstructible to Proto-Tzeltalan given the Tzotzil form *hub'*. If so, then the Ch'olan form **7uh* could be the result of metathesis from an earlier, Pre-Ch'olan form **hu7*, itself from an earlier Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan form

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[9] Ch'orti' *ujt* 'soplo (blow of air)' and Ch'ol *wujt* 'hechicería (witchcraft)' suggest that this form is a noun, one related to air and ritual healing, cf. Ch'ol *wujtintel* 'curar (to heal)', which is a passivized form with *–int* 'passivizer' and *–el* 'incomplete of intransitives'; Ch'orti' *huhta e k'uhtz'* 'spray one's tobacco saliva (on a patient)', a transitive form based on *–ta* 'transitivizer'.

[10] Support for this scenario comes from a verb whose forms are more easily analyzable and which exhibits a similar history. Ch'orti' *b'ur* is defined by Wisdom (1950:591-593) as 'a burning, a charring, a heating up'. The term is also attested as *buruih* 'to burn of itself, burn up', as *burut* 'baked, fired, burnt' and *but* 'a burning, a baking', and as *burta* '[to] bake, fire (as pottery or lime)'. Note that *buruih* almost certainly is analyzable as *b'ur-uy*, which would make sense as a derived intransitive verb from a noun *b'ur* 'a burning, a charring, a heating up', just like *uh-ui* 'to sigh, to snort' would make sense as a derived intransitive verb from a noun *uh*, with the presumed meaning 'a sighing, a snorting'. Note too that a form *burut*, which closely parallels in shape the forms *7uhuht(-a) ~ 7uyuht(-a)*, is found in variation with *but*, just like *7uhuht(-a) ~ 7uyuht(-a)* is found in variation with *7uht*. And note, finally, that a form such as *burta* '[to] bake, fire (as pottery or lime' is a transitive verb, just as *7uhta* 'to blow (something)' is a transitive verb. Consequently, these two distinct verbs seem to belong to the derivational same class, and to have evolved through a very similar process.

*hub'. Classic Mayan texts do in fact attest to such a form in spellings like **7u-yu-b'i** for *uy-ub'* and **yu-b'i** for *y-ub'*, 'his/her trumpet', referring in both cases to a conch shell trumpet—the primary instrument or tool associated with God N in iconographic contexts. And third, it is necessary to deal with the second lexeme in question. Ch'orti' attests to *7uh* 'good, sacred, moral', while Tzeltal attests to *hu7 ~ 7u7* 'be able to; power' and Tzotzil to *hu7* 'be able to; power'. If in fact cognate, the Ch'orti' and Tzeltalan forms would suggest that Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan might have had **hu7 ~ *7uh*. The Ch'orti' form *7uh* could be the result of metathesis from **hu7*, while the Tzeltal form *7u7* could be the result of assimilation of *h* to *7* based on **hu7*. In the case of Tzeltal, it is possible too that the form **hu7* metathesized first to *7uh*, as attested in Ch'orti', and that it was such a form that later changed to *7u7* through assimilation. Nevertheless, given the Tzotzil data, which points to a likely earlier form **hu7*, such a development in Tzeltal would have occurred subsequently to the split of Proto-Tzeltalan, and therefore independently in Ch'orti' and Tzeltal.

The hieroglyphic spellings showing **hu-7u-yi** are suggestive of ** hu7* 'be able to; power' or **hu7* 'to blow air'. The three spellings that use T1 **7u** root-initially are suggestive of either **7uh* or **7u7*. But none of these three spellings is completely phonetic, showing instead **7u-**GOD.N or **7u-**GOD.N**-yi**. Thus, they do not help in distinguishing between these two options—**7uh* and **7u7*—and such ambiguity is unfortunate, for contextual, as well as iconographic and iconologic considerations would make it appealing to consider both options. The fully phonetic spellings give us **hu-7u-yi**, and this is where we can be confident that a root **hu7* was spelled, followed by a suffix *–uy* 'intransitivizing suffix with mediopassive or inchoative meaning', itself probably followed by the suffix *–i* 'completive status of intransitives'. But Pre-Ch'olan **hu7* could have meant either 'be able to; power' or 'to blow air'. Given the general context of ritual inauguration of artifacts and architecture for the GOD.N verbal dedicatory glyph, I would favor the former lexeme, **hu7* 'be able to; power', resulting in a stem *hu'-uy* 'to become/get powerful', in which case **hu-7u-yi** could be analyzed as *hu'-uy-i* 'it became/got powerful'.

The next problem is assessing the phonetic evidence from the script more carefully. In other words, what is the reason for the apparent phonetic indeterminacy of the proposed spellings of the T1018 GOD.N, T843 STEP, and T736 SKULL verbal glyphs? **Table 3** shows the range of spellings for the GOD.N verbal glyph. At the time of this counting the database of PSS texts used was of 566 examples. Currently the database has 700+ examples, and a new assessment will be carried out soon. The syllabograms involved, as discussed so far, are T45 **HUL/hu//ju**, DEAD.HEAD **7u**, and BREATH **7u/hu**, although the DEAD.HEAD sign is only found in fully phonetic spellings not directly associated to the GOD.N glyph. To begin to clarify the patterns it is worth observing at this point that one additional sign with a known **7u** value, and with no other known value (i.e. as **hu** or **ju**), also participates in the spellings: T1 (**Table 3l-3n**, **Figs. 7-7**).

Table 3. Spelling Patterns Involving the GOD.N Glyph

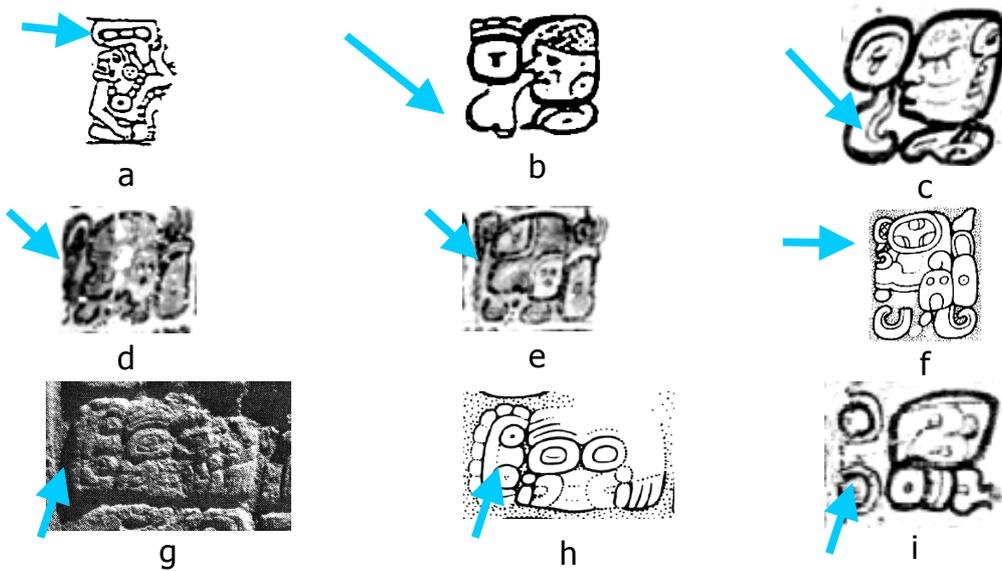| Spelling Pattern	Frequency	Examples
(a) GOD.N	38/151 (25.2%)	K1383, K2085, K4143, K5605, K5944, K6066, K6290, K6631, K6997, K7268, K7797, K8088; also on Early Classic plates in Berjonneau et al. 1985:230-231, No. 352, No. 355), as well as on a vase from Baking Pot; several monuments show this pattern too
(b) T45-GOD.N	1/151	K8123
(c) T45[GOD.N]-yi	1/151	K927
(d) GOD.N-li		Yaxchilan Lintel 24:H1
(e) GOD.N[yi]	3/151	K1892, K3230, K4340
(f) GOD.N-yi	81/151 (53.6%)	MScribe 21, K532, K554, K555, K558, K578, K625, K1377, among others
(g) GOD.N-yi-chi	9/151	K623, K1558, K3034, K3412, K4681, K7716, K8234, K8245; also in Early Classic vase in Coe and Van Stone 2001:104-105
(h) T45-GOD.N-yi	1/151	K5976
(i) T45-GOD.N[yi]	3/151	K518, K1837, K4689
(j) T45-GOD.N[yi]-yi	1/151	K1775
(k) GOD.N-yi-yi-chi	1/151	K8685
(l) 7u-GOD.N	1	On some monuments not included in database (e.g. Copan 9N-8 Bench, **Fig. 7a**)
(m) 7u-GOD.N-yi	1/151	Bonampak Mural
(n) 7u-GOD.N-?	1/151	Comacalco brick
(o) BREATH-GOD.N-yi	3/151	K2801, K2914, K5763
(p) BREATH-GOD.N-?	1/151	K6437
(q) GOD.N-ji	4/151	BOD p. 205/B, K1387, K5977, K6060
(r) GOD.N-ji-chi	1/151	K5646
(s) GOD.N-yi-na-ja	1/151	K5857
(t) GOD.N-na-ja-ji-chi	1/151	K1080

Pattern (a) suggests that the GOD.N verb can occur without explicit affixing of any sort, while patterns (a) and (l) together show that it can occur represented without explicit suffixing. Given the consistent intransitive use of this verb, established by MacLeod (1990), as clearly indicated by patterns (a), (d)-(g), (k), and (o)-(t), where no explicit graphic or grammatical prefixing is evident, we can assume that in the few patterns that show graphic prefixes (i.e. T45, T1 7u, or BREATH), in patterns (b)-(c), (h)-(j), and (l)-(n), we are likely looking at cases of preposed phonetic complements—an assumption reinforced by the syntactic contexts, which are typically of the form Verb-Subject at the same time that the verb lacks ergative agreement markers, although this paper does not discuss the syntax of the GOD.N glyph. Following MacLeod's (1990) suggestion that T17 yi represents a passivizer or mediopassivizer when used as a suffix on intransitive or intransitivized verbs, I assume that the frequent presence of this sign as a suffix to GOD.N served to intransitivize the root represented by GOD.N.[11]

Before proceeding with the discussion of the value of this glyph, it is important to note that the spelling pattern in (t), GOD.N-**na-ja-ji-chi**, if it is deemed to be reliable, would suggest that GOD.N does not represent a transitive root, since –*naj* is the passivizer of derived transitives (Lacadena 2004). Also, on four occasions one finds T88 ji instead of T17 yi as a suffix. Nikolai Grube, Terrence Kaufman, and Barbara MacLeod (2002) have suggested that the **yi-chi** glyph that sometimes follows GOD.N-yi, as in patterns (g) and (k), and other verbal glyphs (see below), is an emphatic enclitic +*ich* 'already'. I agree with this proposal, but more research must be done, given patterns like (o)-(p). Nevertheless, those authors also argue that ji-chi was used instead of yi-chi when the verbal suffix preceding it ended in *j*, as in the spellings of **K'AL(-la)-ja-ji-chi** (e.g. K3996) or **tz'i-b'i-na-ja-ji-chi** (e.g. K1227), and in fact, as in the spelling of GOD.N-**na-ja-ji-chi** in pattern (p). Interestingly, there are a few clear examples such as **K'AL-ja-yi-chi** (e.g. K4357, K5070), where yi is used instead of expected ji, that require explanation.

The example in **Fig. 7a** shows 7u-GOD.N with T1 **7u**. There are other such examples not illustrated here but tabulated in **Table 3. Figs. 7b-7c** simply reproduce previously discussed spellings using the BREATH sign. These examples could suggest that the BREATH sign and the T1 7u sign were equivalent here. There is evidence external to the GOD.N verbal context that supports this conclusion, as seen in **Figs. 7d-7f**. In **Figs. 7d-7e** one sees the BREATH sign preposed to the mediopassivized verb *uht-i* 'it happened; it was finished'. This supports a value **7u** for the BREATH sign. In **Fig. 7f** one sees the same verb, only this time with T1 **7u**, in the same function and location as the BREATH sign in the preceding examples, rendering **7u-7u-ti-ya**. This example, again, supports the equivalence of these signs. Finally, **Figs. 7g-7h** present an example that suggests that T45 might have been used also with a value **7u**: it is a spelling of the *u ch'ok k'ab'a7* 'its/her/its sprout name' expression, only one that apparently uses T45 instead of T1 **7u**. If correctly drawn, this would suggest that T45 could have a value **7u**. Thus, while the BREATH sign may have had a canonical value **hu**, and the T45 sign a canonical set of values **HUL** and **ju**, it is possible that alternative values were known and used occasionally.
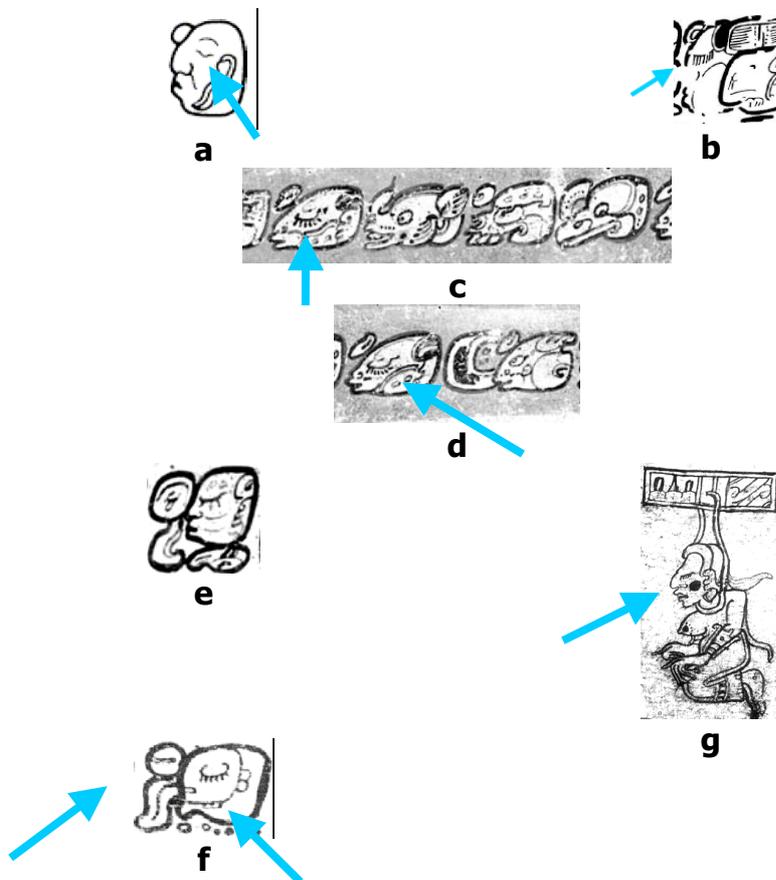
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[11] However, the precise function of this suffix is not clear; Houston et al. (2000) more recently support a 'mediopassivizer' function, while Mora-Marín (2004) points out that it survives in Ch'ol as a likely 'versive' suffix, a function similar to that attested for the same suffix in Tzeltal.

Figure 7. Possible contextualized equivalences between T1, T45, and the BREATH sign

(a) Copan 9N-8 Bench. (b) K2914. (c) K4387. (d) K1398. (e) K1398. (f) Tortuguero Monument 6. (g) Detail from Naranjo Stela 29. (h) Drawing by Ian Graham of detail from Naranjo Stela 29. (i) Detail of Dresden 17c showing **7u-mu-ti**, with EYES allogram for **7u**.

Figure 8. Person's head with closed eye as syllabogram 7u

a). b). c) and d) both from K4357 (www.famsi.org). e) Glyph from K4387. f) Glyph from Dresden 13b. g) Dresden 53. Förstemann facsimile.
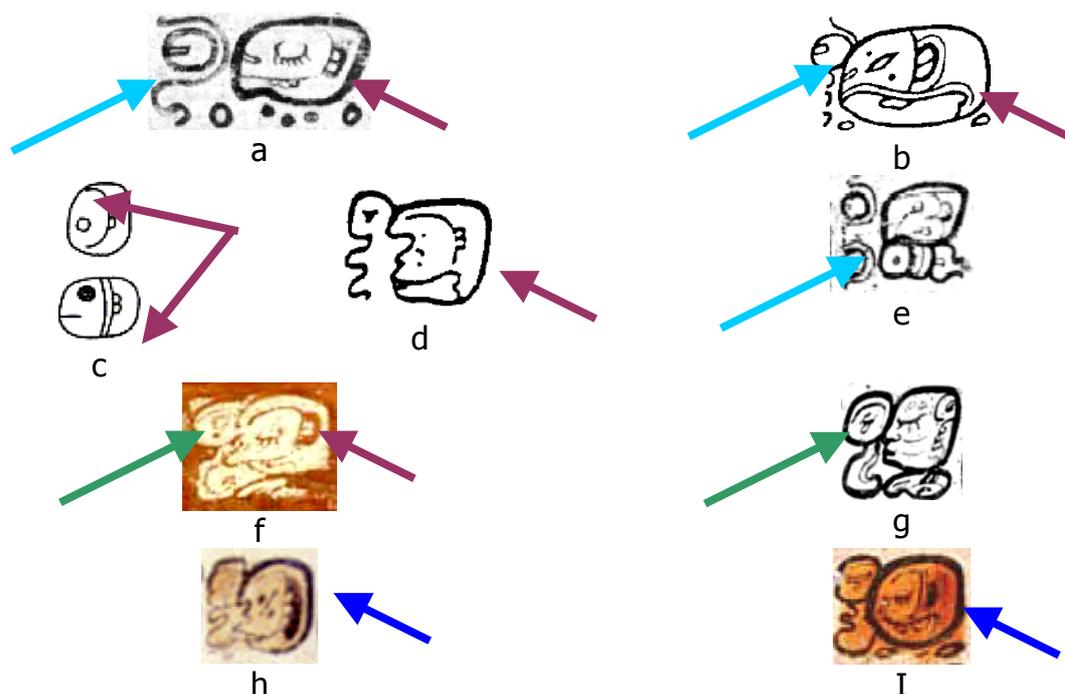http://www.famsi.org/mayawriting/codices/pdf/dresden_fors_schele_all.pdf

Again, of great significance is the fact that the sign depicting a person's head with a closed eye (showing the person is dead), is a syllabogram **7u**—T1008v, seen in **Fig. 8a**—as deciphered by Stuart (1991). In the PSS of pottery vases or other media it is sometimes used in the spelling of **7u-tz'i-b'a(-li)** as seen in **Figs. 8b-8c**, or in the spelling of **7u-ja-yi,**, as seen in **Figure 8d**

This evidence strongly points to a reading for the example in **Fig. 8e** as **7u-7u-yi**—rendering *7u7-uy*, which is close to the suggested lexical source *uh-uy* 'to sigh, to snort', based on a presumed noun root *uh* for 'sigh, snort', and possibly—though not necessarily—related to the root *uh* 'good, sacred, moral' through the association of breath with the sacred soul or life force (Marcus 1978; Taube 2005). The case is not unproblematic. However, the evidence from partly and fully phonetic spellings presented here is sufficient to reject the **T'AB'** proposal. In addition, the phonetic indeterminacy of these signs, it is speculated, might reflect either variation among dialects of Ch'olan (e.g. *uh-* ~ *huh-* in Ch'orti'), or variation between the Ch'olan and Yucatecan languages (e.g. Proto-Ch'olan **hul* 'to arrive (here)' and Proto-Yucatecan **7ú7ul*, both from Proto-Mayan **hul*). Interestingly, many examples of T1008v suggest the sign is a depiction of the Suicide Goddess (Taube 1992), as seen in **Fig. 8g**. The association with death is supported by the use of the same closed eye as on the glyph iin **Fig. 8f**.

Another pattern must be discussed. This is the one dealing with the SKULL glyph itself. Typically it takes the EYE sign as a graphic prefix (**Fig. 9a**), but other signs are available, including the BREATH sign already discussed (**Fig. 9b**), and in the codices at least it may take T1 **7u** as well (**Fig. 9c**), this last point already made by Schele and Grube (1997) and Grube (2006). Also, the skull sign itself typically has a double-notched element and a vertical band that recall the rotated T518 allogram of **7u** (**Figs 9a-9c**); to my knowledge this is the first time such identification is made. The EYE glyph commonly replaces T1 **7u** in other spellings, as in **7u-mu-ti** (Fig. 9d). Given these spelling substitutions, the EYE-SKULL[T513] collocation, together with T17 **yi**, yield **7u-7u-yi**. Such a spelling is therefore not so different from the spelling involving the DEATH.HEAD sign already discussed, showing **7u/hu-7u-yi**. Of course, the use of the EYE sign in substitution for T1 **7u** suggests a Ch'olan motivation for the acrophonic origin of this syllabogram, based on Ch'olan **(w/h)ut* 'eye', not Yucatecan **(w/h)ich* 'eye'. The second <u> allogram by Landa and the EYE **7u** allogram share an important trait: the likely value **hu** for the former (Bricker 1987), and a possible canonical value hu for the EYE sign based on Proto-Ch'olan **(h)ut* 'eye'. Both, however, could be used in contexts calling for **7u** values, although only rarely so, e.g. BREATH-**7u-ti** for *u[-h-]t-i* 'it happened', and EYE**-mu-ti** for *u mut(-il)* 'his/her/its bird/omen'.

Figure 9. SKULL glyph

a) **EYE**-**SKULL**[7u]-?la. **Detail of Dresden 8a showing half of EYE sign with value** 7u. **b)**
BREATH-**SKULL**[7u]-?la. **c) T518** 7u. **d) BREATH**-**SKULL**[7u]. **e) Detail of Dresden 17c showing**
7u-mu-ti, **with EYES allogram for** 7u. **f) BREATH**-**SKULL**[7u]-yi. **g) BREATH**-7u-yi. **h) BREATH**-
SKULL[7u] **on K791. i) BREATH**-**SKULL**[7u]-?la/ya **on K1728.**

Iconography and Iconology

Finally, we can say that, iconographically, the motivation of Landa's second <u> allogram
is, as Bricker (1987) observed, related to breath and actions performed with the mouth
exhaling air: howling, more specifically, but possibly more generally blowing air. This is
clear from Ch'orti' *uhui* 'to sigh', likely composed of *uh-ui*; if so, what would *uh* be? As
already discussed, such a root would likely mean 'sigh, breath'. In addition, a similar-
sounding root is present in Ch'orti': *uh* 'sacred, moral'. These may be reconstructed back
to Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan as *hu7*, but in Pre-Ch'orti' it likely had become *7uh*. It is not
clear at this time which form was the one intended. Both meanings seem appropriate.
Some glyphic spellings point to *hu7* and others to *7u7*, with none so far pointing to
7uh. Could there even be a contextual, cosmological relationship between 'to sigh' and
'sacred, moral'? Taube (2004, 2005) has demonstrated that breath or wind, *7ik'*, is in fact
a sacred force for the Classic Mayas and their fellow Mesoamericans, a point made even
earlier by Marcus (1978) for the case of the Zapotecs and the Mayas at the time of
Contact with the Spanish. Moreover, Taube (2005) has demonstrated the prevalence of
this belief in Mesoamerican, specifically Mayan, iconography—prior to the Contact period.
And thus, iconologically, graphic symbols involving breath and air are related to the
sacred—such as jade.[12] Lastly, in the iconography, God N is often housed inside of a
conch or turtle shell, and is often shown blowing on a conch shell trumpet. Both conch
and turtle shells served as musical instruments, and thus are bearers of *7ik'* 'breath, wind',

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[12] Interestingly, Proto-Ch'olan must have had two terms, *7uh* and *7uhy* for 'bead, necklace' (Kaufman and
Norman 1984). The first form is the more ancient one, reconstructible to Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan. The second term
is an innovation of Proto-Ch'olan. Jade beads were regarded as sacred, and thought of as embedded with the *7ik'*
'breath' life force (Taube 2005). Perhaps the term *7uh* eventually became associated through polysemy with
these various concepts—breath, sacred, bead.

the sacred force. And musical instruments were used in healing and dedicatory rituals—and they are to this day. Thus, blowing on an individual or an object in this way would have been conducive to imbuing that entity with this sacred force, and in the process, to bless it, a possibility also remarked upon by Hofling (personal communication, 2007).

Conclusion

The GOD.N verbal logogram likely had a reading **HU7** 'to blow (air)' or 'sacred, power, authority'. In verbal contexts with the suffix −V_1y it probably had a versive or inchoative meaning: 'to (begin to) become sacred' or 'to (begin to) become blown', the latter referring to the dedicatory act of blowing air for healing or ritual dedication. With the completive status marker -*i*, one obtains *hu7-uy-i* 'it became blown'. Originally the term for 'to blow (air)' was probably **hub′* in Proto-Ch'olan-Tzeltalan, which is itself attested glyphically in reference to conch shell trumpets. The discussion presented here also shows several phonetic spellings and substitutions, including T45 and T1, on the one hand, and relatively poorly studied signs like the BREATH sign and the EYE sign. The current study supports a reading **hu** for T45, BREATH, and EYE, as well as possible occasional uses of each one with a reading **7u**. This study does not reject the reading **ju** and **HUL** 'to arrive (here)' for T45—which as Stuart et al. (1999) and Grube (2004) have argued where likely the result of convergence of two originally distinct signs. It merely suggests that the spelling patterns for the GOD.N glyph (e.g. **7u-**GOD.N**-yi**, **hu-**GOD.N**-yi**), and other collocations discussed here, support an additional value as **hu**, possibly derived acrophonically from **HUL** 'to arrive (here)'. Otherwise, one would have to require that **ju** and **hu** are not distinguished in the script, for either way a **hu** value is implicated through the substitutions with the BREATH and EYE signs, both of them canonically **hu** with possible occasional uses as **7u**, and the T1 **7u**.

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