

THE MESOAMERICAN JADE CELT AS 'EYE, FACE', AND THE LOGOGRAPHIC VALUE OF MAYAN 1M2/T121 AS **WIN** 'EYE, FACE, SURFACE'

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Introduction

This paper¹ provides evidence for a logographic value of 1M2/T121/T617 as **WIN** 'eye, face, surface' (Figure 1).² A phonetic shape **WIN** for this logogram has been suggested recently, based on the substitutional relationship between it and the syllabic sequence **wi-ni** in the 'portrait of' expression (Boot 2005:369; Stuart 2005:67), but a well-documented argument for its lexical value, one that accounts for this and other contexts of use of the logogram, has not been elaborated. Next, I present epigraphic and iconographic evidence for both the phonetic and lexical value of this logogram, and further propose that its value is based on a root **win* 'eye, face, surface' borrowed from a Mije-Sokean language into the Ch'olan-Tzeltalan languages.³



Figure 1. a) Sign 1M2/T121 showing looped parallel lines. Drawing by this author. b) Sign 1M2/T121 showing parallel bands. Drawing by this author

¹ I would like to thank Terrence Kaufman for sharing his unpublished papers and ideas on linguistic diffusion from Mije-Sokean, and Christian Prager for his observations and clarifications without which this paper would have suffered significantly.

² I refer to all signs discussed in this paper by their respective Macri and Looer (2003a) and Thompson (1962) catalog codes. I also utilize characters for Mayan sounds more in line with the International Phonetic Alphabet, instead of the more conventional epigraphic practice, e.g. I use <ts> instead of <tz>, because of its greater phonetic accuracy, and <ʔ> instead of <'>, because the latter looks more like the graph for a diacritic instead of a graph for a consonantal segment, which the glottal stop is. I use <-> to indicate that an affix is inflectional, <.> to indicate that an affix is derivational, <+> to indicate that a morpheme is a clitic.

³ The interested reader should examine the following works for additional information and questions concerning loans in Mayan writing: Justeson et al. (1985), Bricker (2000), Mora-Marín (2001), Macri and Looer (2003b), Macri (2005), Boot (2006), Kaufman and Justeson (2009), Lacadena (2010), and Pallán Gayol and Meléndez Guadarrama (2010).

Review of Proposals

For some time, the reading **TSUK** 'partition', put forth by Grube and Schele (1991), was accepted as the correct reading for 1M2/T121. However, as Stuart (2005:67) has recently observed, such a reading "rests on a visual confusion between the mirror head variant and an animated form of the syllable **tzu** used in some spellings of **tzu-ku**," and for that reason, should be regarded as "highly doubtful."⁴ Indeed, such a reading does not account for the patterns of occurrence of 1M2/T121 of interest here.

During the past two decades, a few authors have commented on the use of 1M2/T121 in two contexts in particular, one associated with the AP9/T757 sign, syllabographic **b'a** and logographic **B'AH** for proto-Ch'olan **b'ah* 'gopher', from proto-Mayan **b'aaah* 'gopher' (Kaufman and Norman 1984:116), and **b'ah-* 'first', from proto-Mayan **b'aaah* 'head, top' (Kaufman and Norman 1984:138), and the other associated with both XH3/T561, logographic **CHAN** for proto-Ch'olan **chan* 'sky', from proto-Mayan **kaʔŋ* (Kaufman and Norman 1984:117), and YS1/T526, logographic **KAB'** for proto-Ch'olan **kab'* 'earth' (borrowed from Yucatecan **kaab'*), from proto-Mayan **kab' ~ *kaab'* (Kaufman and Norman 1984:122).⁵

First, Stuart (1996:162) not only argued that AP9/T757 spelled a nominal root *b'ah* 'self, body, person', typically preceded by *ʔu+* 'third person ergative agreement marker', which also marks possession on nouns, but he also pointed to the use of a "celtlike" sign immediately before the sign spelling *b'ah* on Copan Stela 4, adding parenthetically "perhaps a reference to the stela as a 'celt'." Stuart also observed that the term *b'ah* "appears as part of a wider set of terms closely connected to concepts of imagery and representation in Mayan languages," including the Colonial Yucatec Maya term <bah>, present in <kohba> and <uinba> for 'image, portrait' (Martínez 1929:123), as well as the Tzotzil Mayan ritual phrase *anichimal ba anichimal sat* 'thy beautiful visage, thy beautiful face' (Laughlin 1975:76). Later, Houston and Stuart (1998:82), continuing along these lines, relate the glyphic spelling **wi-ni-b'a** (fallen stucco from Temple XVIII at Palenque) to the Colonial Yucatec term <uinba> 'image, figure, portrait in general', and also note the use of the "celt" sign in the same preposed position as the **wi-ni-** syllabic sequence with respect to the following AP9/T757 **b'a/B'AH** sign in two contexts (Copan Stela 4, Piedras Negras Throne 1), as well as an additional unidentified sign in the same substitution pattern (Dos Pilas Stela 15), discussed further below. They argue that the CELT sign is somehow referring to the stelae alluded to in the inscriptions, assuming Porter's (1996) "demonstration of ancient, Olmec-period conceptual ties between celts and stone monuments" (Houston and Stuart 1998:82). Finally, these authors also made the important case that in some instances the 1M2/T121 sign appears not preposed but postposed to another sign, in which case that other sign must function adjectivally.

More recently, Stuart (2005:67) states that he has "considered that a more supportable reading could be discerned from this sign's frequent use as a prefix to **B'AAH** or **b'a-hi**," referring to 'image', and adds that "The otherwise-attested term *winbah*, 'mask, image,'

⁴ Some sort of relationship, graphic or otherwise, must have existed between 1M2/T121/T617 and the animated form of the syllabogram **tsu**, SSJ/T1017, as well as other graphically similar signs, given that in the context of the so-called Initial Sign of the Primary Standard Sequence these two signs can apparently be used interchangeably, as noted by Grube and Schele (1991).

⁵ In this paper I assume a gloss 'head, top, first' for proto-Ch'olan **b'ah*, given similar glosses reconstructible to Proto-Tzeltalan, as well as the Classic Mayan evidence.

has suggested **WIN** as a possible reading, but this cannot be confirmed.⁶ Stuart offers an alternative, raised by the parallel between the glyphic pairing of CELT and SKY (Temple XIX Platform at Palenque, Stela 24 at Naranjo, Stela A at Copan) in Classic Mayan texts, and the pairing of 'face' and 'sky' in "the Tzeltalan term for 'sky', *sat chan*, literally 'face-sky,'" which could point to the possibility of "a no-longer-attested term **wut chan*, 'face-sky'."

I believe Stuart (2005) is essentially correct, as far as the semantic interpretation is concerned, but as I show below, the term would not have involved a hypothetical Ch'olan **wut*, but instead, a loan from (proto-)Mije-Sokean **win* 'eye, face, surface'.⁷ I begin with the iconographic evidence relating celts with eyes, and the Mayan CELT sign, 1M2/T121, with eyes and the phonetic value **WIN/win**. Subsequently I review the epigraphic evidence, discussing the 'portrait of' and the CELT-SKY/CELT-EARTH contexts, as well as additional contexts pertinent to the phonetic and semantic value of this sign.

Iconographic and Hieroglyphic Contexts of the CELT Sign

In Middle Preclassic Olmec art, as explained by Reilly (1990), the CELT sign occurs, iconographically, in quadripartite arrangements about a central axis represented by a standing, ceremonial-bar bearing Maize God, constituting an *Axis Mundi* theme (**Figures 2a-b**), which, when simplified, is made up of the four-dots-and-bar motif, Motif 139 in Joralemon (1971). This four-dots-and-bar motif thus constitutes an abbreviation of the *Axis Mundi* theme, a simplified cosmographic model. The overall theme continues, both with the celts and the ceremonial bar, into Classic Mayan art (Taube 1996), although only in its explicit, full-figure form, not its simplified, stylized form.

⁶ Boot (2005:369), who has studied the use of 1M2/T121 in Lintel 3 of the Temple of the Four Lintels at Chichen Itza, remarks that Nikolai Grube had also suggested a reading for the sign as **WIN**, already in 1995, but does not cite whether Grube had suggested a specific lexical decipherment.

⁷ Stuart (2010) has also proposed a different value for the CELT sign in a different context: in instances where 1M2/T121 appears to be used as part of a proper name for stelae or celts. His proposed value in such contexts is **LEM**, based on a root meaning 'to shine', based on the iconographic traits of the sign, but noting that "There is as yet no phonetic confirmation for the **LEM** reading" (Stuart 2010:291). In fact, other authors have entertained this value in the past, as well as the value **NEN** for *nehn* 'mirror', as is clear from the entry for T617, the "main sign" equivalent of T121, in Justeson (1984:348). Unfortunately, Stuart (2010) does not discuss the relationship, if any, of this proposed logographic value to his earlier proposals pertaining to the 'portrait of' contexts. Given the epigraphic evidence presented in this paper, I do not believe a **LEM** value is viable in the contexts of interest here.

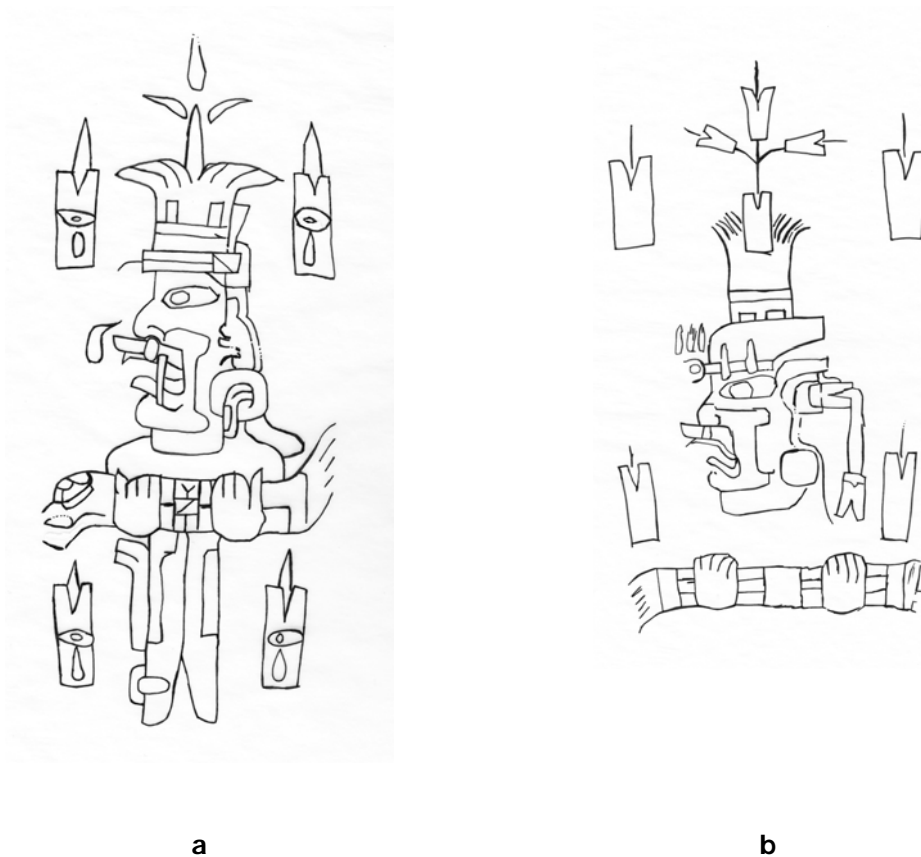


Figure 2. a) Details from iconography in Arroyo Pesquero Celt 2. Drawings by this author after photograph in Taube (2007:43). b) Arroyo Pesquero Celt. Drawing by author after photograph in Schele (1995:104).

Celts have been documented archaeologically in ritual deposits at a variety of sites in Middle and Late Preclassic contexts, both Olmec and Maya as reviewed by Taube (2000). Iconographically, celts are often present on the arms and legs of deities, which in some early instances exhibit visible evidence of fasteners (Taube 1996). They are also shown as pendants suspended from ornamental arrangements at the level of the chest, as pectoral ornament assemblages, or the waist, as belt-head assemblages (Schele and Miller 1986; Fields 1989), as well as projecting from the forehead of God K, with smoke emanating from one end (Taube 1992). A generic instance of the CELT sign (1M2/T121/617, 1M5/T245) may exhibit an infixed element in the form of a curved band or parallel bands, but occasionally, in its place, one may find an infixed 1B2/T102 *ki* or XQ6/T503 *ʔIK'* 'wind' sign (Fields 1989; Reents-Budet and Fields 1991; Fields and Reents-Budet 1992). Mora-Marín (1996, 1997, 2001) argued that the XQ6/T503 sign could have been the sign used to refer to jade celts and spoons in Late Preclassic and Early Classic Mayan writing, given its use to refer to the underlying patient argument of a dedicatory verb on an inscribed jadeite spoon. Taube (2004, 2005) later showed that XQ6/T503 probably functioned to refer to the jade pendants as bearer's of 'breath, wind', a marking that is not exclusive to jade celts but is in fact also characteristic of musical instruments like rattles and drums. Mora-Marín (2001), citing a public presentation by Taube, revised his earlier suggestions to propose that the XQ6/T503 marking could have been simply one of several ways of referring to a celt, in this case referring specifically to their noise-making quality (i.e. as a tinkler).

Relationship to Eyes

This section highlights the use of EYE motifs within each of the celts (or celtiform cobs) in the representations in **Figure 3**. Given the very likely Mije-Sokean identity of the major producers and reproducers of Olmec culture during the Middle Preclassic (Campbell and Kaufman 1976; Kaufman and Justeson 2009), it is worth raising the possibility that the EYE motifs constitute, potentially, linguistic information. If so, one possible linguistic sourceword is proto-Mije-Sokean (pMS) **win-* 'eye, face' (Wichmann 1995:493). The goal at this point is to test this proposition.

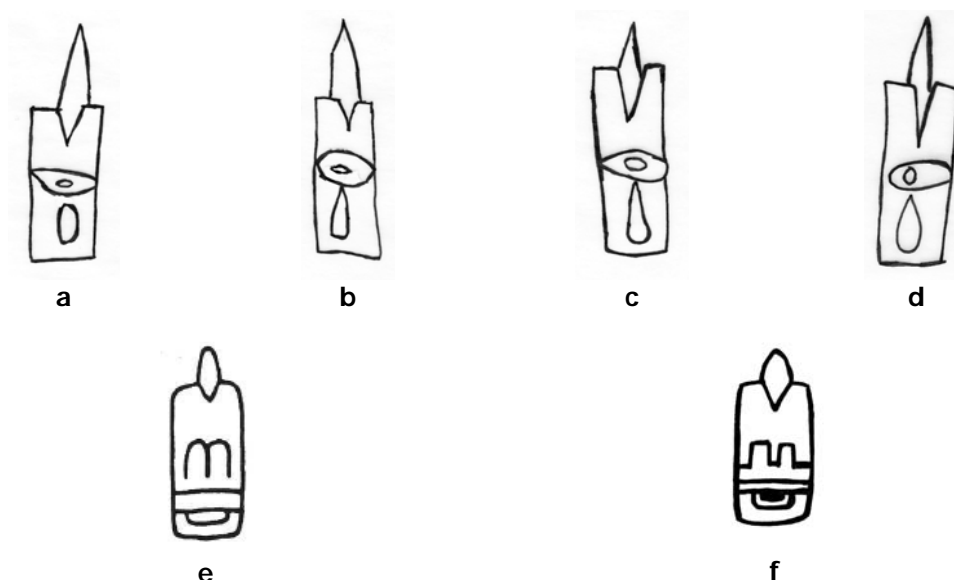


Figure 3. a-d) Celts or celtiform cobs on Arroyo Pesquero Celt. Drawing by author after photograph in Taube (2007). e) Celtiform cob with EYE motif. From Taube (1996:Fig. 5a). f) Celtiform cob with EYE motif. From Taube (1996:Fig. 5a).

Relationship to XS1/T521 *WINIK* 'Person, Man'

The first test is posed by Late Preclassic Mayan iconography (**Figure 3**). Occasionally, the eyes of human ancestors and supernaturals appear with the logogram XS1/T521 *WINIK/WINAK* 'male, person' (**Figure 4a**), infixed within the eye sockets (**Figure 4b**). This sign is attested in Epi-Olmec writing (**Figure 4c**) with the logographic value *POY?A* for proto-Mije-Sokean **poy?a* 'month' (Justeson and Kaufman 1993, 1997; Kaufman and Justeson 2001, 2004), a function that XS1/T521 also has in Mayan. It is hereby proposed that the use of this sign as the eyes of a portrayed figure is due to proto-Mije-Sokean **win-* 'eye, face', also known to have the meanings 'surface' (Lowland Mixe), 'self' (Northern Highland Mixe, Lowland Mixe, Texistepec Popoluca Zoque, Chiapas Zoque), 'body, person' (Chiapas Zoque), and which the present author believes is ultimately related to proto-Mayan **win.aq* 'male, person' through cognacy (Mora-Marín 2011). To my knowledge the Epi-Olmec MONTH sign is not attested in the eyes of rulers or deities in Olmec or Epi-Olmec art, nor does it appear in contexts suggestive of the meaning 'man, person'; instead, I propose Mayan scribes associated the XS1/T521 logogram, for *WINIK/WINAK* 'man, person; twenty; month', with 'eyes' through its phonetic resemblance to Mije-Sokean **win-* 'eye'.



a



b



c

Figure 4. a) Early Classic Mayan PERSON logogram. b) Epi-Olmec TWENTY logogram. c) Detail from Early Classic stucco mask façade at the Temple of the Masks, Kohunlich. Photograph #95046 by Linda Schele (2005).

More often the eyes of such personages are “square” (**Figure 5a**), as is commonly seen in the imagery associated with various deities, such as SN4/T1010, the SUN.GOD sign (**Figure 5b**). These squarish irises are in fact partial views of the central elements of celts (**Figure 5c**), the lines that represent the resplendent quality of their highly polished surfaces, particularly when they are looped instead of diagonal.⁸



a



b



c

Figure 5. a) Detail of façade sculpture from Temple of the Masks, Kohunlich. Photograph #95069 by Linda Schele (2005). b) Typical example of deity head of the Sun God showing square eye. Drawing by this author. c) CELT sign showing looped parallel lines or band. Drawing by this author.

⁸ This relationship between the eyes of some deities and the CELT sign has also been observed by Houston et al. (2006:170).

Thus, celts are associated with eyes. This is quite natural: eyes are shiny, and their comparison to shiny objects, such as jade celts, is obvious in this regard. In fact, Seven Macaw, of *Popol Vuh* fame, was defeated once his bejeweled eyes and teeth were deviously extracted by the Hero Twins. Instead of **WINIK/WINAK** for 'male, person', it is very plausible that XS1/T521 might have been read **WIN** 'eye, face' in such contexts.

Relationship to AP9/T757

In Mayan writing, as Houston and Stuart (1996) and Houston and Stuart (1998) have shown, the AP9/T757 **B'AH/b'a** glyph, or an equivalent phonetic substitute, e.g. T501 **b'a**, was used to represent proto-Ch'olan **b'ah* 'head' (from proto-Mayan **b'aa*). AP9/T757 is used phonetically as **b'a** and acrophonically derived from proto-Ch'olan **b'ah* 'gopher' (from proto-Mayan **b'aa*), the iconic motivation of the sign itself. Probably because of its exact phonetic match it was used as a to represent the term *b'ah* 'head, top, first; self; image' more often than any other allogram with the value **b'a**. In context, the term is usually possessed as $\text{?u}+b'ah-il$ 'his/her head/image (it is the head/image of)', in reference to an accompanying portrait of a lord or lady. Houston and Stuart (1998) have highlighted the occurrence on Copan Stela 4 where the CELT glyph is interposed between the sign **?u** for the third person marker $\text{?u}+$ and the sign **b'a/B'AH** for *b'ah(-il)* 'head/image (of)' (**Figure 6a**). In this position it serves either as an adjectival modifier or as the first term of a compound noun, which itself often serves as the modifier within the compound. Another example shows the signs **?u** and **B'AH** interrupted by the expression **wi-ni**, yielding **?u-wi-ni-b'a**, which as Houston and Stuart (1998) note, is a term documented as <winba> in colonial Yucatec, for 'image, figure, portrait in general'. Later, Stuart (2005:67) suggests, rather tentatively, a value **WIN** for the CELT sign, based on its substitutional relationship with the sequence **wi-ni-**. What these authors do not provide is an analysis of the form **wi-ni-** or **WIN** in isolation, nor an interpretation of the lexical value of such a form. I assume at this point that 1M2/T121 has a logographic value **WIN** whose precise lexical nature requires accounting. But before proceeding with the analysis of such lexical value, a startling realization must be dealt with: this expression may be attested in perhaps dozens of Late Preclassic and Early Classic instances in which the AP9/T757 sign has an infixed resplendent diagonal bands on the forehead (**Figures 6c-d**). Given this realization, as well as the assumed value **WIN** for the CELT sign, their readings must be revised, from **?u-B'AH** to **?u-[WIN]B'AH**, with infixation of the CELT sign in the GOPHER sign. Another example, isolated from the Rio Azul greenstone "Creation Mask" (**Figure 6e**), shows not only the CELT sign, on its own, preposed to the GOPHER sign, but also the diagonal bands infixed on the GOPHER sign's forehead, constituting an example of "double-marking," not unlike the cases of **ch'o[ko]-ko** for *ch'ok* 'sprout; youth' (Zender 1999). This redundancy was clearly the result of common practice, i.e. frequency of use: common glyphic collocations could become "frozen" and at the very least *graphically* reanalyzed as a unit (Bricker 1986:133; Zender 1999; Tokovinine and Davletshin 2001:4). The last example (**Figure 6f**), one of the Palenque stuccos, shows the CELT sign followed by the GOPHER sign too.

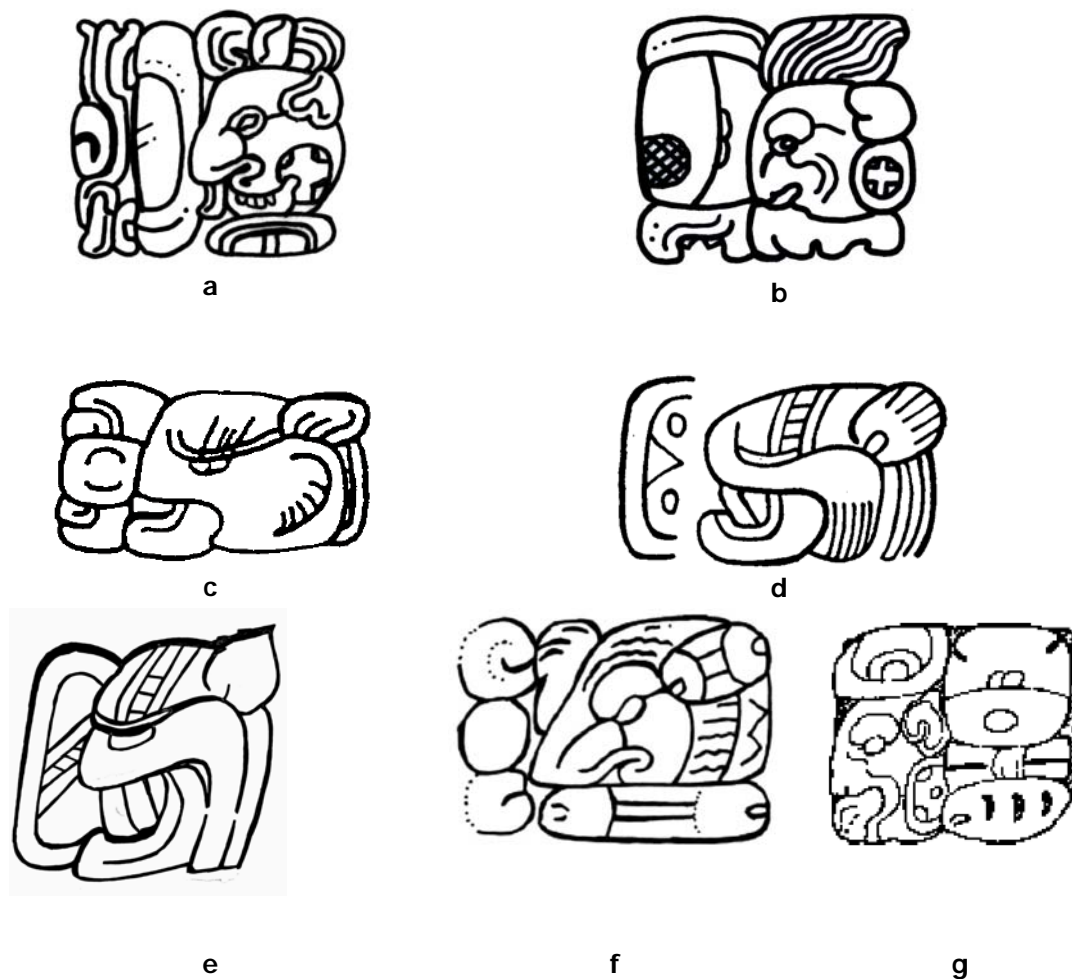


Figure 6. a) Glyph block from Copan Stela 4. After drawing in Houston and Stuart (1998:83, Fig. 9c). b) Glyph block from Palenque Temple XVIII. After drawing in Houston and Stuart (1998:83, Fig. 9a). c) Glyph block from unprovenienced stone object. After drawing in Houston and Stuart (1998:83, Fig. 9d). d) Glyph block from slate disk reportedly from Bagaces, Pacific Northwest, Costa Rica. Drawing by this author. e) Glyph block from "Creation Text" on greenstone mask reportedly from Rio Azul. Drawing by this author. f) Spelling **1-ch'o[ko]-ko** on Yaxchilan Lintel 30. After drawing by Ian Graham. g) Stucco 443, Palenque Temple 18. Drawing by Linda Schele.

Relationship Between XS1/T521 and 1M2/T121

The relationship between XS1/T521, the **WINAK/WINIK** 'male, person' logogram, and 1M2/T121, probably read **WIN** 'eye', is clear in additional contexts where they are used together or interchangeably. The first example, from an Early Classic incised pottery vessel (**Figure 7a**), shows a glyphic name iconographically embedded on a figure's headdress: **WIN-WINIK-NAL** 'Eye-Person-Maize'. This may seem redundant, but perhaps the Mayan scribes may have conceived of the CELT sign also as a phonetic sign, and thus as a phonetic complement: (**win-**)**WINIK-NAL** 'person maize', the Maize God's epithet.⁹ A similar example occurs on an incised bone also as **WIN-WINIK-NAL/?sa** or

⁹ There are several other examples of logograms with CVC shapes that were occasionally utilized as CVC syllabograms. A few examples follow. First is 1G2/T4/T48 **NAH** for proto-Ch'olan **nah* 'house', **nah** for proto-Ch'olan **nah-* 'in front, forward; before; first', not to mention also **na**; 2S1/T86 **NAL** for proto-Ch'olan **näl* 'ear of maize', **nal** in the spelling of *.nal* 'place', and other *...n-al* or *...n.al* sequences. Another case is YS7/T676 **TAL** for **täl* 'to come (from)', but also as **tal** for the sequence *...tal*, as in **ta-yu-tal** instead of **ta-yu-ta-la** in the context of the Primary Standard Sequence. A third case is ZU3 **HUL** for proto-Ch'olan **hul*

(win-)WINIK-NAL/?sa (Figure 7b), only this time followed by ?AJAW 'lord; ruler' (Schele and Miller 1986). Pottery vessel #8393 from Justin Kerr's database exhibits three spellings of the expression CELT-?-WINIK-NAL (Figure 6c). Another instance is an expression from Tikal as CELT-NAL/?sa-MAIZE.GOD (Figure 6d). An example from San Bartolo illustrates the expression WINIK-NAL (Figure 6e).

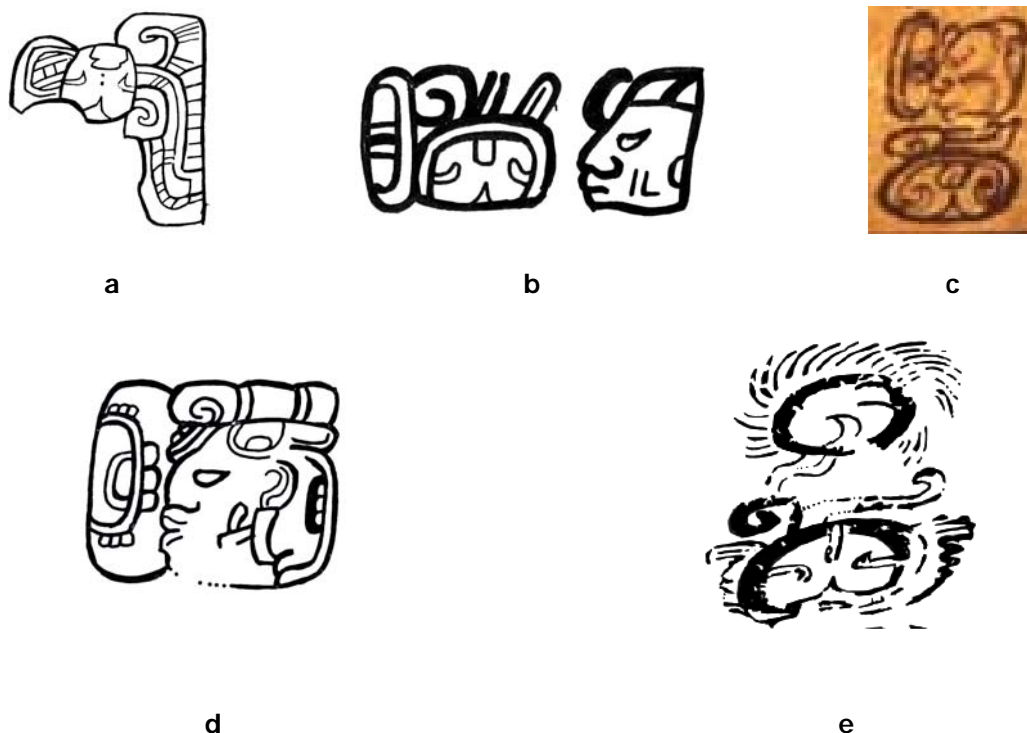


Figure 7. a) Detail on headdress of human figure depicted on cache vessel. Drawing by author after photograph in Fields and Reents-Budet (2005). b) Glyph present on incised bone at the Dallas Art Museum. After drawing by Linda Schele (#7320 in Linda Schele's drawing archive, available from <http://www.famsi.org>). c) Detail from secondary text on K8393. Detail of photograph by Kerr (2000). d) Glyphic spelling from Tikal Lintel 3 from Temple IV. After drawing by William R. Coe in Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:Fig. 74). e) Drawing by the author of glyph on North Wall text from San Bartolo.

The three examples in Figures 8a-c, discussed by Boot (2006), show the expression 1-5-YAX-WINIK (or 6-YAX-WINIK) with the CELT sign placed between ZUJ/T16 YAX and WINIK in one instance (Figure 8a), and infixed in the bar for 'five' in another (Figures 8b-c). Two caveats are necessary here. First, it is not uncommon for the 'five' bar to exhibit the diagonal "reflection" band that is often assumed to be indicative of a polished surface; this association is known from many contexts, and is possibly a coincidence. Second, if it is a separate, infixed sign, it could have a function unrelated to that of the CELT sign discussed in this paper, and consequently, the association with the WINIK sign in this context could also be a coincidence. In fact, Boot (2006) suggests a reading in which the CELT sign, which he relates to 1M4/T24 li, is infixed within the bar for 'five', and transliterates it thus: I-V[li]-YAX-WINIK. He argues the li sign infixed

'to arrive (here)', also used as hul for the sequence ...hul, as in ?u-K'UH-hul for ?u+k'uh-ul 'his/her holy/divine'. The preferred use of AP9/T757 B'AH for *b'ah 'gopher' to spell the homophonous *b'ah 'head' also suggests a phonetic usage as b'ah; otherwise, if AP9/T757 were utilized for a simple b'a value, any allogram with such value, such as XE1/T501 b'a, could have been used just as often as AP9/T757, if not more so, but XE1/T501 b'a was only occasionally used to spell *b'ah 'head'.

within the bar for 'five' constitutes a derivational suffix, rendering *wak.il* 'sixth'. Although this is certainly plausible, the case in **Figure 7a** shows the CELT sign paired with the XS1/T521 **WINAK/WINIK** sign, not the numeral 'five', and in fact, separated from the numeral by the logogram **YAX**. The example in **Figure 8c** shows no CELT sign, only the numeral 'six' followed by the **YAX-WINIK** expression, which is not unusual, given that such suffixes are only optionally represented. Boot (2006) suggests a nominal function for this expression, corresponding to the subject of a clause, and while I agree with his assessment in this regard, it is possible that the putative **li** sign is really a CELT sign, and that the example from **Figure 6a** would associate the CELT sign more closely with the **WINIK** sign, resulting in **YAX-(win-)WINIK**. Alternatively, the sign could be 1M4/T24 **li**, and functioning to spell a derivational suffix, only not after the numeral '6', but after **YAX**, resulting in *ya?x.il* 'first', and thus yielding a phrase **YAX-li-WINIK** for *ya?x.il winik* 'first month'.



Figure 8. a) 1-5-YAX-?li/WIN/win-WINIK on Dresden 49. Drawing by author after Boot (2006:Fig. 6a). b) Detail from K717: 1-5[?li/WIN/win]-YAX-WINIK. c) Detail from K7447: 1-5-YAX-WINIK. From Kerr (1999).

The 'Earth' and 'Sky' Expressions

Another glyphic association is that between the CELT sign and XH3/T561, **CHAN** for proto-Ch'olan **chan* 'sky' (from proto-Mayan **ka?ŋ*), and also YS1/T526, **KAB'** for proto-Ch'olan **kab'* 'earth' (borrowed from proto-Yucatecan **kaab'*, from proto-Mayan **kab' ~ *kaab*). One instance shows the expression **wa/WAK-CHAN-CELT** (**Figure 9a**), in a context corresponding to the proper name of a jade celt; although this case could potentially be simply an instance of **wa/WAK-CHAN-li**, with the CELT sign possibly an instance of 1M4/T24 **li** instead of **win/WIN**, it is also possible, as Houston and Stuart (1998) have suggested, that it is a noun referring to a celt, the celt on which the text itself is inscribed in this case, and the preceding glyph or glyphs could be its modifiers.

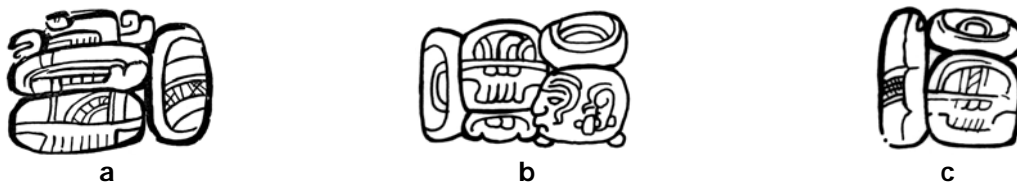


Figure 9. a) **wa/WAK-CHAN-CELT**. Detail from inscribed jade plaque. Drawing by the author. b) **CELT-CHAN-na-CELT-KAB'**. Detail of text from Copan Stela A. Drawing by the author after Taube (2005:Fig. 1e). c) **ta-CELT-CHAN**. Detail of text from Palenque Temple XIX South Platform. Drawing by the author after drawing by Stuart (2005:67).

A more controlled case, given its preposed position (paralleling its contexts in relation to the AP9/T757 **b'a/B'AH** sign), is the spelling of **CELT-CHAN-na-CELT-KAB'** (Figure 9b), where assuming the reading **win/WIN**, based on pMS **win* 'eye, face', one would obtain 'eye/face/surface of the sky, eye/face/surface of the earth'. The third is the spelling **ta-CELT-CHAN** (Figure 9c), in which case we obtain 'in/on [the] eye/face/surface of the sky'. The interpretation proposed here, based on **win* 'eye, face', is thoroughly consistent with that put forth by Stuart (2005:67), but instead of requiring a hypothetical proto-Ch'olan term **wut=chan*, it calls for a Mije-Sokean loanword. Below it is shown that this root is in fact an attested loan in Tzeltalan, and was probably a loan in Ch'olan-Tzeltalan.

These 'eye/face of the sky' and 'eye/face of the earth' expressions, whether individually or together as a couplet, would refer to the 'world' or 'cosmos' or 'creation', as similar expressions from Mije-Sokean and Mayan languages would suggest: proto-Oaxaca Mixean **naahx=wihn* 'mundo (world)', composed of **naahx* 'earth' and **wihn* 'eye' (Wichmann 1995:493); the *sat=chan* 'eye/face=sky' compound from Tzeltalan cited by Stuart (2005:67). In Mayan the expression is typically shown with the CELT sign preposed to the SKY or EARTH sign, suggesting that it is either a simplified (routinized) possessive collocation, 'the eye/face/surface of the sky', which may be expanded into a pairing of two such collocations, 'the eye/face/surface of the sky, the eye/face/surface of the earth', or minimally, a modifier-modified compound. However, as Houston and Stuart (1998:82) and Stuart (2005:67) have observed, one may also find the reverse order, a matter left for discussion at a later time.

A Mije-Sokean Loan and the 'Portrait of' Expression

Returning to the 'portrait of' expression, the more literal and complete interpretation, whenever the term **win* 'eye, face' is represented, resulting in the term *win=b'ah* (cf. Colonial Yucatec <winba>), would be 'the eye/face=head of'. This suggests that it is both the borrowed Mije-Sokean term for 'eye/face', **win*, and the Mayan term for 'head', **b'ah*, that combine to derive the meaning 'image, portrait'. The influence of Mije-Sokean in this regard was more extensive: it is attested more broadly in Ch'olan-Tzeltalan, not just Ch'olan. Kaufman (2001-2009) cites Chamula Tzotzil *winaj* 'to appear' and *winaj.el* 'sky', as well as San Bartolo Tzotzil *winaj* 'to resemble, to appear as', and suggests these are loans from proto-Sokean **win.ʔaj* 'to get out in front', based on proto-Mije-Sokean **win* 'face, front, surface, eye, body, self'.¹⁰ In the case at hand, the iconographic evidence for the use of XS1/T521 as 'eye' suggests that some Late Preclassic Mayan scribes, possibly already exclusively Ch'olans, employed the loanword **win* in a variety of contexts, which further made its way into Yucatecan through Ch'olan speakers, even if there is no evidence for it in the contemporary Ch'olan languages. The distribution within Mayan is too restricted, and the forms too similar to the more broadly attested Mije-Sokean forms, to suggest anything other than diffusion.

¹⁰ Hurley and Ruíz Sánchez (1978:215) cite the noun *vinajel* 'cielo, los cielos (sky, heaven; the heavens', *yibel vinajel* 'horizonte (horizon)', and the verb *vinajel* 'aparecer, adivinar, aclarar, declarar (to appear, divine, make clear, declare)'.

An Unresolved Context

One last context is discussed here. It pertains to another glyph, observed by Houston and Stuart (1998:82). The glyph in question, which may depict a bundle, can be used in the same position as **wi-ni** or **WIN** (Figure 10a). This BUNDLE sign is also used occasionally before the ZC2/T529 **WITS** 'mountain, hill' sign or its possible allographic alternatives, such as the ANIMAL.SKULL allogram (Figure 10b), and thus potentially serving as a phonetic sign **wi**. Additional data are needed to test this possibility, a task to be carried out in the future.



Figure 10. a) $\text{?u-?wi/win/WIN-B'AH-li}$. Glyph block from Dos Pilas Stela 15. Drawing by author after Houston and Stuart (1998:83). b) ?wi-?WITS 'hill'. Detail of glyphic passage on incised Early Classic tripod vessel. Drawing by Lin Crocker (Stuart and Houston 1994:Fig. 93).

Conclusions

This paper presents evidence for the reading of 1M2/1M5, the CELT sign, as **WIN/win**. The logographic reading is based on proto-Mije-Sokean *win 'eye/face', suggested not only by its iconographic contexts as the eyes of deities, but also by its association with AP9/T757 **B'AH** 'head' in the 'portrait of' expressions, resulting in a (bilingual) compound, *win=b'ah* 'eye/face-head' to refer to a 'portrait', attested in Colonial Yucatec, but clearly of broader distribution in the past, as well as by its association with expressions for 'surface of the sky' and 'surface of the earth', consistent with the semantic interpretation offered by Stuart (2005:67). The syllabographic reading **win** is suggested at this point in one specific set of contexts, as a phonetic complement to XS1/T521 **WINIK**. The CELT sign's use as an EYE iconographic motif can further be traced back to Olmec art, and in Mayan art it can be contextualized in light of the *Popol Vuh's* reference to the bejeweled eyes of Seven Macaw.

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