

# A Study of T670 and Two Lexical Determinatives in Mayan Writing 

David F. Mora-Marín<br>University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

## Introduction

This paper has as its main goal to contribute to ongoing research on semantic determinatives (e.g. Hopkins 1994; Hopkins and Josserand 1999; Mora-Marín 2008). More specifically, the paper identifies two sets of semantic determinatives which, when applied to T670 or MZD > MA1(c)/MA3 (Figs. 1a-b), yield distinct lexical values. ${ }^{1}$ This is not an entirely new realization. Epigraphers seem to know this intuitively, as the following statement by Boot (2003:3) reveals: "The logographic value for T670 depends on the hieroglyphic signs affixed to it (see YAL) [...]." Indeed, in the first case (Figs. 1c-d), the combination of T670 with either SPIRAL (Fig. 1c) or T584/XH1 (Figure 1D) yielded the value YAL for $y$-aal 'her child' or PAL(AL) for Pal(-al) 'woman's offspring'. In the second case (Fig. 1e), the combination of T670 with T533/ZA1a, a

[^0]sign with an established value PAJAW for *?aajaaw 'lord, ruler', and likely exhibiting other logographic values, yielded the value K'AM/CH'AM for ch'am 'to receive'.


Fig. 1. T670 and the glyphic collocations of interest. a. Classic version of T670, MZD > MA1(c). b. Postclassic/codical version of T670, MZD > MA1(c)/MA3. c. MZE(a)/MZE(d) > MA2a(a-b,f)/MA2b(ab)/MA2c, YAL/PAL for $y$-aal 'her child'. d. MZDb/MZEb/MZEe or MA2a(c-e), YAL/PAL for $y$-aal 'her child'. e. MZDd or MA1(a-b), CH'AM/K'AM for $c h^{\prime} a m / k^{\prime} a m$ 'to receive'. All drawings from Macri and Vail (2009:294).

Thus, epigraphers recognize, intuitively, the functions of such "affixed" signs, but we have yet to problematize them. This paper proposes that such signs are functioning as semantic determinatives, perhaps more appropriately termed lexical determinatives, as recommended below. The paper also proposes that such determinatives are more commonly used than previously recognized, and that they deserve more study.

With signs shaped like hands, typically the combining element was placed above the hand (Fig. 2a), a location that is described here as the holding site. In the case of T670 or MZD > MA1(c)/MA3, various signs are documented in this holding site: SPIRAL (Fig. 2b), to my knowledge uncatalogued; T518b/584 or XH1 (Fig. 2c); T533 or AM1 > ZA1a (Fig. 2d); and T534 or AMB > ZA2 (Fig. 2e). Other signs, not illustrated, may also occur in the holding site for T670, such as T561/XH3 and T544/XQ3.


Fig. 2. Holding site for main sign (T670) and secondary signs. a. Early Classic version of T670/MA1/MA1a/MA1c (formerly MZD). b. Uncataloged SPIRAL sign. c. T518b/584/XH1. d. T533/ZA1a (formerly AM1). e. T534/ZA2 (formerly AMB). Details in a)-b) are from drawing of Tikal Stela 31 by Linda Schele. Drawings in b-e from Macri and Looper (2003) and Looper et al. (2022).

Determinatives are not read aloud. Instead, they function as specifying the function or value of another sign. More to the point, semantic determinatives function as lexical determinatives, for they are not assisting in conveying a general semantic category, but instead, a specific lexical value (i.e. $y$ - $a$ al 'her child' or Pal(-al) 'woman's offspring' vs. ch'äm/k'am 'to receive'). ${ }^{2}$ I thus propose the term lexical determinative (or lexical diacritic). ${ }^{3}$ I will transcribe them as uppercase, Roman (non-bold), superscript letters, e.g. ${ }^{\text {SPIRAL }}$ YAL for SPIRAL:T670, ${ }^{\text {T533 }}$ CH'AM for T533:670.

Evidence for the logographic values of the expressions involving both T 670 and associated secondary signs in holding sites has come from syllabic complements and purely syllabographic spellings, the latter prescinding of the T670 sign and the determinative secondary sign, as seen in Figs. 3a-b, where the ya-la sequences provide a spelling of $y$-aal 'her child'. Similarly, evidence for the determinative function of T533 in connection with T670 for the expression CH'AM/K'AM comes from examples where T533:670 is followed by the object of the transitive verb (Fig. 3c), as well as parallel examples where the same object replaces T533 in the holding site (Fig. 3d). Of course, syllabograms functioning as phonetic complements to the logographic value of the expression may substitute for the lexical determinative: this is the case of

[^1]T534 la (Fig. 3e), which may replace the SPIRAL or the T518b/584 determinative. Syllabograms may also occupy the holding site for secondary signs but function to spell (partly or completely) an inflectional or derivational morpheme conveyed by the glyphic collocation: this the case of T1 $\mathbf{~ P u}$ (Fig. 3f), spelling the proclitic $u$ - 'third person singular ergative/possessive' marker, and T130 wa (Fig. 3g), spelling part of the V1w 'indicative default/completive status of transitive verbs' marker. Finally, regarding the case of the expression YAL for $y$-aal 'her child', in a few cases part of the name/title phrase of the possessor (i.e. the mother) may replace the lexical determinative and occupy the holding site instead: this is evident when
 syntactic arguments, whether objects of a transitive verb in the case of $\mathbf{C H} \mathbf{A M} / K^{\prime} A M$, or possessors of a noun in the case of YAL, could occupy the holding site. That said, the latter situation was rare and geographically restricted, as discussed below.


Fig. 3. Omissibility of lexical determinatives. a. ya-la expression from K635. b. ya-la expression from K679. c. ${ }^{\text {T533 }} \mathbf{C H}$ 'AM-K'AWIL on Palenque Temple 14 Tablet. Drawing by the author after drawing by Linda Schele. d. CH'AM-wi-K'AWIL on Quirigua Monument 6. Drawing by the author after Looper (1995:325328, fig. 5.2). e. ya-la-YAL on Caracol Stela 16. Drawing by author after Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:Fig. 15a,b). f. Pu-CH'AM-ma-K'AWIL on Palenque Temple 14 Tablet. Drawing by the author after drawing by Linda Schele. g. Pu-wa-CH'AM > Pu-CH'AM-wa on jade plaque fragment from Costa Rica. Drawing by the author. h. ya- ${ }^{\text {SPIRALYAL-K'UHUL-PIXIK on Tonina Monument 138. Drawing by the author }}$ after Graham and Mathews (1999:167). i. ya-K'UHUL.PIXIK-YAL on Palenque Tablet of the Foliated Cross B. Drawing by the author after drawing by Linda Schele.

## Methods

The present research employs the Maya Hieroglyphic Database (MHD), specifically a beta version of the now published online database (Looper and Macri 2011-2022). The author searched for instances of each expression and then examined the actual glyphic collocations in which the signs in question appeared. The key search terms were the MHD catalog codes from Macri and Looper (2003), Macri and Vail (2009), and Looper et al. (2022), already described (cf. Figs. 1-2). Since these catalogs do not usually distinguish logographic graphemes based on presence or absence of a determinative, all that is needed is the general grapheme code for the relevant logographic value, i.e. MA2 for YAL/PAL and MA1 for CH'AM/K'AM. Approximately 152 Classic-period instances of MA2 and 242 Classic period instances of MA1 were obtained in my search. Unfortunately, at the time of my research, the version of the MHD available to me did not contain image files. Thus, I only studied examples whose graphic composition I could examine easily from a variety of sources (e.g. Justin Kerr's image archive), and which included recognizable secondary signs within the holding site. Any examples whose secondary signs were unclear were excluded. Cases of T670 where a value (as CH'AM/K'AM) or even a function (as a transitive verb) is unclear (due to lack of phonetic signs as complement or in substitution), such as the T1016:670 expression (e.g. Tikal Ballcourt Marker, Calakmul Stela 114, etc.), were also excluded. ${ }^{4}$ Particularly close attention was paid to the SPIRAL sign, as well as the signs T518b/584 and T533. Only examples in which the sign within the holding site could be identified have been incorporated in the dataset. The useful dataset comprises 219 instances: 76 of the YAL expression and 143 of the CH'AM/K'AM expression. I will focus on the patterns of occurrence and co-occurrence of T670 with respect to the signs in the holding site, as well as between the sites in the holding site and signs that may follow the logographic expression. A more thorough evaluation of the problem could be conducted with the new version of the MHD (Looper and Macri 19912022), available online at mayadatabase.org.

## Results

Table 1 presents the overall results which will be broken down more carefully below. First, it shows that $76.3 \%$ of cases of the expression YAL involve T670 plus a determinative, consisting of the SPIRAL sign in a majority of cases (43/76), followed by T518b/584 (14/76), and at least one instance of T561 (1/76), specifically at Xcalumkin. In contrast, only $21 \%$ of cases of the expression $\mathbf{C H} \mathbf{A M} / \mathbf{K}^{\prime} \mathbf{A M}$ involve the determinative T533. The reason for this discrepancy may lie in the fact that the typical object of the verb ch'äm/k'am was simplex and singular, the noun $k^{\prime} a w i l$ ( $k^{\prime} a w i i l ?$ ), referring to the God K scepter, and that as such, especially in situations where a lot of information had to be packed within a glyph block, it was convenient enough for scribes to simply represent the logogram T1030/SSFa K'AWIL in the holding site for T670, which was of course, iconographically speaking, where it belonged. This happened in $76.2 \%$ of the cases of CH'AM studied here. However, in situations where space allowed it, or where the object of the verb was not simplex, but a more complex noun phrase, scribes would then express such object

[^2]separately, in which case T533, the lexical determinative, would be employed. In contrast, only $6.6 \%$ of examples of the YAL expression involved a possessor replacing the lexical determinative; moreover, all five examples come from the same site, Palenque. Next, syllabograms could replace the determinative. In the case of the YAL expression, the holding site was occupied by syllabograms in $15.8 \%$ of the cases, with 14 examples of T534 la (cf. Fig. 3e) and one of T126 ya. With the CH'AM/K'AM expression, only two examples in the dataset include syllabograms occupying the holding site for T670, as already seen in Figs. 3f-g, one of Pu to represent the third person singular ergative and possessive marker, and another of wa, to partially spell the $-V_{1} w$ 'plain/indicative status root transitive verbs in default/completive aspect' suffix. Finally, there are a very few instances where it seems that a scribe confused T533 and T534, either on purpose, as part of an artistic license, or in error. One such case involved the expression YAL with T533 instead of T534; with the case of CH'AM, two such cases involved T534 instead of the expected T533.

Table 1. Overall results for T670 according to intended logographic expression.

|  | YAL |  | CH'AM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Determinatives | 58 | $76.3 \%$ | 30 | $21.0 \%$ |
| Syntactic arguments | 5 | $6.6 \%$ | 109 | $76.2 \%$ |
| Syllabograms | 12 | $15.8 \%$ | 2 | 1.4 |
| Errors or scribal play | 1 | $1.3 \%$ | 2 | 1.4 |
|  | 76 | $100 \%$ | 143 | $100 \%$ |

It should be observed that the majority of the cases in which T1030/SSFa K'AWIL occupies the holding site for T670, and in the process replaces the lexical determinative T533, occur in a very specific set of related texts: the Dynastic Vases that describe the dynastic sequence of the Snake Kingdom. The highly formulaic and information-packed nature of these texts may have strongly favored the use of this representation strategy. These vases comprise 84 of the 109 instances in which T1030 occupies the holding site of the CH'AM/K'AM expression, and thus, may result in a significant skewing of the normal prevalence of such strategy. As seen in Table 2, if the Dynastic Vases were excluded, the use of the lexical determinative, T533, would constitute $50.8 \%$ of the cases of the CH'AM/K'AM expression, and the use of T1030/SSFa K'AWIL in the holding site would amount to $42.4 \%$.

Table 2. Without dynastic vases (84 cases of CH'AM with T1030 in holding site).

|  | YAL |  | CH'AM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Determinatives | 58 | $76.3 \%$ | 30 | $50.8 \%$ |
| Syntactic arguments | 5 | $6.6 \%$ | 25 | $42.4 \%$ |
| Syllabograms | 12 | $15.8 \%$ | 2 | 3.4 |
| Errors or scribal play | 1 | $1.3 \%$ | 2 | 3.4 |
|  | 76 | $100 \%$ | 59 | $100 \%$ |

## Implications

From the perspective of orthographic practices, the present proposal calls for some lexical determinatives to be regarded as cases of polyvalent signs: T533 would be not just PAJAW (as well as either MOK or B'AK), but also a lexical determinative in ${ }^{T 533} \mathbf{C H} \mathbf{A M} / K^{\prime} \mathbf{A M}$; and similarly, T518b/584 could be not just $\mathbf{B}^{\prime} E N$ (day sign), but also a lexical determinative in ${ }^{\text {T584 }}$ YAL. In other words, in the study of polyvalence, it is useful to think both in terms of lexical, phonetic, and functional values: a single, polyvalent grapheme may exhibit logographic, syllabographic, or determinative values in different contexts.

Many more related questions can and should be addressed using the data available in the MHD. Geographic and temporal patterns should be assessed; variation according to media types (e.g. portable vs. monumental; painted vs. carved) and genres (e.g. dedicatory vs. dynastic history) will likely yield interesting results. It was already noted that portable texts, specifically pottery vessels, and even more specifically the subset of vessels referred to as the Dynastic Vases, comprise most instances in which T1030 is placed in the holding site of T670 in the CH'AM/K'AM expression. T533, in contrast, is more widely distributed, temporally, geographically, and in terms of media. With regard to the YAL expression, it was already observed that all the cases in which a possessor occupies the holding site are restricted to Palenque and are all in fact contemporaneous. The SPIRAL sign in the holding site is the most widely distributed across time, space, and media. A larger dataset should reveal patterns in the spread of certain representational innovations and is worth attempting in the near future.

## Discussion and Conclusions

The main objective of this paper was to explore the nature of lexical determinatives (aka semantic determinatives). It has been shown that they are worth investigating in detail, as they add significantly to our knowledge of orthographic conventions (e.g. polyvalence), representational conventions (e.g. composition of logograms, including possible graphic substitutions of their components), and grapheme typology. In the case of the CH'AM/K'AM expression, it was shown that T1030 K'AWIL, referring to the God K scepter (and presumably the kingly ideals or prerogatives it represents), likely because of its status of the object of the transitive verb, as well as its iconographic association with the T670 sign (i.e. as an object that would be held in the hand), frequently replaced the T533 determinative in the holding site. The question is whether T1030 became, itself, regarded as a determinative, signaled by cases where it is placed in the holding site for T670, with T670 being followed by another sign that represents the object of the transitive verb (perhaps another T1030 itself), indicating that T1030 in the holding site is not meant to be read aloud, but is now a non-phonetic and non-lexical grapheme. If proven to be the case, lexical determinatives could be argued to arise gradually, because of frequent lexical co-occurrence associations.

As it turns out, there may be one such example, brought to my attention by Matthew Looper (personal communication 2022): it is an instance where, apparently, T1030:670:130 K'AWIL-CH'AM-wa was followed by T1030 K'AWIL (Fig. 4). This example is found on a plate in the Mint Museum, Charlotte 1983.172.33 (Robicsek and Hales 1981:165, Vessel 137). The spelling points to a typical incorporative antipassive phrase, involving an antipassive verb followed by the (loosely) incorporated object, only here, T1030 K'AWIL appears in both the holding site of T670 as well as in the following glyph block, where it
represents the incorporated object. Since the holding site may take a lexical determinative, a syllabogram, or a syntactic argument (e.g. object), this could be simply a case where a logogram representing a verb's object is placed in such site. However, since an incorporative antipassive verb is an intransitivized transitive followed by a single, generic, non-specific object, it cannot be a case of a complex nominal expression involving a repetition of $k^{\prime}$ awil. Instead, only one K'AWIL was meant to be read aloud, almost certainly the second one occupying its own glyph block. This example, if verified through a detailed examination of the text, would suggest that, for at least one scribe, T1030 was in the process of becoming a lexical determinative of T670's CH'AM value.


Fig. 4. Plate, Mint Museum 1983.172.33, detail of text. Collection of the Mint Museum, Charlotte, NC. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Robicsek. Photo by Matthew Looper

The use of T533 as a determinative may have started out in the same way, through common cooccurrence of a verb with an object: its PAJAW value may have involved not only the meaning 'lord, ruler', but also 'sacred object', a meaning reconstructible to proto-Tzeltalan *?äjäw 'venerated or sacred object' (Kaufman 1972:94). It is possible to imagine a hypothetical phrase 's/he held the sacred object', which, if employed frequently enough, may have led to a strong association between the T670's CH'AM value and T533, resulting in its gradual graphemic reanalysis as a determinative of the logographic value CH'AM/K'AM.

My next step is to examine the lexical determinatives associated with $T 713$, a polyvalent sign (i.e. $\mathbf{C H}^{\prime} \mathbf{A L} / \mathbf{K}^{\prime} \mathbf{A L}, \mathbf{K}^{\prime} \mathbf{A B} \mathbf{'}^{\prime}, \mathbf{m i}, \mathbf{P A S}(\mathbf{A J})$ ), and will further explore the theoretical implications of recognizing and studying these determinatives. One of the questions to be examined in connection with T713 pertains to the significance of objects of transitive verbs. I suspect that such a frequency-based association can be
shown to be at play with T713 and its determinatives, specifically when it functioned as the logogram CH'AL/K'AL for k'al 'to close, wrap, adorn'.

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Appendix 1: Dataset for YAL/PAL prior to culling. Glyphic transcriptions are exactly as present in earlier, beta version of MHD. Objabbr1 (> Objabbr) may be used to locate data in MHD online (mayadatabase.org).

|  | objabbr1 | objclass | objlc | blocklogosyllabic | blgraphcodes | holding site | blsem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | AGTSt19 | Monument | 09.17.07.12.15 | ya al wa | 32A MA2c 2S2s | SPIRAL | verb |
| 2. | ALCSt01 | monument | 09.06.07.03.18 | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 3. | ALHRP2563 | portable object | 09.07.11.02.17 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 4. | ARPSt02 | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al la ix ?? ajaw | 32A MA2a ZA2 PLBa <br> HB1 ZB1 | SPIRAL | child/mother, site title |
| 5. | BPKSt01 | monument | 09.17.10.00.00 | ya al la ix a ku lu | 32A MA2a ZA2 PLBa <br> AK2s ZC1s ZR2 | T534 | child/mother, personal name |
| 6. | CAYAlt04 | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 7. | COLBruPl | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 8. | COLDenvC | portable object | Early Classic | 03 al la | 003 MA2a ZA2 | T584 | title? |
| 9. | COLDenvC | portable object | Early Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | title? |
| 10. | COLDenvC | portable object | Early Classic | a al ja ta | MA2a | T584 | title? |
| 11. | COLDOPan1 | monument | 09.15.15.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | T584 | child/mother |
| 12. | COLFemr | portable object | Late Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 13. | COLJM4441 | portable object | 09.00.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother? |
| 14. | COLK0681 | portable object | Early Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 15. | COLK0772 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T584 | child/mother |
| 16. | COLK1003 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la wa | 32A MA2a ZA2 2S2s | T534 | verb |
| 17. | COLK1440 | portable object | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 18. | COLK2067 | portable object | Late Classic | ya? al | 32A? MA2a | T126 | child/mother? |
| 19. | COLK2213 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al wa | 32A MA2a 2S2s | SPIRAL | verb |
| 20. | COLK3844 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |


| 21. | COLK4011 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al wa | 32A MA2a 2S2s | T534 | verb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22. | COLK4118 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T534 | child/mother |
| 23. | COLK4976 | portable object | Early Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 24. | COLK5164 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 25. | COLK5458 | portable object | 09.05.00.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | T584 | child/mother |
| 26. | COLK5509 | portable object | Late Classic | al la | MA2a ZA2 | T584 | relationship |
| 27. | COLK7528 | portable object | Early Classic | ya al? | 32A MA2c? | T584 | child/mother |
| 28. | COLK8342 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 29. | COLK8680 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al wa | 32A MA2a 2S2s | T534 | verb |
| 30. | COLLauSt | monument | 10.01.15.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T584 | child/mother |
| 31. | COLLCcb297 | portable object | Late Classic | ya al la ixik | 32A MA2a ZA2 PLBa | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 32. | COLRAB6634 | portable object | 09.08.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 33. | COLRufTSt | monument | Late Classic | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T584 | child/mother |
| 34. | CPNPStep | monument | 09.03.00.00.00 | ya al yu | 32A MA2a ZBF 000 | T584 | child/mother, child/father? |
| 35. | CPNSt20 | monument | 09.01.10.00.00 | ya al? wa? | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a/MA2b 2S2s? } \\ & 000 \end{aligned}$ | SPIRAL |  |
| 36. | CRCAlt21 | monument | 09.10.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 37. | CRCSt16 | monument | 09.05.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T534 | child/mother |
| 38. | CRNDalAlt | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al ix | 32A MA2a PLBa | SPIRAL | child/mother, personal name |
| 39. | CRNDalAlt | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 40. | CRNDalAlt | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al la ix bah ka ba | 32A MA2a ZA2 PLBa AP9a AA1s XE1s | SPIRAL | child/mother, title |
| 41. | CRNPan03 | monument | 09.11.16.02.08? | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 42. | CRNSQPan04 | monument | 09.11.16.02.08 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |


| 43. | DCBSt01 | monument | 09.15.10.00.00 | aj mok? ki ya al la | 1G4a ZA1b 1B2 32A <br> MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | personal name, agentive, child/mother |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 44. | EKBM22 | monument | 09.17.12.16.14 | ya al | 32A MA2a | T584 | child/mother |
| 45. | ENCSt01 | monument | 08.13.10.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 46. | HLMStFr | monument | 9.8.0.0.0 | ya yal la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T534 |  |
| 47. | NARAlt01 | monument | 09.08.02.14.03 | ya al | 32A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 48. | OXPSt12 | monument | 09.15.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T534 | child/mother |
| 49. | PALTC | monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | ya al la k'uh ixik | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a ZA2 SG1 } \\ & \text { PLBa } \end{aligned}$ | Possessor | child/mother, title |
| 50. | PALTCB | monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | ya al la k'uh ixik | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a ZA2 SG1 } \\ & \text { PLBa } \end{aligned}$ | Possessor | child/mother, title |
| 51. | PALTFCB | monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | ya al la k'uh ixik | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a ZA2 SG1 } \\ & \text { PLBa } \end{aligned}$ | Possessor | child/mother, title |
| 52. | PALTFRD | monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | ya al la _ixik | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a ZA2 } 000 \\ & \text { PLBa } \end{aligned}$ | Possessor | child/mother, title |
| 53. | PALTIw | Monument | 09.12.11.05.18 | ya al ji ya | 32A MA2c 33F 32A | SPIRAL | child/mother, title |
| 54. | PALTSNP | monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | ya al k'uh ixik | 32A MA2a SG1 PLBa | Possessor | child/mother, title |
| 55. | PNGPan15 | monument | 09.13.15.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 56. | PNGSt06 | monument | 09.12.15.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 57. | PRUSt15 | monument | 08.19.00.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T584 | child/mother |
| 58. | RSBHS01 | monument | 09.07.06.04.18 | ya al la k'uh ixik | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 32A MA2a ZA2 SG1 } \\ & \text { PLBa } \end{aligned}$ | SPIRAL | child/mother, title |
| 59. | TIKMT043 | portable object | 09.15.03.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T584 | child/mother |
| 60. | TIKMT217 | portable object | 09.09.10.00.00 | ya al | 32A MA2a | T533 | child/mother |
| 61. | TIKSt05 | monument | 09.15.13.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | T534 | child/mother |
| 62. | TIKSt17 | monument | 09.06.03.09.15 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 63. | TIKSt31 | monument | 09.00.10.00.00 | ya al la | 32A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 64. | TNAMon069 | monument | 09.17.05.07.05 | ba al | XE1a MA2a | SPIRAL | title |


| 65. | TNAMon138 | monument | 09.15 .00 .00 .00 | ya al k'uh ixik | 32 A MA2a SG1 PLBa | SPIRAL | child/mother, title |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 66. | UAXB13Mu | monument | 09.02 .00 .00 .00 | ya al | 32 A MA2a | SPIRAL | child/mother? |
| 67. | UXMAlt10 | monument | 10.03 .12 .00 .00 | ya al la | 32 A MA2a ZA2 | SPIRAL | child/mother |
| 68. | XLMPan04 | monument | 09.14 .17 .00 .00 | ya al la ix aj k'in ni | 32A MA2a ZA2 PLBa <br> AK2b XQ3 1S2s | T561 | child/mother, title, |
| agentive |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Appendix 2: Dataset for $C H^{\prime} A M / K^{\prime} A M$ prior to culling. Glyphic transcriptions are exactly as present in earlier, beta version of MHD. Objabbr1 (> Objabbr) may be used to locate data in MHD online (mayadatabase.org).

|  | objabbr1 | objclass | objlc | blocklogosyllabic | blgraphcodes | holding site | blsem |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | BPKSS05 | monument | 09.10 .15 .07 .04 | 12 ik' at u ch'am | 012 XN1 XQBa HE6 <br> MA1 | T533 | 365 cycle, <br> accession |
| 2. | CHNCJade1207 | portable <br> object | 09.00 .00 .00 .00 | u ch'am | HE6 MA1 |  | T533 |
| 3. | COLK0199 | portable <br> object | 09.01 .00 .00 .00 | u ch'am wa | HE6 MA1 2S2s | T533 | accession |
| 4. | COLK0555 | portable <br> object | Late Classic | u? ch'am? k'awil? | HE6? MA1? SMA? | T1030 | accession?, deity |
| name? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| 7. | COLK0955 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8. | COLK0955 | portable <br> object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 9. | COLK0955 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 10. | COLK0955 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 11. | COLK0999 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil | MA1 SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 12. | COLK0999 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 13. | COLK0999 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 14. | COLK0999 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 15. | COLK0999 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 16. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil | MA1 SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 17. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil | MA1 SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 18. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 19. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 20. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 21. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 22. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 23. | COLK1005 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |

\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}\hline 24 . & \text { COLK1005 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { portable } \\
\text { object }\end{array}
$$ \& Late Classic \& ch'am ya k'awil \& MA1 32A SMA \& T1030 <br>
accession, deity <br>

name\end{array}\right]\)| accession, deity |
| :--- |
| name |

\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}\hline 41 . & \text { COLK1371 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { portable } \\
\text { object }\end{array}
$$ \& Late Classic \& ch'am k'awil \& MA1 SMA \& accession, deity <br>

name\end{array}\right]\)| accession, deity |
| :--- |
| name |

\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}\hline \text { 58. } & \text { COLK1372 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { portable } \\
\text { object }\end{array}
$$ \& Late Classic \& ch'am k'awil \& MA1 SMA \& T1030 <br>
accession, deity <br>

name\end{array}\right]\)| accession, deity |
| :--- |
| name |


| 75. | COLK2572 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 76. | COLK2715 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil | MA1 SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 77. | COLK4056 | portable object | Late Classic | u ch'am wa | HE6 MA1 2S2s | T533 |  |
| 78. | COLK5456 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am | MA1 | T533 |  |
| 79. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 80. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 81. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 82. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 83. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 84. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 85. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 86. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 87. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 88. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 89. | COLK5863 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am ya k'awil | MA1 32A SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 90. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil k'ak' ti' ch'ich'? | MA1 SMA ZBBa PXA ZZ3 | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |
| 91. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil ta jo ma | MA1 SMA 2SAs ZR1 ZM1s | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |


| 92. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil u hut? ?? chan | MA1 SMA HE6 HE3 HTC ХНЗa | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 93. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am k'awil yu ku k'a' k'ak' | MA1 SMA ZBF ZC1s SBC ZBBa | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |
| 94. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 95. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 96. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 97. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 98. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 99. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 100. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 101. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 102. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 103. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 104. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil | MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 105. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | ch'am wa k'awil ta tayel k'inich | MA1 2S2s SMA 2SAs MA3 SN3 | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |
| 106. | COLK6751 | portable object | Late Classic | u ch'am wa k'awil | HE6 MA1 2S2s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 107. | COLK8941 | portable object | Early Classic | ch'am wi ya | MA1 1S1s 32A | T533 |  |
| 108. | COLPqCR778c | portable object | 09.00.00.00.00 | u ch'am wa | HE6 MA1 AB1s | AB1s (wa) |  |


| 109. | Conch shell trumpet | Portable object | Early Classic | u ch'am yu b'I |  | T533 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 110. | CPNAltQ | Monument | 09.17.05.03.04 |  |  | T1030 |  |
| 111. | CPNAltQ | Monument | 09.17.05.03.04 | u ch'am la te' k'o | HE6 MA1 ZA2 2G1b ZCFa | T534 |  |
| 112. | CPNSt04 | Monument | 09.14.15.00.00 | ch'am _ ik' hun | MA1 000 XN1 1B5a | T533 |  |
| 113. | CPNSt04 | Monument | 09.14.15.00.00 | ch'am xa _ mok? ki | 000 MA1 1GFs 000 <br> ZA1b 1B2 | T533 |  |
| 114. | CPNStJ | monument | 09.13.10.00.00 | ch'am ya k'awil k'inich _ yax k'uk':mo' | MA1 SN3 000 BP5a | T1030 | personal name, dynastic event |
| 115. | CPNStJ | monument | 09.13.10.00.00 | ch'am xa _ _ na 08 hab | MA1 1GFs 000000 1G1 008 XH2 | T533 | dynastic event |
| 116. | CPNStJ | monument | 09.13.10.00.00 | ch'am xa mo? cho ba? ka | MA1 1GFs HJ1 BP5s? XE1s? AA1s | T533 | dynastic event |
| 117. | CPNStJ | monument | 09.13.10.00.00 | i yu wa la ch'am xa tzi pi? | YM1a ZBF 2S2s ZA2 <br> MA1 1GFs ZHEs ZC5? | T533 | dynastic event |
| 118. | CRC Structure B19 MonFrag05 | Monument | Late Classic | ch'am | MA1 | T1030 |  |
| 119. | CRNPan01 | Monument | 09.12.05.07.04 | ch'am ni ya ajaw le | MA1 1S2s 32A ZB1 1SC | T533 |  |
| 120. | DPLHS1 | monument | 09.14.13.00.00 | u ch'am ya' a | HE6 MA1 PE1 AK2s | T533 | dynastic event, object ref |
| 121. | DPLSt08 | monument | 09.14.15.05.15? | u ch'am wa | AA4p MA1 2S2s | T533 | accession |
| 122. | PAL House A-D Pal Tablet | Monument | 09.14.08.14.15 | U ch'am wa |  | T533 |  |
| 123. | PAL TFC WT | Monument | 09.12.19.14.12 | Ch'am k'awil la xa |  | T1030 |  |
| 124. | PALT14T | Monument | 09.13.13.15.00 | U ch'am ma k'awil la |  | T1 |  |
| 125. | PALT14T | Monument | 09.13.13.15.00 | Yax ch'am k'awil |  | T1030 |  |
| 126. | PALT14T | Monument | 09.13.13.15.00 | u ch'am wa | HE6 MA1 2S2s | T533 | dynastic event |
| 127. | PALT14T | Monument | 09.13.13.15.00 | Ch'am k'awil la | MA1 2S2s | T533 |  |
| 128. | PALT19PI | Monument | 09.15.05.00.00 | u ch'am wa ob | HE6 MA1 2S2s 33H | T533 | dynastic event |


| 129. | PMASt01 | Monument | 09.16.15.00.00 | u ch'am la tun _ k'inich | HE6 MA1 ZA2 ZC1a ZOO SN3 | T528 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 130. | PNGPan02 | monument | 09.11.15.00.00 | ch'a ch'am wa | ZG1s MA1 2S2s | T533 | dynastic event |
| 131. | PNGPan02 | monument | 09.11.15.00.00 | ch'am ma | MA1 ZM1s | T533 | dynastic event |
| 132. | PNGPan02 | monument | 09.11.15.00.00 | i ch'am wa | YM1a MA1 2S2s | T533 | dynastic event |
| 133. | PNGSt03 | monument | 09.14.00.00.00 | u ch'am wa te mu | HE6 MA1 2S2s XN3 ALE | T533 | dynastic event, object ref |
| 134. | PRUSt33 | monument | 09.13.00.00.00 | ch'am wi k'awil | MA1 1S1s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 135. | PRUSt34 | monument | 09.13.00.00.00 | ch'am wi k'awil | MA1 1S1s SMA | T1030 | accession, deity name |
| 136. | PUSStH | Monument | 09.11.00.00.00 | Ch'am-wa k'awil |  | T1030 |  |
| 137. | QRGMon06 | Monument | 09.16.10.00.00 | Ch'am-wi k'awil |  | T1030 |  |
| 138. | QRGStE | monument | 09.17.00.00.00 | u ch'am k'awil k'ak' til chan | HE6 MA1 SMA ZBBa MB4 XH3a | T1030 | accession, deity name, personal name |
| 139. | TIKSt31 | monument | 09.00.10.00.00 | u ch'am wa | HE6 MA1 2S2s | T533 | accession |
| 140. | YAXLnt01 | monument | 09.16.06.00.00 | 09? ch'am k'uh? ti' hun na | 009? MA1 SG1? PXA 1B5a PL1s | T533 | Glyph G01, <br> Glyph F |
| 141. | YAXLnt03 | Monument | 09.16.06.00.00 |  |  | T533 |  |
| 142. | YAXLnt03 | Monument | 09.18.17.13.14? |  |  | T534 |  |
| 143. | YAXLnt42 | Monument | 09.16.06.00.00 |  |  | T533 |  |

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This paper utilizes Thompson (1962), Macri and Looper (2003), Macri and Vail (2009), and Looper et al. (2022). Whenever Looper et al. (2022) revise a previous code by Macri and Looper (2003) and Macri and Vail (2009), I indicate this with the 'greater than' sign, as in MZD > MA1/MA2a/MA2c, with the code on the left being the earlier version, and the one on the right the later version. Whenever they have retained the same grapheme code employed in Macri and Looper (2003), I will simply use that code without commenting on it further. In general, for the older non-Thompsonian codes, I will use the version in Macri and Vail (2009), which combines both Classic and Postclassic graphemes; Macri and Looper (2003) only provides Classic-period graphemes. When a particular non-Thompsonian code is rendered as multiple versions, e.g. MA1 for which three renderings are provided, I may employ lowercase letters between parentheses to indicate which of the versions I am referring to, e.g. MA1(a) for the first version, MA1(b) for the second, or MA1 (c) for the third.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Due to its phonetic value, the logogram YAL for $y$-aal 'her child' was also employed as a CVC syllabogram, to spell the near-homophonous $y$-al- sequence of verbs like $y$-al-(a)j- $\varnothing$ - $-\mathrm{y}(+a)$ ' $s /$ he has (indeed) said it (here)' and also $y a[h] l-$ aj- $\varnothing$ - $\varnothing$ 's/he/it was thrown; s/he/it fell'.
    ${ }^{3}$ I do not favor "diacritic" because most lexical determinatives are full-blown graphemes (e.g. T533, or the CARTOUCHE sign employed with day signs), rather than minimized graphemes like the duplication diacritic (22A), consisting of two small dots, often joined together.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ The T1016:670 expression may very well involve a logographic value CH'AM/K'AM, given a few instances of the presence of ma as a likely phonetic complement; however, as far as I could tell, every single case involves T1016 placed in the holding site. It is possible that T1016 could be cueing yet another value for T670, and that it functions as a lexical determinative in these contexts.

