

Universal Multiple-Octet Coded Character Set
International Organization for Standardization
Organisation Internationale de Normalisation
Международная организация по стандартизации

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1. Background. In N2931, Lorna Priest and Peter Constable proposed the addition of ξ LATIN LETTER TRESILLO and 4 LATIN LETTER CUATRILLO to the UCS in support of archaic letters used in 16th-century Guatemala to write Mayan languages such as Cakchiquel, Quiché, and Tzutuhil. Although these two letters were accepted for balloting in PDAM3 of ISO/IEC 10646, as a set of characters they are inadequate to represent texts in normalized 16th-century orthography which use these letters. Such normalization may be rare—it certainly has been in the past—but it should nevertheless be supported by the UCS.

The letters in question were devised by Brother Francisco de la Parra (†1560 in Guatemala) and were used by a number of early linguist-missionaries to represent sounds occurring in Cakchiquel, Quiché, and Tzutuhil. In his edition of the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, Brinton 1885 gives a set of four letters (one of which is used as a digraph with *h*) with the following glyphs, alongside descriptions which he attributes to the grammarian Torresano:

- ξ TRESILLO represented “the only true guttural in the language, being pronounced forcibly from the throat, with a trilling sound (*castañeteando*)”. This is now described as [q’], the glottalized uvular stop.
- 4 CUATRILLO represented “a trilled palatal, between a hard *c* and a *k*”. This is now described as [k’], the glottalized velar stop.
- 4 CUATRILLO WITH COMMA represented a sound “somewhat like the *c* with the cedilla, ç , only more quickly and with greater force—*ds* or *dz*”. This is now described as [ts’], the glottalized alveolar affricate.
- tz TZ “resembles the ‘ 4 with comma’ but is described as softer, the tongue being brought into contact with the teeth, exactly as *tz* in German”. This is now described as [ts], the alveolo-palatal affricate.
- 4h CUATRILLO WITH COMMA AND H represented “a compound sound produced by combining the cuatrillo with a forcible aspirate”. This is now described as [tʃ’], the glottalized alveolo-palatal affricate. Note that the comma is an integral part of the character, not a spacing comma—it is 4h , not 4,h —nor is it a combining comma below. (Pp 49–50; see Figures 1 and 1.)

Brinton follows this with a discussion of Parra’s characters by Otto Stoll; I have given them alongside modern transcriptions:

“The four new signs added to the European alphabet, by some of the old writers on Cakchiquel (Parra, Flores), viz: ξ , 4 , 4 , 4h , are but phonetic modifications of four corresponding signs of the common alphabet. so we get four pairs of sounds, namely:—

c and 4;	[k, k']
k and Ʒ	[q, q']
ch and 4h (> 4h ?)	[tʃ, tʃ']
tz (i.e. Ƨ) and 4	[ts, ts']

forming two series of consonants, the former of which represents the common letters, and the latter their respective ‘cut letters,’ which may be described as being pronounced with a shorter and more explosive sound than the corresponding common letter, and separated by a short pause from the preceding or following vowel.” (Pp 50–51; see Figure 2.)

Neither Brinton nor Stoll discusses the cameral nature of these “additions to the European alphabet”. There is, however, *no reason to assume*—as Priest and Constable have done—that the 16th-century devisors considered these letters to be *any* different from any other Latin letters.

2.0. Case. In N2931, Priest and Constable posited that TRESILLO and CUATRILLO were caseless (by naming them without CAPITAL or SMALL, and by apparently assigning them the property “Lo” analogously to U+01C0 LATIN LETTER DENTAL CLICK). No evidence, however, was presented for this assertion. The examples cited in their proposal were only samples of the letters used to show the existence of the letters; such examples have no reference to use. A decision that these letters must be caseless because such charts do not show them with case leads only to a false economy in encoding, which, in turn, leaves the potential user of these characters in UCS encoding without the choice to use them as ordinary Latin letters in normalized texts. It is true that most of the examples using these letters in modern Mayanist literature simply refer to them in discussions of orthography, and do not use them in running text. Indeed, a number of sources note that Brinton 1885a is one of the few editors who made use of them in running text. The fact that these letters are being encoded at all, however, indicates a concern that future scholars be given the tools to use these letters in their work. When the archaic Coptic letters were encoded, they were encoded as casing letters so that Coptacists could make use of them in accord with normal scholarly editorial and typographic practice. The Mayanist letters should, *in principle*, also be considered to be casing, so that normal scholarly editorial and typographic practice can be likewise applied to Mayanist studies.

2.1. Evidence for case in Brinton 1885a. Brinton’s usage of Parra’s letters in his edition of *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* is notable; indeed he criticizes the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg’s edition of the *Popol Vuh* for not having used them: the Abbé has, he says, “made use only of the types of the Latin alphabet; and both in this respect and in the fidelity of his translation, he has left much to be desired in the presentation of the work” (p. 52). Having said that, it must be observed that Brinton’s typesetters did not favour the Mayanist letters with *any* sort of typographic care: the four letters Ʒ, 4, 4, and Ƨ are used indifferently in the text, in both roman and italic contexts, and in both casing and non-casing contexts. Not one of them was designed to harmonize with the 12-point text typeface; indeed they appear to have been cut in 18 points, and these sorts are even used in 9-point footnotes in Brinton 1885a. This *cannot* be considered as evidence that the characters are caseless; it is merely evidence of poor typography.

Nor can the manuscript itself be considered to be entirely definitive as to the question of casing. Brinton states (p. 63): “Capital letters are not often used in the original to distinguish proper names, and as the text has been set up from a close copy of the first text, some irregularities in this respect also must be anticipated.” As a modern editor, however, Brinton *does* normalize his texts to distinguish proper names with case for the Latin letters available to him; in both the English and the original Quiché—except where his poor fonts prevent him from setting the Mayanist letters adequately. From Brinton 1885a, pp. 126–129 and 146–148:

66. The chief Citan Qatu ruled, the son of the chief Caynoh, to whom were mystic power and wisdom. Then ruled the chief Qotbalcan. The chief Alinam ruled. Next ruled the chief Xttamer Zaquentol. Then followed in power Qhiyoc Queh Ahgug. In his reign the chief and Galel Xahil Xulu Qatu gathered together the Quiche nation, desiring that war should be declared against those who were attacking the Ginona.... 91. It was on the day 10th Tzy that occurred the destruction of the Quiches at Iximche; but the news of it had not yet reached our ancestors, Oxlahu tzii and Cablahuh Tihax, when the Quiches came to destroy the Zotzil Tukuches.

66. Xahauar ahauh Citan 4atu, ru 4ahol ahauh Caynoh, xa vi 4oh ru puz ru naval ri. Ok xahauar chi4a ahauh 4otbalcan. Xahauar 4a ahauh Alinam xahauar chi4a ahauh, Xttamer Çaquentol. Ok xoc chi4a ahauh 4hiyoc Queh ah $\xi u\xi$. Haok xmolobax el ahauh ξ alel Xahil Xulu 4atu chire 4echevinak, xax rah ru yac labal ahauh chiree xban vi pa ξ inona.... 91. Ha 4a chi lahuh 4ij, rucam ka 4eche vinak chi Yximchee, 4i mani 4a ru tzihol cu4in ka mama Oxlahuh 4ij, ha Cablahuh Tihax, ok xpeul 4echevinak, camicay richin Ço4il Tukuchee.

Here we see *Qatu/4atu* beside *son/4ahol* and *Ahgug/ah $\xi u\xi$* (the second should have been *Ah $\xi u\xi$*) beside *Galel/ ξ alel*. I am certain that Brinton would have set his text, if the appropriate fonts had been available to him, thus:

66. Xahauar ahauh Citan 4atu, ru 4ahol ahauh Caynoh, xa vi 4oh ru puz ru naval ri. Ok xahauar chi4a ahauh 4otbalcan. Xahauar 4a ahauh Alinam xahauar chi4a ahauh, Xttamer Çaquentol. Ok xoc chi4a ahauh 4hiyoc Queh Ah $\xi u\xi$. Haok xmolobax el ahauh ξ alel Xahil Xulu 4atu chire 4echevinak, xax rah ru yac labal ahauh chiree xban vi pa ξ inona.... 91. Ha 4a chi lahuh 4ij, rucam ka 4eche vinak chi Yximchee, 4i mani 4a ru tzihol cu4in ka mama Oxlahuh 4ij, ha Cablahuh Tihax, ok xpeul 4echevinak, camicay richin Ço4il Tukuchee.

I say that I am certain that Brinton, had he been able, would have written *Qatu/4atu* beside “*son/4ahol*” and *Ahgug/Ah $\xi u\xi$* beside *Galel/ ξ alel*. How can I be certain? The use of 18-pt ξ in 12-pt *ah $\xi u\xi$* is an artefact of the fonts available to Brinton. Nothing like that size distinction occurs in the manuscripts. (See also Figures 3 through 5.)

Brinton’s use of case in his Vocabulary and Index of Native Proper Names at the back of the book is also clear; as was common in the 19th century, each entry is title-cased (see Figure 2). The alphabetical order he gives is: A, B, C, Ç, Ch, E, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Qu, R, T, U, V, X, Y, ξ , 4, 4h, 4, Tz. Note that although Brinton describes the use of ξ as a separate letter in his introduction, he only uses the digraph *tz* in his text and indices. Doubtless this last was *also* for typographic convenience; cf. the *Popol Vuh* manuscript referred to below in §2.2.

Brinton also gives (pp 55–56; see also Figure 4) the following title captions in uppercase (he uses the 18-point outsized letters):

VAE MEMORIA CHIRE 4HAOH
THIS IS THE RECORD FOR THE PROCESS

VAE MEMORIA CHIRE VINAK CHIJ
THIS IS THE STATEMENT OF THE TORTS

VAE MEMORIA ξ ANAVINAKIL
THIS IS A RECORD OF THE WITNESSES

Were a facsimile edition of *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* available, we could check the manuscript practice more precisely; but it is not. Recall, however, that Brinton described the letters in question as “four new signs added to the European alphabet”. This does not imply the kind of caselessness

that we find for African click letters invented in the nineteenth century. Priest and Constable’s apparent belief that these letters should be encoded caselessly because they *were* in fact caseless implies that Spanish missionaries in Guatemala *conceived* of the new letters they devised as specifically caseless. This is not, to my mind, credible. To the missionaries, letters were letters, pure and simple. Whether they *applied* casing consistently to proper names is an orthographic question. Let us look at the *Popol Vuh* manuscript for more on the question of casing.

2.2 Evidence in the *Popol Vuh*. Further evidence for the generalization of case for these letters can be found in Brother Francisco Ximénez’ 16th-century bilingual manuscript of the Mayan *Popol Vuh*. UNESCO funded the publication of the first facsimile edition of this work for the International Year of the Book in 1973. On the left-hand pages, the Quiché and Spanish text in the Ximénez’ handwriting are given; on the right-hand pages, Agustín Estrada Monroy presents a somewhat normalized transcription of the Spanish text. At the beginning of the work, Estrada has transcribed some of the Quiché text, and there are Quiché names throughout the text. Ximénez’ hand is quite spidery, but some of the letters in question can be seen fairly clearly. The shapes of the TRESILLO can be seen, looking often like a two-stroke ligature of *c* and inverted breve, often with the strokes disjointed. Sometimes it looks like two *cs* stacked or like a tall open *e*. Estrada transcribes these as <k> or <c> (without much systematicity) in his transcription of the Quiché at the beginning of the text.

That casing is a feature of orthography in general is clear: a few all-caps titles are given, and many lines and names begin with capital letters. Initial capital Z appears at line 4854 of the Spanish text, and in the corresponding line in the Quiché, in the name *Ztayul*; the form of this letter is similar to the modern EZH. Line 49 of the Spanish text reads as a title: ESTE ES SV SER DICHO QVANDO; the corresponding Quiché text is ARE V ꞤIHOCIC VAE with a very carefully drawn capital *tz* ligature, again, with the EZH shape. The same Ꞥ is used at the very beginning of the introduction to the text, lines 1 and 2 of both the Quiché and the Spanish text (see Figures 11–16):

ARE V XE OHER
Ꞥih varal Quiche vbi

ESTE ES EL PRINCÍPIO DE LAS
antiguas historias aquí en el quiché.

Here the word *Quiche* is capitalized in the Quiché, and not in the Spanish, in the manuscript. Other examples of inconsistent capitalization of names may be found in this manuscript: *Balam* Quiché, *balam* Spanish; *Mexico* Quiché and Spanish; *rabinal* Quiché, *Rabinal* Spanish. This doesn’t signify; it does indicate however that case is an expected feature of the orthography used. We are unlucky that the *Popol Vuh* manuscript does not seem to have an example of CAPITAL LETTER TRESILLO. But this does not mean that TRESILLO “is” caseless, particularly in view of the evidence of TZ, where its capital is so carefully drawn and its lower-case form is as expected in the script handwriting. Certainly a modern editor using the UCS needs to be able to choose CAPITAL LETTER TRESILLO if he or she wishes to.

3. Glyph design. Capital and small Ꞥ and ꞥ are both attested in the *Popol Vuh* manuscript, and the t-ezh ligature shape seems appropriate enough. The CUATRILLOS are also easy enough to design: Take capital J and small j and attach the flag of a 4 to it, extending the horizontal bar far enough to nestle a small comma inside of it for the CUATRILLO WITH COMMA, thus: 4 J 4 j 4 4. This approach is supported well by all of the examples, even the clumsier ones. The TRESILLO is the most problematic. Brinton’s Ꞥ is strange in the first place because it goes below the line, but then it is clearly not designed in harmony with the text font he is using. In the manuscripts, the lower-case tresillo sits on the same baseline as does the letter *c*, and the examples show either a sort of two-stroke tall open-*e*/double-*c* shape, or a *c* with a kind of inverted breve attached to it—sometimes indeed not attached to it. I favour the latter and propose <ꞥ> for the normalized shape for the lower-case TRESILLO. Both loops there are made out of the upper stroke of the *c*. I have taken the same approach

in designing the capital TRESILLO, taking the top loop from the upper stroke of a reversed 3, thus: Ɔ
 Ɔ̇. This may be a bit less felicitous, and I would welcome other ideas; repeating the top stroke of
 capital C does not seem satisfactory: Ɔ̇. Note that these are quite distinct from the Africanist hooked
 Cs: compare Ɔ Ɔ̇ with C ċ.

4. Proposal. I propose the addition of the following letters to the UCS:

2C78	Ɔ	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TRESILLO
2C79	Ɔ̇	LATIN SMALL LETTER TRESILLO
2C7A	4	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO
2C7B	4	LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO
2C7C	4̇	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA
2C7D	4̇	LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA
2C7E	Ƨ	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TZ
2C7F	Ƨ̇	LATIN SMALL LETTER TZ

Note that this entails deleting 2C6F LATIN LETTER TRESILLO and 2C70 LATIN LETTER CUATRILLO from PDAM 3.

Unicode Character Properties

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2C78;LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TRESILLO;Lu;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C79;
2C79;LATIN SMALL LETTER TRESILLO;Ll;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C78;;2C78
2C7A;LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO;Lu;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7B;
2C7B;LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO;Ll;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7A;;2C7A
2C7C;LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA;Lu;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7D;
2C7D;LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA;Ll;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7C;;2C7C
2C7E;LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TZ;Lu;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7F;
2C7F;LATIN SMALL LETTER TZ;Ll;0;L;;;;;N;;;2C7E;;2C7E
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Figures.

Besides the above, there are five sounds occurring in the Cakchiquel, Quiche and Tzutuhil, for which five special characters were invented, or rather adopted, by the early missionary Francisco de la Parra, who died in Guatemala, in 1560. They are the following :—

4 4^h 4̣ ɛ̣ ɟ̣

The origin and phonetic value of these, as given by the grammarian Torresano, are as follows :¹—

ɛ̣ This is called the *tresillo*, from its shape, it being an old form of the figure three, reversed, thus, ɛ. It is the only true guttural in the language, being pronounced forcibly from the throat, with a trilling sound (*castañeteando*).

4̣ From its shape this is called the *cuatrillo*, Parra having

¹ Fr. Esteyan Torresano, *Arte de la Lengua Cakchiquel*, MS., in my possession.

Figure 1. Sample from Brinton 1885a, showing the “five special characters” (that is, four characters and one digraph with *-h*) and describing them. Note how in lead type he has simply inverted a 3 in his description of the origin of TRESILLO.

4̣ The name applied to this is, the *cuatrillo con coma*, or the 4 with a comma. It is pronounced somewhat like the *c* with the cedilla, ç, only more quickly and with greater force—*ds* or *dz*.

ɟ̣ This resembles the “4 with a comma,” but is described as softer, the tongue being brought into contact with the teeth, exactly as *tz* in German.

4^h A compound sound produced by combining the *cuatrillo* with a forcible aspirate, is represented by this sign.

Naturally, no description in words can convey a correct notion of these sounds. To learn them, one must hear them spoken by those to the manner-born.

Dr. Otto Stoll, who recently made a careful study of the Cakchiquel when in Guatemala, says of Parra’s characters :—

“The four new signs added to the European alphabet, by some of the old writers on Cakchiquel (Parra, Flores), viz : ɛ̣, 4̣, 4^h, ɟ̣, are but phonetic modifications of four corresponding signs of the common alphabet. So we get four pairs of sounds, namely :—

c and 4̣;
k and ɟ̣
ch and 4^h
tz and 4̣

forming two series of consonants, the former of which represents the common letters, and the latter their respective “cut letters,” which may be described as being pronounced with a shorter and more explosive sound than the corresponding

Figure 2. Sample from Brinton 1885a continuing the discussion. He shows, as I have above on the top of page 2, the pairings of the plain and the glottal sounds; he does not use his ɟ̣ here, though he ought to, given his discussion of this immediately above.

Xeamatal chii, 23.	Xaxanul, 31, 32.
Xe Caka Abah, 139.	Xekacivan, 77.
Xeçuh, 23.	Xekaçuch, 3, 10, 29, 39, 40, 48, 50.
Xechibohoy, 84.	Xinona, 63, 66, 91.
Xechipeken, 101, 102.	Xucumatz, 20, 38.
Xechituh, 84.	Xumarcaah, 70, 71, 82, 90, 146.
Xe la hub, 145, 179.	Xucucot, 41.
Xepakay, 64.	Xuchom, 3.
Xepalica, 112.	Xuçu huyu, 77, 94, 97.
Xepau, 157, 158.	
Xe pit, 144.	Abouil çivan, 63.
Xepoyom, 41, 138.	Alalapacay, 33.
Xerahapit, 77, 97.	Akbatzulu, 35, 37.
Xet, 3, 27, 28.	Amaçekum, 77.
Xetocoy, 23.	Atu, 88, 119, 125.
Xe tulul, 144.	Atun, 3.
Xeuh, 23.	AxAn, 77, 94, 97.
Xey noh, 112.	Ache, 9, 15, 20, 28, 29, 41, 45, 66, 76.
Xhuçuy, 81.	Aletel, 41.
Xibalbay, 4, 5.	Aian, 133, 135.
Xiliviztan, 23.	Aichay, 137.
Ximbal xuç, 29.	Aikab, 67-72, 74-114.
Ximox, 88.	Airia Yyu, 100, 103.
Xiquitzal, 70, 73.	Aizab, 84, 85.
Xit amal Queh, 82, 84, 85.	Aobakil, 3, 11, 26, 61.
Xitayul Hax, 69.	Aomakaa, 43.
Xivanul, 84.	Aot balcan, 66.
Xivico, 110.	Aoxabil, 3, 21, 26, 61.
Xttamer Çaquentol, 66.	Aubulahay, 34.
Xubabal, 77.	Aulavi cochoh, 34.
Xuchipillan, 173.	Aulavi Anti, 34.
Xulpit, 19, 20.	Ahicbal, 112.
Xulu Atu, 66.	Ahitibal, 22.
Xumak cham, 95.	Ahixnal, 49, 77.
Xurcah, 3, 29.	Ahiyoc Queh Ahçuç, 66.
Xçekaçuch, 135.	Aholamaç, 23.
	Ahooc Tacatic, 95.
Çalaah, 63, 91.	
Çaçalyx, 77.	
Çaçavitz, 2, etc.	

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Figure 3. Sample from the index of proper names in Brinton 1885a. There is no reason to think that *Xe Caka Abah* is capitalized differently than *Ahiyoc Queh Ahçuç*, or indeed that *Xçekaçuch* does not properly contrast with *Çekaçuch*. If ç were truly caseless, we might expect *ÇEkaçuch in titlecasing, mightn't we?

I. VAE XTINUÇIBAH HALAL QUITZIH
HE NABEY

Ka tata ka mama, heri xeboço vinak oher mahaniok ti laÇabex vae huyu taÇah; Ça ruyon ok umul Çiquin Çoh, que cha, ha ok ki xquilaÇabeh huyu taÇah he Ça ka tata ka mama, yx nuÇahol, pa Tulan.

2. XtinuÇibah Ça quitzih ri ki he nabey ka tata ka mama ÇaÇavitz rubi, Çactecauh ru bi hunchic, he Çoh quitzih que cha Ça Çhaka palouh xoh pevi, pa Tulan ru bi huyu, xoh alax xoh Çaholax vi pe ruma ka tee, ka tata, yxkaÇahol, quecha ri oher tata mama, ÇaÇavitz, Çactecauh qui bi, ri ki xepe pa Tulan he cay chi achij heri xoh boço, oh Xahila.

Figure 4. Sample from Brinton 1885a showing CUATRILLO WITH COMMA used in an all-caps and a plain context. This is surely *XTINUÇIBAH* (and not *XTINUÇIBAH*) contrasting with *XtinuÇibah*.

ġambal richin Ykomaġ vae.

34. Ok xet chiġa chinaht ri Cakixahay ġubulahay ru bi, rikam Ykomaġi, cani xġamar rokotaxic cuma, runah ġa xilitah Chiġalibal rubi huyu; xuya vi ri hoye vi quivach, ok xilitah, xaxu ġaba chic rij. Quereġa xubinaah vi huyu, Chiġalibal ri. Xcha ġa ok xu ya ri: Xa yn achaġ animal, xa mixiġhacatah, xaquin ikan a tem, a ġhacat, yn huvi chi vinak ġo vikan. Xcha ri Ykomaġi, he ġa rikan ri Cakixahay, ġubulahay; que-reġa ruġamic Ykomaġ ri, xere ġa xcolotah. Chic ri xeboġo chic ġoġil vinak, qui tata qui mama ri Ahpoġo-ġil Qulavi ġochoh, ġula vi ġanti quibi; xaqui vinakil xeel chic mani chic quikan.

The Conquest of the Ikomagi.

34. Then they saw at a distance those called the Cakixahay and the Qubulahay, subjects of the Ikomagi. They were captured after they had been routed by a surprise, when they were not far from a place called Chigalibal. They were pardoned when they arrived, and our warriors extended their hands to them. Hence that place was called Chigalibal. They said, in yielding: "I am your brother, your elder. You are the conquerors. We are the subjects of your throne and your power. I swear it before these who are my subjects." Thus spoke the Ikomagi, and thus their subjects, the Cakixahay and the Qubulahay. Thus did Ikomag submit and save his life. With them the Zotzils brought forth those fathers and elders, the Ahpozotzils named Qulavi Zochoh and Qulavi Qanti. But only their families, not their vassals, proceeded therefrom.

Figure 5. Sample from Brinton 1885a showing the capitalization of proper names. In English he gives *Cakixahay*, *Qubulahay*, *Ahpozotzil*, *Qulavi Zochoh*, and *Qulavi Qanti*. His Quiché for these reads *Cakixahay*, *ġubulahay*, *Ahpoġoġil*, *ġulavi ġochoh*, and *ġula vi ġanti* [sic, but compare *ġulavi cochoh* and *ġulavi ġanti* in the index shown in Figure 3 above]. In normalized and corrected form these must be *Cakixahay*, *ġubulahay*, *Ahpoġoġil*, *ġulavi ġochoh*, and *ġulavi ġanti*.

For Cakchiquel we have the following progression. The Solana Cakchiquel dictionary (said to have been widely used in the 1500s) had no palatalized velars. Some examples are:

ġak	"flea"	(k'aq)
cak	"red"	(kaq)
queh	"deer"	(ke·x)
icaĊ	"sling (honda)"	(ikaq')
rochoch queh	"stable" (literally "its-house deer")	(roġoġ ke·x)

The Vare(1)a dictionary was compiled ca. 1600, but was based on earlier work by Parra (discussed above) and Pedro de Betanzos (who wrote his *Arte de la lengua de Guatemala*, ca. 1545), both lost. Therefore, it is not possible to be certain whether Varela presents Cakchiquel as spoken in 1600 or as spoken in the mid 1500s in the works he used. In either case, Varela lacks palatalization:

icah	"axe"	(ikax)
icaĊ	"sling (honda)"	(ikaq')
queh	"deer"	(ke·x)
xġak	"fingernails (uñas)"	(išk'aq)

Figure 6. Sample from Campbell 1977, showing rather ghastly typographic forms for both CUATRILLO and TRESILLO. The former stands high on the baseline but is otherwise unobjectionable.

The latter is a fusion of c and ^ circumflex, which is not unlike what actually occurs in the manuscript, though here the letter seems to have been achieved by kerning (as its representation repeated in differs in the two words *icaĊ*: *icaĊ* and *icaĊ*).

(Professor Campbell has, it must be noted, given his support to this proposal.)

various grammars. I have preserved the original orthography. The earliest Quiche (and Cakchiquel) grammarians did superlative linguistic work in making up symbols for phonemes which went beyond Spanish phonology. For example, Anleo's 3 (actually, a reversed 3: ε) corresponded to q', 4 to k', k to q. The problem is that later grammarians were less accurate in a consistent recording of the uniquely Mayan phonological distinctions. Below, Anleo's work is phonemically accurate, as is the Kekchi. The others are not.

Figure 7. Sample from Robertson 1984, where the author equates DIGIT 3 with REVERSED OPEN E, and suggests that TRESILLO is OPEN E, which it is not. He substitutes DIGIT 4 for CUATRILLO.

Rather than normalizing the spellings, I maintain the original orthographies. In the reconstructions, however, I use typical American linguistic conventions. In Colonial highland Guatemalan languages, the following orthography was adopted: /s/ = s, z, or c; /j/ = x; /x/ = h; /k/ = c or qu; /kʔ/ = 4; /q/ = k; /qʔ/ = e; /ɛʔ/ = 4; /ɛʔ/ = 4 h. It must be pointed out, however, that these symbols were inconsistently used, particularly Moran (1720).

Figure 8. Sample from Robertson 1986, where the author has a better CUATRILLO, though still high on the baseline. He also continues to equate TRESILLO and OPEN E.

- COMPL: 1ST on 3D: *xin/nuloꝛoh* [š-in/nu-loq'ox] COMPL-ERG1SG-hit 'I hit it'
- INCOMPL: 1ST on 3D: *canuloꝛoh* [ka-in/nu-loq'ox] INCOMPL-ERG1SG-love 'I love it'
- INCOMPL: 1ST on 2D: *catnuloꝛoh* [k-at-in/nu-loq'o-x] INCOMPL-ABS2-ERG1SG-love-AFF.TR 'I love you'
- POSSESSIVE: *nu-4ahol* [k'axol] 'my [male] son'

Figure 9. Sample from Robertson 1999. Here OPEN E is still used for TRESILLO, but an improving CUATRILLO is found, hanging below the baseline as it should.

In the Popol Vuh and other early alphabetic documents in Quiché and other Quichean languages, vowels followed by glottal stops were written *aa, ee, ii, oo, uu*; in the new spellings these become *a', e', i', o', u'*. Among the glottalized consonants, *b* becomes *b'*, *tt* becomes *t'*, *4h* becomes *ch'*, and *4*, becomes *tz'*. Among *k* sounds, the plain front variety formerly written *c* or *qu* is now *k*, while the plain back variety formerly written *k* is now *q*. The glottalized forms once written *4* and *3* are now *k'* and *q'*, respectively. And finally, *h* becomes *j*, while *z* and *ç* become *s*. Where untranslated proper names appear in roman type, they follow the original spellings of the documents. Otherwise, original spellings (in roman type enclosed in brackets) are given only where the new spellings of the same words (in italics) include corrections of phonetic or scribal errors.

The names of the Guatemalan Mayan peoples and languages mentioned in this work, as written in the new official alphabets, are *K'iche'*, *Kaqchikel*, *Tz'utujil*, *Poqomchi*, *Q'eqchi'*, *Ixil*, *Mam*, and *Jakalteko*. The spellings used in

Figure 10. Sample from the popular translation of the Popol Vuh in Tedlock 1996.

The author uses DIGIT 4 and DIGIT 3 for CUATRILLO and TRESILLO. The names given in modern orthography in the last paragraph can be given in normalized orthography according to normal modern editorial practice if casing pairs for the Mayanist letters are available in the UCS: *K'iche'*/*4ichee*, *Kaqchikel*/*Cakchiquel*, *Tz'utujil*/*4utuhil*, *Poqomchi*/*Pokomchi*, *Q'eqchi'*/*Çekchii*, *Ixil*/*Ixil*, *Mam*/*Mam*, *Jakalteko*/*Hacalteco*.

24
 14
 ARE V XE OHER
 Bih varal quiche vbi.
 varal xchicah bah vi xchica-
 hquiba vi oher hih, vharibal,
 vzenabat puch tonohel xban,
 pahnam quiche, ramac gai-
 chevinac; arecut xchicacam
 vi vcu fumizaxic, vcalahobiza-
 xic, vghioxic puch vaxibal
 3aquiribal rumal haxol bitol
 alom, gaholom quibi hun ah-
 pu vuch, hun ahpu vhu, za-
 quininac hys, tepen, qucumah
 vguv cho, vguv palo, ahra-
 xalar, ah raxa hoh chugha-
 xic, raxbixic, rax hixoxic
 ry' yom, mamom xpiyacoc,
 x mucane vbi, mahanal chu-
 me nel camul yom, amul
 mamom chugha xic re quiche
 hih. hu xquihitohol tonohel
 xquiban chic chiza quic
 galem, zaguit hih vae xchi-

ESTE ES EL PRINCIPIO DE LAS
 antiguas historias aqui en el quiche.
 Aqui es criuiremos, y ompezamos las
 antiguas historias, su principio, y comien-
 so de todo lo que fue hecho en el pueblo de
 el quiche, su pueblo de los indios quicheos;
 y de aqui tomaremos insor declaradu, y
 manifestado, y insor relatado, la esconde-
 dura, y a clara dura, por el formador, y cri-
 ador madre, y Padre q' asi se llaman, hun
 ahpu vach. hun ahpu vhu. zaguinima hys.
 tepen. qucumah. vguv cho. vguv palo. (nom-
 bres, o ah'ipulos. q' significan; vn hrador, torn-
 ajin. vn hrador coyote. blanco pizote. 1.
 fuor se culbra. corazon de la laguna. co-
 razon de el mar.) olde d'vender de cagete, el
 de la verde hicara ionlla mados. y san ta
 x mucane. nombres propios. am para do-
 tor, y cubridores de veyes abuela, y del
 veyes abuelo ton dichos en las historias, q' si-
 cheos q' comunicaron todo con los hys-

Figure 11. Sample from the Popol Vuh manuscript (p 24). The CAPITAL LETTER TZ is shown in the second line alongside CAPITAL LETTER Q in Quiché, though in Spanish SMALL LETTER Q is used. Further down the SMALL LETTER TZ is used; the word is Bih or tzih 'word, speech' in both cases: quiche tzih = historias quicheas.

pautx vbi vacamic invixia-
 nabui xcanahoc pagivan
 rumal Balam acab. cholon
 vcanahi vna be ri xcanah chi-
 cut hacavib chuvi hun nima
 calha hacavib vbi huyub
 vacamic. xquihnamit curi za-
 xic chiricut xgohevi caba-
 vil hacavib vbi. xavi, xca-
 nah ri mahuculah ruc vcahu-
 vil vcab cut cabavil ri xe-
 vaj cumal mana pagu e-
 chelah xgohevi hacavib xa
 zagui huyub xex xui hacavib
 ta xpe chicut balam quiche xel
 chiri panima quechelah xul
 euaxo vi tohil rumal Balam
 quiche patohil ghughax va-

y quedo en lo barranca por balam acab
 y or rínglera terdesaxar el primeru
 q' quedo fue hacavib. sobre un río
 grande llamado agua colorada, y se
 llama el serro hacavib, agora yahi
 fue su habitacion, y alli estuvo el pa-
 idolo hacavib. q' asi era su nombre.
 y asi mismo se quedo mahuculah
 con su idolo, q' ora el segundo q' se
 escondio por ella, no en la montaña
 estubo hacavib, sino q' en un serro
 guente, y raso se escondio, el haca-
 vib. y en tan sero vino el balam qui-
 che, y llevo allí a un agran monta-
 ña a ocultat altobil, q' lo escondio
 balam quiche. y agora se llama pa-
 tohil. aquella montaña. y se le bra-

Figure 12. Sample from the Popol Vuh manuscript showing general inconsistency in capitalization practice. On this page of the manuscript the name Balam is written with a capital three times in Quiché, but written balam once in Quiché and four times in Spanish—I give only part of the page showing two capitals in Quiché and two smalls in Spanish, to save space. It is not, certainly, evidence that Spanish has no CAPITAL LETTER B. It is simply a feature of the scribe's practice.

ARE V B I H O X I C V A E E S T E E S S V S E R D I C H O Q V A N D O
Cacahinim, cacahamam oc *estaba suspenso, en calma, en silencio, sin*
Cazimonic cacazilanic, cac *moviote, sin cosa sino en el cielo.*
loanic, cabulona puch v
pa chah.
Vae xate nabe fih nabe vch **V**osca es la primera palabra, y olo guancia
an. mahabioc hun vinac, hun *aun no avia hombres, animales, pasados, pos-*
chicop, hiquin, car, sap, che *cado, cangrejo, palo, piedra, hoyo, varran-*
abah, hul, zivun, quin, qui- *ca, paja, nimon te. sino solo estaba el cielo.*
chelak; xaxfu quel cak golic. *no se manifestaba la luz de la tierra. sino q*
mani salah v vachulen; xa *solo estaba el mar represado en el cielo;*
vluquel remanic. palo vpa- *aun no avia cosa alguna junta, ni*
cah ronohel, mahabi na quita *unaba nada, ni cosa alguna se movia, ni*
camolobic, ca cshobic, pumta *cosa q' hixiera, mal. ni cosa q' hixiera, cof. esto-*
cazilobic camal caban bah, ca *es ruido, en el cielo. ni avia cosa q' os huie-*
coh caban bah pacah. xma go *re, ni q' os huiese parada en pie; solo el*
vinaguila. golic, xacolic; xa *agua represada, solo la mar se regada, so-*
remanic ha, xalianic palo, xa *lo ella represada, ni cosa alguna avia q' os*
vluquel remanic, xma go vna *huiese; solo estaba en silencio, y silencio, en la*
quitalo golic, xa cacahamam *obscuridad, y lanoche; solo estaba el criador*
*Cazimonic **chi** queresum, **chi** arab,* *y formado, se celebra muerte, la madre del...*

Figure 15. Sample from the Popol Vuh manuscript. The CAPITAL LETTER TZ is written carefully in the first line. Paragraph initials are capitalized in Quiché and in Spanish. The TRESILLO is found in a couple of words in the Quiché.

tax gairatak chiapanoc cax gair
chuc rix gair vinac rix gair
ric chix **M**exico vbi naam va
camie go **M**exico chahcar
vinac xquicanah chila rebe
bal gnik tepenoliman quibi
xeca canah canoc xegha mim
vcatat quix xchiri churi ha
cavit xavi queche ca quiban ri
rech tamub tlocab xavi xore
egvi chiri payachelak amac
Dan vbi xga qm vi rah quix b
xahcakh tamub rug vabauil
xavi xore tshil xahun vbi
vabauil rexchobichal queche
vinac xavi caxere chic vbi vab
bauil rabinaleb xraguin vhat
cat vbi hun tok chughaxic vbi
vabauil rabinaleb xacuchan
xachirak huna malak chi queche
chi vghabal. arecat haticat h
nac vighabal rug **ca**chequeleb
parientes
amanesio alla en **M**exico q' anisella
ma agora. y tambien en parte de la gen
te se queda alla en el oriente q' se
llaman tepenoliman. y se queda
ron alla di seron. y fue grande el
dolor, y pena alli desui corazon es so
bre el hacauit. y an mismo hacen
aquello de el tamub, el locab. y an
mismo estan alli en la montaña oha
pueblo q' se llama **D**an. alli a mana
clo alos parillas del tamub, con su ydolo
q' an mismo era tohil, q' uno era el nom
bre su idolo, do lair o hibun, o calpu
tes del quiche. y an mismo es el nom
bre de el idolo de la **R**abinal, sino
es, y no se diferencia el nombre, porq
se llama toh. y an con es una misma lon
gua la nuestra, en la de la de Rabinal.
y an mismo es diferente la lengua de
los **ca**chiqueles porq' es diferente
el nombre de su ydolo quando vini
do a habitar...

Figure 16. Sample from the Popol Vuh manuscript. Mexico is written in both Quiché and Spanish with a capital letter, as is Dan. In Quiché, rabinal is written where in Spanish Rabinal is written, and in both lower case is used in the name cachequeleb in Quiché and cacchiqueles in Spanish (transliterated as cacchiqueles in Estrada Monroy's typeset edition). We are simply unlucky that the capital doesn't appear, however, as is clear from the general use of casing throughout the document. In all caps, the word would have to be CACCHEQUELEB, not *CAACHEQUELEB.

Salutacion

Para q^{do} viene, a tomar posesion del pueblo el P^{ro} cura con gran lengua que
 qualahomul **Caqui'ot** pu Cux, Numal mixincochih Nili vna lxxx pa Naaah,
 Nim **Cut** canu camozah, Chuach Dios, utz Yachil, i' rax vinaquil, Xavi que he
 in utz nu Yach. Mixim **caluni'c** mata naquila, miximcul pa be. pa hoc
 mixeria Dios chue nu **peti'c** Chupan itzilam. itinamit. Yacame in **colic**
 chire naquila. Ca havax chi Huech Numal. in tool. Huech ungu loy uech
 da Numal. unima tocbal. nu Cux chi uech. Numal cut xcah. nu Uach
 chiue xiuocotah. uochoch. xiuocotah. Cut. hum nima tinamit Numal
 mana **kavah** **puak**, ja cutzilah. Vinas que nutzucuh Numal cut nuntam
 itzilah **colic**. an Numal, are'ca. Vax nupetic' Chupan itinamit que he
 Cut quitzih. quix nulo coh quix nu too, quix nu toxa. Cuxlah. pu. ue. ix
 quim eloch, que nalcuslah. Yacame'c. Cut. nim Canulamotach chive, nu
 Chabessic, nuntam **locoxi'c** **quihiloxi'c** Numal chucatah. Dios chive
 nimo Nabit Yquexels Chupan Chitahit, ahavare. pa uti Dios. ca
 havixel. Dios Caholaxel. Uxlabixel. Spiritu s. Amen.

Figure 17. Sample from the Popol Vuh manuscript. Circled are words using the TRESILLO. The manuscript gives *Caqui'ot*; Estrada Monroy transliterates this as *kaquicot*. The editor is not consistent, wavering between *k* and *c* because he has no TRESILLO: *cut/cut*, *caluni'c/calunic*, *hoc/hoc*, *peti'c/petik*, *colic'c/kolic*, *kavah/kavah*, *puak'c/puak*, *locoxi'c/locoxic*, *quihiloxi'c/quihiloxik*. The disjointed *c* + inverted breve form of the TRESILLO is seen throughout.

TABLE xx - Row 2C: LATIN EXTENDED-C

	2C6	2C7
0		
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		Ĉ
9		Ċ
A		4
B		4
C		4,
D		4,
E		Ƨ
F		Ƨ

G = 00
P = 00

TABLE XXX - Row 2C: LATIN EXTENDED-C

hex	Name
60	(This position shall not be used)
61	(This position shall not be used)
62	(This position shall not be used)
63	(This position shall not be used)
64	(This position shall not be used)
65	(This position shall not be used)
66	(This position shall not be used)
67	(This position shall not be used)
68	(This position shall not be used)
69	(This position shall not be used)
6A	(This position shall not be used)
6B	(This position shall not be used)
6C	(This position shall not be used)
6D	(This position shall not be used)
6E	(This position shall not be used)
6F	(This position shall not be used)
70	(This position shall not be used)
71	(This position shall not be used)
72	(This position shall not be used)
73	(This position shall not be used)
74	(This position shall not be used)
75	(This position shall not be used)
76	(This position shall not be used)
77	(This position shall not be used)
78	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TRESILLO
79	LATIN SMALL LETTER TRESILLO
7A	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO
7B	LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO
7C	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA
7D	LATIN SMALL LETTER CUATRILLO WITH COMMA
7E	LATIN CAPITAL LETTER TZ
7F	LATIN SMALL LETTER TZ

hex	Name

A. Administrative

1. Title

Proposal to add Mayanist Latin letters to the UCS.

2. Requester's name

Michael Everson

3. Requester type (Member body/Liaison/Individual contribution)

Individual contribution.

4. Submission date

2006-01-30

5. Requester's reference (if applicable)

6. Choose one of the following:

6a. This is a complete proposal

Yes.

6b. More information will be provided later

No.

B. Technical – General

1. Choose one of the following:

1a. This proposal is for a new script (set of characters)

No.

Proposed name of script

1b. The proposal is for addition of character(s) to an existing block

Yes.

1b. Name of the existing block

Latin Extended-C.

2. Number of characters in proposal

4

3. Proposed category (see section II, Character Categories)

Category A.

4a. Proposed Level of Implementation (1, 2 or 3) (see clause 14, ISO/IEC 10646-1: 2000)

Level 1.

4b. Is a rationale provided for the choice?

Yes.

4c. If YES, reference

Spacing letters.

5a. Is a repertoire including character names provided?

Yes.

5b. If YES, are the names in accordance with the naming guidelines in Annex L of ISO/IEC 10646-1: 2000?

Yes.

5c. Are the character shapes attached in a legible form suitable for review?

Yes.

6a. Who will provide the appropriate computerized font (ordered preference: True Type, or PostScript format) for publishing the standard?

Michael Everson. TrueType.

6b. If available now, identify source(s) for the font (include address, e-mail, ftp-site, etc.) and indicate the tools used:

Michael Everson. Fontographer.

7a. Are references (to other character sets, dictionaries, descriptive texts etc.) provided?

Yes.

7b. Are published examples of use (such as samples from newspapers, magazines, or other sources) of proposed characters attached?

Yes.

8. Does the proposal address other aspects of character data processing (if applicable) such as input, presentation, sorting, searching, indexing, transliteration etc. (if yes please enclose information)?

Casing is addressed.

9. Submitters are invited to provide any additional information about Properties of the proposed Character(s) or Script that will assist in correct understanding of and correct linguistic processing of the proposed character(s) or script.

Functions and properties are like all Latin capital and small letters.

C. Technical – Justification

1. Has this proposal for addition of character(s) been submitted before? If YES, explain.

Yes. The Claudian letters are part of a preliminary proposal in N2957, which does not contain the proposal summary form. Here, however, they are proposed on their own.

2a. Has contact been made to members of the user community (for example: National Body, user groups of the script or characters, other experts, etc.)?

Yes.

2b. If YES, with whom?

Lyle Campbell, Professor of Linguistics, Director of the Center for American Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of Utah.

2c. If YES, available relevant documents

3. Information on the user community for the proposed characters (for example: size, demographics, information technology use, or publishing use) is included?

No.

4a. The context of use for the proposed characters (type of use; common or rare)

These are rarely-used characters used in Latin epigraphy.

4b. Reference

5a. Are the proposed characters in current use by the user community?

There are font implementations used by specialists.

5b. If YES, where?

See the figures above.

6a. After giving due considerations to the principles in Principles and Procedures document (a WG 2 standing document) must the proposed characters be entirely in the BMP?

Yes.

6b. If YES, is a rationale provided?

Yes.

6c. If YES, reference

Keep with other Latin letters.

7. Should the proposed characters be kept together in a contiguous range (rather than being scattered)?

If possible.

8a. Can any of the proposed characters be considered a presentation form of an existing character or character sequence?

No.

8b. If YES, is a rationale for its inclusion provided?

8c. If YES, reference

9a. Can any of the proposed characters be encoded using a composed character sequence of either existing characters or other proposed characters?

No.

9b. If YES, is a rationale for its inclusion provided?

9c. If YES, reference

10a. Can any of the proposed character(s) be considered to be similar (in appearance or function) to an existing character?

No.

10b. If YES, is a rationale for its inclusion provided?

10c. If YES, reference

11a. Does the proposal include use of combining characters and/or use of composite sequences (see clauses 4.12 and 4.14 in ISO/IEC 10646-1: 2000)?

No.

11b. If YES, is a rationale for such use provided?

11c. If YES, reference

12a. Is a list of composite sequences and their corresponding glyph images (graphic symbols) provided?

No.

12b. If YES, reference

13a. Does the proposal contain characters with any special properties such as control function or similar semantics?

No.

13b. If YES, describe in detail (include attachment if necessary)

14a. Does the proposal contain any Ideographic compatibility character(s)?

No.

14b. If YES, is the equivalent corresponding unified ideographic character(s) identified?

14c. If YES, reference