TEXTUAL SUPPORT FOR ANDALUCISMO: DOCUMENTING SESEO ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

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One of the constant challenges faced by the historical linguist is to determine the chronology of past language changes. The long-standing question of the alleged similarities between Andalusian and American Spanish, such as seseo, neutralization of /-r/ and /-l/, aspiration or loss of syllable- or word-final /s/, and yeísmo, among others, and the search for the definitive origins or cause of these similarities is a prime example of such a challenge. The present study will attempt to shed light on this issue by looking at the linguistic feature most central to the andalucismo debate: namely, seseo, as seen in two collections of documents from the areas in question. The first corpus is from Andalusia, principally from the cities of Córdoba and Sevilla, and dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while the second is an American Spanish collection, from the area of Mexico historically known as New Galicia, and dates from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Before discussing further the methodology and conclusions of this research, it may be helpful to give a brief overview of the polemic. The debate between the andalucistas and the antiandalucistas has persisted since the early part of the last century. The andalucista theory was brought to the forefront in the 1920s when M.L. Wagner proposed Andalusian influence in the development of the Spanish in the lowlands of America (57); its basic tenet is that the linguistic similarities mentioned above are due to the influence of Andalusian Spanish in the Americas.

LA CORÓNICA 34.1 (Fall, 2005): 51-69
Almost simultaneously, Pedro Henríquez Ureña argued against this influence, emphasizing the fact that the whole of the Iberian Peninsula was represented in the colonization, and Andalusians did not, in fact, predominate ("Observaciones" 359). Later, in response to Wagner’s publication, he went on to further highlight the heterogeneity of American Spanish, and to claim that traits that many have called similarities (i.e., seseo and yeismo) with Andalusian are in fact not coincidental at all with the Southern Peninsular varieties. According to this tesis poligenética, the development of these features is independent of that of the language of the southern region of Spain ("El supuesto andalucismo" 118).

The long-lived debate initiated by Wagner and Henríquez Ureña has been the point of departure for countless studies in the intervening decades. Many scholars have voiced their opinion and contributed their expertise to the debate, focusing on two key issues: the demographic makeup of the earliest settlers and the linguistic state in which Peninsular Spanish found itself at the time of colonization. The ground-breaking work of Peter Boyd-Bowman in the 1950s seemed to fuel the andalucista theory with empirical data by confirming that Andalusians were in fact the single largest group represented in the New World, if not an actual majority ("The Regional Origins" 1155-56), but the theory still found detractors, reluctant to accept it due to what they believed were chronological discrepancies in the development of the linguistic traits in question.

The phenomenon of seseo is arguably the most salient feature shared by Andalusian and American Spanish, and it is this issue in particular which, over the years, has fed the theories of many scholars in regard to their andalucista or antiandalucista stance. Initially, many scholars, among them Amado Alonso ("Historia del ceceo"), Rafael Lapesa ("Sobre el ceceo y seseo en Hispanoamérica", "Sobre el ceceo y el seseo andaluces"), Ramón Menéndez Pidal, and Diego Catalán ("El çeceo-zeceo"), relied on various historical testimonies which either indicated a consciousness of an innovative speech pattern apparent in Andalusia, or seemed to show the new usage itself, in their attempts to determine when seseo first appeared in the Peninsula. For example, many found the sixteenth-century account of Arias Montano, a young theology student, to be crucial to their theories of the history of the phenomenon.

¹ For a recent discussion of the ideological climate that helped to foster each side of the debate, see José del Valle. Among other recent studies of the polemic are: Germán de Granda ("Sobre la etapa"), Herbert J. Izzo, and José Luis Rivarola.
Montano's testimony indicates his personal perception of the speech norm of Sevilla at the beginning and end of a twenty-year period, during which time it seemed to him that the speech of the region had changed drastically from one that clearly distinguished two sibilant phonemes to one that confused them markedly (Alonso, "Historia del ceceo" 110-14). The studies of the aforementioned scholars relied in great part on testimonies such as Montano's as well as miscellaneous mispellings found in various Peninsular documents to confirm their own beliefs on the issue: Alonso stood firm as an antiandalucista, while Menéndez Pidal, Lapesa, and Catalán all supported the andalucista theory, although with regard to seseo, the particular linguistic feature that is our focus here, each had his own view of the precise chronology of its development.

The more recent efforts of Juan Antonio Frago Gracia highlight a shift in research into historical language change in Peninsular Spanish that began to focus more specifically on the collection of textual examples. It is this scholar in particular, through his exhaustive work on Andalusian Spanish, who most emphasizes the fundamental importance of the close examination of surviving documentation in order to draw any conclusions regarding the history of linguistic phenomena such as seseo, “para hacer historia de una lengua o de un dialecto [el investigador] deberá contar ... con el despojo de las fuentes documentales” (“Materiales” 166).

The documentary findings of Frago Gracia and others served to bolster the case for andalucismo by seeming to confirm the presence of many of the linguistic features in question in fifteenth-century Andalusian Spanish, one of the obvious requirements to the establishment of a hereditary connection between their existence in Spain and in the Americas. In addition, it is necessary to show that the environment was such that Andalusians would have had a significant presence in the Americas in order to pass on their speech norms. The statistical findings of Boyd-Bowman which confirm such a presence have been further strengthened by more recent discussions focusing on the consequences of language contact.

More specifically, support for the Andalusianist theory of American Spanish can be found within the more general framework of linguistic...
A look at these more recent approaches also serves to tie in important points made by the proponents of *andalucismo* in the past several decades. Koineization can be defined as the formation of a new dialect through the process of dialect mixing. Although the creation of a *koiné* involves the confluence of multiple regional varieties, it is possible for one variety in particular to have more influence in the ultimate makeup of the new dialect than others (Fontanella de Weinberg 43). It has also been shown that the process of dialect mixing results in the levelling and simplification of linguistic features through the favoring of the simpler of competing variants (Penny 42, 48).

In the case of American Spanish, speakers of different Peninsular dialects were brought together as a result of the conquest and colonization of the New World. As previously mentioned, Boyd-Bowman has shown that during the first century of emigration to the Americas, Andalusians were by far the single largest group. However, demographics are not the sole factor, nor even the most important one, which favors the influence of one dialect over another in the creation of a *koiné*. The social prestige of the dialect must also be taken into consideration. As explained by Menéndez Pidal, Andalusians had acquired importance as a social group first through the Reconquest of Granada and later as the head of the endeavour of conquest and colonization (104-105). It is in this way that their speech could plausibly have come to be considered the prestige variety and thus become the object of imitation by other speakers. Additionally, as just discussed, when different dialects come into contact, linguistic levelling takes place in which the more simplified dialect is favored. At the time of the conquest and colonization of the Americas, Andalusian was the dialect that exhibited the highest degree of simplification. Not only was it characterized by *sesoo*, or the elimination of the distinction between deaffricated /tʃ/ and /s/, as our data will show, but it was also most likely characterized by *yeismo*, the elimination of the opposition between /ʎ/ and /ʝ/, and the neutralization of /-r/ and /-l/, among other features.

Andalusian Spanish itself was becoming the most simplified dialect of Spain because it too had gone through a process of koineization.
during the Reconquest and repopulation of the area which had been carried out by speakers from all over the Peninsula (Penny 49). Here we see another characteristic of koineization – the continuous possibility for the recycling of the process (Fontanella de Weinberg 46). While in the medieval period, Andalusian Spanish was a new linguistic variety created through dialect mixing, it later entered into another process of dialect mixture on American soil at the end of the fifteenth century. The first linguistic levelling of American Spanish occurred in the Antilles with a further recycling of the process of koineization taking place with each new settlement and with the influx of new immigrants.

That is not to say, however, that American Spanish is a mere variant of Andalusian Spanish. Although Andalusian features figured predominantly in the configuration of American Spanish during its period of origins, today only seseo is general. The presence or absence of the remaining Andalusian features and the ultimate configuration of the language of a given area depended on a complex series of factors including the initial demographic makeup of the settlers, subsequent waves of immigration, and communication with the Peninsula during the colonial period. As Catalán (“Génesis”) and Menéndez Pidal explain, in general, coastal areas maintained closer ties with Sevilla and Cádiz through the flota de Indias, while highland areas, such as Mexico City, maintained closer ties with Madrid through the presence of the viceregal courts. That explains why today, Southern phonetism is more prevalent in coastal areas such as the Caribbean, for example, while in highland varieties, such as Mexican Spanish, only seseo and yeísmo, to a lesser degree, are prevalent.

Given the aforementioned understanding of dialect mixing, the demographically significant number of Andalusian settlers in the Americas, as well as evidence of features such as seseo in fifteenth-century Andalusian and early American texts, the theory of the andalucismo of American Spanish has come to be generally accepted. In other words, while American Spanish is certainly not a mere continuation of Andalusian, as previously noted, it has, quite clearly, been directly influenced by and has adopted certain features of that variety. Nevertheless, in order to move this common-sense theory toward a

5 The term “period of origins” with reference to the initial phase in the development of American Spanish encompasses a wide range of meanings and time periods, depending on the scholar. Here we use it to refer to the period that extends from the first debarkations through the middle of the seventeenth century, understanding that any attempt at periodization is approximate. For a more in-depth discussion of this topic, see Granda (“Sobre la etapa”, “El proceso”).
more verified certainty, further systematic inquiry into the language of Andalusia and various regions of the Americas during the period in question is warranted.

The current study proposes to take the documentary research methodology to the next level by providing textual evidence drawn from coherent corpora which have been examined in their entirety and analyzed carefully, in this case with specific regard to the sibilant system. What has been lacking in studies of Andalusian Spanish is a comprehensive and systematic technique to uncover data regarding the language of this region at the time of linguistic transfer to the Americas. This study takes the opposite approach from Frago Gracia, for instance, who uses examples from many different texts in order to address and support his discussion of specific linguistic issues (Historia de las hablas andaluzas). It builds, moreover, significantly on the data gathered by other scholars regarding early American Spanish by offering evidence of another regional variety, that of New Galicia. Finally, the juxtaposition of the Southern Peninsular data with those uncovered in the New World collection shows a continuum of language development across the Atlantic unlike that found in other studies.

The Andalusian collection that is the subject of the Peninsular portion of the study is made up of 89 texts, primarily from Sevilla and Córdoba, which range in date from 1324 to 1500. All the documents are part of the manuscript collection of the Library of the Hispanic Society of America. Forty-two different scribal hands are found, and all the texts are originals or close contemporary copies of the originals. The majority of the texts are private legal documents such as deeds of sale, records of transfer of ownership of land and real estate, and personal last wills. The semi-paleographic transcription of the collection was carried out adhering to strict guidelines in order to render the most reliable corpus possible for subsequent analysis.

The importance of trustworthy editions of early texts for our understanding of the language of a given period in history cannot be

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"It should be noted that there are some recent studies that use documentary investigation to examine this critical period of American Spanish in texts written by creole writers and/or those originally from the Peninsula. These include Manuel Contreras and Micaela Carrera de la Red. Contreras provides textual examples of *severo*, as well as other meridional linguistic features, in early Chilean Spanish in the writings of both Peninsula and creole authors. Carrera de la Red offers a look at the linguistic features evidenced in the writings of the early settlers of Colombia. While these works are admirably based on archival research, the present study has the additional benefits of using an established set of transcription norms as well as that of having the paleographic transcription available to readers. For the latter, see Cynthia J. Kaufl and Sonia Kania.\)
overstated, and the collections used in the present study were
transcribed with the greatest degree of faithfulness to the original
texts as possible. In general, the transcription norms followed conform
to the conservative guidelines put forth by the Hispanic Seminary of
Medieval Studies as described in their *A Manual of Manuscript
Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language* (Mackenzie).
However, with regard to the use of the Greek sigmas, the practices
suggested by the Seminary were adapted to allow for the representation
of these symbols based upon their physical appearance as seen in the
manuscripts rather than any etymological interpretation. These graphs,
commonplace in the writing of the time, appear in virtually every text
of the Andalusian collection and were transcribed as follows: the more
s-like variant is represented by $s'$, and the variant that resembles an
Arabic $\mathbf{5}$ is represented by $\mathbf{5}'$. Due to the great variation among these
symbols themselves according to the hand, no additional distinctions
were marked, and the sigmas were transcribed as they fell into these
two principal categories, regardless of position within the word.

The data for the American portion of this study are taken from a
corpus of legal documents from New Galicia spanning the years 1561
to 1647. The area of Mexico historically known as New Galicia was a
political territory roughly equivalent, at its greatest expansion, to
modern-day Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Nayarit, most of Jalisco, and
parts of San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, and Durango. Up until now, New
Galician documents have principally been edited and published for
their historical merits. While studies of this type are useful in that they
provide important historical information on the area in question, their
worth as linguistic sources is limited. The fact that historians tend to
modify and modernize the language in the documents makes it difficult
or impossible for the philologist to ascertain linguistic information
based on orthographic cues.

The documents of the American corpus were obtained at the
Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco and form part of that library’s
collection entitled *Archivo de la Real Audiencia de Guadalajara, Ramo
Civil*. They pertain primarily to the historical area of New Galicia and
deal with matters under the jurisdiction of the Royal Audiencia with
its seat at Guadalajara. They are bound in twenty-two *legajos* and
represent a total of 247 folios. It should be noted that the documents
of each *legajo* deal with the same subject matter and, hence, were sewn

\[7\] For further discussion of the challenges posed by the interpretation of these graphs
and the subsequent implications for the study of *seseo*, see Kauffeld ("Textual Evidence").
together. The texts cover a wide variety of subject matters such as leases and grants of land, lawsuits occasioned by debts or damages, recusation proceedings, and legal correspondence. Finally, the documents themselves are, for the most part, original texts or copies executed with temporal proximity to the originals. They were all previously unedited and were only catalogued by the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco according to legajo. As is the case with the Andalusian collection, the semi-paleographic transcription of these American documents also generally adheres to the norms of the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies. All orthographic variations were respected with the aim of providing as accurate and as reliable a result as possible.

Given the evolution of writing practices during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Seminary’s norms were sometimes adapted. The most pertinent point for our purposes here is the treatment of the sibilants, specifically with regard to the sigmas. As Frago Gracia points out, although sigmas were used prevalently in handwritten documents through the first half of the sixteenth century, their use declines progressively in subsequent decades (“Criterio filológico y edición de textos indígenas” 126). In the documents of the American corpus, there are no instances of the 5-like sigma while the s-like sigma is used sporadically. In the transcription of the American documents, sigmas were transcribed as s. However, this practice does not hinder the linguistic analysis because no examples of words containing a sigma were used as evidence of seseo. All examples of surnames in -es for -ez were also excluded from the data since occurrences of this type may only reflect a scribal practice of the period and cannot be interpreted as examples of seseo (cf. Alonso, “Historia” 151). Likewise excluded are occurrences of /s/ + /k/ such as parseo (I.2; 1564), Belasques, and conoscays (L4; 1571), since it is unclear if examples of this type truly reveal seseo or if they are merely indicative of older orthographic practices fossilized in formal documents.

At this point we turn to the principal issue at hand—the question of seseo and the attestations found in each collection. The Andalusian corpus yields the following data with respect to this phenomenon:

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8 In the examples provided from the documents of the American corpus, capitalization has been regularized and abbreviations and enmendations are not indicated. The parenthetical information includes legajo number and date. For the description of each legajo with its corresponding document list, see Kania (10–19).
There are 67 cases of graphic confusion indicating *seseo* in the Andalusian corpus.¹⁰ Their appearance is scattered among numerous

⁹ In the Andalusian examples, abbreviations and emendations are not indicated. The folio number is given, each of which indicates a distinct document in the corpus, and the place and date, S = Sevilla, C = Córdoba, are indicated in brackets. If a form occurs more than once, the number of occurrences is indicated in parentheses. For the complete folio/document correspondence and for a description of each document, see Kauffeld ("Linguistic Aspects" 32-42).

¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that the reliance on cacographies in writing is the inevitable, albeit imperfect, course that must be taken in studying historical language variation and
texts of the collection, rather than occurring in a concentrated fashion in a limited number of documents, and suggests that *seso* was present in the speech of Sevilla and Córdoba as early as the last quarter of the fourteenth century. It is important to point out that clear *seso* examples appear in well over half the texts of the collection, despite the fact that the citations listed above do not include any examples where *s*′ or sigma, appeared for *c* or *z*, of which there are countless cases.

On the other hand, sibilant confusion of the type *c/z* for *s* is not characteristic of the collection as a whole. There are no instances where *c* or *z* is found for *s*, and there are only 10 examples where *s*′ or the 5-like sigma, is found for *s*: fol. 9*: debræz*, *cuenæz*, *dellæz*, *dichæz* [S 1409]; fol. 9*: *nuestra* (2) [S 1426]; fol. 19*: *dezde* (2) [C 1468]; fol. 26*: *lez* [C 1480]; fol. 29*: *piez* [C 1487]. Care must be made in drawing any conclusions based upon these examples. While the variation of the Greek sigma represented in the transcription with *s*′ does seem generally to be used in contexts where etymology would predict *c* or *z* (unlike *s*, which is found seemingly indiscriminately for *s*, *c*, *z*), it does not necessarily indicate *seso* or *ceceo* here. It may simply be the rather anarchic use of the sigma by certain scribes to represent sibilant in general.

The presence of *seso* in both Sevilla and Córdoba already in the late fourteenth century is of interest not only with respect to the andalucismo debate, but also to the question of the focal point of the *seso* speech norm in its historical context. Many, such as Alonso (De la pronunciación 2: 62-63) and Lapesa (Historia de la lengua española 284), assert that *s*′ was propagated to other parts of Andalusia from Sevilla. As can be seen in the *sesoso* examples above, however, there is not a greater occurrence of confusion of *s* ~ *c/z* in the texts from Sevilla than in those from Córdoba, but rather the reverse is true. The data presented here fit in with Frago Gracia's insistence that *seso* was well-established not only in Sevilla, but throughout the south—with the exception of the kingdom of Granada—by the end of the fifteenth century ("El seseo" 118-19).
Before embarking on a description of the findings with respect to *seseo* in the American collection of documents, it would be useful to provide some background information regarding the conclusions of other researchers of American Spanish on this same topic. In Cock Hincapié’s study of the phenomenon in New Granada from 1550-1650, attestations of *seseo* are found among the earliest documents in the writings of persons of all social classes. Confusion of the sibilants is evident in texts written by Indian and creole alike and even in those written by Spaniards not originally from areas in which *seseo* was practiced, showing that the phenomenon “era rasgo propio de un medio linguístico americano al que se asimilaban los peninsulares al cabo de un tiempo de vivir en América” (139). It should be noted that the use of *seseo* by speakers not originally from regions in which the phenomenon was practiced is taken as support for the fact that not only did there exist an early American Spanish koiné, but also that *seseo* constituted a principal element of that koiné. This idea is found in the works of many linguists including Lapesa (“Sobre el ceceo y seseo en Hispanoamérica”, “Sobre el ceceo y el seseo andaluces”), Catalán (“El ceceo-zezeo”, “Génesis”), Menéndez Pidal, Fontanella de Weinberg, and Frago Gracia (Andaluz y español).

Regarding the chronology of the development of *seseo*, in the 1950s Alonso elaborated his theory that the process occurred in three stages: 1) confusion of -s and -z in final position, 2) confusion of -s- and -z- in intervocalic position, and 3) confusion of ζ and ss (Estudios lingüísticos 132). He stressed that these stages were not complete at the time of conquest and colonization. In the city of Sevilla itself, the first stage was complete in the fourteenth century, the second was advanced in the fifteenth, while the third dates only from the sixteenth century (136). Therefore, in his eyes, it is not possible to speak of Andalusian *seseo* or *ceceo* at the beginning of the sixteenth century; at that time there are only “trueques anárquicos”, not real phonological change. Cock Hincapié’s findings provide support for a new chronology for *seseo* and demonstrate that Alonso’s theory of the three stages of *seseo* does not hold up as she finds a state of complete confusion in all positions already in the sixteenth century (139-40).

Parodi (“Para el conocimiento”) provides even earlier documentation of *seseo*, finding it attested in her study of the Spanish of New Spain as early as 1523. These early occurrences of the phenomenon in the New World, coupled with the early Southern Peninsular documentations just discussed, serve to further confirm its Andalusian origin.
Now that we have reviewed the principal findings of prior documentary studies with regard to seseo in other varieties of early American Spanish, we can examine documentation of seseo found in this corpus of New Galician texts which date from 1561 to 1647. First of all, the documents of this corpus show further proof that Alonso’s theory that the innovation occurred in three stages, confusion of -s and -z, confusion of -s- and -z-, and confusion of ss and ç, is invalid. As previously stated, according to Alonso, the last stage dates from the sixteenth century in Sevilla, while in the Americas, in the last third of the sixteenth century, seseo was limited to the confusion of s and z in final position (Estudios lingüísticos 132-33). Nevertheless, there are abundant examples of confusion of s, ss with z, ç in final, intervocalic, and syllable-initial position in these New Galician documents throughout the sixteenth century, beginning as early as 1563. Attestations of seseo in the first 10 legajos of this corpus, in documents dating from 1563 to 1598, are as follows:

1. Confusion of -s and -z:
   L4: bes ‘vez’, bos ‘voz’, dies (3), enttrodusga [1571]
   L5: Renglowz [1575]
   L10: djes (2), jues (2), jusgada, jusgado [1597]; bos ‘voz’, dies (2), jusgada [1598]

2. Confusion of -s- and -z-/-ç-:
   L1: açesores, Placencia∼Plasencia [1563]; açeorses [1565];
   Ballaçar [1570]
   L2: çeça, çeçaria [1564]
   L3: conosido [1568]
   L4: aser, aser (4), cabea (2), conosierris, desenbarasada, desir,
   dilasion, dise, disen, disiendo, dose, dosientos, dosiertos (2),
   enbarasadas, enttrodusir, Galisia, grandessa, jurisdision (2),
   lissensiado, lisseniado, obedê (2), obedesor, obedesi, pareser (3),
   paresio, proviciion, Reconosieudo, rreconoser, ynttrodusiendo, yse
   (5), yso [1571]; aser, condision, resibieren [1578]

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11 In the examples provided, we have chosen to maintain the separate positional categories found in earlier studies of seseo such as Alonso (Estudios lingüísticos) and Cock Hincapié.

12 Although the form enttrodusga may contain a fossilized s before a velar consonant as in paresio, it is included here as an example of seseo since the form enttrodusir occurs in the same document.

13 If a form occurs more than once, the number of occurrences is indicated in parentheses. The date of occurrence is indicated in brackets.
3. Confusion of s- and z-/c-:

In light of these sixteenth-century attestations, we can see that *seseo* must have figured predominantly in the formation of the New Galician dialect. A brief look at the settlement of New Spain and New Galicia elucidates the process by which this situation could have come about. As we have seen, the first linguistic levelling that occurred in the configuration of American Spanish took place during the Antillean period, 1493-1519, so called because settlements were confined to this area during this period. Later, Mexico City was conquered from the Antilles in 1519-1521 with New Spain receiving additional emigrants from the Peninsula and other American settlements. During the sixteenth century, it is estimated that 40.6% of the settlers in New Spain were Andalusian, a ratio that is not much lower than the estimates of Andalusians who settled in Cuba, the Isthmus of Panamá, and the Island of Hispaniola (Boyd-Bowman, “Brotes” 87). This would explain why *seseo* was once again favored by speakers, first because it is the more simplified variant entering into the mixture and second because of the numeric and social predominance of Andalusians whose speech modality already exhibited that trait.

New Galicia itself was conquered in 1530-1531 by Nuño de Guzmán with an expedition that set out from the already settled area of New Spain. Boyd-Bowman indicates that he is able to identify 114 of the conquistadors who accompanied Guzmán, and he is able to identify a total of 318 settlers who had established themselves in the area by 1548 (“La emigración” 182). Of the 318 settlers, 70 (21.9%) are from Andalusia, with the single largest group being those from Old Castile with 75 (23.6%). It is interesting to note that when Boyd-Bowman separates direct immigration to New Galicia from that of New Spain, as he does for the periods 1520-1539, reflected above, and 1579-
1600 ("Patterns of Spanish emigration to the Indies, 1579-1600" 87), emigration from Old Castile is in both instances slightly higher than that of Andalusia.

Nevertheless, in addition to these Peninsular emigrants, New Galicia increased in population throughout the sixteenth century due to emigration from other American settlements, principally from New Spain. Given that Andalusians were the single largest group represented in the immigration to this area as a whole, it is logical to suppose that the percentage of Southerners in New Galicia increased with the influx of those from New Spain. Again, during the process of the formation of the New Galician dialect and the recycling of the koiné, Andalusians speech patterns seem to have figured predominantly, and seseo eventually came to characterize this variety of American Spanish.

Returning to the data, the sixteenth-century attestations of seseo presented above further corroborate the early documentation of the phenomenon by Lapesa ("Sobre el ceceo y seseo en Hispanoamérica", "Sobre el ceceo y el seseo andalucés"), Cock Hincapié, and Parodi ("Para el conocimiento"), and provide more indications of the fact that in the early American Spanish koiné, seseo was generalized (Parodi, "El yeísmo" 247). What's more, the documents of this corpus provide even earlier documentation of seseo in scribal writings. In her study, Cock Hincapié puts much emphasis on the finding of orthographic errors pointing to seseo in texts written by scribes, as opposed to those who had no formal training in writing, and finds evidence of this phenomenon in scribal documents beginning in 1590 (30). For his part, Antonio García Carrillo (49-51) documents this type of sibilant confusion in the New Galician documents of the legajo he studies, which dates from 1578. In our corpus, the earliest examples of seseo are acesores, Plasencia, and Saldínar from 1563. However, the handwriting used in the text in which it appears is not traceable to an identified scribe. The first example of seseo that can definitely be traced to a professional hand is Baltaçar, which dates from 1570, two decades earlier than the seseo found by Cock Hincapié and nearly a decade earlier than even García Carrillo's example. These two particular examples show that seseo is often attested.

14 More information about Peninsular and New Spanish immigration to New Galicia can be found in Thomas Calvo. Although he provides no specific percentages, the author comments that because of the large number of emigrants from both Spain and Mexico City, Guadalajara became a satellite of the capital (28).

15 For the documentation of other Andalusian features in New Galician colonial texts and the discussion of their presence or absence in modern Mexican Spanish, see Kania.
in proper names since their canonical spelling is sometimes more
difficult to remember or is simply unknown, a situation that is also
remarked upon by García Carrillo (50-51), who offers the examples
Sisneros and Gusmán, and Menéndez Pidal (116), who attests the spelling
Ciracusano for Siracusano.

Regarding the numeric distribution of occurrences in the legajos
of this corpus, Legajo 4 provides the most abundant examples of seseo
by far. The bundle is principally made up of the writings of three
different individuals, all of whom are obviously seseante. They are the
secretario Francisco Romero Velázquez (Document 1), the alcalde mayor
Don José Lorenzo de Soto y la Fuente (Documents 2-5), and the
landowner Don Bartolomé Calderón (Document 6). This is even more
surprising considering that the legajo is one of the briefest of the corpus,
only comprising 4 folios.

There are a total of 132 examples of seseo in these sixteenth-century
documents. While 116 are confusions of the seseante type, s for c/z, only
16 are of the ceceante variety, c/z for s. Seseo is suggested as the
predominant pronunciation collectively. As previously mentioned,
however, these data do not indicate whether a particular individual
was seseante or ceceante because users of both pronunciations tend to
make the same errors. As Frago Gracia states, “Sólo cuando las
cacografías sean numerosas y se produzca en ellas un importante
predominio de la ç o de la s, estaremos en condición de suponer con
visos de verosimilitud que tratamos del ceceo en un caso y del seseo en
el otro” (Historia 329).

Of these ten legajos, only Legajo 6 (1577) and Legajo 8 (1586-
1587) provide no examples of seseo. In fact, they are the only two in
the entire corpus in which seseo is not found, as it is attested abundantly
in the remaining ones, Legajos 11-22. It is possible that the scribes of
the documents of those legajos did not practice seseo, or merely that
they had a better knowledge of the standard orthographic practices of
the time. Biographical information for one of the scribes of Legajo 8,
Rodrigo Hernández Cordero, indicates that the former may be true.
He was born in 1559 in Colmenar Viejo in the province of Toledo and
did not arrive in Guadalajara, Mexico until 1577 (Jorge Palomino y
Cañedo xi). At the time that he composed the documents ascribable to
him (1586-1587), he may still have maintained the speech modality of
distinción practiced in his native Toledo instead of assimilating to the
American koiné that was characterized by the prevalent use of seseo;
indeed, seseo may never have been characteristic of his speech.
Before concluding, we would like to provide a sampling of the occurrences of *seseo* in the seventeenth-century documents of this corpus found in Legajos 11-22. This and the other documentation of *seseo* show that the phenomenon was undoubtedly characteristic of New Galician Spanish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The seventeenth-century sampling of attestations is as follows:

L11: acientos, asiando, congregasion, cresido, demarcasion, desente, forsoso, mudansa, ofresemos, pasifico.s, pedaso, posecion, saserdote, selebra, sircunvezinos, suseda [1604?, 1604]
L12: çocoro ‘socorro’, mansanas, pretençion, rason, seccion [1610?, 1610, 1611]
L13: Pariz [1611]
L14: empesado, empese, intereç, prosecusion [1611]
L15: cirbiendo, crus, jnformasion, peços, pocesion, trase [1613]
L16: assimizim, onse, reçusion, Serbantes [1622, 1628]
L17: zeicientos [1623]
L18: cimenteras, cisasion, citio, compusion, delijensias, dersera, estansia, Garsia, mersed, rrosalez, terseras. ze ‘sc’, zementeras [1631]
L19: bizitadas, consedieron, estenco, golpez, haziran ‘asirán’, lizura, mestisuelo, obligacionez, pesquiça, prosedido, raçonez, Sacatecas, saguan, Savsedo [1633]
L20: anboz, consseder. firmessas, gossan, meços, pertenessiente, Suniga, yndisida [1638]
L21: çindico, condenasion, lisencia, matansa, ordenansa [1644]
Samora, serrillo, vesses [1646]

This linguistic study confirms the importance of carrying out original research based on surviving written documentation by yielding significant evidence of *seseo* in two collections of texts, one from Andalusia dating to the period just prior to the emergence of American Spanish and the other from New Galicia, dating through the first century and a half of the Spanish presence in the New World. The ramifications of such research to the deciphering of historical language change are shown by these data because they provide reliable textual evidence that *seseo*, the speech norm so closely associated with both Andalusian and American Spanish, was not only present, but was a well-established, identifiable trait in the language of Andalusia at the time of linguistic transfer of Spanish to the Americas. And as part of the speech modality of the significant number of Andalusian emigrants...
to the New World, it quickly became a characteristic of American Spanish during its critical period of origins.

**Works Cited**


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Textual Support for Andalucismo