

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction.....	15
Chapter 2. Creole Genesis and the Rhizomatic Linguistic Model.....	27
2.1. Theoretical perspectives encompassing creole etiology	28
2.1.1. The continuum model (Hall 1962).....	29
2.1.2. The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (Bickerton 1981)	30
2.1.3. The Theory of Relexification (Lefebvre 1998)	31
2.1.4. Approximation Theory (Chaudenson 2001).....	33
2.1.5. Complementary Theory (Mufwene 2001).....	36
2.1.6. The Afrogenesis Hypothesis (McWhorter 2000)	41
2.1.7. Neurobiological Hypothesis (Zimmermann 2006)	42
2.1.7.1. Principle of neurobiological constructivism	42
2.1.7.2. The neurobiological construction of a creole language	45
2.1.8. The Legal Hypothesis of Creole Genesis (Sessarego 2017)	49
2.2. To be or not to be, the Spanish-based creole deliberation	50
2.2.1. Chaudenson's arguments about the lack of Spanish-based creoles in the Caribbean.....	51
2.2.2. McWhorter (2000) and the missing Spanish creoles.....	52
2.2.3. Creole-genesis and the scarcity of Spanish-based creoles (Lipski 2005).....	55
2.2.4. Enhancing dialogue in the Spanish creole debate (Sessarego 2018)	56
2.3. On the genesis of Papiamentu and the Sephardic linguistic contribution.....	57
2.4. The Rhizomatic Linguistic Model	66
Chapter 3. Methodological And Historical Remarks	71
3.1. Study description	71

3.1.1. Theoretical background and motivation.....	71
3.1.2. Aim of the study and research questions.....	72
3.1.3. Procedure.....	73
3.1.3.1. Phase 1: Pilot study.....	73
3.1.3.2. Phase 2: Planned studies.....	74
3.1.3.3. Phase 3: Return to the target communities.....	75
3.1.4. Subjects.....	75
3.1.5. Methodology.....	76
3.1.5.1. Participant-observation.....	77
3.1.5.2. Open-ended oral interviews.....	77
3.1.5.3. Recording and transcription.....	78
3.1.5.4. Fieldnotes.....	78
3.2. A brief documentation of the African presence in Mexico.....	79
3.2.1. Afro-Mexico historical remarks.....	79
3.2.2. Speculations on the origins of the Costa Chica's Black population.....	83
3.2.3. Collantes and La Boquilla remnants of an African legacy.....	87
3.2.3.1. Topographical features.....	87
3.2.3.2. Origins of the Black population in La Boquilla.....	89
3.2.3.3. Origins of the Black population in Collantes.....	89
Chapter 4. Phonological Characteristics of Costeño Spanish.....	93
4.1. Stop segments.....	94
4.1.1. Voiceless stops.....	94
4.1.2. Voiced stops.....	95
4.1.2.1. The phoneme /b/.....	95
4.1.2.2. The phoneme /d̪/.....	96
4.1.2.3. The phoneme /g/.....	97
4.2. The phoneme /č/.....	97
4.3. Fricative segments.....	99
4.3.1. The phoneme /f/.....	99
4.3.2. The phoneme /s/.....	101
4.3.3. The phoneme /y/.....	104
4.3.4. The phoneme /h/.....	105
4.4. Nasal segments.....	105
4.4.1. The phonemes /m/ and /ɲ/.....	105
4.4.2. The phoneme /n/.....	105
4.5. Liquid segments.....	107
4.5.1. Liquid mutation.....	107
4.5.2 The phoneme /r/.....	108
4.6. Archaic and basilectal trends in Costeño Spanish.....	109
4.6.1. Vowel variation.....	109
4.6.2. Aphaeresis.....	110
4.6.3. Syllabic prothesis.....	110
4.6.4. Metathesis.....	111

4.6.5. Syllable deletion	111
4.6.6. Monophthongization	111
4.7. Conclusion	112
Chapter 5. Morphological and Syntactic Characteristics of Costeño Spanish ..	115
5.1. Morphological features	116
5.1.1. Verbal morphology	116
5.1.1.1. Archaic verb forms.....	116
5.1.1.2. Instability in the verbal stem.....	117
5.1.1.3. Regularization of irregular verb forms	118
5.1.1.4. Unmarked infinitives	118
5.1.2. Nominal morphology	120
5.1.2.1. Deletion of the plural marker.....	120
5.1.2.2. Double plural endings.....	120
5.1.2.3. Gender instability.....	121
5.1.2.4. Diminutives of common words.....	121
5.1.2.5. Diminutives of proper names.....	121
5.1.2.6. Onomastics.....	122
5.1.3. Adjectives and adverbs.....	123
5.1.4. Pronominal system	124
5.1.4.1. Subject pronouns.....	124
5.1.4.2. Overt subject pronouns	125
5.1.4.3. Emphatic reflexive pronouns.....	127
5.1.4.4. Possessive doubling	127
5.1.5. The Costeño locution <i>anta</i>	128
5.2. Syntactic features	129
5.2.1. Clitics.....	129
5.2.1.1. Clitic neutralization.....	130
5.2.1.2. Clitic dislocation	130
5.2.2. Verbal instability.....	132
5.2.2.1. Lack of subject-verb agreement.....	132
5.2.2.2. Verbal paradigm modification.....	132
5.2.3. Deletion of articles	133
5.2.4. Deletion and modified use of prepositions.....	135
5.2.5. Negation-related variation.....	137
5.2.6. The <i>para atrás</i> construction	141
5.2.7. Loss of copula	141
5.2.8. Conclusions	142
Chapter 6. Lexical Characteristics of Costeño Spanish	145
6.1. The rhizomatic nature of the Costeño lexicon	145
6.2. Preliminary remarks to the Costeño lexicon.....	147
6.3. Costeño vocabulary.....	149

Chapter 7. Conclusions	163
-------------------------------------	-----

References	169
-------------------------	-----

Appendix. Photo Gallery	181
--------------------------------------	-----

List of Tables

2.1. Cognitive tasks and conditions	45
2.2. Some representative theories on creole genesis.....	50
2.3. Differences between Sephardic Papiamentu and Papiamentu	65
2.4. Contrasts between a rhizomatic and an arboric paradigm	68
4.1. Deletion of voiceless stops in coda position word-internally	94
4.2. The deletion of /d/ in word-final and intervocalic position in Costeño Spanish	96
4.3. The mutation of /d/ into [l] in implosive position word-internally	96
4.4. Allophonic distribution of the phoneme /f/ in Costeño Spanish	100
4.5. The behavior of /s/ in word-final position in Costeño speech	102
4.6. Velarization of /n/ in word- and phrase-final position in Costeño Spanish	106
4.7. Lambdacism of /r/ in Costeño Spanish	107
5.1. Possessive doubling in Costeño Spanish	128
6.1. Proportional contributions to Costeño Spanish from other lexicons	148

List of Figures

2.1. Schema of the process of relexification	31
2.2. Undifferentiated Coding Principle	43
2.3. Neurobiological Constructivist Process	44
2.4. Typical phases in the process of language acquisition.....	46
2.5. Input and output simplification in Creole languages	47
2.6. Bini-Portuguese spoons carved in ivory	61
2.7. Bini-Portuguese spoon with a dual symbolism.....	62
2.8. Papiamentu Linguistic Rhizome	69
3.1. Subjects' age percentage	75
3.2. Subjects' education level.....	76
3.3. Geographical location of the Afro-Mexican enclaves	82
3.4. Geographical location of the Afro-Mexican communities of the Costa Chica...	84
3.5. Geographical location of Collantes, La Boquilla and Puerto Minizo	88
6.1. Costeño lexicon composition.....	148

Appendix Figure

A.1. The Redondo	181
A.2. Everybody is ready for the wedding	182
A.3. Making tortillas	182
A.4. Preparing tichinda tamales	183
A.5. Taking a break	183
A.6. Removing the corn grains	184

A.7. Cuajinicuilapa Department of Health Services..... 184

A.8. Capitán and Capitana 185

A.9. The researcher and friends 185

A.10. Mama-Came reciting verses..... 186

A.11. A bread-maker 187

A.12. The participants of the Devils' Dance 188

A.13. An Afro-Mexican family 188

A.14. After lunch time 189

From colonial times, the linguistic pluralism that has shaped what may be considered the country exhibit has been considered a major speakers to the speech of certain The African sociobistorical the African tie manifest Zimmerman

El hecho po la em abolicio concen época oral,