

Renegade societies and the similarities between the English lexifier Creoles of the Atlantic and the Pacific: The case for diffusion from the Afro-Atlantic to the Pacific

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SHARED FEATURES: ATLANTIC & PACIFIC ENGLISH LEXIFIER CREOLES

- ▶ Although most creolists agree that the Atlantic and Pacific colonial era English-lexifier Creoles (ELCCs) have a number of linguistic forms and functions in common, no agreement has as yet been reached concerning the extent, the significance, or the source of these shared features.
- ▶ Over the past decades, the list of these Atlantic-Pacific features identified by creolists has steadily increased in length from a handful of words in 1980 to an inventory of almost one hundred lexical and grammatical items in 2005.
- ▶ Utilizing new sources, we propose that this list be extended by at least 50% to include most of the creole functions and forms that linguists had previously thought to be exclusive either to the Atlantic or to the Pacific.

DIFFUSION FROM ATLANTIC TO PACIFIC (AND BACK)

- ▶ **These findings are strongly suggestive of linguistic diffusion from the Atlantic to the Pacific (and back) during the colonial era.**
- ▶ A re-analysis of the social, political and economic impacts of the colonial incursions of Great Britain and the United States into the Pacific from the 18th century onward which includes the agency of marginalized peoples, allows us to re-contextualize the emergence of the Pacific English-lexifier creoles in a way that clearly validates diffusion from the Afro-Atlantic as an important element in multi-causal and multi-dimensional scenarios for Pacific creole genesis.

PIDGINS & CREOLES: NOTHING NEW

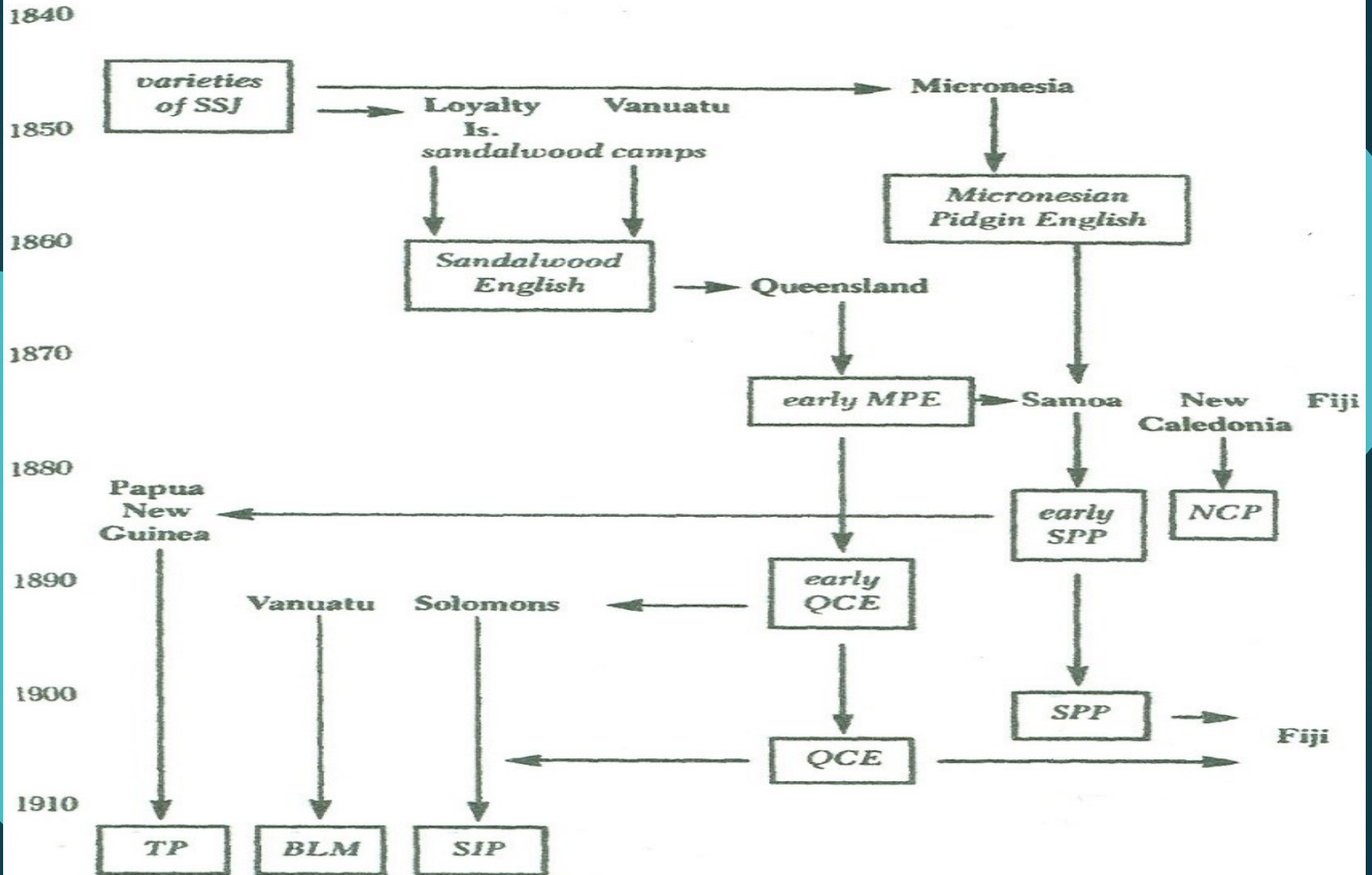
Continent	South Pacific	West Africa	South America	Caribbean ABC Isls.
Group	Tigak-PNG	Ijo-Nigeria	Tupi-Brazil	Caquetío
Mother's language	Tigak	East Ijo	Tupi	Caquetío
Father's language	Nalik, Madak...	Kana, Obolo...	Guaraní Varieties	Lokono, Kalinya ...
Market language	Market Kuanua	Market Igbo	Market Guaraní	Trade Lg. 'Island Carib'

PLURI-LINGUALISM AFTER INVASION

	Pacific	W Africa	S America	ABC Isls
Group	Tigak	Ijo	Tupi	Caquetio
Mother's	Tigak	East Ijo	Tupi	Caquetio
Father's	Nalik,..	Kana,..	Guarani	Kalinya....
Market Language	Market Kuanua	Market Igbo	Market Guarani	Island Carib
New Contact LGS	German English English Lexifier Creole	Port. English English Lexifier Creole	Portuguese Portuguese Lexifier Creole Lengua Geral	Spanish Portuguese Papiamentu (Iberian Lexifier Creole)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

SIEGEL'S SCENARIO (1986)



SIEGEL'S SCENARIO

▶ CAVEATS:

- ▶ LIMITATIONS OF 2 DIMENSIONAL SPACE
- ▶ HETEROGLOSSIA: IN ANY GIVEN SITUATION, MANY LGS, MANY DIALECTS WITHIN LGS & MANY CONTACT LANGUAGES ALL SPOKEN, OFTEN BY SAME INDIVIDUAL
- ▶ TEMPORAL & SPATIAL BOUNDARIES MUST BE EXTENDED: EARLIER VARIETIES & CONTEXTS COEXIST WITH LATER ONES
- ▶ SPEAKERS OF AFRO-ATLANTIC VARIETIES NOT LIMITED TO PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT
- ▶ DIFFUSION WAS NOT UNIDIRECTIONAL

SOUTH SEAS JARGON 1800-1860: PRECURSOR TO PACIFIC ELCs

(Clark 1983:14-15)

- ▶ **NOT SIMPLY A SERIES OF AD HOC SYSTEMS**
- ▶ MOST FEATURES ALSO OCCUR IN OTHER PIDGINS ELSEWHERE
- ▶ **NOT PURELY A PACIFIC CREATION**
- ▶ LITTLE OF PURELY PACIFIC ORIGIN

ATLANTIC (AF), PACIFIC (PF) AND WORLD-WIDE FEATURES (WWF)

- ▶ **PIONEERS: AF: Hancock; PF: Clark; WWF: Clark (1979), Holm (1986), Roberts (1998)**
- ▶ **NEW BENCHMARK FOR AF, PF, WWF: Baker & Huber (2001) 75 WWF 2,200 archival texts**
- ▶ **Avram's (2004) RECLASSIFICATION of B&H AF TO WWF 24 NEW WWF**
- ▶ **OUR SUGGESTED ADDITIONS**
 - ▶ **B&H CRITERIA: 36 NEW WWF**
 - ▶ **RELAXED CRITERIA: 20 MORE WWF**

ELC 'World Features' (Clark 1979)

1. *by and by* future time adverb
2. *piccaniny* 'child, small'
3. *suppose* 'if'
4. *savvy* 'know, understand'
5. *got* 'have'
6. *plenty* 'much, many'
7. *too much* 'very much'
8. *him* transitive suffix
9. *been* past/anterior marker
10. *along* 'with'
11. *something* 'thing'
12. *where* relativizer

Hawai'ian/Caribbean ELC Features (Holm 1986)

1. *alphabet* 'letter'
2. *been* past tense
3. *before time* 'formerly'
4. *bla* 'brother, male peer'
5. *bumbye* 'after a while'
6. *clean the yard* 'mow grass'
7. *corns* 'corn on cob'
8. *for* complementizer
9. *for why* 'why'
10. *from long time* 'for a long time'
11. *go* future mood
12. *humbug* 'nuisance'
13. *inside* 'in'
14. *junks* 'junk, things'
15. *make quick* 'hurry'
16. *never* past negative
17. *no?* 'isn't it?'
18. *on top* 'on'
19. *one* indefinite article
20. *pear* 'avocado'
21. *Barlett pear* 'pear'
22. *pickaninny* 'small'
23. *pine* 'pineapple'
24. *plenty* 'many, lots of'
25. *pull down* 'to lose weight'
26. *sabe* 'understand'
27. *shame* 'bashful'
28. *slangs* 'slang words'
29. *small-little* 'small'
30. *stuffs* 'things'
31. *talk* 'tell (a story)'
32. *-them* 'and friends, others'
33. *-time* temporal clause marker
34. *too much* 'very much'
35. *topside* 'above'
36. *wen* past tense
37. *wile* 'be angry, punish'

Other ELC World Features

(Roberts 1979)

1. **chow chow** 'food, to eat'
2. **one** indefinite article
3. **massa** 'sir, boss'
4. **all same** 'same as'
5. **what for** 'why'
6. **stop** 'to be at'
7. **belong** 'of'
8. **heap** 'many, a lot'
9. **chin chin** 'worship, greet'
10. **catch** 'get, obtain'
11. **moon** 'month'
12. **humbug** 'trouble, problem'

75 World-Wide ELC Features **Baker & Huber 2001**

been past/anterior

byandby 'soon'

no negator

one definite article

suppose 'if'

ZERO equative copula

him 3rd singular

me 1st singular

sabby 'know'

WH for 'why'

for infinitive

make causative/imperative

paragogic vowels

ZERO predicative copula

catch 'get, obtain, reach'

got 'have'

he resumptive

onetime '(at) once'

picaninny 'small, child'

plenty + NOUN 'a lot of'

throwaway 'throw'

bruck 'break'

dead 'die'

fashion 'manner'

nogood 'bad'

VERB + too much 'a lot'

too much + NOUN 'many'

WH side 'where'

all about 'everywhere'

da(t) definite article

dem 3rd plural

go future

-man agentive suffix

me 1st singular possessive

NP1NP2 possessive

stop locative verb

too much + VERB 'a lot'
all same 'as/like'

grande 'big'

he 3rd singular possessive

long 'with'

make haste 'hurry'

more better 'better'

never negative

completive

VERB + plenty 'alot'

plenty 'very many'

before time 'formerly'

born 'give birth'

falldown 'fall'

him 3rd singular possessive

lick 'flog'

moon 'month'

most 'almost'

-side locative suffix

something 'thing'

standup 'stand'

that time 'when'

comeout 'go out, detach'

lili 'little'

little bit 'slightly'

number one 'best, chief'

sitdown 'sit, reside'

NOUN + too much 'many'

walkabout 'wander'

WH fashion 'why/how'

WH place 'where'

WH time 'when'

be equative copula

be predicative copula

he 3rd singular oblique

we relativizer

WH thing 'what'

capsize 'spill/pour out'

VERB + finish completive

thatsall 'just/only/still'

Avram's reclassification of B&H's Atlantic Features as World-Wide (2004)

76. dohti 'earth/dirt'	88. first time 'ahead/formerly'
77. fullup 'fill/be full'	89. dem article/demonstrative
78. sweet 'be tasty/nice/agreeable/to please'	90. look 'see/find'
79. sweetmouth 'flattery'	91. (make) play '(have a) party/dance'
80. hungry 'hunger'	92. belly seat of emotions
81. married 'marry'	93. mouthwater 'saliva'
82. no more 'merely'	94. santapi 'centipede'
83. VERB-VN transitive suffix	95. look see 'inspect/take a look'
84. eyewater 'tear'	96. saltwater 'sea/coastal'
85. nose hole 'nostril'	97. plenty too much 'a lot'
86. say complementizer	98. small 'little (adverb)'
87. WH matter 'why'	99. yet 'still'

36 Additional World-Wide Features = 135 Features (Faraclas et al 2012)

1. <i>back/again</i> 'again'	11. <i>follow</i> in SVC	21. <i>madasen</i> 'chemical product'	31. <i>(t)ara</i> 'other'
2. <i>belong</i> property	12. <i>glad</i> 'be happy'	22. <i>nang/lang</i> 'with'	32. <i>tere/tete</i> 'today'
3. <i>bra</i> 'brother'	13. <i>go</i> in SVC	23. <i>namba</i> + cardinal = ordinal number	33. <i>ia/here</i> + noun deictic
4. <i>brudu/blut</i> 'blood'	14. <i>hand</i> 'hand + arm'	24. phrase final o realis	34. <i>yar(i)</i> 'year'
5. <i>carry/take</i> in SVC	15. <i>have belly</i> 'be pregnant'	25. <i>(p)antap</i> 'on'	35. pronoun + one = pronoun-self
6. <i>chow, chop</i> 'eat'	16. <i>hear</i> 'understand'	26. <i>self</i> 'emphasis'	36. factative TMA
7. <i>come</i> in SVC	17. <i>kisi/kase</i> 'take'	27. <i>skin</i> 'body'	
8. <i>e/asde</i> 'yesterday'	18. <i>come up</i> 'reach, happen'	28. <i>sorry</i> empathy	
9. <i>find</i> 'search for'	19. <i>crooked</i> 'be wrong'	29. <i>stop</i> + property word	
10. <i>fit</i> 'be able'	20. <i>leg</i> 'leg + foot'	30. <i>talk true</i> 'tell truth'	

20 More Possible World-Wide Features = 155 Features (**Faraclas et al 2012**)

37. locative copula = incomplete aspect	47. no human destinations	PACIFIC ELCs & PAPIAMENTU
38. pronoun + quantifier = dual, trial	48. reduplication to reduce valency of verbs	57. <i>maske/maski</i> 'even though'
39. proper name + 3pl pronoun = X + associates	49. reduplication to show incomplete aspect	58. <i>kuru/kru</i> ', bud unripe'
40. widespread macrofunctionality	50. reduplication of numbers distributive	
41. stative verbs instead of adjectives	51. no gender and plural marking on nouns	
42. existential use of <i>get/gat</i>	52. articles optional in noun phrases	
43. role reversing use of <i>catch, do, kill</i>	53. nominalization + fronting of verbs for focus	
44. motion verbs take objects	54. 6 or more person/number distinctions in pronouns	
45. stative verbs and copulas can take objects	55. one general adposition	
46. use of cognate objects	56. no question movement	

ACCOUNTING FOR THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN ATLANTIC & PACIFIC ELCS

- ▶ **UNIVERSALS/LBH (Bickerton 1981)**
- ▶ **SUPERSTRATES/FOREIGNER TALK (Baker 1993; Baker & Huber 2001)**
- ▶ **PARALLEL SUBSTRATES (Faraclas 1990)**
- ▶ **LIMITED EXPLORATION OF DIFFUSION, ESPECIALLY FROM AFRO-ATLANTIC TO PACIFIC (EXCEPTION: Holm)**

GOAL OF PRESENT STUDY

- ▶ **NOT TO DENY ROLE OF UNIVERSALS, SUPERSTRATES, SUBSTRATES, FOREIGNER TALK, OTHER TYPES OF DIFFUSION, ETC.**
- ▶ **ALONGSIDE ALL OF THE ABOVE, ANOTHER ELEMENT MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION: DIFFUSION TO THE PACIFIC (AND BACK) FROM THE AFRO-ATLANTIC**

3 TYPES OF EVIDENCE FOR DIFFUSION FROM AFRO-ATLANTIC TO PACIFIC

- ▶ **FORMS THOUGHT TO OCCUR ONLY IN PACIFIC ELCs ALSO OCCUR IN EARLY ATLANTIC ELC TEXTS**
- ▶ **FORMS THOUGHT TO OCCUR ONLY IN PACIFIC ELCs ALSO OCCUR IN CONTEMPORARY ATLANTIC ELCs**
- ▶ **1800-1860: EVIDENCE FOR CONTACT BETWEEN SPEAKERS OF AFRO-ATLANTIC ELC CONTACT VARIETIES & INDIGENOUS PACIFIC ISLANDERS AT CRITICAL TIMES AND IN CRITICAL PLACES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF PACIFIC ELCs**

FOCUS ON ROLE OF MARGINALIZED LABORING MAJORITY IN SHAPING CREOLIZED LANGUAGES, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES

- ▶ **SOCIAL, HISTORICAL, POLITICAL-ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS CONSIDERED**
- ▶ **COMPLEXITY OF CONTACT ACKNOWLEDGED: NO SINGLE CAUSE**
- ▶ **ASCRIBES AGENCY TO PACIFIC ISLANDERS, PEOPLES OF AFRICAN AND INDIGENOUS DESCENT, & MARGINALIZED PEOPLES OF EUROPEAN DESCENT**

SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION

- ▶ Chaudenson's (2001) EXPANSION OF OUR FOCUS FROM SOCIÉTÉS DE PLANTATION TO INCLUDE SOCIÉTÉS D'HABITATION IS GOOD, BUT NOT ENOUGH
- ▶ NEED TO INCLUDE A WIDER RANGE OF SOCIAL CONTEXTS FOR CONTACT THAT DO NOT FIT INTO EITHER CATEGORY (SOCIÉTÉS DE PLANTATION OR SOCIÉTÉS D'HABITATION)

SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION CHARACTERISTICS

- ▶ **INCLUDE A VARIETY OF CONTACT SITUATIONS WHICH PREDOMINATED DURING EARLIEST YEARS OF INVASION AND WHICH PERSISTED THROUGHOUT THE COLONIAL PERIOD**
- ▶ **MODELS: INDIGENOUS AFRICAN, AMERICAN, PACIFIC, CRIMINALIZED PRE-ENCLOSURES EUROPEAN**
- ▶ **IMPERIAL EUROPEAN CULTURE NOT AUTOMATICALLY PRESTIGIOUS NOR AUTOMATICALLY DOMINANT**

SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION THE RENEGADE ATLANTIC

- ▶ **PORTUGUESE & SEPHARDIC LANÇADO ENCLAVES IN WEST AFRICA 1400s ONWARD**
- ▶ **MAROON COMMUNITIES 1500s ONWARDS**
- ▶ **INTERETHNIC SUBSISTENCE ECONOMIES IN SPANISH CARIBBEAN 1500s ONWARD**
- ▶ **ENGLISH-MISKITO-AFRICAN PRIVATEER COMMUNITIES ON THE CARIBBEAN COAST OF CENTRAL AMERICA 1550s ONWARD**
- ▶ **FRENCH-ENGLISH-TAINO-AFRICAN BUCCANEERS IN HISPANIOLA 1570s ONWARD**
- ▶ **WHAT ABOUT THE PACIFIC IN THE 1800s?**

SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION CHARACTERISTICS

- ▶ **INTIMATE INTER-ETHNIC CONTACT:
OFTEN CONJUGAL**
- ▶ **SUSTAINED CONTACT: OUTLASTED BOTH
*PLANTATION AND HABITATION***
- ▶ **DEEP IMPACT: FORGING OF (COUNTER)
IDENTITIES & (COUNTER) SOLIDARITIES**
- ▶ **LINGUISTIC OUTPUT: MEDIA OF
COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY (MCSs), NOT
MERELY MEDIA OF INTERETHNIC
COMMUNICATION (MICs)**

1800-1860: AFRICAN DESCENDED MEN MAKE UP 20% OF BRITISH & US NAVIES

- ▶ **With the manumission of significant numbers of slaves at the end of the 1700s, an appreciable number of men of African descent became available to do wage work on ships.**
- ▶ **Between 1800 and 1850, a critical period for the emergence of Pacific ELCs, roughly 20% of the metropolitan sailing populations in US and British fleets were of African descent.**

1800-1860: LOCAL RECRUITMENT OF SAILORS IN WEST AFRICA & THE PACIFIC

- ▶ From the 1600s onward, European and later US captians employed local crewmen during their tropical voyages to avoid loss of life from disease, as well as to secure interpreters and trade intermediaries.
- ▶ On the West Coast of Africa, they hired the English-lexifier creole-speaking 'Kru' from Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Ivory Coast.
- ▶ By the early 1800s, they were also actively recruiting Pacific Islanders.

1800-1860: SUSTAINED CONTACT ON SHIPS AND ON SHORE

- ▶ **A number of Kru and Indigenous Pacific sailors make the return voyage to Britain or to the US.**
- ▶ **Sailors' communities in the USA, Britain and the Pacific were key off-ship points of cultural and linguistic exchange between English-lexifier Creole speaking Africans and Pacific Islanders.**
- ▶ **Through the intimate and sustained contact that they experienced both aboard ship and in these on-shore *sociétés de cohabitation*, African American, Afro-Caribbean, African, and Indigenous Pacific sailors became agents for the diffusion of language and culture.**

1800-1860 : US BECOMES WORLD WHALING LEADER, USING NATIVE- & AFRICAN-AMERICAN CREWS

- ▶ The US whaling industry relied initially on indigenous American whaling expertise and subsequently on the skilled labor provided by Indigenous Americans and peoples of African descent, who intermarried to form the multiethnic and multilingual *sociétés de cohabitation* that constituted a key component of the Nantucket whaling industry from its beginnings in the early 1700s.
- ▶ In the late 1700s, US and British whaling activities extended to the Pacific. Afro-Americans, already heavily involved in the whaling industry, began to be represented in even greater numbers.

1800-1860: US WHALING IN THE PACIFIC: HEAVY RELIANCE ON AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER SAILORS

- ▶ **Whaling became a special window of opportunity for sailors of African descent. Their presence on whaling ships remained at about 40% for most of the first half of the 1800s.**
- ▶ Given the difficulties in finding metropolitan seamen willing to embark on journeys of two to three years in length, and given the fact that desertion became a major problem on these long whaling voyages to the Pacific, there was a growing need to recruit indigenous Pacific sailors onto whaling ships.

1800-1860: SAILORS OF AFRICAN AND PACIFIC DESCENT BECOME THE MAJORITY ON US PACIFIC WHALING SHIPS

- ▶ The combined numbers of metropolitan sailors of African descent, together with the locally recruited sailors of indigenous Pacific origin, more often than not would have easily constituted the majority of the sailors on any particular whaling ship operating in the Pacific during the middle of the 1800s.
- ▶ The ships that carried these sailors and the port communities where many of them came into contact could be considered to be *sociétés de cohabitation* which served as sites for the diffusion of language and culture from the Afro-Atlantic to the Pacific (and back).

1800-1860: DIFFUSION VIA COHABITATION BETWEEN AFRICAN DESCENDED AND PACIFIC SAILORS ON PACIFIC SHIPS & IN PACIFIC PORTS

- ▶ Afro-Atlantic sailors worked on Pacific sailing vessels and lived in Pacific ports during the time when the Pacific ELCs were in their critical stages of development.
- ▶ Afro-Atlantic cultures, ideologies, and languages were being actively shared, transformed, disseminated, and articulated in on-sea off-sea sailing communities throughout the Pacific.

1800-1860: DIFFUSION VIA COHABITATION BETWEEN METROPOLITAN CASTAWAYS/ BEACHCOMBERS & PACIFIC ISLANDERS

- ▶ By the mid 19th century, up to 20% of US and British sailors were deserting ship; enclaves of cohabitation are established on shore throughout the Pacific.
- ▶ Beachcombers become cultural and linguistic mediators, central to the emergence of creoles, not only in the Pacific, but also in the Caribbean (*écumeurs*) and West Africa (*lançados*).

1800-1860: INDIGENOUS PACIFIC SAILORS IN THE PACIFIC AND BEYOND

- ▶ **Demographic crisis caused by young men sailing out, disease, and “recruitment” of plantation laborers.**
- ▶ Documented accounts place Pacific Islanders all over the world, including the Caribbean.
- ▶ **Sailors gain certain level of prestige in indigenous Pacific societies.**
- ▶ Indigenous beachcombers replace metropolitan beachcombers, but metropolitan beachcombing persists until after the 1880s.

Afro-Atlantic ELCs Pacific Substrates Nautical Jargons Superstrates Foreigner Talk Universals

SOCIÉTÉS de COHABITATION

Metropolitan and Indigenous:
Sailors
Port Dwellers
Beachcombers
Indigenous Female Traders

SOUTH SEAS JARGON(S)

Spoken in Contact and Indigenous Communities from late 18thC onward

SANDALWOOD ENGLISH(ES)

Spoken in Work Camps and Indigenous Communities from mid 19thC onward

QUEENSLAND CANEFIELDS ENGLISH On Plantations, in Camps, and in Indigenous Communities from late 19thC

SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN On Plantations, in Camps, and in Indigenous Communities from late 19thC onward

MELANESIAN ENGLISH-LEXIFIER PIDGIN/CREOLE
Spoken on Plantations and in Indigenous Communities, from late 19thC
BISLAMA SOLOMONS PIJIN TOK PISIN

Metropolitan, Indigenous and Returned Indigenous:
Sailors
Port Dwellers
Beachcombers
Female Traders
Camp Managers
Camp Laborers
Plantation Overseers
Plantation Laborers

MULTICAUSAL SCENARIO (see Holm 1989)

MULTICAUSAL SCENARIO

- ▶ **SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION = MAJOR ELEMENT OF MATRIX FOR SANDALWOOD & BECHE-DE-MER TRADES AND PLANTATIONS**
- ▶ **SAILORS, PORT MONGERS, & BEACHCOMBERS = MAIN LABOR POOL FOR SANDALWOOD/BECHE-DE-MER CAMP MANAGERS & PLANTATION OVERSEERS**
- ▶ **MAIN QUALIFICATION: FLUENCY IN CREOLIZED CONTACT LANGUAGES**
- ▶ **THESE CONTACT CODES FOUND FIRST PACIFIC EXPRESSION IN SOUTH SEAS JARGON**
- ▶ **SOUTH SEAS JARGON = MAJOR ELEMENT OF MATRIX FOR SE, QCE, SSP, MPE (BISLAMA, SOLOMONS PIJIN, & TOK PISIN)**

1800-1900: INFLUENCES OF SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION

- ▶ **INLUENCE OF SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION WAS:**
 - ▶ **INDIRECT, THROUGH COMMON ROOTS IN SSJ SHARED BY ALL LATER VARIETIES**
 - ▶ **DIRECT, THROUGH CONSTANT & COPIOUS FLOW OF LABORERS FROM SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION TO CAMPS AND/OR PLANTATIONS AND BACK THROUGHOUT THE 19TH CENTURY**
 - ▶ **ADDED INFLUENCE OF PACIFIC ISLAND FEMALE TRADERS AND COLONIAL BUREAUCRATS & MISSIONARIES TRANSFERRED FROM THE CARIBBEAN AND/OR WEST AFRICA TO PACIFIC**

CONCLUSION

Even the cursory glance that we have taken in this paper at the socio-historical context of creolization in the Pacific reveals a level of complexity that makes it impossible to attribute the similarities between the AELCs and the Pacific ELCs principally to any one causal factor.

Throughout the 1800s, however, and in a myriad of contexts, the right agents were present in the right places and at the right times to have made the diffusion of Afro-Atlantic language into the Pacific an integral part of any scenario that attempts to account for the Pacific ELC facts.