

Creoles are typologically distinct from non-creoles

Peter Bakker^a, Aymeric Daval-Markussen^a, Mikael Parkvall^{b,a} & Ingo Plag^c

^a RC-GLU: Research Centre for Grammar and Language Use, Aarhus University

^b Stockholm University

^c Universität Siegen

The article with this title was originally published in the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 26 (1): 5-42 [reprinted in Parth Bhatt & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.). 2013. *Creole languages and linguistic typology*, 9-45. (Benjamins Current Topics, Vol. 57). Amsterdam : John Benjamins].

The appendices are only available online.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

The data below summarize the definitions and scores for the features from Hancock (1987) for English-lexifier creoles, for *Comparative Creole Syntax* data from Holm & Patrick (2007), and the complexity features and scores from Parkvall (2008).

Hancock, Ian. 1987. A preliminary classification of the anglophone Atlantic creoles with syntactic data from thirty-three representative dialects. In Glenn Gilbert (ed.), *Pidgin and Creole Languages. Essays in Memory of John E. Reineck*, 264-333. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Holm, John & Peter L. Patrick (eds.). 2007. *Comparative Creole Syntax. Parallel Outlines of 18 Creole Grammars*. London: Battlebridge.

Parkvall, Mikael. 2008. The simplicity of creoles in a cross-linguistic perspective. In Matti Miestamo, Kaius Sinnemäki & Fred Karlsson (eds.), *Language Complexity. Typology, Contact, Change*, 265-285. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Appendix I: The features used for the Hancock (1987) study

The numbers in parentheses refer to the sentences in the original study by Hancock (1987).

Categories (S)

1. Completive aspect. (18). +: present; -: zero marking.
2. Deictics. (43). +: distinction between 'here' and 'there'; -: no distinction.
3. Double negation. (6). +: present; -: absent.
4. Existential copula. (6). +: present; -: absent.
5. Gender in 3rd personal pronoun feminine. (15). +: present; -: absent.
6. Infinitive marker. (19). +: present; -: absent.
7. Locative copula. (1). +: present; -: absent.
8. Nominal copula. (3). +: present; -: absent.
9. Progressive aspect. (9). +: present; -: absent.
10. Verbal copula. (6). +: present; -: absent.

Historical (F)

11. 1st personal pronoun plural object. (21). +: derived from nominative form; derived from accusative form.
12. 1st personal pronoun singular subject. (11). +: derived from accusative form; -: derived from nominative form.
13. 1st personal pronoun singular. (18) subject. +: derived from accusative form; derived from nominative form.
14. Lexicon. (43). 'yonder' meaning 'there' +: present; -: absent.
15. 3rd personal pronoun feminine subject. (15). +: derived from accusative form; -: derived from nominative form.
16. 3rd personal pronoun neuter object. (17). +: expressed as 3rd personal pronoun masculine; -: expressed with 3rd personal pronoun neuter.
17. 3rd personal pronoun plural subject. (17). innovated form 'you-all' +: present; -: absent.
18. 3rd personal pronoun singular object. (10). +: derived from nominative form; -: derived from accusative form;

Morphology (S)

19. Comparative. (16). +: expressed with the suffix -er; -: expressed differently.
20. Plural marking. (1). +: with suffix -s; -: no suffix -s.
21. Reduplication. (13). +: reduplicated 'along'; +: present; -: absent.
22. Reduplication. (5). +: reduplicated 'good' meaning 'all right'; -: 'all right' expressed differently.
23. Reduplication. (50). +: used to express attenuative meaning; -: not used to express attenuative meaning.

Nominal syntax (S)

24. Case. (9). feminine possessive pronoun object. +: accusative form; -: nominative nominative form.
25. Gender. (9). +: feminine possessive pronoun; -: no gender distinction.
26. Plural marking. (29). +: expressed with 'them/they'; -: expressed with 'the'. 0: *both a preposed ART and a postposed PL are present.*
27. Possession. (2). +: bare possession; -: expressed with a preposition.

28. Possession. (12). +: expressed periphrastically ('for them'); -: expressed with a preposition or a pronoun.
29. Word order. (1). +: genitive-noun order; -: noun-genitive order.
30. Word order. (2). +: possessed-possessor order; -: possessor-possession order.
31. Word order. (29). +: preposed plural marker; -: postposed plural marker 'them'.

Phonetics/Phonology (F)

32. Consonant cluster. (30). 'Albert' +: /lb/ present; -: /lb/ absent
33. Consonant cluster. (1). 'three' +: voiced dental fricative; -: unvoiced dental fricative.
34. Consonant cluster (13). 'yesterday' +: /st/ present; -: absent.
35. Liquids. (14). 'right' +: with /r/; -: with /l/.
36. Loss of dental fricative. (1). 'three'; +: realized with a stop; -: realized with a fricative.
37. Loss of laryngeal fricative. (2). 'house' +: laryngeal fricative present; -: laryngeal fricative absent.
38. Loss of laryngeal fricative. (46). 'hungry'; +: laryngeal fricative present; -: laryngeal fricative absent.
39. Loss of voiced dental. (1). 'three'; +: realized with a voiced dental; -: not realized with a voiced dental.
40. Palatalization. (21). 'sing'; +: palato-alveolar fricative; -: alveolar fricative.
41. Paragogic vowel. (19). 'danse'; +: CVCV; -: CVC
42. Paragogic vowel. (44). 'walk'; +: CVCV; -: CVC
43. Vowel realization. (29). In plural article; +: with front vowel; -: with back vowel.
44. Vowel length. (19). 'danse'; +: long vowel; -: short vowel.
45. Word structure. (14). 'right'; +: CVCV; -: CVC.

Semantics (F)

46. Gender. (5). 3rd personal pronoun singular feminine; +: present; -: absent.
47. Gender. (15). 3rd personal pronoun singular feminine +: present; -: absent.
48. Lexical. (48). 'another' expressed with 'next'. +: present; -: absent.
49. Lexical. (48). 'even' expressed with 'self'; +: present; -: absent.
50. Lexical. (38). 'it's as though' expressed with 'like'; +: present; -: absent.
51. Lexical. (44). 'or' expressed with 'if'. +: present; -: absent.
52. Lexical. (46). 'till' meaning 'to the extent that'; +: present; -: absent.
53. Lexical. (39). 'whether' expressed with 'if'; +: present; -: absent.

Sentential syntax (S)

54. Causative. (20). +: expressed with 'mek'; -: no causative constructions.
55. Complementizer. (33). +: derived from 'say'; -: not derived from 'say'.
56. Coordination. (30). +: realized with conjunction 'and'; -: not realized with conjunction 'and'.
57. Copula. (6). +: sentence-initial; -: other position.
58. Embedded relative clause. (42). +: presence; -: absence.
59. Gerund. (41). +: expressed by infinitive; -: not expressed by infinitive.
60. Infinitive marker in embedded clause. (20). +: present; -: absent.
61. Possession. (42). +: expressed with 'belong'; -: not expressed with 'belong'.
62. Predicate cleft. (44). +: presence; -: absence.
63. Q-word. (4). +: sentence-initial; -: other position.
64. Q-word. (4). +: synthetic ('where'); -: periphrastic.

- 65. Q-word. (16). +: synthetic ('whose'); -: periphrastic.
- 66. Reflexive. (47). +: expressed with 'self'; -: not expressed with 'self'.
- 67. Relative clause. (34). +: introduced by 'for'; -: not introduced by 'for'.
- 68. Relative cause. (40). +: subject-initial; -: not subject-initial.
- 69. Serial verb constructions. (45). +: presence; -: absence.
- 70. Subordination. (32). +: introduced by 'if'; -: not introduced by 'if'.
- 71. Temporal adverbial. (41). +: sentence-final; -: not sentence-final.
- 72. Verbal comparative. (16). +: expressed with 'pass'; -: not expressed with 'pass'.
- 73. Verbal comparative. (16). +: expressed with 'more'; -: not expressed with 'more'.
- 74. Word order. (4). +: copula-subject order in questions; -: subject-copula order in questions.

Specific forms (F)

- 75. Anterior marker. (1). expressed with 'bin'. +: present; -: absent.
- 76. Benefactive 'give'. (21). +: present; -: absent.
- 77. Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed with 'already'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 78. Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed with 'bin'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 79. Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed with 'done'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 80. Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed with Poturguese 'kaba'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 81. Consonant cluster. (32). +: cluster /ks/ present; -: absent.
- 82. Demonstrative. (40). 'this'. +: expressed as 'dis'; -: expressed as 'de'.
- 83. Indefinite article. (20). +: expressed as 'wan'; -: expressed as 'a'.
- 84. Lexicon. (12). +: 'car' expressed as 'auto'; -: 'car' expressed as 'car'.
- 85. Lexicon. (16). 'children' derived from Portuguese. +: present; -: absent.
- 86. Lexicon. (19). 'dance'. +: derived from Portuguese; -: not derived from Portuguese.
- 87. Lexicon. (2). +: 'father' expressed as 'father'; -: 'father' expressed as 'dad'.
- 88. Lexicon. (6). 'happen' derived from Portuguese. +: present; -: absent.
- 89. Lexicon. (20). 'have'. +: expressed as 'have'; -: expressed as 'got'.
- 90. Lexicon. (19). 'like'. +: expressed as 'like'; -: expressed as 'love'.
- 91. Lexicon. (47). 'love'. +: expressed as 'love'; -: expressed as 'like'.
- 92. Lexicon. (10). +: 'mother' expressed as 'mother'; -: 'mother' expressed as 'mama'.
- 93. Lexicon. (3). +: 'partner' derived from Portuguese; -: not derived from Portuguese.
- 94. Lexicon. (20). +: 'sing' derived from Portuguese; -: not derived from Portuguese.
- 95. Lexicon. (11). 'soon' expressed as 'just-now'. +: present; -: absent.
- 96. Lexicon. (32, 39). 'want' +: derived from Portuguese; -: not derived from Portuguese.
- 97. Lexicon. (15). 'with' derived from Portuguese. +: present; -: absent.
- 98. Metathesis. (32). 'ask'. +: metathesis; -: expressed as is or in reduced form.
- 99. Question tag. (38). +: expressed with 'no' only; -: expressed otherwise.
- 100. Plural marker. (17). +: expressed as 'unu'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 101. Progressive aspect. (6). +: expressed with the suffix -ing; -: expressed otherwise.
- 102. Reciprocity. (47). +: expressed with 'them-self'; -: expressed with 'each-other'.
- 103. 3rd personal pronoun plural. (7). +: /d/ VC; -: /d/ V.
- 104. 3rd person possessive pronoun. (8). +: same as 3rd personal pronoun; -: different than 3rd personal pronoun.

Tense, Mood and Aspect (S)

- 105.** Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed preverbally; -: expressed postverbally.
- 106.** Completive aspect. (18). +: expressed with a TMA marker or an adverbial; -: zero-marking.
- 107.** Completive aspect. (26). +: expressed preverbally with a TMA marker; -: expressed postverbally with a TMA marker or an adverbial.
- 108.** Conditional mood. (39). +: expressed with 'bin'; -: zero marking.
- 109.** Future tense. (11). +: expressed preverbally; -: expressed with an adverbial only.
- 110.** Habitual aspect. (8). +: expressed preverbally; -: zero marking.
- 111.** Hortative mood. (17). +: expressed with 'for'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 112.** Hortative mood. (17). +: expressed with 'must'; -: expressed otherwise.
- 113.** Negated completive aspect. (27). +: TMA marker meaning 'done' present; -: absent.
- 114.** Negated completive aspect. (27). +: TMA marker meaning 'never' present; -: absent.
- 115.** Negated habitual aspect. (21). +: expressed with a TMA marker; -: 'no'-zero marking-V .
- 116.** Negated habitual aspect marker. (21). +: synthetic (expressed with 'don't/ain't'); -: analytic (expressed with 'not'+TMA+V).
- 117.** Negated past. (23). +: expressed with 'never'; -: expressed differently.
- 118.** Negated progressive aspect. (22). +: expressed preverbally; -: not expressed preverbally.
- 119.** Past action. (13). +: expressed with a TMA marker; -: unmarked.
- 120.** Past conditional. (31). +: expressed with a form of 'should have'; -: expressed by a combination of TMA markers.
- 121.** Progressive aspect. (6). +: expressed preverbally; -: not expressed preverbally.
- 122.** Subjunctive mood. (49). +: expressed with indicative present; -: not expressed with indicative present.

Hancock (1987): The scores for each of the 122 features used in the Hancock study for 33 Atlantic Creoles + English

The following abbreviations are used: sar = Saramaccan, mat = Matawai, kwi = Kwinti, bon = Boni, par = Paramaccan, dju = Ndyuka, sra = Sranan, guy = Guyanese, cam = Cameroon Pidgin, nig = Nigerian Pidgin, kri = Krio, bah = Bahamian, sea = Sea-Islands Creole, afr = Afro-Seminole, lib = Liberian Pidgin, bla = Black English, pro = Providence, bel = Belizean, cay = Caymans, jam = Jamaican, StT = Saint-Thomas, StE = Sint-Eustasius, sab = Saba, StK = Kittitian, ant = Antiguan, StV = Vincentian, car = Carriacou, gre = Grenada, tob = Tobagonian, bar = Bajan, tri = Trinidadian, nor = Norf'k, haw = Hawaiian Creole.

sar

010100111100100100001110011100100001001--10-
100111011010011001110111110100110001011101001010110111110
100010111011010010011

mat

0101001011-1100100001110011100100001001--10-
1001111110110110011101011111001-00010-1-
11001010011111110100010111010010010011

kwi

010100111111110100000010011110110001001011001001111110110
110011101111111001100010111100010100010011001000101110110
10011011

bon

010100111111110100001010011000100001001111001001111110100
111011101011111001100011111100010101010011001100101110110
10010011

par

011100011101110100000010011010110001001111001001111110110
110011101111111001100010011100010100010011101000101110100
10010011

dju

010100111111110100001110010101110001001011001001111110100
110011101111111001100010111100010101010011101100101110110
10010011

sra

011101111111100100100000011010111001001011001001111110110
110011101111111001100011111100010101010011101100101110110
10010010

guy

011111100111110110100000011010111011010000110011110110100
01001100000111000100010111010110110101001100-
11011011101010010010

cam

011101111111110101000011010010111111110001100000110111100
11001000101111010100010011010110100101000010111111111001
10011010

nig

011101111110000100000010010010111111110001100000100111100
11001000101110010100010011010110100000000010111111111001
10011010

kri

011100111110010100000001011010111011000001100000110111100
01001000101111010100010111010010100101001010111111111001
10011010

bah

011001000111100100000011001010111011110000-
001001101101010100111000001010010001011001011011100000100
1001111011000000001101

sea

001101101110000100000010001010111011110000-
100001101101011100010000101101010001011000001011000000100
0011111011100010010010

afr

001101101111000100000000001010111011110000-
100001101101001100000000101010010001011100001011000000100
0011111011100010010010

lib

011011001100000110000001111010101011110000110110110110100
011001111000100100000000100000101010000000011001110110001
11000100

bla

011011010100000010100001111010101111110000110110010110101
0010011100000000000000101100001101110000010010001110110000
11000100

pro

0100000000111010001000010-00100110-111000000-
001100110100110011000001010000010001000101101110000010110
11011000100110101001

bel

1111000101100000000000010110101011-110000010-
001110110110010011100000110000000001110101101010000010100
10-01000100100110011

cay

01001001001000010011000110001011111110000010110010000010
000001110000100000010001100001101110000011110000100100000
11000100

jam

011100100111111000100011000010111011100000010001110110100
010011000011101000000101110101111100000011100111110101010
00010111

StT

0011110001100000101000011-
101001111111000001011001010000100100101000010100000010110
010110111000001001000111001000011000100

StE

1100100000000000001000001-
101001111111000001011001001001001100111000010000000000100
000010110000001001001-01000000011000100

sab

010111000100000000110001100010101110110000010110010010011
001001110000000010000000100001101110000000010001110100010
11000100

Appendix II: Description of the features found in Holm & Patrick's *Comparative Creole Syntax* (CCS, 2007)

The feature number is given in parentheses.

1. Unmarked verbs

In the Atlantic Creoles, verbs generally indicate tense and aspect not with inflections but rather with preverbal (in some cases postverbal) markers. The tense reference of verbs without such markers, §1, is normally to the time-reference point of the discourse – usually present or past – which is either understood or established at the outset. Whether the meaning of the verb is a state (stative), §1, 1-2, or an action (non-stative), §1, 3-4, seems to be often related to the likelihood of its indicating the past.

- (1) 1.1 Statives with non-past reference
- (2) 1.2 Statives with past reference
- (3) 1.3 Non-statives with non-past reference
- (4) 1.4 Non-statives with past reference

2. Anterior (or past) tense

The marker for the anterior (and in some cases past) tense refers to something that took place before the time-reference point of the discourse, §2. Again, whether the verb indicates a state, §2.1, or an action, §2.2, seems related to the likelihood of its indicating the same time-reference point of the discourse, or a time before that. As can be seen from examples in the following chapters, sometimes the anterior marker can be used in a construction indicating the counterfactual or something that did not happen, corresponding in meaning to the English construction “We would have gone”, §2.3. Such cases may overlap with conditionals, §6.2. In some Atlantic Creoles adjectives, §2.4, and locative phrases referring to place, §2.5, act as a predicate taking preverbal markers such as anterior.

- (5) 2.1 Statives with past reference
- (6) 2.2 Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference
- (7) 2.3 Anterior (or past) = counterfactual
- (8) 2.4 Anterior (or past) with adjective
- (9) 2.5 Anterior (or past) with locative

3. Progressive aspect

The marker of progressive aspect indicates that an action is going on; §3.1 reports whether such a marker exists. Sometimes it can indicate future, e.g., “I’m leaving tomorrow”, §3.2. In some Creoles the anterior marker can precede the progressive marker to indicate the past progressive, e.g., “I was leaving”, §3.3. Sometimes, the progressive marker can be used before an adjectival predicate to indicate that a state is inchoative, or just coming into being, e.g. “It’s getting cold”, §3.4.

- (10) 3.1 Indicating progressive
- (11) 3.2 Indicating future
- (12) 3.3 Anterior plus progressive
- (13) 3.4 Progressive with adjective = inchoative

4. Habitual marker

Markers of habitual aspect indicate that an action recurs, §4. Sometimes this is indicated by the absence of any aspect marker, §4.1, sometimes by the same form as

the progressive marker, §4.2, and sometimes by a marker which is only used to indicate habitual aspect, §4.3. Such markers can often be preceded by the anterior tense marker to indicate a past habit, e.g., “He used to go there”, §4.4.

- (14) 4.1 Zero marker for habitual
- (15) 4.2 Progressive marker for habitual
- (16) 4.3 Marker for habitual only
- (17) 4.4 Anterior plus habitual

5. Completive aspect

The marker of completive aspect shows that an action has been completed, §5. In some Creoles such markers can only occur without any other markers – either before or after the verb, §5.1, or possibly with an adjectival predicate, §5.2 – whereas in other Creoles the completive marker can co-occur with the anterior or other preverbal markers, §5.3.

- (18) 5.1 Completive only (before/after V)
- (19) 5.2 Completive plus adjective
- (20) 5.3 Anterior (or other preverbal markers) plus completive

6. Irrealis mode

The marker of irrealis mode indicates that a state or action is not (yet) a part of reality, §6, i.e. it refers to the future – in some Creoles taking the same form as the progressive marker, §6.1 – or (used after the anterior marker) it refers to the conditional, e.g., “We would go / would have gone”, §6.2. This combination can sometimes also indicate the future in the past, e.g., “We said that we would go”, §6.3, or the future perfect, e.g., “We will have gone”, §6.4.

- (21) 6.1 Future (= progressive marker)
- (22) 6.2 Anterior plus irrealis = conditional
- (23) 6.3 Anterior plus irrealis = future in the past
- (24) 6.4 Anterior plus irrealis = future perfect

7. Other combinations of verbal markers

Besides the above combinations of verbal markers, some Creoles also feature the co-occurrence of irrealis and progressive markers to indicate continuous future, e.g., “We will be going”, §7.1. Some can precede the latter with the anterior marker to indicate a continuous perfect conditional, e.g., “We would have been going”, §7.2, while some have yet other combinations, §7.3, including modals.

- (25) 7.1 Irrealis plus progressive
- (26) 7.2 Anterior plus irrealis plus progressive
- (27) 7.3 Other auxiliary-like elements

8. Complementizers

Some Creoles have complementizers that mark infinitives, as in English: “We want to go”, §8, while some do not, §8.1. Sometimes the word meaning ‘for’ can serve this function, §8.2, while in some Creoles this word can act like a modal indicating an arranged future or an obligation, e.g., “We are to go”, §8.3. Sometimes this word acts as a subordinator introducing a tensed clause, like English so that: “We did it so that we could go”, §8.4. Many Creoles have a complementizer introducing clauses which is derived from the lexifier’s word for the subordinator that, e.g., “It’s important that we go”, §8.5. Some Creoles have a distinct word to introduce clauses after verbs of

saying, thinking, or feeling, e.g., “I know that we’re going”, §8.6. Some Creoles allow omission of subordinators, §8.7.

- (28) 8.1 Zero infinitive marker
- (29) 8.2 ‘For’ as infinitive marker
- (30) 8.3 ‘For’ as a (quasi-) modal
- (31) 8.4 ‘For’ introducing a tensed clause
- (32) 8.5 Subordinator from superstrate ‘that’
- (33) 8.6 Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking
- (34) 8.7 Zero subordinator

9. Dependent clauses

Many Creoles have subordinate clauses that are not part of a larger matrix clause, §9.1, or that function within such a clause as a noun phrase, §9.2. Most also have relative clauses in which the relativizer or relative pronoun functions as the subject, §9.3, the direct object, §9.4, or the object of a preposition, §9.5. Some allow certain relativizers or relative pronouns to be omitted, §9.6.

- (35) 9.1 Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)
- (36) 9.2 Subordinate clauses (embedded)
- (37) 9.3 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = subject)
- (38) 9.4 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = direct object)
- (39) 9.5 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = object of a preposition)
- (40) 9.6 Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)

10. Negation

Many Creoles have a single particle next to the verb or verb phrase to negate it, §10.1, but some also have another negator at the end of the utterance, §10.2. Some Creoles use negative forms of indefinite pronouns and quantifiers after a negated verb, e.g., “We don’t have none”, §10.3.

- (41) 10.1 Single negation (verbal)
- (42) 10.2 Discontinuous double negation
- (43) 10.3 Negative concord

11. Passive

Not all Creoles have a passive construction parallel to that in their lexifier, e.g., “That house was built last year”, §11.1; many instead use an adjective equivalent, e.g., “They built the house last year”, §11.2.

- (44) 11.1 Passive construction
- (45) 11.2 Passive equivalent

12. Adjectives: verbs?

In some basilectal Creoles certain non-verbal predicates behave syntactically like verbs, §12: adjectives may take preverbal markers, §12.1, as may nouns, §12.2, and locative phrases, §12.3. For emphasis, some Atlantic Creoles may have predicate clefting, in which a predicate that is either an adjective, §12.4, or a verb, §12.5, moves to the front of the sentence after a highlighter, §13.5, and is followed by the original sentence. Other verbal behavior of adjectives includes comparison as a verb in a serial verb construction, §14, with the word equivalent to ‘pass’, §12.6, as opposed to comparison as an adjective as in the lexifier language, §12.7.

- (46) 12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives
- (47) 12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns

- (48) 12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives
- (49) 12.4 Predicate clefting: adjectives or adjectival verbs
- (50) 12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs
- (51) 12.6 Comparison with 'pass'
- (52) 12.7 Comparison as in superstrate

13. The copula

The term 'copula' is used loosely to correspond to most uses of English be, §13. Many Atlantic Creoles have different words for the copula before predicate nouns, e.g., "She is my sister", §13.1; before locative expressions, e.g., "She is in Kingston", §13.2; and before adjectives, e.g., "She is nice", §13.3. Some Creoles have highlighters, particles that appear before other words to draw attention to them; these can be used before interrogatives, §13.4, or in other constructions, §13.5. The existential meaning of 'There is' can be conveyed with the equivalent "(It) have", §13.6.

- (53) 13.1 Equative copula
- (54) 13.2 Locative copula (with expression of place)
- (55) 13.3 Zero copula with adjective
- (56) 13.4 Highlighter with question words
- (57) 13.5 Highlighter with other structures
- (58) 13.6 Existential ('have' = 'there is')

14. Serial verbs

Some Creoles have constructions consisting of two or more verbs with the same subject but not linked as they might be in a European language, i.e., with a conjunction or an infinitive marker, §14. In some cases one of the verbs means 'go' and indicates that the action of the verb takes place in a direction away from the speaker, §14.1, or means 'come' indicating motion towards, §14.2. Another such construction uses the verb meaning 'give' to indicate to whom, or for whom, an action was done, §14.3. Another uses the verb meaning 'say' to introduce a clause after a verb of speaking or thinking, §14.4. Another uses the verb 'pass' to indicate 'more than' after verbs, including adjectival verbs in a comparison, §14.5. In some Creoles the verbs in such constructions can number three, §14.6, or four or even more, §14.7.

- (59) 14.1 Directional with 'go'
- (60) 14.2 Directional with 'come'
- (61) 14.3 Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'
- (62) 14.4 Serial 'say' meaning 'that'
- (63) 14.5 Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'
- (64) 14.6 Three serial verb constructions
- (65) 14.7 Serial verb constructions with 4 or more verbs

15. Noun phrase

In the noun phrase, many Creoles use nouns without a determiner to refer to the whole category, §15.1. Some Creoles have an indefinite article, §15.2, or a definite article derived from a demonstrative determiner in the lexifier language, §15.3. Some Creoles use the personal pronoun meaning 'they' after nouns to indicate plurality, §15.4, and some use this plural marker after nouns referring to a person to indicate that person's usual associates, §15.5. Most Creoles have demonstrative determiners, §15.6, but in a few they occur at the end of a noun phrase along with the definite

article or plural marker, §15.7, even when the noun phrase includes a relative clause, §15.8. In some Creoles adjectives precede nouns, §15.9, while in others they follow them, §15.10. Creoles almost never have gender agreement between nouns and their modifiers, §15.11.

- (66) 15.1 Bare nouns (generic, definite)
- (67) 15.2 Indefinite article
- (68) 15.3 Definite article
- (69) 15.4 Plural marker (= ‘they’)
- (70) 15.5 Personal noun plus plural marker
- (71) 15.6 Demonstrative
- (72) 15.7 Demonstrative plus definite or plural
- (73) 15.8 Relative clause followed by definite or plural marker
- (74) 15.9 Prenominal adjective
- (75) 15.10 Postnominal adjective
- (76) 15.11 Gender agreement

16. Possession

Some Creoles express possession between nouns without any inflections: the noun that is possessor simply precedes the noun that is possessed, §16.1. Other Creoles use a preposition meaning ‘of’ (which may be optional) after the noun that is possessed, e.g., “the house of Maria”, §16.2. Some Creoles indicate possession with a possessive adjective or determiner after the possessor, e.g., “Purchas his pilgrimage”, §16.3. Creoles may have possessive adjectives or determiners like “my” occurring before nouns, §16.4, or possessive pronouns of a distinct form like “mine”, §16.5. In some Creoles possessive adjectives may be replaced by possessive pronouns for emphasis, §16.6.

- (77) 16.1 Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor + possessed]
- (78) 16.2 Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]
- (79) 16.3 Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor HIS possessed]
- (80) 16.4 Possessive adjectives: prenominal
- (81) 16.5 Possessive pronouns: distinct
- (82) 16.6 Possessive pronouns as emphatic possessive adjective

17. Pronouns: case distinctions

Creole pronouns may indicate distinctions of case (like subject “he”, object “him”, possessive “his”) less frequently than the pronouns in their lexifier languages do. This section surveys such distinctions in the pronouns meaning “I” in §17.1, “you [singular]” in §17.2, “he / she / it” in §17.3, “we” in §17.4, “you [plural]” in §17.5, and “they” in §17.6. Some Creoles have reflexive pronouns that differ from those in their lexifier languages, e.g., “He hurt his body” instead of “He hurt himself”, §17.7. In some Creoles question words like “where?” consist of two morphemes with compositional or semantically transparent meaning, e.g. “What place?”, §17.8. Creoles have relativizers or relative pronouns, but they may differ from those of their lexifiers, §17.9.

- (83) 17.1 Personal pronouns: first person singular
- (84) 17.2 Personal pronouns: second person singular
- (85) 17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular
- (86) 17.4 Personal pronouns: first person plural
- (87) 17.5 Personal pronouns: second person plural
- (88) 17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural

- (89) 17.7 Reflexive pronouns: distinct forms
- (90) 17.8 Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic
- (91) 17.9 Relative pronouns

18. Coordinating conjunctions

Some Creoles have different words for ‘and’ when it joins whole sentences, §18.1, as opposed to parts of sentences, §18.2.

- (92) 18.1 ‘And’ joining sentences
- (93) 18.2 ‘And’ joining sentence parts: different

19. Prepositions

Some Creoles have a preposition (or a postposition after a noun) with general meaning of location, e.g., ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’, ‘to’, or even ‘out of’, §19.1. Some require no prepositions before places after verbs of motion, e.g., “Matilda run __ Venezuela”, §19.2.

- (94) 19.1 General locative preposition (or postposition)
- (95) 19.2 Zero preposition with motion verbs plus place

20. Miscellaneous

Most Creoles have no inversion of the subject and the verb (or auxiliary) to indicate a question, §20.1. A number use “-o” at the end of a sentence to signal heightened relevance or connectedness between the speaker and the person spoken to, §20.2.

- (96) 20.1 Word order: questions SVO
- (97) 20.2 Sentence-final -o

Holm & Patrick (2007): The scores for each of the 97 features used in the Holm & Patrick volume for 18 creoles and 12 low-complexity non-creoles

The following abbreviations are used: an = Angolar, bd = Berbice Dutch, cv = Cape Verdean, gb = Guinea-Bissau, dm = Dominican, ha = Haitian, jc = Jamaican, kl = Korlai, kr = Krio, nb = Kinubi, nd = Ndyuka, ng = Nagamese, nh = Negerhollands, pl = Palenquero, pp = Papiamentu, sc = Seselwa, tp = Tok Pisin, zm = Zamboangueño, AKA = Akan, AIN = Ainu, BAM = Bambara, BRA = Brahui, ENG = English, IND = Indonesian, KIM = Kimbundu, KOY = Koyra Chiini, KOL = Kolyma Yukaghir, MAN = Mandarin, MIN = Mina, PIR = Pirahã.

an

111011100111111111001100001110111111111101101100010111111
111110101101011011001001000000111111111

bd

1111111110111111100011010111111111111111011101010011111
1111101111?01110100101111001000110111110

cv

11111100111010010011110111110?1111111010111001110111111
111010101110010011101011?111111111111110

gb

11111110111110010011110111110?11111111?10111100010111111
1110111011101100110010110111111111111110

dm

11101111101011101111011011111110011100110101111111110111
111101101110110111001000000000111101111

ha

111111111111110011111110111101110111000110111111111100111
111101111111111111101000000000110111111

jc

11111111111111011101000001111011111111110111101110111111
1111111?11111100100110111000000111101111

kl

110011100111000110010000101100011111100010111000110111000
1110001111000100110001100111111011111110

kr

111111111111111111111111?01111110011111111110101101111011111
01111111111111101001011111101010111111111

nb

111111111110111010001100111100001111111010011001001101111
100001111110011111001001000000000100010

nd

11111111111111011111110111110100111111110101111111001111
1111111111111110100110101001000111011111

ng

111110101101011110000110111000011111111010011000000111100
11010010110101101111100010111111011101000

nh

111111100111011010111000?011111111111111110101100110111111
111110?011110100100111111001000101111010

pl

11111101101010111011110011100010111111011101000000111011
1000000011000110111010010100000011101010

pp

10001110011100111000110011101011111111010111000110100011
1110001111011110110011111011000111111111

sc

1111111110111100111011011111011111111110111111000100101
1110100011101110110011111101000111111110

tp

111111111011001111101101011000011111111000111111101111
1111001111011111110010000000000111101111

zm

111111011110011001011000001110010111111110101000000001100
1000000011001100110010110111111111101010

AKA 0000000000000000000000000000010?0-

????????1000000011011?1???111011110-0010010010011?000000-
0011001?

AIN

0000000001000000000000000000000?1011000010011000001011001
0110110000000100100001000100100000000000

BAM 0000000000000000000000000000010??-

????????1001000000??1?1???000000010-00???01010010?000000-
00?????1?

BRA

000000000000000000000000000000001?111110100010000000?11000
10000000110011?0100001100111111100000000

ENG 000000000000000000000000000000000-

00111001100100001101000110000000011-00100100000100101101-
01100000

IND

000001?11100?00110000000?01000000?11111010010111000001100
100000001000?1010101000000000000111100010

KIM 000000000000000000000000000000001??-

??01???110?10000??010?????0?????0??11-0?1??01001001?111111-
1?0100??

KOY

011010000000000000000000000000000101111000001000001011111
01100100?010?11?010100100101101101011010

KOL

000000000000001001000000000100000001110010001000000010?01
000000001000?10010010010011111100?000000

MAN

1000000001000000001000000010000?111100000001000001??1110?
111111??1000?11110000100?000000100010101

MIN

00000000?000001001000000001001??101111110100100011100110?
01001100?011?11?01010101?111111101010110

PIR

00000000000000000000000000000000011111011010100000000100?
?000000010000100010001100000000011100000

Appendix III: Descriptions of the 43 structural features in Parkvall (2008), all but 6 from the *World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (WALS, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013)

The number in parentheses corresponds to the WALS feature number.

- F03 Phonemic vowel nasalization (10)
- F06 Overt marking of direct object (23)
- F07 Double marking of direct object (23)
- F08 Possession by double marking (24)
- F09 Overt possession marking (24)
- F10 Reduplication (27)
- F11 Gender (30-32)
- F13 Non-semantic gender assignment (32)
- F14 Grammaticalized nominal plural (33-34)
- F15 Definite articles (37)
- F16 Indefinite articles (38)
- F17 Inclusivity (in either pronouns or verb morphology) (39-40)
- F19 Gender in pronouns (44)
- F21 Person marking on adpositions (48)
- F22 Comitative \neq instrumental (52)
- F23 Ordinals exist as a separate class beyond 'first' (53)
- F24 Suppletive ordinals beyond 'first' (53)
- F25 Obligatory numeral classifiers (55)
- F27 Conjunction 'and' \neq adposition 'with' (63)
- F28 Difference between nominal and verbal conjunction (64)
- F29 Grammaticalized perfective/imperfective (65)
- F30 Grammaticalized past/non-past (66)
- F31 Remoteness distinctions of past (66)
- F32 Morphological future (67)
- F33 Grammaticalized perfect (68)
- F34 Morphological imperative (70)
- F35 Morphological optative (73)
- F36 Grammaticalized evidentiality distinctions (76)
- F37 Both indirect and direct evidentials (77)
- F38 Non-neutral marking of full NPs (98)
- F39 Non-neutral marking of pronouns (99)
- F40 Subject marking as both free word and agreement (101-102)
- F41 Passive (107)
- F42 Antipassive (108)
- F43 Applicative (109)
- F44 Obligatorily double negation (112)
- F45 Asymmetric negation (113)
- F46 Equative copula \neq Locative copula (119)
- F47 Obligatorily overt equative copula (120)
- F48 Demonstratives marked for number (Diessel)
- F49 Demonstratives marked for gender (Diessel)
- F50 Demonstratives marked for case (Diessel)
- F52 Alienability distinctions (Nichols)

Parkvall (2008): The scores for each of the of the 43 structural features in Parkvall (2008) for 153 non-creoles, 34 creoles/pidgins and 1 constructed language (Esperanto)

The initial capital letter in each abbreviation indicates whether the language is a pidgin (PXXX), a creoles (CXXX), as originally scored by Parkvall (2008), or a non-creole (Nxxx), as scored by the WALS contributors. Note that the conlang Esperanto is also included in the data set (EESP). The full list of abbreviations, language names and affiliation can be found in the next section.

CANN	10000100?010?0?0?00?10?0?00000?01000???
CAUS	?0001100?011000??0??0000000000?01000?00?000
CBSM	?000?100???
CDOM	10000?00?11000???
CGBC	1000??00?010?0?1100?11?0?00000?01000?101000
CGUA	10001?00?11000???
CHCR	10000100?11000?1000110?0?00000?01000111?000
CHWC	?0000?00???
CJAM	?0000100?11000???
CKIN	?0001100?1000000000?11?0100000?00000?11?000
CKRI	?0000100?11000???
CLUC	10000100?11000???
CMCR	1000?100?11000???
CMLC	?0000100?000?0?1000?10?0?00000?01000???
CMQC	10000?00?11000?100?010?0?00000?01000?10?000
CNDY	000?0100011000?100??
CNEH	00000100?11000???
CNPI	?000?100??
CPAL	?0000?00?11000???
CPAP	0000?100?11000?110?111?0?00000?01000?110000
CPIJ	0000?100?01100?1001?0000000000?01000?110000
CPRI	10000100?010?0?0000?11?0?00000?01000?10?000
CSAN	1000110011000?000
CSAT	1000?100?010?0?1?00?11?0?00000?01001???
CSEY	1000??00?11000?100??
CSRA	10000100?11000???
CSRМ	?0000100?11000???
CTAY	10001?00?11000???
EESP	01001000110010110010?1010100011010000011010
Nabk	010011101111111100101101111100000010111???
Naco	01001?001000?01100?00000010110?00110111???
Naeg	000001111100111100101101010000001001000???
Nain	000011001??
Nala	010011101100101100111111010000?000101111100
Name	0100110010100011000101111000000?0010110???
Napu	11001011100010?000?000010101000010000???
Narm	?????1001??
Narp	01001111110010100???
Nasm	01000100110000???
Nawp	01101000100000?00???
Nbag	110001001100011???
Nbej	?1001111110010???

Nbma 010011111?011110?011000010??1001000110????
Nbrh 01001?001??0001100?011001100011000001?????
Nbrm 01001100100010???10?0000100001100001110????
Nbrs ?11010101??110000???0110010111100000001110?
Nbsq 0110100011000011001011011101011011001111110
Nbur 11111?1011001111001011011100011010100011111
Ncah 0????1001??000?10??0?????10101100110?11???1
Ncha 01001100110101?1000010000?01001?1110011????
Nchk 011001001000001100101001000001100100111????0
Nckr ?1001100000101?00001011001?0000?01000101001
Ncmn 0????1001101001??????????101011011101??????
Ncoo 01001100110100???010?????10101?01??0011???0
Ncre 010011101??110???01?0000010???00110011???1
Ncyv 100011001??100?000???????1?000001??00??????
Ndag 01001100?00000???1?010101?000000000001????
Ndio ??????11111110?10???0001000000001??01??????
Ndni ?1011?00?000011?????11110101011000101??????
Ndyi ?10011101?????????01??????1?00????110?100111
Neng 010010101110100110100100100000111000101???0
Nepe 11000100110000???0??????10101100010110111?
Neve 010110001001011110?01101111111111000100????
Newe ?0001100111001010?0?0001000000000000111????
Nfij 01001100?001011100010100100000?1101?111????
Nfin 0101100010000111101001001101011?1000101101?
Nfre 1000101111101001101011011101001110000011100
Ngeo 011011001??000?1001011010011110110100011010
Nger 010010111110100100?001001101011110000??111?
Ngoo 011011001101001000?001010001011001000?????1
Ngrb 11001?10100010?10???111110000101010111????
Ngrk 01111011111010011?101100110001101000001????
Ngrw 01111000100001111?000001010101001110111101?
Ngua 11001?001101011100100101011101100000110????
Nhai 00001?00110000???0?1?????10110000?00?????1
Nhau 011011111110110100010000010000001010111????
Nheb ?100111111101101001001010100011?1000100110?
Nhin 1110111110000011001011011100011?1000101????
Nhix 0100101010011110001011100101100010001001101
Nhmo ?0001100010000?????000000000000010000??????
Nhun 01001100111001?110100100000001101000000???0
Nhzb 1????1101000001100?0?????111010?0100101????
Nigb 0????1000?000?1001??????10001100010111????
Nika ?0001000100000?000?1?????00111?000101??????
Nimo 01111?000001001000?11101110001100010110????
Nind 00000100110100?100000000100000001010010????
Ning 01101?11100100?100????????111111000000??????
Nirq 0?????11100010?000?0?????10001001000110????
Njak 010011??10100111010110000101000?1110111????
Njpn 010011???0101011010101000101011010001111000
Njuh ?0000?111111100??0111000000000000010001????
Nkay 01001100011100100??00010101111010001??????
Nket 01001?10100001010?1010000100000?100?011???0
Nkew ?1001?00100000???0??0111110111100010010????

Nkha 0100110010000011001?010011111101000100???0
Nkhm 0????10011000011001?00001000000?0???010????
Nkho 0100111111011001001011101000011010101111101
Nkhs 0????110100010110?00???????001110000111110?
Nkio ?10010??100100???01?1001010100?001001111101
Nklv 0????1001001111??1???????00000?00000010????
Nknd 0100111011001011001101011101011010100111?
Nknm 01001???110100110?0???????1?001101??0110????
Nknr 011011001110001100011101110001101010110????
Nkoa 11101100110001110??10111010111?010001??????
Nkob 00000?00101000100001?????10000100000000???0
Nkor 010011??10001011011111000101011010001110000
Nkrk 110011001100001??0?10001110100001011111???1
Nkro 000010??100110100??110001100000?1110111????
Nkse ??????00110000?10??110000100000011101??????
Nkut 01101000110000???0?000010100000010100?????1
Nlad 0?????00110100110?????????11111100??0111????
Nlah ??????00111?001??11?00001??10??00???110000?
Nlan 11001000101001?000?110000100000001100??100?
Nlat 0?????111110100110100101110101111000100????
Nlav 01001111111111?????000010100000001001??????
Nlez 010010001010001100101101111101100000111101?
Nlkt 110011??1110011100100000000100?00010011???1
Nluv ?1001111100010?10??101111100000000101??????
Nmal 01001100010101?1001?1000010001101010011????
Nmao 01001100111100110?010100100001101000110????
Nmap 01101?00?100001100100001010000001000011???0
Nmar 01101100110000???0?100010111111010110??????
Nmau 010001101??110????0??110101?000000000110???1
Nmay 00001110010011?100?000000000000000100??????
Nmei 01001100?11000110?110000111111100010111????
Nmnd 010011001??11011010110000000000010001110001
Nmrt 010011001??1001000??01010101011010000?????1
Nmss 01111?001??100?110?????????10101101??00?????0
Nmun 11101?10100110100?10?????11000001???011????
Nmxc 10000?10100101?000?010010100000?00000?????0
Nmyi 011111101101001000110100010101100100100???1
Nnen 01101?001??001?1100?0101010111101??0100????
Nnez 0????100???000?10??1?????10001101110001????
Nngi 010011001001001000??01010101111000000011011
Nnht ??????00100001???0?0?????10100001??0001????
Nniv 010011001??1011001?10001010100000000110???0
Nnug 01101111100110?000???????000000000101??1111
Nond ?1001010110100??????100101010??00010111000?
Norh 00001111?000101100111100110001100001100????
Notm 11001?00?????00?10?10?????10100?00000111????
Npai 01111100???100110??1000011010???011?111????
Npau 01101110000010????0???????10101101010010????
Nprh 000000100000101??0?010000001100?00000?????0
Nprs 011011001010110100101100010111101000001????
Npsm 0?????10110110?10?10?????10100?010101??110?
Nqim ?10011001000000100100101010111101000100????

Nram 01101?00111001?????0101110000100000100????
Nrap 011011001111001100??0100100000000001?????
Nrus 01001011100010?11010110001000111100?000???0
Nshk ?1001?00100000???0??????101011?0010000????
Nsla 110010??100001110?11111100100001000011100?
Nsml 11000100???100???1?0000100??1101??01?????
Nsnm 11001???1??100???0?00110000111101100100????
Nspa 01101011111010?110101101110001101000011????0
Nsue 00001?001??100???0?0011101010100000?1?????
Nsup 10001?11111010?100?1111011000000000111110?
Nswa 0100111111001011100?0101110000001010101????
Nswa 00001?1111101001101?010011010???10?00011100
Ntab 0?????00100100?101?0?????000000110100?????
Ntag 011011101??10011001010010111000?0010011????
Ntha 00001100?010001101100000100000001000010????
Ntiw 01000110100110?000100101010000000010110???1
Ntuk 000011000?000?000?0000101000110101?010????
Ntur 010111001010000100101101010111101000001101?
Nurk 1?????001000011???01?????10101100?10010000?
Nusa 01001?00010001????10??????0000000010100000?
Nvie 00000100110000???1100000100000001000010000?
Nwar 11001110100111?000?000000000000110001??110?
Nwch 011010??1100001????101110100000?0000111????
Nwic 010010000??100??????1001011100000010101????
Nwra 11001?001??000100??001000101001?10001?????
Nwrđ 0?????110110100?00??1?????1000110010?0??101?
Nyag 110010??100101???1?01110000000000010000110?
Nyaq 01111100101000110?1011010101011?1010010????
Nyid 0?????100000000???011?????10001100110000????
Nyim 010011111??001?100?0?????100000001?1111100
Nyko 010000001000001100110001010101100??0111???1
Nyor 11101100100000110001000010000010000?111????
Nyur 01001100110000????1??????10000101000110????
Nzqc ?1111?00110100????1?110011?101100110111????
Nzul 01001111100010?10001111110000001010101????
Nzun ?11010001???00???0?1010000100???1??1??????0
PCHJ 0000?00?11000???0??1??0?00000?00000????000
PFAN ?0001?0011?000???0??01?0100000?01000?00?000
PFRT 10001000000000???00?0100000000000000100000
PLIF ?000??00??????0????0?????00000?01000????000
PMOB ?000??00??????0????0??????00000?0?000?00?000
PRUN 00000?000????0????0??0??0?00000?0000??00?000

Parkvall (2008): Full list of abbreviations, language names and affiliation of the languages used in the study

Abbr.	Language	Affiliation
CANN	Annobon Portuguese Creole	Creole
CAUS	Australian English Creole	Creole
CBSM	Bislama English Creole	Creole
CDOM	Dominica French Creole	Creole
CGBC	Guinea Bissau Portuguese Creole	Creole
CGUA	Guadeloupe French Creole	Creole
CHCR	Haitian French Creole	Creole
CHWC	Hawaiian English Creole	Creole
CJAM	Jamaica English Creole	Creole
CKIN	Kinubi Arabic Creole	Creole
CKRI	Krio English Creole	Creole
CLUC	St. Lucia French Creole	Creole
CMCR	Mauritian French Creole	Creole
CMLC	Papia Kristang Portuguese Creole	Creole
CMQC	Martinique French Creole	Creole
CNDY	Ndyuka English Creole	Creole
CNEH	Negerhollands Dutch Creole	Creole
CNPI	Nigerian English Creole	Creole
CPAL	Palenquero Spanish Creole	Creole
CPAP	Papiamentu Spanish Creole	Creole
CPIJ	Tok Pisin	Creole
CPRI	Principense Portuguese Creole	Creole
CSAN	Sango	Creole
CSAT	São Tomé Portuguese Creole	Creole
CSEY	Seychelles French Creole	Creole
CSRA	Sranan English Creole	Creole
CSRM	Saramaccan English Creole	Creole
CTAY	Tayo French Creole	Creole
EESP	Esperanto	Conlang
PCHJ	Chinook Jargon	Pidgin
PFAN	Fanakalo	Pidgin
PFRT	Français Tirailleur	Pidgin
PLIF	Lingua Franca	Pidgin
PMOB	Mobilian Jargon	Pidgin
PRUN	Russenorsk	Pidgin
Nabk	Abkhaz	North Caucasian
Naco	Acoma	Keres
Naeg	Arabic (Egyptian)	Afro-Asiatic
Nain	Ainu	Isolate

Nala	Alamblak	Sepik-Ramu
Name	Amele	Trans-New Guinea
Napu	Apurinã	Arawakan
Narm	Armenian (Eastern)	Indo-European
Narp	Arapesh	Torricelli
Nasm	Asmat	Trans-New Guinea
Nawp	Awa Pit	Barbacoan
Nbag	Bagirmi	Nilo-Saharan
Nbej	Beja	Afro-Asiatic
Nbma	Berber (Middle Atlas)	Afro-Asiatic
Nbrh	Brahui	Dravidian
Nbrm	Burmese	Sino-Tibetan
Nbrs	Barasano	Tucanoan
Nbsq	Basque	Isolate
Nbur	Burushaski	Isolate
Ncah	Cahuilla	Uto-Aztecan
Ncha	Chamorro	Austronesian
Nchk	Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan
Nckr	Canela-Krahô	Macro-Ge
Ncmn	Comanche	Uto-Aztecan
Ncoo	Coos (Hanis)	Penutian
Ncre	Cree (Plains)	Algic
Ncyv	Cayuvava	Isolate
Ndag	Daga	Trans-New Guinea
Ndio	Diola-Fogny	Niger-Congo
Ndni	Dani (Lower Grand Valley)	Trans-New Guinea
Ndyi	Dyirbal	Pama-Nyungan
Neng	English	Indo-European
Nepe	Epena Pedee	Choco
Neve	Evenki	Tungus
Newe	Ewe	Niger-Congo
Nfij	Fijian	Austronesian
Nfin	Finnish	Uralic
Nfre	French	Indo-European
Ngeo	Georgian	South Caucasian
Nger	German	Indo-European
Ngoo	Gooniyandi	Bunaban
Ngrb	Grebo	Niger-Congo
Ngrk	Greek (Modern)	Indo-European
Ngrw	Greenlandic (West)	Eskimo-Aleut
Ngua	Guaraní	Tupí
Nhai	Haida	Haida
Nhau	Hausa	Afro-Asiatic

Nheb	Hebrew (Modern)	Afro-Asiatic
Nhin	Hindi	Indo-European
Nhix	Hixkaryana	Carib
Nhmo	Hmong Njua	Hmong-Mien
Nhun	Hungarian	Uralic
Nhzb	Hunzib	North Caucasian
Nigb	Igbo	Niger-Congo
Nika	Ika	Chibchan
Nimo	Imonda	Trans-New Guinea
Nind	Indonesian	Austronesian
Ning	Ingush	North Caucasian
Nirq	Iraqw	Afro-Asiatic
Njak	Jakaltek	Mayan
Njpn	Japanese	Isolate
Njuh	Ju'hoan	Khoisan
Nkay	Kayardild	Pama-Nyungan
Nket	Ket	Isolate
Nkew	Kewa	Trans-New Guinea
Nkha	Khalkha	Mongolian
Nkhm	Khmer	Austro-Asiatic
Nkho	Khoekhoe	Khoisan
Nkhs	Khasi	Austro-Asiatic
Nkio	Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan
Nklv	Kilivila	Austronesian
Nknd	Kannada	Dravidian
Nknm	Kunama	Nilo-Saharan
Nknr	Kanuri	Nilo-Saharan
Nkoa	Koasati	Muskogean
Nkob	Kobon	Trans-New Guinea
Nkor	Korean	Isolate
Nkrk	Karok	Hokan
Nkro	Krongo	Niger-Congo
Nkse	Koyraboro Senni	Nilo-Saharan
Nkut	Kutenai	Isolate
Nlad	Ladakhi	Sino-Tibetan
Nlah	Lahu	Sino-Tibetan
Nlan	Lango	Nilo-Saharan
Nlat	Latvian	Indo-European
Nlav	Lavukaleve	East Papuan
Nlez	Lezgian	North Caucasian
Nlkt	Lakhota	Siouan
Nluv	Luvale	Niger-Congo
Nmal	Malagasy	Austronesian

Nmao	Maori	Austronesian
Nmap	Mapudungun	Araucanian
Nmar	Maricopa	Hokan
Nmau	Maung	Yiwaidjan
Nmay	Maybrat	West Papuan
Nmei	Meithei	Sino-Tibetan
Nmnd	Mandarin	Sino-Tibetan
Nmrt	Martuthunira	Pama-Nyungan
Nmss	Miwok (Southern Sierra)	Penutian
Nmun	Mundari	Austro-Asiatic
Nmxc	Mixtec (Chalcatongo)	Oto-Manguean
Nmyi	Mangarrayi	Gunwingguan
Nnen	Nenets	Uralic
Nnez	Nez Perce	Penutian
Nngi	Ngiyambaa	Pama-Nyungan
Nnht	Nahuatl (Tetelcingo)	Uto-Aztecan
Nniv	Nivkh	Isolate
Nnug	Nunggubuyu	Gunwingguan
Nond	Oneida	Iroquoian
Norh	Oromo (Harar)	Afro-Asiatic
Notm	Otomí (Mezquital)	Oto-Manguean
Npai	Paiwan	Austronesian
Npau	Paumarí	Arauan
Nprh	Pirahã	Mura
Nprs	Persian	Indo-European
Npsm	Passamaquoddy-Maliseet	Algic
Nqim	Quechua (Imbabura)	Quechuan
Nram	Rama	Chibchan
Nrap	Rapanui	Austronesian
Nrus	Russian	Indo-European
Nshk	Shipibo-Konibo	Panoan
Nsla	Slave	Athapaskan
Nsml	Semelai	Austro-Asiatic
Nsnm	Sanuma	Yanomam
Nspa	Spanish	Indo-European
Nsue	Suena	Trans-New Guinea
Nsup	Supyire	Niger-Congo
Nswa	Swahili	Niger-Congo
Nswe	Swedish	Indo-European
Ntab	Taba	Austronesian
Ntag	Tagalog	Austronesian
Ntha	Thai	Tai-Kadai
Ntiw	Tiwi	Tiwan

Ntuk	Tukang Besi	Austronesian
Ntur	Turkish	Turkic
Nurk	Urubu-Kaapor	Tupí
Nusa	Usan	Trans-New Guinea
Nvie	Vietnamese	Austro-Asiatic
Nwar	Wari'	Chapacura-Wanham
Nwch	Wichí	Mataco-Guaicuru
Nwic	Wichita	Caddoan
Nwra	Warao	Isolate
Nwrđ	Wardaman	Gunwingguan
Nyag	Yagua	Peba-Yaguan
Nyaq	Yaqui	Uto-Aztecan
Nyid	Yidiny	Pama-Nyungan
Nyim	Yimas	Sepik-Ramu
Nyko	Yukaghir (Kolyma)	Yukaghir
Nyor	Yoruba	Niger-Congo
Nyur	Yurok	Algic
Nzqc	Zoque (Copainalá)	Mixe-Zoque
Nzul	Zulu	Niger-Congo
Nzun	Zuni	Isolate
