**Table 1. The data set for Bantu negative existentials**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Name** |  | **ISO-code** | **Guthrie Code** | **Construction** | **Lex. etymology** | **Stage** | **Other meanings** **(when noted)** | **Source(s)** |
| **Duala** | **DOU-CMR** | **dua** | **A24** | *tìti* | \**tìtà* 'not to be, not to exist' (infl. in prf) | B(?) | neg. locational | Ittmann (1939, 1976) |
| **Bafia** | **KSF-CMR** | **ksf** | **A53** | -*yin* | ‘not be’ | B(?) | neg. locational | Guarisma-Popineau (1992) |
| **Eton** | **ETO-CMR** | **eto** | **A71** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | van de Velde (2008) |
| **Ewondo** | **EWO-CMR** | **ewo** | **A72(a)** | sə́ kig | ‘not be’ + SN2 | A |  | Essono (1993) |
| **Bulu** | **BUM-CMR** | **bum** | **A74a** | 1) -*sɛ́kik*  2) *tɛkɛ*  3) *sǎ* | 1) ‘not be’ +SN2  2) *tɛ* + SN2  3) ? | A~B | 1) -sɛ́ neg. copula used for loc., ex., poss., qualification  2) neg. inf., prohibitive, neg. conditional, ‘without’  3) neg. identification, subsecutive clause | Alexandre (1966) |
| **Orongu** | **MYE-GAB** | **(mye)** | **B11b** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Ambouroue (2007) |
| **Kota** | **KOQ-COG** | **koq** | **B25** | *ǹdékà* | ‘not one’ | B(?) |  | Piron (1990) |
| **Tsogo** | **TSV-GAB** | **tsv** | **B31** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Marchal-Nasse (1979) |
| **Duma** | **DMA-GAB** | **dma** | **B51** | # *ve* | - | B(?) | neg. locational; possessives | Adam (1954) |
| **Nzebi** | **NZB-GAB** | **nzb** | **B52** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Marchal-Nasse (1987) |
| **Mbete** | **MDT-GAB** | **mdt** | **B61** | *kali* | NEG+’be’(?) | B(?) | neg. locational; infinitives; possessives; indef. attributives | Adam (1954) |
| **Nduumo** | **NMD-GAB** | **nmd** | **B63** | 1) *ng’i*  2) *oñana* | 1) ?  2) ? | 1) B(?)  2) B(?) | 1) neg2 of discont. SN, neg. locational; possessives | Adam (1954) |
| **Engungwel** | **NGZ-COG** | **ngz** | **B72(a)** | 1) SN1 # EXIST SN2  2) *py*ɛ~wɛ | 1) -  2) ‘none’ | 1) A  2) A~B | 2) neg2 of discont. SN? | Raharimanantsoa (p.c.) |
| **Iyaa** | **IYX-COG** | **iyx** | **B73c** | *pé* | ‘none’(?) | B(?) | neg2 of discont. SN; neg. locational; prohibitive | Mouandza (2001) |
| **Teke- Tyee** | **TYX-COG** | **tyx** | **B73d** | 1) SN1 # EXIST SN2  2) wɛ | 1) -  2) ‘none’ | 1) A  2) B(?) |  | Raharimanantsoa (p.c.) |
| **Teke-Eboo** | **EBO-COG** | **ebo** | **B74B** | 1) SN1 # EXIST SN2  2) wɛ | 1) -  2) ‘none’ | 1) A  2) B(?) |  | Raharimanantsoa (p.c.) |
| **Tiene** | **TII-COD** | **tii** | **B81** | 1) SN-EXIST  2) wɛ | 1) -  2) ‘none’ (?) | 1) A  2) B(?) |  | Ellington (1977) |
| **Dzing** | **DIZ-COD** | **diz** | **B86** | *ati* | ? | B(?) | neg. possessives; neg. plain locational; attributives; infinitives | Mertens (1938) |
| **Mboshi** | **MDW-COG** | **mdw** | **C25** | # SN |  | A |  | Amboulou Célestin (1998) |
| **Lingala** | **LIN-COD** | **lin** | **C30B** | EXIST # SN | - | A |  | Maniacky (p.c.) |
| **Ntomba** | **NTO-COD** | **nto** | **C35a** | -*mbe* | ‘not be’ | B |  | Mamet (1966) |
| **Tetela** | **TLL-COD** | **tll** | **C71** | *kěma* | ‘not, none’ | A | neg. possessives, neg. plain locational | Jacobs (1964) |
| **Ombo** | **OML-COD** | **oml** | **C76** | 1) SN-EXIST 2) loc-*áfa* | 1)- 2)‘not be’ | A~B | neg. identification, ‘no’ | Meeussen (1952) |
| **Bushong** | **BUF-COD** | **buf** | **C83** | *kwa* | ? | B(?) |  | Vansina (1959) |
| **Holoholo** | **HOO-COD** | **hoo** | **D28** | SN-EXIST (?) | - | B (?) |  | Coupez (1955) |
| **Budu** | **BUU-COD** | **buu** | **D332** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Asangama (1983) |
| **Kikuyu** | **KIU-KEN** | **kik** | **E51** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Englebretson et al (2015), Gregoire (1975) |
| **Kamba** | **KIK-KEN** | **kam** | **E55** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Whiteley & Muli (1962) |
| **Gweno** | **GWE-TZA** | **gwe** | **E65** | SN-EXIST | - | A | - | Philippson & Nurse (2000) |
| **Digo** | **DIG-KEN** | **dig** | **E73** | SN-EXIST | - | A | - | Nicolle (2013) |
| **Bende** | **BDP-TZA** | **bdp** | **F12** | 1)loc-*tuhú*  2)loc-(*a)bhulá* | 1) ‘only, empty, vain’ 2) ‘lack’ | B | ? | Y. Abe (p. c.) |
| **Nyamwezi** | **NYZ-TZA** | **nym** | **F22** | loc-dʊhʊ | ‘only, empty, vain’ | B | ’no’, ’nobody’, ’nothing’ | Maganga & Schadeberg (1992), P. Kanijo (p.c.) |
| **Rangi** | **LAG-TZA** | **lag** | **F33** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Gibson (2012); Dunham (2005) |
| **Mbugwe** | **MGZ-TZA** | **mgz** | **F34** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Gibson & Wilhemsen (2013) |
| **Gogo** | **GOG-TZA** | **gog** | **G11** | loc-*si*-*na* | 'be without' (neg.comitative) | B | 'no' | Cordell (1941) |
| **Kagulu** | **KKI-TZA** | **kki** | **G12** | loc-*ichaka* | 'lack, be without' | B |  | Petzell (2008) |
| **Luguru** | **RUF-TZA** | **ruf** | **G35** | loc-*duhu* | ‘only, empty, vain’ | B(?) |  | G. Moses (p. c.) |
| **Kami** | **KCU-TZA** | **kcu** | **G36** | loc-*bule* | 'nothing at all, not yet' (?); < Sw. *bure* 'for free, in vain' | B | Neg. possessive | Petzell & Aunio (2016), Petzell (p. c.) |
| **Kisetla (Swahili pidgin)** | **STA-KEN** | **sta** | **G40C** | SN-EXIST | - | C | SN | Vitale (1980) |
| **Lumumbashi Swahili** | **SWC-COD** | **swc** | **G40F** | SN-EXIST | - | C | postverbal emphatic negator | Schicho (1992) |
| **Bunia Swahili** | **SWC-COD** | **swc** | **G40x** | SN-EXIST | - | C | SN | Nassenstein (p. c.) |
| **(Standard) Swahili** | **SWH-TZA** | **swh** | **G42** | SN-EXIST | - | A | ‘no’ | Marten (2013) |
| **Pogolo** | **POJ-TZA** | **poj** | **G51** | 1.loc*-hera* 2*. hapana* | 1. ‘in vain, for nothing’ 2. Sw. borrowing (?) | 1. A~B 2. B~C |  | Nurse (2008b), Hendle (1907) |
| **Ndamba** | **NDJ-TZA** | **ndj** | **G52** | loc *hela* | ’just, any’ | B | neg. possessive | Novotná (2006), Edelsten & Lijongwa (2010) |
| **Hehe** | **HEH-TZA** | **heh** | **G62** | loc-*gaya* | ‘lack’ | B |  | Velten (2011) [1899], L. Ngwasi (p. c.) |
| **Bena** | **BEZ-TZA** | **bez** | **G63** | 1)SN-EXIST 2) loc-*gaya* 3)loc-*zila* | 1)- 2) ‘lack’ 3) ‘refuse’ | A~B | 2) neg. possessive | Morrison (2011),  Eaton (2015a) |
| **Pangwa** | **PBR-TZA** | **pbr** | **G64** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Stirnimann (1983) |
| **Kinga** | **ZGA-TZA** | **zga** | **G65** | 1) SN-EXIST  2) loc*-vʊla* | 1)-  2) ‘lack’ | A~B |  | Wolff (1905), Eaton (p.c.) |
| **Vwanji** | **WBI-TZA** | **wbi** | **G66** | 1) SN-EXIST  2) loc-*sili* | 1) - 2) (< \*‑*gìd‑* ’refuse’?) | A~B | neg possessive, neg relative, ‘w/o’ (conj.) | Eaton (p. c.) |
| **Kisi** | **KIZ-TZA** | **kiz** | **G67** | EXIST # SN | - | A |  | Ngonyani (2011) |
| **Beembe** | **BEJ-COG** | **beq** | **H11** | # SN | - | A | neg. locational | Nsayi (1984) |
| **South-East Kongo** | **KON-AGO** | **kon** | **H16h** | 1)SN1 # EXIST # SN2  2) *nkatu* | 1)-  2) ’emptiness, uselessness, zero, desolation, void, blank, vacancy, nought’ | A~B |  | Bentley (1887) |
| **Kinyarwanda** | **KIN-RWA** | **kin** | **JD61** | *ntaa* | ‘be not’ (\*< cop *ni* + neg -*ta*-) | B(?) | “exclusive marker” | Kimenyi (1980) |
| **Luganda** | **LUG-UGA** | **lug** | **JE15** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Ashton et al (1954) |
| **Lusoga** | **XOG-UGA** | **xog** | **JE16** | 1) loc-*zila*  2) *mpagho* | 1) ’reject as a result of anger’; ‘not have’ 2) ? | B(?) |  | Nabirye (p.c.) |
| **Jita** | **JIT-TZ** | **jit** | **JE25** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | J. Malima (p.c.) |
| **Ikizu** | **IKZ-TZ** | **ikz** | **JE402** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Gray (2013) |
| **Gusii** | **GUZ-KEN** | **guz** | **JE42** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Whiteley (1956) |
| **Ikoma-Nata** | **NTK-TZA** | **ntk** | **JE45** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | A. Laine (p. c.) |
| **Lwena/Luvale** | **LUE-AGO** | **lue** | **K14** | SN-loc-*exi* | ‘not be’ | B(?) |  | Horton (1949) |
| **Kwangali** | **KWN-NAM** | **kwn** | **K33** | 1) SN-EXIST  2) loc-*tupu* | 1) -  2) ‘empty’ | A~B | neg. possessive | Dammann (1957) |
| **Holu** | **HOL-AGO** | **hol** | **L12b** | loc-*eesi* | ‘not be’ | B(?) | neg. locational | Daeleman (2003) |
| **Luba** | **LUB-COD** | **lub** | **L33** | 1) SN-EXIST  2) loc-*tu(pu)* 3) *fwa*-loc | 1) -  2) ’empty’ 3) ’die’ | A~B | neg. locational | Beckett (1951), Van Avermaet & Mbuyà (1954) |
| **Sanga** | **SNG-COD** | **sng** | **L35** | 1) SN1-EXIST # (SN2)  2)loc-*tú(pú)*  3) *fwa-*loc | 1)-  2) ‘empty’  3) ‘die’ | A~B | neg. locational | Dom Hadelin Roland (1938),  Coupez (1981) |
| **Kaonde** | **KQN-ZMB** | **kqn** | **L41** | *fwa*-loc | ’die’ | B |  | Broughall Woods  Foster (n.d.) |
| **Lunda** | **LUN-ZBA** | **lun** | **L52** | loc-*osi* | ’?’ | B |  | Kawasha (2003) |
| **Ruwund** | **RND-COD** | **rnd** | **L53** | 1) SN  2) loc-*iikil*(*inga*) | 1)- 2) ’?’ | A~B |  | Nash (1992) |
| **Fipa** | **FIP-TZA** | **fip** | **M13** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Struck (1911) |
| **Malila** | **MQC-TZA** | **mqc** | **M24** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Eaton (2015b) |
| **Ndali** | **NDH-TZA** | **ndh** | **M301** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Botne (2008) |
| **Nyakyusa** | **NYY-TZA** | **nyy** | **M31** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Persohn (2017) |
| **Lamba** | **LAB-ZMB** | **lab** | **M54** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Doke (1938) |
| **Tonga** | **TOI-ZMB** | **toi** | **M64** | loc-*nyina* | ‘be w.o.’ | B |  | Collins (1962) |
| **Manda** | **MGS-TZA** | **mgs** | **N11** | 1) SN 2)loc/cl7-*waka* | 1)- 2)‘empty, just’ | A~B | neg. poss. | Bernander (2017) |
| **Ngoni (Tz.)** | **NGU-TZA** | **ngo** | **N12** | loc-*waka* | ’empty, just’ | B | ‘no’ (?), neg. possessive | Spiss (1904),  Ngonyani (2003), Mapunda (p.c.) |
| **Ngoni (Moz.)** | **no code** | **no code** | **N12x** | 1) *naku(va)*  2) *njêta* | 1) SN-inf-‘be’ 2) ‘?’ | 1)B~C  2) A~B | 1) external negation of main predication with fully inflected main verb, contrastive meaning, negative rhetoric question | Kröger (2011, n.d.) |
| **Matengo** | **MGV-TZA** | **mgv** | **N13** | EXIST # SN | - | A |  | Yoneda (2000, p. c.) |
| **Tumbuka** | **TUM-MWI** | **tum** | **N21** | loc-cop*-je* | 'be ?' | B |  | Kiso (2012), Vail (1973) |
| **Nyanja-Chewa** | **NYJ-MOZ** | **nya** | **N31** | loc-cop*-be* | 'be still' (?) | B |  | Bentley & Kulemeka (2001), Kiso (2012), Gregoire (1975) |
| **Nsenga** | **NSE-MOZ** | **nse** | **N41** | loc-cop-*ye/-ve* | 'be without' | B |  | Ranger (1928) |
| **Nyungwe** | **NYU-MOZ** | **nyu** | **N43** | loc-cop*-be* | ‘be ?’ | B(?) |  | Gregoire (1975) |
| **Ndengeleko** | **NDE-TZA** | **ndg** | **P11** | loc*-tʊ́pʊ́* | ‘empty’ | B | neg. possessive | Ström (2013) |
| **Matumbi** | **MGW-TZA** | **mgw** | **P13** | *ntʊpʊ́~ndʊpʊ́* | loc18-‘empty’ | B | 'no' | Krumm (1948),  Odden (1996) |
| **Ngindo** | **NNQ-TZA** | **nnq** | **P14** | loc-*duhu* | ‘empty’ | B(?) |  | Gromova & Urmanchieva (2005) |
| **Yao** | **YAO-MOZ** | **yao** | **P21** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Sanderson (1922),  Whiteley (1966) |
| **Makonde** | **KDE-TZA** | **kde** | **P23** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Leach (2010), Kraal (2005) |
| **Makwe** | **YMK-MOZ** | **ymk** | **P231** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Devos (2008) |
| **Makhuwa** | **VMW-MOZ** | **vmw** | **P31** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | van der Wal (2009), Katupha (1990) |
| **Shangaji** | **NTE-MOZ** | **nte** | **P312** | SN-EXIST | - | A |  | Devos (*field notes*) |
| **Manyika** | **MXC-ZWE** | **mxc** | **S13** | SN-EXIST |  | A |  | Stevick & Machiwana (1960) |
| **Xhosa** | **XOS-ZAF** | **xho** | **S41** | SN-EXIST |  | A~B |  | Ström (p. c.) |
| **Zulu** | **ZUU-ZAF** | **zul** | **S42** | SN-EXIST |  | A |  | Grout (1856) |
| **Thswaa** | **TSC-MOZ** | **tsc** | **S51** | SN-EXIST |  | A |  | Gadelii (1998) |