Chapter 18

More on have and need

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This paper addresses recent work on the cross-linguistic patterns involving *have* and *need* predicates, focusing on the debate surrounding the claim that all languages that lack a transitive *have* also lack transitive *need* (Harves & Kayne 2012). In this paper, we move the discussion beyond these surface patterns, first by presenting new syntactic diagnostics to demonstrate that the Bantu language counter-examples to the proposed generalization discussed by Antonov & Jacques (2014) are true counter-examples to the original claim by Harves & Kayne (2012). From this perspective, we evaluate the relevance of these conclusions for Harves & Kayne (2012)'s lexical decomposition analysis of *need*. We conclude that although Bantu languages form a straightforward counter-example to the proposed Harves & Kayne (2012) typology, as Antonov & Jacques (2014) noted, there are in fact some deep similarities between the Bantu patterns and the proposals of Harves & Kayne (2012). In particular, we suggest that their observations about the role of case in the distribution of *have* and *need* verbs may in fact be amenable to the Bantu patterns, suggesting that their conclusions cannot yet be abandoned.

1 Overview of the Issues

Harves & Kayne (2012) survey a number of languages and propose an empirical generalization: all languages that lack a lexical verb of possession (*have*) likewise lack a transitive lexical verb *need*. Based on this apparent typological gap they propose a lexical decomposition analysis of *need*. In response, Antonov & Jacques (2014) provide a range of typological data showing that the typological generalization that Harves & Kayne (2012) rely on is not in fact surface-true, a conclusion this paper supports. The chart in Table 1 summarizes both Harves & Kayne (2012)'s original typological conclusions and the additions of Antonov & Jacques (2014) and this paper, listed in bold.

Claire Halpert & Michael Diercks. More on have and need. In Jason Kandybowicz, Travis Major, Harold Torrence & Philip T. Duncan (eds.), *African linguistics on the prairie: Selected papers from the 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 265–280. Berlin: Language Science Press.
DOI:10.5281/zenodo.1251742

Table 1: Revised typology of possession and need, with additions in bold

	H-languages	B-languages
Languages with transitive 'need'	Czech, Slovak, Polish, Slovenian, Croatian, Servian (dialects), Belorussian, English, German, Yiddish, Luxemburgish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Spanish, Catalan, Basque, Paraguayan Guaraní, Purépecha (Tarascan), Mapudungun	**Zulu**, **Setswana**, **Kuria**, **Swahili**, **Otjiherero**, **Estonian**, **Moroccan Arabic**, **Algerian Arabic**, **Likpe**, **Ewe**, **Ayacucho Quechua**
Languages without transitive 'need'	Bulgarian, Serbian (standard), Lithuanian, French, Italian, Bellinzonese, Portuguese, Romanian, Farsi, Armenian, Albanian, Latin, Ancient Greek	Russian, Latvian, Sakha, Bhojpuri, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Irish, Welsh, Scots Gaelic, Georgian, Hungarian, Turkish, Korean, Peruvian Quechua (Cuzco, Cajamarca, Huallaga), Bolivian Quechua, Yucatec Maya, Tamil, Mohawk, Amharic

1.1 An empirical correction to Harves & Kayne (2012)

Harves & Kayne (2012) focus on what they claim is a significant typological gap in the cross-linguistic expression of possession and *need*, formalized in (1):

(1) **Harves-Kayne Generalization** (Strong version): (Harves & Kayne 2012: 1)
All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are H-languages.

The gap in their data occurs when we compare languages that use a transitive verb of possession, or H(ave)-languages, to languages that use a non-transitive strategy to express possession, or B(e)-languages. While possession in H-languages looks straightforwardly transitive, involving a nominative-accusative case pattern, possession in B-languages does not: in B-language possessors are typically oblique, and possessees are nominative instead of accusative (unlike possessees in H-languages). H-languages may or may not have a transitive *need* verb, but Harves & Kayne (2012) crucially claim that B-languages never do.

(2) **H-language with transitive need: Czech** (Harves & Kayne 2012: 4a, 5a)

a. Mají nové auto.
have.3PL new car.ACC
'They have a new car.'

b. Tvoje děti tě potřebují.
your children.NOM you.ACC need.3PL
'Your children need you.'

(3) **H-language with non-transitive need: French** (Harves & Kayne 2012: 6a, 7a)

a. J' ai une voiture.
I have.1SG a car
'I have a car.'

b. J' ai besoin d' une voiture.
I have.1SG need of a car
'I need a car.'

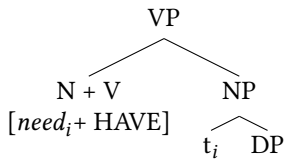
(4) **B-language with non-transitive possession: Latvian** (Harves & Kayne 2012: 2b, 3c)

a. Man ir velosipēds.
me.DAT is bicycle.NOM
'I have a bicycle.'

b. Man vajag dakšu.
me.DAT need.3SG fork.GEN
'I need a fork.'

Harves & Kayne (2012) argue that this crucial gap – the absence of B-languages with transitive *need* – follows directly from an incorporation account of transitive *need*: the derivation of the verb *need* involves incorporation of a nominal 'need' into an unpronounced (transitive, abstract) HAVE. Because 'need' incorporates, it does not require case (Baker 1988), which allows HAVE to assign accusative to the object. Languages that lack an overt *have* verb are assumed to lack abstract HAVE and are thus unable to do the necessary incorporation to create transitive *need*.

(5)



As noted by Antonov & Jacques (2014), a common pattern in Bantu languages contradicts the generalization in (1): the following examples show 3 languages that have transitive lexical verbs for *need* but construct predicative possession using a copular (*be*) construction followed by the preposition *with*.[1]

(6) **Zulu: *be*-possession and transitive *need***

a. ngi- zo- ba ne- mali.
1SG- FUT- be with.AUG- 9money
'I will have money.'

b. ngi- zo- dinga imali.
1SG- FUT- need AUG.9money
'I will need money.'

(7) **Swahili: *be*-possession and transitive *need***

a. ni- li- kuwa na nyumba.
1SG- PST- be with 9house
'I had a house.'

b. ni- li- hitaji nyumba.
1SG- PST- need 9house
'I needed a house.'

(8) **Kuria: *be*-possession and transitive *need***

a. Gati n- a- a- re n- eng'ɔɔmbe.
1Gati FOC- 1S- REM.PST- be with- 9cow
'Gati had a cow.' (remote past)

b. Gati n- a- a- tun- ire eng'ɔɔmbe.
1Gati FOC- 1S- REM.PST- need- REM.PST 9cow
'Gati needed a cow.' (remote past)

In addition to the languages shown here, initial evidence suggests that this pattern is well attested throughout the Bantu family. Herero, for example, expresses predicative possession using a *be (with)* construction, *na*, but has a transitive verb of need, *hepa*, that is distinct from the verb of wanting *vanga* (Nguako 2013). Setswana also uses a *be (with)* construction, *na (le)*, for predicative possession;[2] transitive *tlhoka* for 'need'; and *batla* for 'want'. We include these languages in table 1 on the basis of this preliminary evidence. Other languages, including Shona, Lubukusu, and Tiriki also lack a transitive verb *have* and express 'need' with a lexical verb; these differ, however, in that they seem to collapse *need* and *want* (relying on circumlocutions in sentences contrasting 'desiring'

[1] Antonov & Jacques (2014) give parallel data to ours here in Swahili and Zulu.

[2] Creissels (2013) observes, though, that in Setswana predicative possession patterns in some respects like a transitive verb. He remarks that this pattern is a departure from the general Bantu pattern in which predicative possession is completely indistinguishable from the comitative construction.

with 'needing').[3] No Bantu language that we examined expressed predicative possession via a transitive *have* verb.

It is clear from these Bantu examples that the generalization in (1) is not surface-true: these languages all have lexical verbs for *need* but lack a lexical verb *have*. Antonov & Jacques (2014) make this argument based on data like these from Swahili and Zulu, as well as similar data from a typologically diverse set of languages (including Arabic, Quechua, and Kwa languages). Our departure point is to investigate the issue in more syntactic depth to determine whether these apparent counter-examples hold up under further investigation and, if so, what the consequences are for the Harves & Kayne (2012) analysis of *need*.

We suggest in this paper that the resulting picture is more nuanced. While the Swahili and Zulu patterns indeed constitute true counter-examples to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization in (1), Harves & Kayne (2012)'s revised generalization, discussed below in (10), and a more in-depth consideration of structural licensing suggests that their core intuitions may still have merit, at least with respect to the Bantu data. This conclusion contrasts with that of Antonov & Jacques (2014), who state on the basis of the typological evidence that Harves & Kayne (2012)'s "hypothesis is thus unlikely to be valid as an absolute universal." While their conclusion may ultimately be correct, we suggest that a revised conception of Harves & Kayne (2012)'s relevant generalization based on the Bantu evidence could potentially reveal a modified universal structural decomposition of *need* verbs. This proposal makes useful predictions about the structure of these predicates in the other languages in Antonov & Jacques (2014)'s study, setting the stage for future investigation.

While Antonov & Jacques (2014) establish a number of potential counter-examples to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s proposed typology,[4] Harves & Kayne (2012) themselves discuss one language that does not straightforwardly follow their generalization: Finnish is canonically described as a B-language but nonetheless has a transitive *need* verb with a NOM-ACC case pattern. Harves & Kayne (2012) point out that while Finnish uses the same *be* verb in existential, locative, predicational, and possessive sentences, possessives differ from the other constructions in taking an accusative – rather than a nominative – object:

[3] Kuria, illustrated in (8) and to which we do not return in this paper, appears at a glance to fall into this category: our consultant reports that the verb *ugu-tuna* 'INF-need' in Kuria can also have a reading of 'want.' Despite this apparent lexical overlap, it is possible to contrast *ugu-tuna* with an unambiguous verb of desire, *uku-igomba*, producing a sentence like *Gati* ***naigombere*** *imburi, si bono* ***natunire*** *en'gombe* 'Gati desired a goat, but he needed a cow.' This kind of sentence would be unlikely if *ugu-tuna* was lexically a verb of 'wanting' just as much as 'needing' (cf. English #*John desired a Porsche, but wanted a family sedan.*). We suspect, therefore, that Kuria's *ugu-tuna* verb is probably best classified as a true 'need' verb, with metaphorical extensions to notions of 'wanting' (cf. English *I need a beer right now*). On this basis we include Kuria in the languages added in Table 1. Due to this complication, however, we restrict the core examples discussed in the paper to Swahili and Zulu.

[4] See Kayne (2014), though, for a discussion of some problems with the evidence Antonov & Jacques (2014) give.

(9) **Finnish predicational vs. possessive *be*** (Harves & Kayne 2012: 14c, 13)

a. Hän on vanha.
he.NOM be.3SG old.NOM
'He is old.'

b. Minu- lla on häne-t.
I- ADESS be.3SG him-ACC
'I have him.'

Harves & Kayne (2012) argue that the accusative case assignment in (9) crucially distinguishes Finnish from other B-languages: because Finnish expresses possession via an accusative-assigning (B)-verb, *need* may incorporate into accusative-assigning BE in this language to yield the transitive *need* pattern. They thus revise their generalization to reflect the importance of case-assignment patterns, as opposed to BE/HAVE distinctions:

(10) **Harves-Kayne Generalization** (revised): (Harves & Kayne 2012: 15)
All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are languages that have an accusative-case-assigning verb of possession.

As we will see in the next section, even the revised generalization does not seem to capture the Bantu facts: the possessee in Swahili and Zulu possessive predication does not behave like a normal transitive direct object, but instead exhibits similar behavior to the 'objects' of copular, existential, and locative predication, which also involve *be*. In §3, we return to an aspect of the generalization in (10) without a clear connection to the Bantu data – case assignment patterns. We propose that the the Bantu exceptions to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization(s) may in fact be linked to the exceptional behavior of Bantu languages with respect to syntactic case. Based on recent work on case in Bantu (e.g. Diercks 2012; Halpert 2012), we suggest that case-licensing of objects is independent of transitivity in these languages; transitive verbs and B-constructions have identical licensing properties. Given this pattern, a version of (10) that simply requires identical licensing properties between predicative possession and transitive verbs may be tenable.

2 The Bantu examples are true counter-examples

We have already established that the surface generalization in (1) cannot be upheld in the face of the patterns in Swahili and Zulu,[5] which are both B-languages that nonetheless have a lexical verb *need*. In this section, we demonstrate that possessees in these languages are not canonical transitive objects, which rules out a Finnish-style analysis for the Bantu facts.

As is common in the Bantu family, neither Zulu nor Swahili has overt case morphology, instead marking most grammatical relations on the verb itself via subject marking

[5] As well as the other Bantu languages discussed above. In addition, while we focus on Zulu and Swahili here, we note that Kuria exhibits identical behavior on all relevant diagnostics.

and object marking. This lack of case morphology means that we cannot simply use nominal morphology to evaluate Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalizations. Instead, we focus on object marking and A-bar extraction as tests for transitive-object behavior. As the following patterns demonstrate, possessees in Zulu and Swahili show distinct properties from canonical transitive objects, suggesting that they are true counter-examples to the generalizations in (1)/(10) and not instances of covert canonical objects.

2.1 Object markers for *need* and *have*

Most Bantu languages can mark transitive objects on the verb via a morpheme that precedes the stem and follows other inflectional material (see Riedel 2009; Marten et al. 2007; Zeller 2012; Bax & Diercks 2012, a.o., for additional discussion). Abstracting away from particular analyses of object markers, we instead take their availability to be a canonical property of transitive objects. As Swahili shows in (11), *need* uses the normal pre-stem OM to pronominalize an object, just as the transitive verb *want* does, while predicative possession requires an exceptional enclitic morpheme to pronominalize an object. A pre-stem object marker (11d) is ungrammatical.

(11) **Swahili**

a. Gati a- li- **i-** taka.
1Gati 1s- PST- 9O- want
'Gati wanted it (a house).' (remote past)

b. Gati a- li- **i-** hitaji.
1Gati 1s- PST- 9O- need
'Gati needed it (a house).' (remote past)

c. Gati a- li- kuwa na- **yo**.
1Gati 1s- PST- be with- 9PRONOUN
'Gati had it (a house).' (remote past)

d. * Gati a- li- **i-** kuwa na- (yo)
1Gati 1s- PST- 9O- be with- 9PRONOUN

The examples (12) illustrate the same pattern for Zulu:

(12) **Zulu**

a. ngi- zo- **yi-** funa.
1SG- FUT- 9O- want
'I will want it (money).'

b. ngi- zo- **yi-** dinga.
1SG- FUT- 9O- need
'I will need it (money).'

c. ngi- zo- ba na- **yo**.
1SG- FUT- be with- 9PRONOUN
'I will have it (money).'

d. * ngi- zo- **yi**- ba na- (yo).
1SG- FUT- 9O- be with (9PRONOUN)

These contrasts show that the canonical object marking patterns that are available for objects of transitive verbs are not available for possessees in predicative possession for Swahili and Zulu (see Antonov & Jacques 2014 for similar discussion). This pattern suggests that the Swahili and Zulu counter-examples are not instances of a transitive-like construction in disguise.

2.2 Object extraction for *need* and *have*

Extraction patterns provide an additional argument for distinguishing between possessee arguments and transitive objects. In Swahili, for example, the verb *need* shows the same patterns for object extraction as transitive verbs: an object operator can simply be A'-moved to the left periphery. In contrast, such dislocation in predicative possession requires a resumptive clitic:

(13) **Swahili object extraction**

a. Ni- li- ona ki- tabu amba- cho Gati a- li- nunua.
1sgs- PST- see 7- book comp- 7REL 1Gati 1S- PST- buy
'I saw the book that Gati bought.'

b. Ni- li- ona ki- tabu amba- cho Gati a- li- kuwa na- **cho**.
1sgs- PST- see 7- book comp- 7REL 1Gati 1S- PST- be with- 7PRO.
'I saw the book that Gati had.'

The requirement of a resumptive enclitic here is exceptional among instances of object extraction in Swahili. Notably, it is not exceptional for predicative possession in other Bantu languages. Zulu again shows the same patterns, distinguishing transitive object extraction, which requires object marking, from extraction of a possessee, which requires the enclitic:

(14) **Zulu object extraction**

a. y- imali- ni e- ngi- zo- **yi**- funa?
COP- AUG.9money- what REL- 1SG- FUT- 9O- want
'How much money will I want?'

b. y- imali- ni e- ngi- zo- **yi**- dinga?
COP- AUG.9money- what REL- 1SG- FUT- 9O- need
'How much money will I need?'

c. y- imali- ni e- ngi- zo- ba na- **yo**?
COP- AUG.9money- what REL- 1SG- FUT- be with- 9PRONOUN
'How much money will I have?'

d. * y- imali- ni e- ngi- zo- yi- ba na- (yo)?
COP- AUG.9money- what REL- 1SG- FUT- 9O- be with- (9PRONOUN)

If Swahili and Zulu possessive constructions were transitive verbs disguised as B-constructions, we would expect parallel behavior between transitives and possessives, contrary to fact.

In fact, a closer parallel to the extraction properties of possessive constructions is extraction from a prepositional phrase, which also requires a resumptive enclitic pronoun:

(15) **Zulu PP extraction**

a. ubhuthi e- ngi- hamba na- **ye** (u)- ng- uSipho.
AUG.1brother REL- 1SG- go with- 1PRONOUN (1S)- COP- AUG.1Sipho
'The guy I'm going with is Sipho.'

b. ubhuthi e-ngi-khuluma nga- **ye** u- zo ba (ng)- umongameli.
AUG.1br REL-1SG-speak INSTR- 1PRO 1S- FUT- be (COP)- AUG.1president
'The guy who I'm talking about will be president.'

(16) **Swahili PP extraction**

a. mw- anafunzi ni- na- ye- enda na- **ye** ni Gati.
1- student 1SG- PRES- 9REL- go with- 1PRONOUN is 1Gati
'The student who I'm going with is Gati.'

b. m- tu ni- na- ye- zungumza na- **ye** a- ta- kuwa
1- person 1SG- PRES- 9REL- converse with- 1PRONOUN 1S- FUT- be
rais.
9president
'The person who I'm talking to will be president.'

In short, A'-extraction in predicative possession patterns with extraction of obliques – and not with extraction of direct objects. This pattern is consistent with an analysis of the possessive constructions in Swahili and Zulu as a copula plus a prepositional phrase, exactly what it appears to be on the surface. This evidence therefore supports the conclusion that Swahili and Zulu are true B-languages (expressing possession via a basic copular construction), and therefore true counter-examples to the (1)/(10) generalization.

2.3 Predicative possession as a non-verbal construction

An additional parallel between predicative possession and other copular constructions in Bantu is found in the distribution of the *be* verb. The examples we have seen involve a *be* verb plus the preposition (some version of *na* or *ne* in all the languages considered here). More generally, the full verbal form appears only as needed to host overt tense morphology; in present tense constructions, for example, we find a reduced structure with only agreement and the preposition in many languages, as Zulu and Swahili show:

(17) a. ngi- ne- mali. [Zulu]
1SG- with.AUG- 9money
'I have money.'

b. ni- na nyumba. [Swahili]
1SG- with 9house
'I have a house.'

This same pattern occurs in copular clauses, with the full copular verb (and inflection) only appearing in non-present tenses, as the examples above show in (15) for Zulu and in (16) for Swahili. Buell & de Dreu (2013) provide a detailed comparison of non-verbal predication in Zulu, demonstrating that possessive predication exhibits parallel behavior to other copular constructions, in line with what we have shown here.

2.4 Intermediate summary

What we have seen in this section is that, based on evidence from both object marking and object extraction, possessees in predicative possession constructions do not display canonical properties of transitive objects. Without overt accusative case-marking in Bantu languages, these canonical object properties are the best means to examine whether the revised generalization in (10) holds up in the face of the Bantu counter-examples. The kind of exceptional copula behavior of the *be*-possessive in Finnish does not extend to Swahili and Zulu, which appear to be truly copular-based constructions. This conclusion was bolstered by the observation that the *be*-verb in these contexts appears to pattern in normal ways for a copula, being null in the present tense. These facts thus allow us to move beyond Antonov & Jacques (2014)'s observation that Bantu languages form a surface counter-example to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization to show that the counter-examples hold even on deeper syntactic measures of transitivity and objecthood.

3 The role of case

In the previous section, we concluded that Bantu languages like Zulu and Swahili constitute a robust counter-example to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization about *have* and *need*. As we saw in (10), however, the revised version of their claim specifically refers to the case assignment properties of the relevant predicates, with the idea that languages where possessees receive ACC have transitive *need* (that assigns ACC to its direct object). Given the Bantu counter-examples, we can draw one of two possible conclusions. First, we might conclude that Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalizations are empirically inaccurate and their resulting analysis of the decomposition of *need* is therefore untenable. A second alternative would be that Harves & Kayne (2012)'s revised generalization in (10) is on the right track, with the distribution of H- and B- languages relating to the the presence of transitive *need* based on the availability of Case-licensing.

This second alternative is not transparently correct: the surface forms show no evidence that objects of predicative possession and *need* are Case-licensed identically in Zulu and Swahili. We noted in the previous section that while Bantu languages show

no obvious morphological case marking on nominals, evidence from structural diagnostics demonstrates clear syntactic distinctions between the objects of transitive predicates and possessees in predicative possession. In the following subsections we nonetheless return to the issue of Case and what role its presence (or absence) might play in the Bantu possession pattern.

3.1 Another test for *have* and *need*

As we saw above, *need* in Swahili and Zulu always patterns with transitive verbs – and not with *have* (i.e. BE + P) constructions. This raises a critical question, however: are *have* and *need* always syntactically different in Bantu? The short answer is *maybe not*: one morphosyntactic pattern in Zulu, augment distribution, in fact suggests that both types of object are licensed in the same way.

Zulu nouns are typically marked with an initial augment vowel that appears before the noun class prefix. This augment vowel can be dropped on some indefinites[6] in certain syntactic positions – in particular, immediately after the verb inside *v*P (Halpert 2012). We show in the data that follow that with respect to augment drop, *have*, *need*, and transitive verbs all behave in the same way in Zulu. As the data in (18) show, in the relevant contexts (triggering NPI readings in these examples) an augment may be dropped on the highest DP after a transitive verb. Unsurprisingly, *need* shows the same behavior in (19).

(18) **Zulu: augment drop possible on highest DP after transitive verb**

a. ngi- bona **u**-muntu.
1SG- see AUG-1person
'I see someone/the person.'

b. A- ngi- bon- i muntu.
NEG- 1SG- see- NEG 1person
'I don't see anybody.'

(19) **Zulu: augment drop possible on highest DP after *need***

a. ngi- dinga **i**-mali.
1SG- need AUG-9money
'I need money.'

b. A- ngi- ding- i mali.
NEG- 1SG- need- NEG 9money
'I don't need any money.'

What distinguishes this test from those in the previous section is that, as (20) shows, the possessee in predicative possession behaves like a transitive object, allowing the augment to be dropped in the relevant syntactic contexts:

[6] While nonveridical environments are typically necessary for augment drop, Halpert (2012) demonstrates that there are additional, independent syntactic conditions under which the process is licensed, on which we focus here.

(20) **Zulu: augment drop possible on possessee with predicative possession *na***

a. ngi- **ne**-mali. (na+imali)
1SG- with.AUG-9money
'I have money.'

b. A- ngi- na mali.
NEG- 1SG- with 9money
'I don't have any money.'

The behavior of the possessee in (20) is not unique to the possessive constructure, however; rather, it seems to be a property of the *na* preposition more generally that augment drop is permitted on its complement under the right structural conditions:

(21) **Zulu: preposition *na* allows augment drop when highest element in *v*P**

a. u-Mfundo u- dlala i-bhola **no-** muntu. (na+umuntu)
AUG-1Mfundo 1S- play AUG-5ball NA.AUG- 1person
'Mfundo is playing soccer with someone/the person.'

b. u-Mfundo a- ka- dlal- i **na- muntu** i-bhola.
AUG-1Mfundo NEG- 1S- play- NEG NA- 1person AUG-5ball
'Mfundo isn't playing soccer with anyone.'

c. *u-Mfundo a- ka- dlal- i i-bhola na- muntu.
AUG-1Mfundo NEG- 1S- play- NEG AUG-5ball NA- 1person

Crucially, the *na* preposition contrasts with certain other prepositions in the language. While *na* PPs are essentially transparent with respect to the constraints on augment drop, some prepositions do not alternate, instead always requiring the no-augment version regardless of position or interpretation, as shown for *kwa-* and *ku-* below:

(22) **Zulu: prepositions *kwa-* and *ku-* prohibit augment on their complement**

a. u-Sipho u- zo- pheka ukudla **kwa-** zingane/ ***kwe-** zingane.
AUG-1Sipho 1S- FUT- cook AUG.15food KWA- 10child/ *KWA.AUG- 10child
'Sipho will cook food for the children.'

b. u-Sipho u- zo- thumela imali **ku-** bantwana.
AUG-1Sipho 1S- FUT- send.APPL AUG.9money KU- 2child
'Sipho will send money to the children'

Recall that there is no ACC-marking on transitive nominals in Zulu and that the complement of the preposition in predicative possession does not behave like a transitive object in many ways (triggering resumption under extraction, different object marking patterns). At the same time, we see here that the object of the possessive preposition *does* share underlying similarities with the transitive objects with respect to the distribution of augments. The apparent transparency of *na*[7] for the purposes of structurally-licensed augment-drop is *not* shared by all other prepositions in the language, which instead seem to simply replace the augment in all environments.

[7] And a few other prepositions in Zulu.

To summarize, the augment drop patterns in Zulu give us a test for possessees whose results diverge from those of the tests in the previous section, grouping the complements of *na* with transitive objects (and not with other prepositional complements). This discussion becomes particularly relevant for our concerns in light of Halpert (2012)'s proposal that augment drop is only permitted in positions where structural Case is assigned, as we discuss in the following subsection.

3.2 Case implications

The discussion in this section concerns the role of Case Theory in the Bantu language family. While we do not present a definitive account of Case in these languages, we show that the types of case-theoretic puzzles – and their proposed solutions – that emerge in the Bantu family suggest that Harves & Kayne (2012)'s revised approach to *have* and *need* in (10) may in fact be on the right track for these languages.

3.2.1 Existing proposals about Bantu case

Diercks (2012), building on a range of research (e.g. Harford Perez 1985; Ndayiragije 1999; Alsina 2001; Baker 2003; 2008), showed that a wide variety of constructions crosslinguistically among Bantu languages – including raising constructions, locative inversion, and *possible*-constructions, among others – do not behave in the familiar ways predicted by Case Theory, two examples of which are included below: the first shows a perception-verb raising construction that is equivalent of the ungrammatical English **John seems that fell*, in which the embedded subject has raised out of a tensed and agreeing clause, where it presumably should have been Case-licensed and rendered inactive (known as hyper-raising).

(23) **Lubukusu hyper-raising**

John a- lolekhana mbo ka- a- kwa.
1John 1s- seems that 1s- PST- fell

'John seems like he fell/John seems to have fallen.'

The example in (24), on the other hand, shows a noun phrase appearing as subject of a non-finite clause where there is no evidence of a Case-licenser (overt or covert) to license it.

(24) **Swahili overt subject of infinitive**

I- na- wezakana (*kwa) Maiko ku- m- pig- i- a Tegani simu.
9s- PRES- possible (*for) 1Michael INF- O- beat- APPL- FV 1Tegan 9phone

'It is possible for Michael to call Tegan.'

Diercks concluded that these patterns indicate that Bantu languages simply lack abstract Case features, articulated in a macroparameter:

(25) **Case Parameter**: Uninterpretable Case features are / **are not** present in a language.

Such a proposal raises the question of what (if any) prediction Harves & Kayne (2012)'s revised generalization makes about *have* and *need* in languages without Case. One possibility, discussed below, is that absent Case, incorporation of *need* is unrestricted by the absence of transitive HAVE.

Another approach to Case in Bantu emerged in the augment-drop discussion above. As we saw, Halpert (2012) argues against parameterizing Case in Bantu, attributing augment distribution patterns to Case-licensing. Crucially, this Case-licensing system is distinct from standard NOM-ACC licensing patterns: Halpert argues that augments and some prepositions give abstract Case to the nominals they mark and that abstract case is assigned to the highest element in *v*P. While it is unsurprising for prepositions to value Case features, the claim about Zulu is that only certain prepositions do so (as illustrated in the previous section). In addition, another surprising aspect of Halpert's proposal is that the augment, which is typically considered a DP-level prefix and not a preposition, also licenses nominals. Nominals without valuation in these ways are restricted to structural Case positions, which again differ in a standard NOM-ACC language, where T and v^0 are Case-licensers. Halpert proposes that Case is mediated by an intermediate phrase (LP), which licenses downward to the highest element in *v*P, accounting for patterns like those shown in §3.1. The result of this analysis is that Zulu Case, unlike ACC, is *not* connected to transitivity.

We do not attempt to resolve these differing approaches to Bantu Case here. Rather, we point out that the consistent thread throughout all preceding work on this issue is that Bantu Case is *not* business as usual. Whether one adopts a no-Case approach or a non-NOM/ACC approach, we argue in the next section that both in fact predict a similar pattern with respect to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s analysis of *have* and *need*.

3.3 Restating the generalization

We return now to the main problem that this Bantu data raises for Harves & Kayne (2012)'s account: predicative possession shows non-transitive behavior, despite the existence of transitive *need*. As discussed in the previous section, multiple proposals suggest that Case in Bantu is divorced from transitivity – either because there is no Case or because nominals are licensed by a projection above *v*P that is not linked to predicate type. This consensus holds even if we don't resolve the questions of Case-licensing in Swahili or Zulu (or Bantu more broadly) here.

We propose that on either approach, the Case properties of transitive objects and B-construction possessees are identical: either neither has Case, or both do (say, from Halpert's LP). Either way, this Case pattern is distinct from any traditional notion of accusative Case but uniform across predicative possession and transitive objects. The split that we demonstrated in section 2 between behavior of possessees and direct objects in syntactic tests for objecthood is expected because syntactic objecthood is divorced from structural case on either account. What we have available to us, then, is a modification of Harves & Kayne (2012)'s revised generalization in (10):

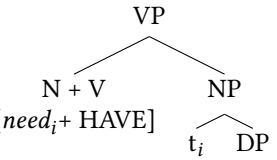
(26) ***Need*-Licensing Generalization**:
All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are languages in which predicative possessees are licensed in the same manner as transitive objects.

Note that even if (26) accurately describes the current state of affairs, of course, it's not yet clear why it should be the case. The next subsection briefly discusses some ideas in this vein.

3.4 Thoughts on the derivation of *need*

Recall that for Harves & Kayne (2012), the role of ACC-assignment is closely tied to their proposed derivation of *need*: Transitive *need* occurs when the theme of a nominal *need* can get ACC Case. If the nominal *need* incorporates to a transitive *have*, the ACC from *have* is available for its theme.[8]

(27)



We've argued, however, that transitivity has nothing to do with how themes are licensed in Bantu. The question that arises, of course, is: if our revised generalization regarding the relationship between *have* and *need* holds, how does a Case-less derivation of *need* fit into Harves & Kayne (2012)'s story? One possibility is that transitive *need* can be built directly by incorporating the nominal *need* into the (non-transitive) copular predicative possession construction. In other words, Harves & Kayne (2012)'s universal derivation for transitive *need* breaks down for the Bantu languages discussed here precisely because (accusative) Case-licensing is de-linked from transitivity. Transitive *have* is unnecessary for deriving *need* because the transitivity of *have* or HAVE is irrelevant for the licensing of the object of *need* due to the different Case-licensing properties of these languages. We suggest here, therefore, that transitive verbs can be derived from non-transitive components in this type of language if the incorporating nominal has its own theme: the theme can either be licensed by a higher head independent of transitivity of predicates (following Halpert 2012) or does not need to be licensed at all (Diercks 2012).

4 Conclusions

In this paper we have addressed recent discussion of the typological patterns surrounding the relationship between *have* and *need*. Following Antonov & Jacques (2014), we have shown that the typological generalizations proposed by Harves & Kayne (2012) do not hold up in the face of data from a variety of Bantu languages. Specifically, Zulu, Swahili and Kuria all are B-languages with lexical *need* verbs, contrary to the proposed generalization(s) of Harves & Kayne (2012). We moved beyond the evidence in Antonov & Jacques (2014) to provide new syntactic tests that show that the Zulu and Swahili counter-examples are in fact true counter-examples: B-possession is non-transitive while

[8] Under the assumption that incorporated nouns don't need Case, following Baker (1988)'s classic account: if transitive *have* is unattested elsewhere in the language, there's no base on which to build transitive *need*.

need patterns with other transitive verbs, ruling out the possibility that these languages are somehow covert H-languages.

While Antonov & Jacques (2014) conclude on the basis of similar evidence that the Harves & Kayne (2012) decompositional analysis of *need* is therefore incorrect and ought to be abandoned, we investigated a potential alternative route. In light of recent research suggesting deep differences between the properties of structural Case in Bantu and those of the languages discussed in Harves & Kayne (2012)'s original survey, we proposed the revised generalization in (26) that focuses not on *have* and *need* both assigning ACC case, but instead simply requires that *have* and *need* show the same structural licensing properties.

This proposal gives us a new set of empirical predictions. Antonov & Jacques (2014) discussed several additional languages (Estonian, Moroccan and Algerian Arabic; Likpe and Ewe from the Kwa family; and Ayacucho Quechua) that are surface counter-examples to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalizations. If our proposal is on the right track, these languages ought to show similar licensing properties between predicative possession and transitive *need*, even if they are not transparently related to ACC case on the surface. We see two potential outcomes of such investigations. The first is the same conclusion that Antonov & Jacques (2014) arrive at: if there are not underlying similarities in the licensing of objects of B-languages with a transitive lexical *need*, then Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization and our revised generalization proposed here may simply be inaccurate. If so, both versions should be abandoned, suggesting that we may not want a universal decomposition analysis of *need* after all.

Alternatively, we may find that the other exceptions to Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalization noted by Antonov & Jacques (2014) are in fact rooted in underlying differences in structural licensing, as we have proposed for the Bantu languages discussed here. If this second possibility is borne out, then we may stand to uncover a deeper universal that underlies Harves & Kayne (2012)'s initial observations. In particular, if the predictions we discuss here are upheld, then Harves & Kayne (2012)'s generalizations (and our revision of them) point to some deep consistencies between languages (with with respect to the decomposition of *need*) that can be obscured by differences between languages with respect to structural licensing patterns. It is possible that this particular combination of traits that is problematic for Harves & Kayne (2012) – B-languages with transitive *need* – could ultimately be viewed as a diagnostic of underlying differences in structural licensing between Harves & Kayne (2012)'s languages and the 'exceptional' ones. These are of course empirical questions, meriting additional empirical investigation, though with potentially large theoretical import.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Johnes Kitololo, Justine Sikuku, Monwabisi Mhlophe, Mthuli Percival Buthelezi, and Tafadzwa Mtisi for lending their judgments to this project. Thanks also to Stephanie Harves, Richard Kayne, and Rodrigo Ranero, the audience at ACAL 45, and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

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