

# Having *Need* and Needing *Have* in Contemporary Indo-European\*

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## Abstract

This paper begins by pointing out a new generalization regarding the distribution of transitive *need* throughout Indo-European. It is shown that only those Indo-European languages that have a transitive verb *have* used to express possession (i.e., HAVE-languages) may also have a transitive verb *need*. No Indo-European BE-language has a transitive verb *need*. In light of this generalization, we argue for a Hale and Keyser (1993)-style incorporation approach, whereby nominal *need* incorporates to an unpronounced verb HAVE, yielding transitive verbal *need*.

## 1 Introduction

In his discussion of counterparts of *have* and *be* within Slavic, Isačenko (1974: 75) raises the following insightful question, "Could it be sheer coincidence that those Slavic languages which have become H(ave)-languages...have some modal verbs which are unknown to Russian, a B(e)-language?" In this paper we argue, in the spirit of Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) and Noonan (1993), that this is no coincidence, at least for the modal verb *need*. In our analysis below we attempt to account for the cross-linguistic facts at issue in terms of an incorporation approach to verbal *need* that involves a silent HAVE.<sup>1</sup>

We will use the informal term H-language to mean a language that has a close overt counterpart of English *have*, in the sense of having an overt verb expressing ordinary predicative possession (as in *Mary has a new car*, *Mary has two brothers*), such that the possessor has nominative Case and the possessee is a direct object (with accusative Case and no preposition). A B-language will then be taken to mean a language that lacks a close counterpart of *have* and expresses ordinary possession using some counterpart of *be*.

We will broaden the investigation, relative to Isačenko's, by attempting to take into account all of Indo-European. (It goes without saying that we will be able to touch upon only a small sample of Indo-European languages.) Strikingly, the sort of generalization he had in mind for Slavic appears to be tenable for Indo-European as a whole. We state our expanded generalization as follows:

- (1) All Indo-European languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are H-languages.

Put another way, B-languages do not have transitive *need*. By transitive here, we mean (as above for *have*) a verb taking a nominative subject and an accusative direct object (with no preposition).

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<sup>1</sup>Full capitals for a word or morpheme will be used to indicate a silent counterpart.

Many Indo-European languages are like English in having transitive *need* (as in *They need that book*). All of them are H-languages, i.e., they all have a productive possessive transitive verb *have*. Examples are German, Spanish, Swedish, Czech, and Slovenian. In contrast, Russian, Latvian, Irish, and Hindi are B-languages that, in accordance with (1), lack transitive *need*.

It is to be noted that (1) is not a biconditional. Transitive *need* implies the presence in the language of transitive *have*, but the converse does not hold. The presence of *have* in a language is not enough to guarantee the existence of transitive *need*. Bulgarian, French, and Lithuanian are examples of H-languages that lack transitive *need*. In other words, the presence of *have* is a necessary but not sufficient condition for licensing verbal transitive *need* in a given language.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we present relevant data from a variety of Indo-European languages. These data highlight the generalization (1) that this paper aims to address, namely, that a language cannot have a transitive verb *need* without that language having *have*. In Section 3 we present our analysis of *need*.

## 2 Having and Needing: The Facts

A survey of the Indo-European (henceforth IE) languages suggests that Isačenko's (1974) intuition regarding the presence of *need* in H-languages vs. B-languages can be extended far beyond Slavic. Below we summarize the data for the IE languages, focusing in on those examples which are most relevant for the analysis presented in Section 3. Since all of the IE patterns are attested in Balto-Slavic, we present a detailed description of the data in these languages, with further mention and examples of these same patterns found in Romance, Germanic, Celtic, and other languages.

### 2.1 Balto-Slavic

As is well known, IE was a B-language with verbal stems *\*es-* and *\*bhū-*. *Have* entered various IE languages via the transitive verbs 'to hold, to grasp, to catch.' Within Slavic the verb *\*jьměti* 'to have' comes from the root *\*jьm-* meaning 'take' as in Old Church Slavonic *jęti* (> *\*jem-ti*) 'to take' (Isačenko 1974: 44). Lithuanian *turėti* 'to have', on the other hand, comes from IE *\*tuer-/tur-* 'to grab, hold.'<sup>2</sup> In this section we first present data from B-languages that lack transitive *need* (Russian and Latvian, 2.1.1). We then move on to H-languages that do have a transitive verb *need* (Czech, Polish, Slovenian, 2.1.2) and conclude with data from H-languages that lack such a verb (Bulgarian and Lithuanian, 2.1.3).

#### 2.1.1 B-languages

Within Balto-Slavic only Russian and Latvian are B-languages lacking ordinary possessive *have*. They are also two languages that lack transitive *need*.

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<sup>2</sup>From Julius Pokorny's (1959/1989) *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. An index of his PIE roots can be found online at <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/ielex/PokornyMaster-R.html#L2057>.

(2) Russian Possession

U menja **budet** novaja kniga.  
at me.GEN be.FUT.3SG new book.NOM  
'I will have a new book.'

(3) Russian *need*

- a. Mne **nužna** èta kniga.  
me.DAT necessary.FEM that book.NOM.FEM  
'I need that book.'
- b. Rebenok **nuždaetsja** v vašej pomošči.  
child.NOM need.3SG in your help.PREP  
'The child needs your help.'
- c. \* Rebenok **nuždaet** v vašu pomošč.  
child.NOM need.3SG in your help.ACC
- d. Nam **trebujutsja** perevodčiki.  
us.DAT need.3PL translators.NOM.PL  
'We need translators.'

(4) Latvian Possession

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

(5) Latvian *need*

- a. Man **vajag** dakšu.  
me.DAT need.3SG fork.GEN.SG  
'I need a fork.'
- b. Vinai **vajadzēs** palīga.  
her.DAT need.FUT help.GEN  
'She'll need help.'

In both Russian and Latvian possession is expressed with the verb *be* and the possessed object occurs in the nominative Case, while the possessor does not (it receives genitive in Russian (2), assigned by the preposition *u* 'at', and dative in Latvian (4)).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>We note that Russian does have a transitive verb *imet'* 'to have, to possess, to own.' However, it is not used productively to express possession colloquially, but rather occurs primarily with abstract nouns, for example, in the phrases, *imet' pravo* 'to have the right,' *imet' značenie* 'to have significance,' and *imet' v vidu* 'to have in mind.' When it does occur with concrete nouns, the focus is on ownership, as in *Ja imeju dom* 'I have a house/I am a homeowner.' This verb is inappropriate in broader *have*-contexts and cannot be used to say, for example,

As shown in (3) and (5) neither of these languages uses a transitive verb *need*. Russian uses the short form adjective *nužn-* ‘necessary’ which agrees with the (nominative) object that is needed (3a), while Latvian uses the impersonal verb *vajadzēt*, which assigns genitive case to its object and dative to the subject. Russian may also use the verb + preposition pair *nuždat’sja v* ‘to be in need of’ (3b) or the verb *trebovat’sja* (3d), although in neither case does the verb assign accusative Case to its object, i.e., neither is a transitive verb in accordance with (1).

### 2.1.2 H-languages with transitive need

Many Slavic languages are H-languages with a productive transitive verb *need* that is based on the IE root *\*terb(h)-* ‘need’. In this section we present examples from Czech, Slovenian, Polish, and Burgenland Croatian, noting, however, that Slovak, Bosnian, standard Croatian, and some dialects of Serbian follow the general pattern shown here as well. In (6) we see examples of possessive *have* in Czech, Polish, Slovenian, and Burgenland Croatian (BC).<sup>4</sup>

- (6) a. **Mají** nové auto.  
have.3PL new car.ACC  
‘They have a new car.’ (Czech)
- b. Ty **masz** portfel.  
you.NOM have.2SG briefcase.ACC  
‘You have the briefcase.’ (Polish)

‘I have a daughter’ #*Ja imeju doč*. This seems to disqualify (a silent counterpart of) it from being the target of *need*-incorporation, for reasons that will need to be made clear.

One possibility is that *need*-incorporation may perhaps be incompatible with *imet*’ if (a) *imet*’ is used to express possession of concrete objects that is in some way more permanent, rather than transitory and (b) transitive *need* is used for transitory possession, capable of expressing a stage-level property of subjects. This leads us to expect that sentences such as #*Ja imeju pivo* ‘I have a beer’ are unacceptable, which is in fact the case.

Pushing this suggestion further, we note that the following two sentences appear to have different interpretations, depending on whether the sentence involves transitive *imet*’ or the standard *u* + GEN construction normally used for possession in Russian (we thank Sonia Kasyanenko for discussion of these examples).

- (i) a. Včera Ivan imel mašinu.  
yesterday Ivan.NOM had car.ACC  
‘Yesterday Ivan was a car-owner.’
- b. Včera u Ivana byla mašina.  
yesterday at Ivan.GEN was car.NOM  
‘Yesterday Ivan had a car/had access to a car/was a car owner.’

The translations of these sentences suggest that while the *u* + GEN construction can indicate either transitory or permanent possession (i.e., a stage-level or individual-level property of the possessor), transitive *imet*’ appears to be incompatible with transitory possession. We set aside further investigation of the differences between these two constructions for future research.

<sup>4</sup>Burgenland Croatian (BC) is a regional variant of Croatian spoken primarily in the province of Burgenland in Austria. We thank Luka Szucsich for the BC data and judgments presented here.

- c. Jaz **imám** svôjo knjígo.  
I.NOM have.1SG self's book.ACC  
'I have my book.' (Slovenian)
- d. Luka (j)ima nove šoljine.  
Luka.NOM have.3SG new shoes.ACC  
'Luka has new shoes.' (BC)

Each of these languages uses *have* in a number of other contexts as well. For example, both Czech and Slovenian use *have* productively to achieve a modal reading with infinitival complements, similar to the 'have to' construction in English (7a-b). Polish uses it marginally for pre-arranged, externally imposed obligations (7c).

- (7) a. **Máš** být doma v sedm.  
have.2SG be.INF at-home at seven  
'You have to be at home at seven.' (Czech)
- b. **Imam** vam povedati, da...  
have.1SG you.DAT tell.INF that...  
'I have to tell you that...' (Slovenian; Salnikov 1979: 454)
- c. Ona **ma** odwiedzić Hiszpanię w przyszłym roku.  
she has visit.INF Spain in next year  
'She's to visit Spain next year/She has to visit Spain next year.' (Polish)

In addition, the so-called "stative passive" or "stative perfect" construction uses *have* as an auxiliary in a number of Slavic languages (see 8 for an example from Polish and Migdalski 2006 for further examples from Serbian, Czech, and Bulgarian).

- (8) Mam już wszystkie ciasta upieczone.  
**have** already all cakes baked  
'I already have all the cakes baked.' (Polish; Migdalski 2006: 5)

The constructions illustrated in (7) and (8) highlight the fact that these languages are true H-languages, and as such, it should come as no surprise, if Isačenko's intuition is correct, that they are also languages with a transitive verb *need*, as shown in (9).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Note that Czech, like English, also allows for infinitival complements following *need* (i). Polish and BC, on the other hand, do not use *potrzebować* or *prauhati* 'to need' in that way. Rather, they rely on a verb more closely corresponding to 'must' (ii).

- (i) a. Petr **potřebuje** být nablízku své paní.  
Peter.NOM needs.3SG be.INF close-to self's wife.GEN  
'Peter needs to be close to his (own) wife.'
- b. A já **potřebuju** vařit oběd!  
And I.NOM need.1SG cook.INF dinner.ACC  
'And I need to cook dinner!' (Czech)

- (9) a. Tvoje děti           tě           **potřebují**  
 your children.NOM you.ACC need.3PL  
 ‘Your children need you.’ (Czech)
- b. Nujno **potrebujem** denar.  
 badly need.1SG money.ACC  
 ‘I need the money badly.’ (Slovenian)
- c. Basia           **potrzebuje** tamta książkę  
 Basia.NOM need.3SG that book.ACC  
 ‘Basia needs that book.’ (Polish)
- d. Luka           **prauha** nove šoljine.<sup>6</sup>  
 Luka.NOM need.3SG new shoes.ACC  
 ‘Luka needs new shoes.’ (BC)

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- (ii) a. Basia           musi/\*potrzebuje iść do domu.  
 Basia.NOM must.3SG/\*need.3SG go.INF to home  
 ‘Basia needs to/must go home.’ (Polish)
- b. Luka           mora/\*prauha domom pojt.  
 Luka.NOM must.3SG/\*need.3SG home go.INF  
 ‘Luka needs to/must go home.’ (BC)

Interestingly, however, Polish *potrzebowac* and BC *prauhati* occur with infinitival complements in negated contexts, similar to *brauchen* in German (iii).

- (iii) a. \*(Nie) potrzebuję iść do szpitala.  
 not need.1SG go.INF to hospital  
 ‘I don’t need to go to the hospital.’ (Polish)
- b. Luka           \*(ne) prauha domom pojt.  
 Luka.NOM NEG need.3SG home go.INF  
 ‘Luka need not go home home.’ (BC)
- c. Du           brauchst \*(nicht) zu kommen.  
 you.NOM need.2SG not to come.INF  
 ‘You need not come.’ (German)

When *potrzebować*, *prauhati*, and *brauchen* combine with an infinitival complement, they show polarity sensitivity. English modal-like *need* reveals a similar pattern.

- (iv) a. You need not come.  
 b. \* You need come.  
 c. You must come.

Such examples have led Zimmerman (1993) and Schwarz (2006) to conclude that transitive *need* must have a different underlying structure than modal *need*. Although the analysis we suggest below is intended to cover both types of *need* (cf. Kayne 2007), we will not offer an account for the status of this verb as a (negative) polarity item in these languages (van der Wouden (1996) suggests that the polarity sensitivity of this verb in English, Dutch, and German is a semantic rather than a syntactic phenomenon).

<sup>6</sup>Note that standard Croatian uses the verb *tribati* here, maintaining the old Slavic root. BC *Prauhati* is clearly a borrowing from German *brauchen*.

### 2.1.3 H-languages without transitive *need*

Thus far we have seen two clear patterns emerge in Balto-Slavic: (i) B-languages that lack transitive *need* and (ii) H-languages that have transitive *need*. We now turn to some H-languages that lack transitive *need*. Bulgarian and Lithuanian are two such languages, as shown in (10-13).

(10) Possessive *have*

- a. Nikolaj **ima** nova kola.  
Nikolay.NOM has.3SG new car-ACC  
'Nikolay has a new car.' (Bulgarian)<sup>7</sup>
- b. (Aš) **turiù** seserį.  
I.NOM have.1SG sister.ACC  
'I have a sister.' (Lithuanian; Ambrazas 1997: 486)

(11) Non-possessive uses of *have*

- a. Stative Passive  
Toj **ima** dve nivi izoreni.  
he.NOM have.3SG two fields ploughed  
'He has two fields ploughed.' (Bulgarian; Migdalski 2006: 154)
- b. Modal *have*  
(Aš) **turiù** eiti.  
I.NOM have.1SG go.INF  
'I have to go.' (Lithuanian)

(12) Bulgarian *need*

- a. Nikolaj **ima nužda ot** pomošč.  
Nikolay.NOM has.3SG need of help  
'Nikolay needs help.'
- b. **Nuždna** mi e тази книга.  
necessary.FEM.SG me.DAT be.3SG that book.NOM.FEM.SG  
'I need that book.'
- c. **Trjabva** mi тази книга.  
necessary me.DAT that book.NOM.FEM.SG  
'I need that book.'
- d. **Nuždaja** se ot тази книга.  
need.1SG REFL of this book  
'I am in need of this book.'

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<sup>7</sup>We thank Nikolay Nikolov for help with the Bulgarian data.

- (13) Man **reikia** brolio.  
 I.DAT need brother.GEN  
 'I need a brother.' (Lithuanian)

As these examples show, the existence of possessive *have* in a language is not a sufficient condition for licensing a transitive verb *need*. Neither Bulgarian nor Lithuanian has transitive *need*, although they both have *have*. Lithuanian relies on the non-agreeing verb *reikti* 'to be necessary' (13), which assigns dative case to the "needer" and genitive case to the "needee". Bulgarian, on the other hand, like Russian, has numerous ways of expressing *need*, though none of these strategies involves a transitive verb. Although Bulgarian clearly has a predicate based on the IE root *\*terb(h)-* 'need', like Czech, Slovak, Polish, and other Slavic languages (*trjabva* in 12c), this Bulgarian predicate never agrees with the "needer." Bulgarian, like Russian, also uses a different lexical item to express *need* based on the root *nužd-*. Note that regardless of whether this root occurs within a noun (12a), an adjective (12b), or a verb (12d), ACC Case is never assigned, i.e., there is no transitivity.

Before moving on, let us briefly take stock of what we have seen thus far. The table in (14) summarizes the Balto-Slavic patterns. Four logical possibilities present themselves in terms of the distribution of *have* and *need*. Yet, as the table makes clear, one of these possibilities is not attested in Balto-Slavic. We have not found a B-language that also has transitive *need*. We will see below that this pattern repeats itself throughout the other IE languages.

- (14) Balto-Slavic *have* and *need*

	H-languages	B-languages
Languages with transitive <i>need</i>	Czech, Slovak, Polish, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian (various dialects), Belorussian	**
Languages without transitive <i>need</i>	Bulgarian, Serbian (Standard), Lithuanian	Russian, Latvian

## 2.2 Elsewhere in IE

The vast majority of (geographically) European languages within IE are H-languages. Thus, the general patterns exhibited by these languages will either be (i) H-languages with transitive *need* or (ii) H-languages without transitive *need*. Outside of Balto-Slavic we find

a number of Celtic and (outside of Europe) Indo-Aryan B-languages that, like Russian and Latvian, have no transitive verb *need*. Thus far, we have not encountered a single B-language with transitive *need*. Below we present a number of examples from a variety of non-Balto-Slavic languages, grouped together based on their behavior with respect to *have* and *need*.

### 2.2.1 H-languages with transitive *need*

The Romance and Germanic languages are all H-languages. Within Romance, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, and Portuguese all have a verb corresponding to ‘need’ *neces(s)itar(e)*.<sup>8</sup> However, Portuguese differs from Spanish (15) and Catalan in that it requires the preposition *de* with the verb *necessitar* (16).

(15) Spanish<sup>9</sup>

- a. Cristina **tiene** un auto nuevo.  
Cristina have.3SG a car new  
‘Cristina has a new car.’
- b. Cristina **necesita** un auto nuevo.  
Cristina need.3SG a car new  
‘Cristina needs a new car.’

(16) Portuguese<sup>10</sup>

- a. O Carlos **tem** um carro novo.  
the Carlos have.3SG a car new  
‘Carlos has a new car.’
- b. O Carlos **necessita** \*(de) um carro novo.  
the Carlos need.3SG of a car new  
‘Carlos needs a new car.’

These examples show us that while Spanish (and Catalan) fall into the transitive *have-need* group (along with English and Czech), Portuguese does not. We will see below that Portuguese falls together in a significant way with French and Italian.

Within Germanic, German, Luxemburgish, Dutch, and a number of Scandinavian languages also have transitive *need*. Examples from West Germanic are given in (17-19) with data from Scandinavian shown in (20-22).

<sup>8</sup>We note the existence of French *nécessiter* here as well, although we omit it from our discussion since it is semantically closer to ‘require’ than to ‘need’ and is limited in terms of the contexts it occurs in.

<sup>9</sup>We omit the Catalan data here, noting that the pattern is identical to Spanish. Thanks to M. Cristina Cuervo for the Spanish data.

<sup>10</sup>Thanks to Carlos Guedes for both the Portuguese and Luxemburgish examples.

(17) German

- a. Ich **habe** ein Bier.  
I.NOM have.1SG a beer-ACC  
'I have a beer.'
- b. Ich **brauche** ein Bier.  
I.NOM need.1SG a beer-ACC  
'I need a beer.'

(18) Luxemburgish

- a. De Carlos **huet** ee néien Auto.  
the Carlos.NOM have.3SG a new car.ACC  
'Carlos has a new car.'
- b. De Carlos **braucht** ee néien Auto.  
the Carlos.NOM need.3SG a new car.ACC  
'Carlos needs a new car.'

(19) Dutch

- a. Ik **heb** een auto.  
I have a car  
'I have a car.'
- b. Dat **behoeft** nader onderzoek.  
that need.3SG further investigation  
'Further investigation is called for.'

(van der Wouden 1996: 16)<sup>11</sup>

(20) Swedish<sup>12</sup>

- a. Anna **har** en ny bil.  
Anna have.3SG a new car  
'Anna has a new car.'
- b. Anna **behöver** en ny bil.  
Anna need.3SG a new car.ACC  
'Anna needs a new car.'

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<sup>11</sup>We note also the existence of more colloquial *nodig hebben* in Dutch (i).

- (i) Ik **heb** een dokter **nodig**.  
I-NOM have-1SG a doctor necessary  
'I need a doctor.'

Possibly, Dutch is to be grouped more closely with French, although it lacks a preposition corresponding to *de* 'of'.

<sup>12</sup>Thanks to Anna-Lena Wiklund for the Swedish examples.

(21) Norwegian<sup>13</sup>

- a. Frank **behøver** mye søvn.  
Frank need.3SG much sleep  
'Frank needs a lot of sleep.'
- b. Frank **behøver** \*(ikke) åsøve mye.  
Frank need.3SG not to.sleep much  
'Frank doesn't need much sleep.' (van der Wal 1996: Ch. 1, exs. 61-62)

(22) Icelandic<sup>14</sup>

- a. Anna **á** nýjan bíl.  
Anna-NOM owns new car-ACC  
'Anna has/owns a new car.'
- b. Anna **þarf** nýjan bíl.  
Anna-NOM needs new car-ACC  
'Anna needs a new car.' (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson p.c.)

### 2.2.2 H-languages without transitive *need*

We now move to languages that do not have transitive *need*. Within Romance, French, Italian, Bellinzonese, Portuguese (recall (16) above), and Romanian are similar to Bulgarian and Lithuanian in that they each have transitive *have* but no transitive verb *need*.<sup>15</sup> Let us consider French, Italian, and Romanian separately, since they each exhibit a slightly different pattern. We begin with French in (23).

(23) French<sup>16</sup>

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

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<sup>13</sup>van der Wal (1996) points out that transitive *å behøve* in Norwegian is now being replaced by transitive *å trenge* as a main verb.

<sup>14</sup>Possession in Icelandic turns out to be considerably more complicated than we present here. Wood (2009) examines possessive structures in Icelandic with transitive *eiga* 'have/own' (as in 22a), transitive *hafa* 'have' and the *vera með* 'be with' construction. He shows that transitive *eiga* is used to express kinship relations and possession of concrete objects, while *hafa* is used to express possession of abstract objects and inalienable body parts. When *hafa* is used with concrete objects, it forces an individual-level reading (i.e., permanent possession). This predicate would thus appear to be semantically similar to Russian transitive *imet'* (see footnote 3), suggesting that it is *eiga* and not *hafa* that is the crucial verb of possession underlying the derivation of transitive *þurfa* 'need.' In support of this hypothesis, Wood (2009) shows a number of morphosyntactic similarities between the behavior of *eiga* 'have' and *þurfa* 'need', which lead him to argue in favor of a derivation in which *þurfa* 'need' raises to verbal *eiga* 'have', following the proposal presented here.

<sup>15</sup>See Cattaneo (2007) for examples from Bellinzonese.

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

French, in contrast to Spanish, Catalan, and Portuguese, does not have a transitive verb for *need*.<sup>17</sup> Rather it uses *avoir besoin de* 'to have need of'.<sup>18</sup> Crucially, the presence of the preposition *de* is required in (23b). Italian uses a similar construction to express 'need', *avere bisogno di* 'to have need of' (24b), and like Portuguese, it also lexicalizes a verb *necessitare* (24c-d).<sup>19, 20</sup>

(24) Italian<sup>21</sup>

- a. Gianni **ha** una macchina.  
 Gianni have.3SG a car  
 'Gianni has a car.'
- b. **Ho bisogno di** una macchina nuova.  
 have.1SG need of a car new  
 'I need a new car.'
- c. **Necessito di** cure immediate.  
 need.1SG of cures immediate  
 'I need immediate cures.'
- d. **Necessito di** andare a casa.  
 need.1SG of/to go.INF to house  
 'I need to go home.'

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<sup>16</sup>Note that French also makes use of an impersonal construction with the verb *falloir* (and a dative 'needer') to express 'need', e.g., *Il me faut ces livres* ('It me needs those books'), *Il me les faut* ('it me them needs'). We omit further discussion of this construction here.

<sup>17</sup>More precisely, it does not have a transitive verb *need* that is used with animate subjects; cf. note 8.

<sup>18</sup>Note that *avoir besoin de* occurs with infinitival complements as well.

- (i) **J'ai besoin \*(de)** partir en vacances.  
 I have-1SG need of go-INF on vacation  
 'I need to go on vacation.'

<sup>19</sup>Like French, Italian also uses this construction with infinitival complements.

- (i) **Ho bisogno di** partire.  
 have-1SG need of leave-INF  
 'I need to leave.'

<sup>20</sup>Note that *necessitare* in Italian is limited in the kinds of DP objects it takes. In most cases it takes an abstract noun as a complement. Unless otherwise indicated all Italian examples are from Cattaneo (2007). As with French, we omit various impersonal constructions from Italian here.

<sup>21</sup>Cattaneo (2007) points out one very curious but interesting contrast between French and Italian. When *avere bisogno di* takes a DP complement, the preposition *di* is for at least some speakers optional in (24b), while *de* in French is always obligatory. *Necessitare*, on the other hand, obligatorily occurs with the preposition

Romanian, although like French and Italian in lacking transitive *need*, is in some ways structurally closer to Bulgarian in the ways that it expresses need. While Romanian shares the *have need of* construction found in French and Italian (25b), it also uses the verb *a trebui* ‘to be necessary’ (25c), similar to *trjabva* in Bulgarian.<sup>22</sup>

(25) Romanian

- a. Eu **am** o carte.  
I.NOM have.1SG a book  
‘I have a book.’ (Săvescu Ciucivara 2007: 1)
- b. Eu **am nevoie de** o carte.  
I.NOM have.1SG need of a book  
‘I need a book.’ (Săvescu Ciucivara 2007: 4)
- c. **Îmi** trebuie o carte.  
me.DAT needs.3SG a book.NOM  
‘I need a book.’ (Săvescu Ciucivara 2007: 2)

Like Bulgarian *trjabva*, the possessed object with *a trebui* occurs in the nominative case and agrees with the verb, while the possessor occurs in the dative case (25c).

### 2.2.3 B-languages without transitive *need*

Having considered the European H-languages, we now turn to two further (non-Balto-Slavic) B-languages. It seems that a substantial majority of the world’s languages are B-languages.<sup>23</sup> Within IE these languages fall primarily within the Celtic and Indo-Aryan families. All of the Celtic languages are B-languages that lack a transitive verb *need*. Irish, for example, uses stative constructions with *be* for possession (26a), as well as *need* (26b-c). Irish also uses an intransitive stative verb *testaíonn* ‘is deficient’ as shown in (26d).

(26) Irish<sup>24</sup>

- a. **bhí** cúpla carr ag Seán an uair úd.  
be.PAST several car at John ART time DEM  
‘John had several cars at that time.’
- b. **tá orm** an carr a dhíol.  
is on-me ART car to sell  
‘I need to sell a car.’

*di*, as in Portuguese. It is not clear whether this contrast is immediately relevant for the issue at hand, and we will therefore set it aside.

<sup>22</sup>Recall that *\*terb-* is an Indo-European root used in a number of Slavic languages for verbal *need*.

<sup>23</sup>This claim is supported by the entry for "Predicative Possession" (Leon Stassen) on the WALS database (<http://wals.info/feature/117>), where only 63 of the 240 languages surveyed are classified as H-languages.

<sup>24</sup>We thank Benedict Williams for help with the Irish examples.

- c. **tá gá** aige leis an bpeann.  
is necessity by-him with the pen  
'He needs the pen.'
- d. testaíonn arán uaidh.  
is-deficient bread from-him  
'He needs bread.'

Within Indo-Aryan we find a number of B-languages, such as Hindi, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Sindhi, Punjabi, Gujarati, and Marathi.<sup>25</sup> We use Hindi as a representative language from this group.

(27) Hindi Possession<sup>26</sup>

- a. John-ko sidard **hai**.  
John-DAT headache be.3SG  
'John has a headache.' (Bhatt 1998: 23)
- b. Mohan ke-pass ek kitaab **hai**.  
Mohan GEN-near one book be-3SG  
'Mohan has a book'

(28) Hindi *need*

- a. muj-ko jana **caahiye**.  
me-DAT to-go need  
'I need to go.' (Bhatt 1998: 23)
- b. muj-ko pani **caahiye**.  
me-DAT water need  
'I need water.'

Like Russian, Latvian, and Irish, Hindi expresses possession with *be* (27) and lacks transitive *need* (28). Hindi therefore falls nicely into the pattern we have seen thus far as yet another B-language that lacks transitive *need*.

Before we shift gears and turn to our analysis of *need*, let us take a moment to summarize the patterns that we have seen thus far.

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<sup>25</sup>See Shukla (1981) for examples from Bhojpuri, Berntsen and Nimbkar (1982) for Marathi, Bhatia (1993) for Punjabi, and Masica (1991) for examples from a number of other Indo-Aryan B-languages.

<sup>26</sup>We thank Rajesh Bhatt for the Hindi examples.

(29)

	H-languages	B-languages
Languages with transitive <i>need</i>	Czech, Slovak, Polish, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian (dialects), Belorussian, English, German, Luxemburgish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Spanish, Catalan French, Italian, Bellinzonese, Portuguese, Romanian, Latin, Ancient Greek, Albanian, Farsi, Armenian <sup>27</sup>	***
Languages without transitive <i>need</i>	Bulgarian, Serbian (Standard), Lithuanian	Russian, Latvian, Bhojpuri, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Irish, Welsh, Scottish Gaelic <sup>28</sup>

As this table clearly shows, we have yet to encounter a B-language that has transitive *need*. This is the primary generalization that any cross-linguistic account of *need* must come to grips with, and we bear it in mind in our analysis below. Put another way, we take (1), repeated here:

- (1) All Indo-European languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are H-languages.

to be a statement that, in light of the mass of evidence accumulated so far, must be taken to be valid until and unless a counterexample is found.

### 3 Accounting for *need*

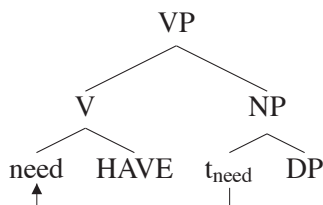
In light of the generalization just mentioned, our analysis of verbal *need* will crucially rely upon the presence of *have* in a given language. We adopt a Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002)

<sup>27</sup>We thank Sean Corner for help with Farsi, Vatche Attarian for help with Armenian, Eric Besson for help with Ancient Greek, and Dalina Kallulli for help with Albanian.

<sup>28</sup>See King (2003: 214) for (nominal, intransitive) expressions of need in Welsh. Thanks to David Adger for help with Scottish Gaelic. See also Lamb (2001) and Stewart (1901) for further examples from this language.

style incorporation-approach to verbal *need*, whereby nominal *need* raises and incorporates into unpronounced verbal HAVE.<sup>29</sup> The derivation we have in mind is roughly schematized in (30).<sup>30,31</sup>

(30)



Incorporation of nominal *need* into verbal HAVE results in the appearance of a transitive verb *need* inheriting the accusative Case licensing properties of HAVE. Strictly speaking, though, *need* is never a verb, i.e., it is never exhaustively dominated by the node V.

An examination of the morphology of transitive *need* cross-linguistically lends further support to our Hale and Keyser-style incorporation analysis. Such an analysis leads one to expect that nominal *need* and verbal *need* will share (root) morphology in the languages that have transitive *need*, i.e., English should not be anomalous in this respect. The table in (31) confirms the expectation that nominal and verbal *need* share morphology in other H-languages.<sup>32</sup>

(31)

	NOMINAL <i>need</i>	TRANSITIVE <i>need</i>
English	<i>need</i>	<i>need</i>
Swedish	<i>behov</i>	<i>behöva</i>
Norwegian	<i>behov</i>	<i>behøve</i>
Czech	<i>potřeba</i>	<i>potřebovat</i>
Polish	<i>potrzeba</i>	<i>potrzebować</i>
Slovenian	<i>potreba</i>	<i>potrebovati</i>
Spanish	<i>necesidad</i>	<i>necesitar</i>

<sup>29</sup>This is supported by Kayne's (2007) argument that the double behavior of English *need*, as a lexical verb and as a modal, is inherited from the double behavior of English possessive *have* as a lexical verb and as an auxiliary, to which *need* incorporates.

<sup>30</sup>We abstract away here from a decompositional approach to *have* à la Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993), whereby *have* involves incorporation of a preposition into verbal *be*.

<sup>31</sup>The proposal that transitive *need* involves unpronounced HAVE recalls Larson et al. (1997) and Schwarz (2006), although these analyses differ from ours in that they propose a structure whereby there is a HAVE embedded within a complement to verbal *need*, whereas we are proposing that nominal *need* is the complement of HAVE, based on our examination of the crosslinguistic facts. If both proposals are correct, then a sentence like *John needs a new car* must contain two instances of HAVE, corresponding to the two overt instances of *have* in *John has a (pressing) need to have a new car*.

<sup>32</sup>We also note here that a number of languages which lack transitive *need* exhibit shared root morphology between nominal *need* and intransitive *need*, such as Russian (N *nuždal* V *nuždat'sja*), Bulgarian (N *nuždal* V *nuždaja se*), and Italian (N *bisogno* V *bisognare*), among others. This may suggest that nominal *need* may incorporate to BE (or some other light verb) in these languages.

As far as Case is concerned, we can say that in the absence of incorporation, as in (32-33), *need* requires Case from *have* and *in* respectively; *a new car* receives Case from *of*.<sup>33</sup>

(32) ? They have need of a new car.

(33) They are in need of a new car.

On the other hand, for (34), in which *need* has incorporated to HAVE, we will follow Baker (1988) and say that incorporated *need* does not need Case, so that HAVE is available to assign Case to *a new car*, obviating the need for *of*.

(34) They need a new car.

The structure shown in (30) underlies the derivation of transitive *need* in languages such as English, German, Swedish, Icelandic, Czech, and Spanish. The lack of transitive *need* in IE B-languages (e.g., Russian, Latvian, Hindi, Celtic languages) follows straightforwardly from an analysis that posits HAVE as a (universally) necessary component in the derivation of transitive verbal *need*. Put another way, B-languages lack transitive *need* precisely because they lack transitive HAVE.

Our proposal clearly recalls the proposal made by Noonan (1993), who took the absence of stative transitive verbs in Irish such as *know*, *respect*, *fear*, and *love* to be traceable back to the absence in Irish of transitive *have*. She argues for an incorporation approach to these predicates (à la Hale and Keyser) whereby an underlying noun incorporates into verbal HAVE. Our proposal for transitive *need* is simultaneously narrower and broader than her proposal for Irish. It is narrower in that we have said nothing about any (derived) verb other than *need* (which she does not discuss explicitly). It is broader in that her proposal was limited to Irish, whereas ours is formulated in terms of all of IE.

The absence of transitive *need* in Irish is accounted for both by her proposal and by ours. The absence of transitive *need* in other IE B-languages is accounted for only by ours. The absence of transitive *know*, *respect*, *fear*, and *love* in Irish is accounted for only by hers.

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<sup>33</sup>Case from *of* is also relevant to H-languages that lack transitive *need*, such as French, Italian, Romanian, and Bulgarian.

- |        |   |             |
|--------|---|-------------|
| (i) a. | J' ai <b>besoin d'</b> une voiture.<br>I have.1SG need of a car<br>'I need a car.'                      | (French)    |
| b.     | <b>Ho</b> <b>bisogno di</b> una macchina nuova.<br>have.1SG need of a car new<br>'I need a new car.'    | (Italian)   |
| c.     | Eu <b>am</b> <b>nevoie de</b> o carte.<br>I.NOM have.1SG need of a book<br>'I need a book.'             | (Romanian)  |
| d.     | Nikolaj <b>ima</b> <b>nužda ot</b> pomošč.<br>Nikolay.NOM has.3SG need of help<br>'Nikolay needs help.' | (Bulgarian) |

The question is whether our proposal for IE can be generalized to other verbs, and whether hers for Irish can be generalized to other IE languages. At first glance, it looks as if her caution in confining her proposal to Irish was well-taken, in that Russian, for example, while lacking transitive *need*, as previously discussed, does have stative transitives such as *xotet* ‘to want’, *ljubit* ‘to love’, and *znat* ‘to know’ (among others), suggesting (at first glance) that *have* is in fact not cross-linguistically crucial to the underlying representation of *want*, *love*, and *know* (as opposed to *need*). We leave further analysis of these predicates for future research.

#### 4 Fin(n)ishing up

The analysis presented here appears to account for an important aspect of the distribution of transitive *need* throughout the Indo-European languages, namely it accounts for the lack of transitive *need* in IE B-languages, since transitive *need* requires a derivation involving incorporation of nominal *need* to silent HAVE, in the spirit of Hale and Keyser’s work.

One may ask whether this analysis can be extended to other language families, or even taken to hold universally. It might be the case that the generalization noted here is solely an Indo-European phenomenon, and that other non-IE B-languages have a different strategy that would allow them to have transitive *need* despite lacking *have*. A very brief look at a handful of B-languages outside of IE suggests that this is, however, not the case. Within Altaic, for example, Turkish fits the generalization discussed here, and within neighboring Finno-Ugric, Hungarian also falls into place (both are B-languages, and neither has transitive *need*). One language that initially seems to pose a challenge to our generalization is Finnish.

Finnish is canonically considered to be a B-language, since it lacks a morphologically distinct transitive verb equivalent to *have* for possession and instead uses the verb *be* that is found in locative and existential sentences. It also appears to have transitive *need* (35).<sup>34</sup>

(35) Transitive *need* in Finnish

Minä **tarvitse**-n sinu-t.  
I.NOM need-1SG you-ACC  
‘I need you.’

However, a close look at the Case-marking on the possessee of possessive *be*-sentences reveals a striking difference with respect to the group of B-languages mentioned above.

(36) Possessive *be* in Finnish

Minu-lla on \*hän / häne-t.  
I-ADESS be.3SG \*him.NOM / he-ACC  
‘I have him.’

(Pylkkänen 1998: 4)

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<sup>34</sup>We thank Liina Pylkkänen for examples from and discussion of Finnish.

As (36) shows, the possessee is accusative in Finnish. This state of affairs contrasts sharply with the nominative Case found on possessives in other B-languages. It appears that the *be* of possession in Finnish is an accusative Case assigner. This behavior contrasts with *be* in Finnish locative, existential, and predicational sentences; here only nominative Case is grammatical.

- (37) a. Locative *be* in Finnish  
 Hän / \*Häne-t **on** huonee-ssa.  
 he.NOM / \*him-ACC be.3SG room-INESS  
 ‘He is in the room.’
- b. Existential *be* in Finnish  
 Huonee-ssa **on** vieras.  
 room-INESS be.3SG guest.NOM  
 ‘There is a guest in the room.’
- c. Predicational *be* in Finnish  
 Hän / \*Häne-t **on** vanha.  
 he.NOM / \*him-ACC be.3SG old.NOM  
 ‘He is old.’

Taken together, these facts suggest that Finnish is neither a canonical B-language nor H-language. It differs from B-languages in assigning accusative Case in possessive sentences, much like H-languages. Yet, like B-languages, and unlike H-languages, it lacks a morphologically distinct verb corresponding to *have*. The existence of such languages might suggest that the generalization stated in (1) should be rephrased as in (38).

- (38) All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to *need* are languages that have an accusative Case-assigning verb of possession.

If this is the correct generalization, then Finnish has nominal *need* incorporating into an accusative Case-assigning BE.

Alternatively, as proposed by Pylkkänen (1998), Finnish is in fact not a B-language at all; it is an H-language that involves incorporation of a silent preposition into *be*, just like H-languages, accounting for its ability to assign accusative Case. Yet, for some reason, Finnish lacks a morphologically distinct verb. If this is the correct analysis, then the generalization in (1) still holds. The extent to which this generalization directly reflects a property of the human language faculty remains to be determined.

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