

***Don't regret anymore! On the semantic change of the clause-embedding predicate *żałować* 'regret' in Polish***

INTRODUCTION. In this talk, we will examine the semantic change of the clause-embedding predicate *żałować* 'regret' in Polish and show that the loss of the feature [-assertion] in ForceP affected its c-selection properties. We will demonstrate that this change (i) took place in the 19th century, and (ii) enabled *żałować* to embed CP-infinitives.

PHENOMENON. In Modern Polish *żałować* can be employed in two different ways. On the one hand, it can be used as a factive predicate in the sense claimed by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971) and translated as 'regret' (= *żałować1*). On the other hand it can also mean 'be-grudge' (= *żałować2*). Both predicates differ as to what kind of sentential complements they select. *żałować1* is a two-place transitive predicate licensing either DP- or CP-complements headed by the complementizer *że* 'that':

- [1] *Nie żałuje* [DP *swojej decyzji*] *żałować1* + DP  
 NEG *żałować1.3SG* his decision-GEN  
 'He doesn't regret his decision.'  
 (NKJP, *Mazowieckie To i Owo*, 7/8/2008)
- [2] *Żałuję*, [CP *że częściej tu nie występuję*] *żałować1* + CP  
*żałować1.1SG* that more.often here NEG perform.1SG (finite *that*-clause)  
 'I regret that I don't perform here more often.'  
 (NKJP, *Nasze Miasto Kraków*, 20/6/2002)

Remarkably, *żałować1* cannot embed infinitive clauses (cf. also Słodowicz 2008 for a recent general overview of clause-embedding predicates in Polish disallowing infinitive clauses):

- [3] \**Żałuję*, [INF *nie potrafić wysoko śpiewać*] *żałować1* + CP  
*żałować1.1SG* NEG can.INF high sing.INF (infinitive clause)  
 Intended: 'I regret to not be able to sing high.'

*żałować2*, in turn, is a three-place ditransitive predicate selecting DP- as well as infinitive CP-complements:

- [4] *Nie żałujemy* [DP *urlop-u*] *doktor-owi Szczypul-e* *żałować2* + DP  
 NEG *żałować2.1PL* vacation-GEN doctor-DAT Szczypuła-DAT  
 'We do not begrudge Doctor Szczypuła a vacation.'  
 (NKJP, *Dziennik Polski*, 23/5/2002)
- [5] *Żałujesz mi* [INF *iść na urlop*]? *żałować2* + CP  
*żałować2.2SG* me.DAT go.INF on vacation (infinitive clause)  
 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

Interestingly enough, finite CP-complements headed by the complementizer *że* 'that' and having an episodic interpretation cannot be embedded under *żałować2*:

- [6] \**Żałujesz mi*, [CP *że pójdę na urlop*]? *żałować2* + CP  
*żałować2.2SG* me.DAT that go.1SG on vacation (finite *that*-clause)  
 Intended: 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS. Based on the empirical data extracted from: (i) Old Polish texts collected by the Polish Academy of Science, (ii) Polish Diachronic Online Corpus (Pol-

Di), and (iii) diachronic texts annotated in the National Corpus of Polish, we argue that *żałować2* developed out of *żałować1* in the 19th century:

- [7]  $[VP [V^0 \textit{żałować1}: \lambda x \lambda z \{x:\textit{Agent}; z:\textit{Theme}\}]] \text{-->}$   
 $[VP [V^0 \textit{żałować2}: \lambda x(\lambda y) \lambda z \{x:\textit{Agent}; y:\textit{Experiencer}; z:\textit{Theme}\}]]$

In what follows, we analyze both *żałować1* and *żałować2* as lexical V-heads, indicating that none of these heads grammaticalized into a functional head associated with a functional projection. As for sentential complements, both finite *że*-clauses of *żałować1* and infinitives of *żałować2* are CPs. This follows from the fact, among others, that the matrix clause and the infinitive clause can be modified by two distinct temporal adverbials:

- [5] *Jeszcze wczoraj*  $pro_i$  *żałował-és*  $mi_j$   
 yet yesterday *żałować2.l-PTCP.3SG.M-AUX.CL.2SG* me.DAT  
 $[_{CP} PRO_{*i/j} \textit{iść} \textit{dzisiaj} \textit{na} \textit{urlap}]$   
 go.INF today on vacation

In other words, although *żałować* underwent a semantic change and although its complement types have changed, the syntactic size of its complements remained the same. The differences between *żałować1* and *żałować2*, in turn, follow from the presence/absence of an [assertion] feature in ForceP of the subordinate clause (cf. Basse 2008, de Cuba 2007). If *żałować* selects for a CP, the truth-value of *p* can be either presupposed by the speaker (= *żałować1*) or asserted by the matrix subject (= *żałować2*). In the former case CPs are analyzed as defective phases lacking the feature [assertion]. Internally, there is no edge feature on the left periphery in the embedded clause and any kind of movement to the left edge is disallowed (based on Basse 2008):

- [8] a.  $[_{ForceP} \dots [T^0 \textit{żałować1} [vP [v^0] \dots [_{ForceP[-\textit{assertion}]} \dots [C^0 \textit{że}] [vP [v^0] \dots ]]]]]$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{[Force^0 - v^0]} \quad \uparrow \quad \uparrow \quad \underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{[v^0 - v^0]} \quad \uparrow \quad \underbrace{\hspace{5em}}_{[vP]} \rightarrow$
- b.  $[_{ForceP} \dots [T^0 \textit{żałować2} [vP [v^0] \dots [_{ForceP[+\textit{assertion}]} \dots [C^0 PRO] [vP [v^0] \dots ]]]]]$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{[Force^0 - v^0]} \quad \uparrow \quad \underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{[v^0 - Force^0]} \quad \uparrow \quad \underbrace{\hspace{5em}}_{[Force^0 - v^0]} \quad \underbrace{\hspace{5em}}_{[vP]} \rightarrow$

Evidence for [8a] comes, among others, from floating auxiliary clitics. In [9], a CP is embedded under *żałować1* and the auxiliary clitic cannot move from PtcpP to a higher position within the CP-field. The movement is blocked due to the absence of the [assertion] feature.

- [9] *Żałujesz,*  $[_{CP} [C^0 \textit{że-??} \textit{ś}]$   $[_{PtcpP} \textit{zawaliłe-OK} \textit{ś}]$   $t_e$  *sprawę?*  
 regret.2SG that-2SG goof.l-PTCP.3SG.M-2SG this issue  
 'Do you regret that you have flopped?'

If, on the hand, the feature [assertion] is activated, the C-Phase is not defective and the embedded C-head is an accessible goal for an Agree relation, which, in turn, is required both for PRO and secondary predicates in order to check their Case values in the embedded infinitive clause, e.g. the Dative in [10] (cf. Landau 2008):

- [10] *Żałujesz jej*  $[_{CP} [C^0 PRO] \textit{uczesać} \textit{się} \textit{samoj?}]$   
 regret.2SG her.DAT comb.INF REFL alone.DAT  
 'Do you begrudge her to style her hair on her own?'