

***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' (= *żałować*<sub>1</sub>). On the other hand it can also mean 'be-  
grudge' (= *żałować*<sub>2</sub>). Both predicates differ as to what kind of sentential complements they select. *żałować*<sub>1</sub> is a two-place transitive predicate licensing either DP- or CP-complements headed by the complementizer *że* 'that':

- [1] *Nie żałuje* [DP *swojej decyzji*] *żałować*<sub>1</sub> + DP  
 NEG *żałować*<sub>1</sub>.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*] *żałować*<sub>1</sub> + CP  
*żałować*<sub>1</sub>.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, *żałować*<sub>1</sub> 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*] *żałować*<sub>1</sub> + CP  
*żałować*<sub>1</sub>.1SG NEG can.INF high sing.INF (infinitive clause)  
 Intended: 'I regret to not be able to sing high.'

*żałować*<sub>2</sub>, in turn, is a three-place ditransitive predicate selecting DP- as well as infinitive CP-complements:

- [4] *Nie żałujemy* [DP *urlop-u*] *doktor-owi Szczypuł-e* *żałować*<sub>2</sub> + DP  
 NEG *żałować*<sub>2</sub>.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*]? *żałować*<sub>2</sub> + CP  
*żałować*<sub>2</sub>.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 *żałować*<sub>2</sub>:

- [6] \**Żałujesz mi*, [CP *że pójdę na urlop*]? *żałować*<sub>2</sub> + CP  
*żałować*<sub>2</sub>.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-

