

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

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1. Introduction

In Modern Polish (1900 -) *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 paraphrased as 'regret' (= *żałować*₁):¹

- [1] *Żałuję, że tak późno zacząłem strzelać gole*
żałować.1SG that so late start.l-PTCP.1SG.M shoot.INF goals
'I regret that I started scoring goals so late.'
(NKJP, *Express Ilustrowany*, 29/4/2002)

On the other hand, it can also mean 'begrudge' (= *żałować*₂):

- [2] *Żałujesz mi iść na urlop?*
żałować.2SG me.DAT go.INF on vacation
'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

Żałować is an imperfective verb. Its perfective counterpart *pożałować* can also be used in the sense of *żałować*₁ and *żałować*₂:

- [3] *Pożałujesz, że mnie zatrzymałeś*
pożałować.2SG that me.ACC arrest.INF
'You will regret that you arrested me'
(NKJP, *Gazeta Poznańska*, 28/6/2003)
- [4] *Kasy nie pożałował też prezydent Pałasz*
money.GEN NEG pożałować.l-PTCP.SG.M also president Pałasz
'The major Pałasz did not begrudge money either'
(NKJP, *Gazeta Poznańska*, 12/4/2003)

For time reasons I will focus only on *żałować*.

¹ Following abbreviations are used in this paper: 1/2/3 - 1st/2nd/3rd person, ACC - accusative, AUX - auxiliary verb, CL - clitic, COR - correlate, DAT - dative, GEN - genitive, HAB - habitual, INF - infinitive, LOC - locative, l-PTCP - l-participle (inflected for number and gender), M - masculine, N - neuter, NEG - negation, PL - plural, PPR - present participle, PRF - perfective, REFL - reflexive, SG - singular, VIR - virile.

Leading questions

- ✓ To what extent does *żałować*₁ differ from *żałować*₂?
- ✓ What are the c-selectional properties of both predicates?
- ✓ What are the emergence conditions of *żałować*₂?
- ✓ Does the development of *żałować*₂ exemplify a grammaticalization process?
- ✓ What role does the opposition factive vs. non-factive play?

Outline of the talk

Section 1: Introduction

Section 2: *Żałować* in Modern Polish

- ✓ Argument structure
- ✓ Embedded complements
- ✓ Factivity

Section 3: *Żałować* in the history of Polish

- ✓ From Old Polish (- 1500) to Modern Polish (1900 -)
- ✓ Semantic change

Section 4: Theoretical perspective: Reanalysis

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2. *Żałować* in Modern Polish

In this section, I will point out selected differences between *żałować*₁ and *żałować*₂. The main focus will be on: (i) argument structure, (ii) embedded complements and (iii) the opposition factivity vs. non-factivity.

2.1. Argument structure

*Żałować*₁ is a two-place transitive predicate. Its internal argument receives Genitive case:

- [5] *Czasem* [DP pro] *żałuję* [DP *niepotrzebnych słów*]_{GEN}
sometimes regret.1SG superfluous words
'Sometimes I regret my superfluous words'
(NKJP, *Dziennik Zachodni*, 15/4/2005)

The embedded proposition can also refer anaphorically to the matrix correlate *tego*:

- [6] *Bardzo* *żałuję* [*tego*]_i [*co* *zrobiłem*]_i
very regret.1SG COR.GEN what do.*l*-PTCP.1SG.M
'I regret very much what I did'
(NKJP, *Dziennik Zachodni*, 25/9/2009)

*Żałować*₂, in turn, is a three-place ditransitive predicate. Similar to *żałować*₁, it licenses a direct object checking the Genitive case. Additionally, an indirect object is generated and marked for the Dative case:

- [7] [DP pro] *Żałował* [DP mi]_{DAT} [DP *cukierków*]_{GEN}
 begrudge.1-PTCP.3SG.M me sweets
 'He begrudged sweets to me'
 (NKJP, *Talki w wielkim mieście*, 2002)

If the Dativ-DP is realized as an implicit argument, two readings of *żałować* appear to be appropriate:

- [8] [pro]_i *Żałuję* []_j *kupna tego mieszkania*
 żałować.1SG purchase.GEN this flat.GEN
 'I regret that I bought this flat' [*żałować*₁]
 'I begrudge you to buy this flat' [*żałować*₂]

However, if the Dativ-DP is realized overtly, it disambiguates the reading of the verb:

- [8'] [pro]_i *Żałuję* [ci]_j *kupna tego mieszkania*
 żałować.1SG you.DAT purchase.GEN this flat.GEN
 *'I regret that I bought this flat' [*żałować*₁]
 'I begrudge you to buy this flat' [*żałować*₂]

Finally, the correlate *tego* can occur, if a finite CP clause headed by the complementizer *że* 'that' is embedded:

- [9] *Żałujesz mi [tego]_i [że idę na urlop?]_i*
 begrudge.2SG me.DAT COR.DAT that go.1SG on vacation
 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

Tego is disallowed if an infinitive clause is embedded, though:

- [2'] **Żałujesz mi [tego]_i [iść na urlop?]_i*
 żałować.2SG me.DAT COR.GEN go.INF on vacation
 Intended: 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

2.2. Embedded complements

2.2.1. DPs

Both *żałować*₁ and *żałować*₂ can embed DPs marked for the Genitive case:

[10] *Nie żałuje* [DP *swojej decyzji*] [żałować1]
 NEG żałować.3SG his decision-GEN
 'He doesn't regret his decision.'
 (NKJP, *Mazowieckie To i Owo*, 7/8/2008)

[11] *Nie żałujemy* [DP *urlop-u*] *doktor-owi Szczypuł-e* [żałować2]
 NEG żałować.1PL vacation-GEN doctor-DAT Szczypuła-DAT
 'We do not begrudge Doctor Szczypuła a vacation.'
 (NKJP, *Dziennik Polski*, 23/5/2002)

2.2.2. Finite CPs

As far as sentential complements are concerned, both predicates can select for finite CPs headed by the complementizer *że* 'that':

[12] *Żałuję*, [CP *że częściej tu nie występuję*] [żałować1]
 żałować.1SG that more.often here NEG perform.1SG.IMP
 'I regret that I don't perform here more often.'
 (NKJP, *Nasze Miasto Kraków*, 20/6/2002)

[13] *Żałujesz mi tego* [CP *że idę na urlop?*] [żałować2]
 begrudge.2SG me.DAT COR.DAT that go.1SG on vacation
 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

However, if *żałować2* embeds a finite CP and if a perfective verb form occurs in the embedded clause, the derivation crashes:

[14] **Żałujesz mi*, [CP *że pójdę na urlop?*] [żałować2]
 żałować.2SG me.DAT that go.1SG.PRF on vacation
 Intended: 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

Remarkably, *że*-clauses appear to be well formed, if the embedded verbal head is of the type [+imperfective], as exemplified in [11], or if it has a habitual interpretation and presupposes a plurality of the embedded event:

[15] *Żałujesz mi*, [CP *że chodzę na urlop?*] [żałować2]
 żałować.2SG me.DAT that go.1SG.HAB on vacation
 'Do you begrudge me going on vacation?'

No such restrictions occur with respect to *żałować*₁. The embedded verbal head can be of the type [+imperfective], as given in [14], [+perfective] or [+habitual]:

- [16] *Nie żałuję,* [CP *że my go kupiliśmy*]
 NEG *żałować*.1SG that we him.ACC buy.*l*-PTCP.PL.VIR.PRF
 'I don't regret that we bought it (= a new car)'
 (NKJP, *Przy herbacie*, 2003)

- [17] *Żałuję,* [CP *że obiecywałem ci nowy dom*]
żałować.1SG that promise.*l*-PTCP.1SG.M.HAB you.DAT new house
 'I regret that I used to promise you a new house'

At this moment, I have no explanation for why this is so and where this difference comes from.

2.2.3. Infinitive CPs

*Żałować*₁ as a factive verb cannot embed infinitive clauses (cf. also Słodowicz 2008 for a recent general overview of clause-embedding predicates in Polish disallowing infinitive clauses):

- [18] **Żałuję,* [CP *nie potrafić wysoko śpiewać*] [*żałować*₁]
żałować.1SG NEG can.INF high sing.INF
 Intended: 'I regret to be not able to sing high'

On the contrary, *żałować*₂ can select for CP-infinitives (object control):

- [19] *pro_i Żałujesz mi_j [CP PRO*_{i/j} iść na urlop]?* [*żałować*₂]
żałować.2SG me.DAT go.INF on vacation
 'Do you begrudge me to go on vacation?'

Remarkably, if *żałować*₂ embeds a non-finite CP complement, the matrix verb and the dependent clause can be modified by two distinct temporal adverbials. I take this to be one of the diagnostics for the CP-hood of embedded complements:

- [19'] *Jeszcze wczoraj żałował-eś mi_j*
 yet yesterday *żałować*.*l*-PTCP.3SG.M-AUX.CL.2SG me.DAT
 [CP *iść dzisiaj na urlop*]
 go.INF today on vacation

As *żałować2* does not presuppose a factive interpretation of the embedded *p*, infinitive CPs are allowed to occur.

2.2.4. Conditional clauses

As pointed out by Williams (1974), Pullum (1987) and Pesetsky (1991), conditional clauses can merge as one of the arguments of factive predicates and preference predicates:

[20] *You'll regret it* [_{CP} *if you split up with him*]

Żałować1 as a factive predicate allows conditional clauses as well:

[21] *Później żałują,* [_{CP} *jeśli to zrobią*] [*żałować1*]
 later żałować.3PL if this do.3PL
 'They will regret it later, if they do this'
 (NKJP, an internet forum, 2/9/2007)

On the other hand, *żałować2* is not compatible with *jeśli*-clauses:

[22] **Rodzice żałują mi,* [_{CP} *jeśli to zrobię*] [*żałować2*]
 parents żałować.3PL me.DAT if this do.1SG

Based on the contrast between [21] and [22], I claim that *żałować2* is neither an inherent factive predicate nor a preference predicate.

2.3. Factivity

Żałować1 is a factive predicate:

[1] *Żałuję,* *że tak późno zacząłem strzelać gole* [*p=1*]
 żałować.1SG that so late start.l-PTCP.1SG.M shoot.INF goals
 'I regret that I started scoring goals so late.'
 (NKJP, *Express Ilustrowany*, 29/4/2002)

The presence of a negation operator in the matrix clause has no impact on the truth value of the embedded *p*:

[1'] *Nie żałuję, że tak późno zacząłem strzelać gole* [*p=1*]

*Żałować*², in turn, is a future-oriented predicate, meaning that the embedded p can be either true or false:

- [11] *Żałujesz mi tego, że idę na urlop?* [$p=0 \vee p=1$]
 begrudge.2SG me.DAT COR.DAT that go.1SG on vacation
 'Do you begrudge me a vacation?'

If *żałować*² is under the scope of a negation operator, the true value of p does not change:

- [11'] *Nie żałujesz mi tego, że idę na urlop?* [$p=0 \vee p=1$]

2.4. Interim summary

The following table gives an overview of selected differences between *żałować*¹ and *żałować*²:

		<i>żałować</i> ¹	<i>żałować</i> ²
1.	Dativ-DPs	-	+
2.	Finite CPs headed by the C-head <i>że</i> 'that' and with a perfective V-head	+	-
3.	Conditional clauses	+	-
4.	CP-infinitives	-	+
5.	Factive interpretation of p	+	-

Table 1: Selected differences between *żałować*¹ and *żałować*²

3. *Żałować* in the history of Polish

Based on Klemensiewicz (2009) I distinguish the following four language stages in the history of Polish:

Abbreviation	Language Stage	Beginning	Ending
OP	Old Polish	-	1535
MidP	Middle Polish	1535	1780
NP	New Polish	1780	1900
MP	Modern Polish	1900	present

Table 2: Approximate language periods in the history of Polish

3.1. Old Polish (- 1535)

Żałować occurs already in Old Polish and it is associated with three different meanings. Its factive use (= *żałować*¹) occurs mainly with DPs and finite CPs:

- [23] [DP *swych g<rz>echow*] (...) *on był* *żałował*
 his sins.GEN he be.l-PTCP.3SG.M *żałować.l-PTCP.3SG.M*
 'He regretted his sins'
 (PolDi, *GN*, Kazanie 4; 14r: 26-27)

- [24] *oni tego byli* *barzo żałowali*
 they this be.l-PTCP.3PL.VIR very *żałować.l-PTCP.3PL.VIR*
 [CP *izeć oni swe [z]boże (...) byli* *ro[z]przedali*]
 that they their crop be.l-PTCP.3PL.VIR sell.l-PTCP.3PL.VIR
 'They regretted very much that they sold their crop.'
 (Poldi, KG)

Remarkably, *żałować* can also mean 'sue', 'proceed against somebody', as shown in [25]:

- [25] *tedy Jan Piotra pozwał przed*
 then Jan.NOM Piotr.ACC sue.l-PTCP.3SG.M before
sąd żałując [CP *ize* *ji* *uranił*]
 court *żałować.PPR* that him.ACC hurt.l-PTCP.3SG.M
 'then Jan sued Piotr saying that he hurt him'
 (PolDi, *Dzial*, 21:31, 22:1-2)

If *żałować* merges with the preposition *na* 'on', it means 'tell tales about sb. to sb.':

- [26] <P>*iotr żałował* [PP *na Jana*] *przed sądem*,
 Piotr.NOM *żałować.l-PTCP.3SG.M* on Jan.ACC before court.LOC
 [CP *kako*] *pczoły abo dzienia jego kradmie*
 that bees or clothes his steal.3SG
 'Piotr told tales about Jan that he supposedly steals his bees and clothes'
 (PolDi, *Dzial*, 22:10-11)

Note that *kako* is an evidential complementizer, indicating that *żałować* is used as a speech verb in [26]. What appears to be striking about the latter two uses is that they fell into disuse. In MP *żałować* can only be employed either as *żałować*¹ or *żałować*². In this respect, MP differs from Modern Czech. As Radek Šimík pointed

out to me, the Old Polish readings (except for *żałować1*) are available in Modern Czech.

I was not able to find any Old Polish examples illustrating the use of *żałować2*.

3.2. Middle Polish (1535 - 1780)

First instances of *żałować2* occurs in Middle Polish. In all cases a DP is embedded:

- [27] *nie żałować [DP pieniędzy] boby to było nierychło*
 NEG żałować.INF money.GEN because it be *l*-PTCP.3SG.N not.soon
 'Don't begrudge the money; otherwise it (= a party) won't take place soon'
 (PolDi, *ListyDoMarysi*)

Notice that *żałować2* does not license any Dative-DP in [27]. Occasionally, we can attest examples in which *żałować* does generate a DP checking the Dative case. But in these cases *żałować* is used a speech verb meaning 'complain':

- [28] *Jedna pani przyszła przed wojta i żałowała*
 one woman come.*l*-PTCP.3SG.F before voyt and *żałować.l*-PTCP.3SG.F
 [DP mu], *iż jej czynszownik zbieżał*
 him.DAT that her.DAT owner deceive.*l*-PTCP.3SG.M

'A woman came to the village head and was complaining to him that the owner of the tenement house deceives her.' (PolDi, *OrtMac*)

3.3. New Polish (1780 - 1900)

In late Middle Polish/early New Polish *żałować2* starts licensing Dativ-DPs:

- [29] *czy byłby mu kawałka*
 whether him.DAT piece.GEN
 chleba swojego żałował?
 bread.GEN his *żałować.l*-PTCP.3SG.M
 'Would he begrudge his own piece of bread to him?'
 (Poldi, *Krasicki*)

As I was not able to find any New Polish examples in which *żałować2* would select an infinitive CP, I assume that they start to appear in Modern Polish.

4. Theoretical perspective: Reanalysis

In what follows, I analyze both *żalować1* and *żalować2* as lexical V-heads, indicating that none of these heads grammaticalized into a functional head associated with a functional projection:

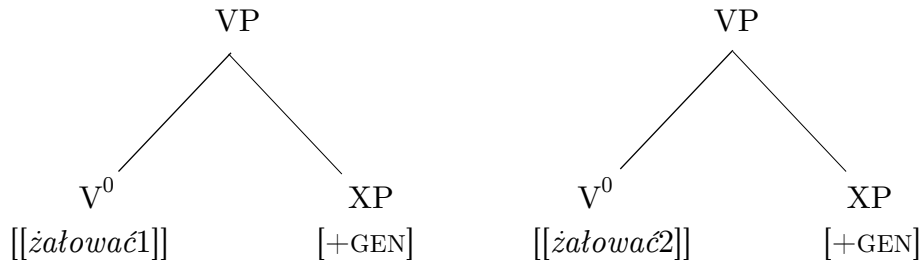


Figure 1: Base positions of *żalować1* and *żalować2*

I argue that *żalować2* developed out of *żalować1* in the 17th century:

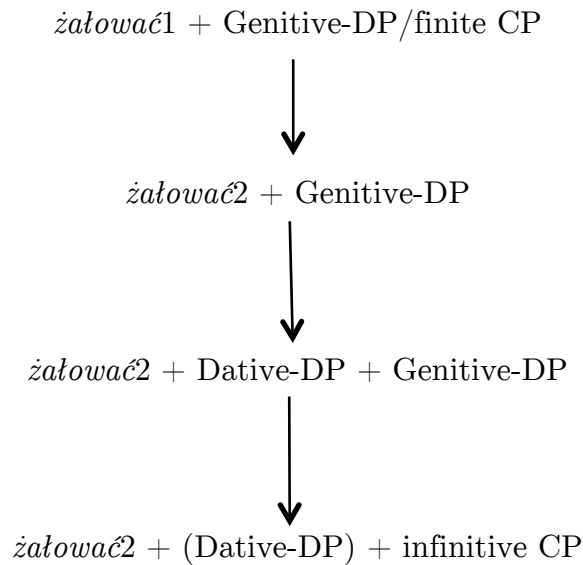
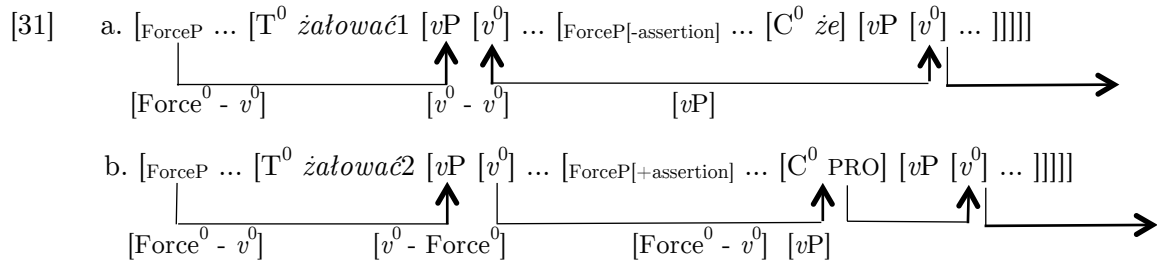


Figure 2: The development of *żalować2* and its complements

- [30] $[_{VP} [_{V^0} \textit{żalować1}: \lambda x \lambda z \{x:\text{Agent}; z:\text{Theme}\}]] \rightarrow$
 $[_{VP} [_{V^0} \textit{żalować2}: \lambda x (\lambda y) \lambda z \{x:\text{Agent}; y:\text{Experiencer}; z:\text{Theme}\}]]$

Following Larson (1988), I assume the indirect object receiving the Dative case to merge within vP.

The differences between *żałować*₁ and *żałować*₂, in turn, follow from the presence/absence of an [assertion] feature in ForceP of the subordinate clause (cf. Basse 2008). If *żałować* selects for a CP, the truth-value of *p* can be either presupposed by the speaker (= *żałować*₁) or asserted by the matrix subject (= *żałować*₂). 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):



Evidence for [31] comes from floating auxiliary clitics. In [32], a CP is embedded under *żałować*₁ 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:

[32] *Żałujesz, [CP [C^0 że-?? s] [PtcpP zawałiła-OK s]] tę sprawę?*
żałować.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 [33]:

[33] *Żałujesz jej [CP [C^0 PRO] uczesać się samej?]*
żałować.2SG her.DAT comb.INF REFL alone.DAT
 'Do you begrudge her to style her hair on her own?'

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.

5. Conclusion

In this talk, I examined two different uses of the predicate *żałować* in (the history of) Polish. It has been shown that *żałować* can be used either as an inherent factive predicate ('regret') or as a future-oriented predicate ('begrudge').

If *żałować* is employed as a factive predicate, it cannot license Dative-DPs and select for CP-infinitives. These restrictions do not hold for the non-factive use of *żałować*. If, on the other hand, it occurs as a future-oriented predicate meaning 'be grudge', it can merge neither with conditional clauses nor with finite CPs headed by the complementizer *że* 'that' and with perfective V-heads.

Both predicates are lexical V-heads. The non-factive use developed out of the factive use of *żałować* in Middle Polish (1535 - 1780). This development does not instantiate any grammaticalization process. What both uses exemplify is a semantic shift of a single predicate entailing syntactic consequences.

Primary sources

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(<http://nkjp.pl/>)

PolDi - *A Polish Diachronic Online Corpus*

(<http://rhssl1.uni-regensburg.de/SlavKo/korpus/poldi>)

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