Non-factive know in Russian and polarity subjunctive

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In Russian, the verb *znat'* 'know' normally takes indicative complements. However, when negated, it can take a subjunctive complement. Unlike the sentence with *NEG + znat' + IND* pattern, the *NEG + znat' + SUBJ* pattern does not presuppose the truth of the verbal complement, cf. (1) and (2).

(1) Mila **ne**   znaet **čto**   Ljuba igraet na flejte
     Mila **NEG** *knows* ***that.IND*** *Ljuba plays on* flute
     'Mila doesn't know that Ljuba plays the flute' (in fact, Ljuba plays)

(2) Mila **ne**   znaet **čto-by**   Ljuba igrala na flejte
     Mila **NEG** *knows* ***that-SUBJ*** *Ljuba played on* flute
     'Mila does not know any cases when Ljuba played the flute.' (in fact, it is
possible that Ljuba plays flute but Mila is unaware of it)

I propose to treat the complements of non-factive *znat'*, like in (2), as a *polarity subjunctive* (PS), i.e. such a subjunctive clause which may be used under certain predicates only in negative environments (Giannakidou 1998). According to (Bondarenko 2022), whether the predicate can accept a PS complement is determined by the ability of this predicate to take non-propositional CPs. It is claimed that there are two types of complements of attitude predicates: CPs conveying the propositional content (Cont-CP) and CPs describing a situation (Sit-CP). While Cont-CP is as a set of possible worlds or situations denoted by the propositional content of the clause, Sit-CP is a 'minimal situation' (3).

(3)   [[that the squirrel ate the nut]]s =   (Bondarenko 2022)

   a. $\lambda x.\ \text{Cont}(x) = \{s:$ the squirrel ate the nut in s$\}$ ***Cont-CP***
   b. $\lambda s'.\ s'$ is a minimal situation of the squirrel eating the nut   ***Sit-CP***

Bondarenko (2022: 380) claims that while indicative complements can be either Cont-CPs or Sit-CPs, PS complements are always Sit-CPs. Following this analysis, I argue that Russian *znat'* is able to take Sit-CP complements. These data provides the evidence that *znat'* (at least, non-factive) may be analyzed as a non-propositional-taking predicate (Montague 2007), which challenges the traditional Hintikka-style approach relying on the embedded proposition.

References

Bondarenko, T. I. (2022). Anatomy of an Attitude (Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology). **Giannakidou, A. (1998).** Polarity sensitivity as (non) veridical dependency. Polarity Sensitivity as (Non) Veridical Dependency, 1-297. **Montague, M. (2007).** Against propositionalism. Noûs, 41(3), 503-518.