

The Russian subjunctive complementizer *čtoby* can be analyzed as the declarative complementizer *čto* plus the conditional particle *by*. Brecht (1977), for instance, has pointed out that, when two subjunctive predicates are coordinated, *čtoby* is present in the first one, while the second one can be introduced only by *by*.

- (1) Ty velel, *čtoby* ja uekhal v Minsk odin, a Vasja *by* ostalsja s tobój?
 you ordered that-SUBJ I go to Minsk alone and Vasja BY remain with you
 ‘Did you order that I leave for Minsk alone and Vasja remain with you?’ (Brecht 1977, 35-36, (6e))

Notice that in similar constructions, the particle *by* can occur in different positions in the second clause, and, in colloquial speech, can appear multiple times, which are properties of the independent conditional particle *by* (Franks & King 2000, 190-192):

- (2) Ty velel *čtoby* ja uekhal v Minsk odin, a Vasja (by) ostalsja (by) s tobój?

If the *by* in *čtoby* is the independent conditional marker, why has it to be attached to the complementizer *čto* if this is spelled out?

We will assume that *by* encodes a [+mood] feature and can be merged in different positions in the clause structure. The most common positions of *by* are after the verb or the “Wackernagel” second position:

- (3) a. Ja s udovol’stvijem pošel *by* zavtra v teatr.
 I with happiness go BY tomorrow to theater
 ‘I would happily go to the theater tomorrow.’
 b. Ja *by* s udovol’stvijem pošel zavtra v teatr.
 (Franks & King, 2000, 191, (11a-b))

Other, less common, orders are derived by the activation of Topic and Focus positions. In (3a) *by* is merged in the IP layer, in (3b) it is merged in CP:

- (4) a. [_{TOPICP} Ja [_{TOPICP} s udovol’stvijem [_{IP} pošel [_{MOODP} by ...]]]] (3a)
 b. [_{TOPICP} Ja [_{MOODP} by [_{TOPICP} s udovol’stvijem [_{IP} pošel ...]]]] (3b)

This analysis is based on the claim that [mood] features in IP are copied onto functional projections inside the CP layer (the *Mood Concord* principle, as originally proposed by Rivero (1988)). In Russian *by* can be spelled out in one (or more than one, in colloquial Russian) of the positions involved in the Mood Concord relation.

When a verb or predicate selects a *čtoby* complement, that is a [+mood] complement, *by* must be spelled out in the highest possible position inside the complement CP. This position is higher than left dislocated topics (5b-c):

- (5) a. Ja velel *čtoby* ty uekhal v Minsk odin.
 I ordered that-SUBJ you go to Minsk alone
 b. *Ja velel v Minsk *čtoby* ty uekhal odin.

- c. *Ja velel ty čtoby uekhal v Minsk odin.
'I ordered that you leave for Minsk alone.'

Notice that both the declarative complementizer *čto* and the subjunctive/modal complementizer *čtoby* are higher than left dislocated topics:

- (6) a. Ja dumaju čto on uekhal v Minsk odin.
I think that he go to Minsk alone
b. *Ja dumaju v Minsk čto on uekhal odin.
c. *Ja dumaju on čto uekhal v Minsk odin.
'I think that he left for Minsk alone.'

We will assume that the position of *čtoby* is Force^o in Rizzi's (1997) framework. Although the final positions of the declarative complementizer *čto* and the subjunctive/modal complementizer *čtoby* are the same, the derivations of the two structures are different. In particular, *čtoby* is derived by moving *čto* (which is possibly merged in Finiteness^o) through the Mood head in CP and then to Force^o. Declarative *čto* is directly merged in Force^o or, if it is merged in Finiteness^o, is moved directly to Force^o:

- (7) a. [Force *čto* [_{Topic} [_{Fin} *čtø* [IP]]]]
b. [Force *čto-by* [_{mood} *by* [_{Fin} *čtø* [IP]]]]

Comparative data from Italo-Romance show that complementizers can move through the left periphery (Ledgeway 2003 and works cited there). The difference between Russian and Italo-Romance is that Russian has only one complementizer in the lexicon. When the matrix verb selects a [+mood] complement, Mood of the embedded clause can be spelled out only in the higher position and it is "visible" only if *čto* moves through Mood^o. This is a sort of Locality constraint on mood selection. Russian lacks a true morphological subjunctive and a separate modal complementizer in the lexicon, thus it builds up a modal marker in CP by the means of syntactic movement, by incorporating the declarative complementizer with the modal particle.

This analysis gives a unified account of the conditional marker *by* and the modal complementizer *čtoby*. Moreover, it explains why *by* cannot appear in IP when a matrix verb selects a modal complement and why *čtoby*, contrary to modal complementizers in other languages, occupies a high position in the CP layer.

References

- Brecht (1977), "Čtoby or čto and by". *Folia Slavica* 1, 33-41.
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