

'Possibly, *had I been friends* with Korneichuk, *had I spoken* at meetings against the cosmopolites and nationalists, *had I been trampling* into dirt Maxim Rytsky and Vladimir Sosyura, and then *joined* the belated chorus of glorification first to one and then to the other, *had I chosen* such a path, maybe everything would have gone differently.'

b. Насчет исходивших от него [Сталина] гипнотических или каких-то других флюидов, ничего не могу сказать – думаю, что моя скованность на первых порах...была такой же, сиди я перед Черчиллем или де Голлем. (Г. Некрасов. Саперлипопет)

'Regarding hypnotic or any other auras exuded by him [Stalin] I cannot say anything, — I think that my initial tenseness . . . would have been the same *had I been sitting* in front of Churchill or de Gaulle.'

The unlikeliness of (32) lies in its randomness:

(32) Столкнись вы с ним где-нибудь в метро или на улице, и не оглянулись бы. (Ю. Кузнецов. Русский роман)

'Had you bumped into him somewhere in the subway or in the street, you would not have turned around.'

3. Conditionals with generalized subjects.

Strictly speaking, this construction, which expresses a highly hypothetical action, is an extension of a subjectless one, as in (33a). The subject is expressed by the second person singular or plural of the personal pronoun, or the indefinite pronoun *kto/kto-nibud'*. There is an additional restriction on word order: if the subject is expressed by a

personal pronoun, it precedes other NPs, as in (33b); if the subject is expressed by an indefinite pronoun *kto* or *kto–nibud'*, it is preceded by other NPs, as in (33c) and (34):

(33) a. А предложи ему денег – откажется.

'And *were one to offer* him money, he would refuse.'

b. А предложи ты ему денег – откажется.

'And *were you to offer* him money, he would refuse.'

c. А предложи ему кто денег – откажется.

'And *were someone to offer* him money, he would refuse.'

(34) a. А убей его кто – никто и не заметит.

'And *were someone to kill him*, no one would notice.'

b. Иногда без копейки сидим, а попроси у него кто в долг – вон часы со стены снимет, продаст и виду не покажет. (В. Розов. С вечера до полудня)

'Sometimes we are without a kopeck, and if *someone had asked* him for a loan, he would take down the clock from the wall, sell it and not let anyone see.'

c. Странное чувство вызывали в Зинченко эти деньги. Он умел и знал, как их брать и за что. Скажи ему кто, что он берет взятки, Зинченко вполне мог бы съездить по физиономии. (Г. Щербакова. Реалисты и жлобы)

'Zinchenko had a strange feeling about this money. He knew how to take money and for what. *If someone had told him* that he takes bribes, Zinchenko could have easily hit him in the face.'

d. Они оскорбились бы, предложи им кто-то непрямой путь получения чего бы то ни было. (Г. Щербакова. Реалисты и жлобы)

'They would have gotten offended *had someone offered them* an indirect way of receiving anything what so ever.'

e. Но подумать, что совсем бы другой она возможно была, и другая была бы у нее жизнь, подари ей кто-нибудь красивые сережки двадцать лет назад. (В. Панова. Сестры)

'Just think that she could possibly have been completely different, and her life could have been different *had someone given her* beautiful ear rings twenty years ago.'

When the protasis precedes the apodasis, the conjunction *a* in many of these examples represents the meaning that Fougeron (1991: 255) and Yokoyama (1991: 382-383) describe as unexpectedness on the part of the speaker.

To summarize: first, pseudo-imperative form constructions involve two types of word order: discourse-driven unrestricted word order (Yokoyama 1986) and grammatical inverted word order.

The constructions with unrestricted word order may represent either 1) unexpected action in the past from the speaker's point of view (most commonly with reference to the third person); or 2) an action perceived by the speaker as undesirable and forced on the subject (most commonly in the first person).

The constructions with inverted word order represent either conditionals or conditional counterfactuals. In both cases, there is either a very high degree of unlikelihood of the event in the protasis taking place or an element of disaster either in

protasis, in apodasis, or as a background. The word order in the conditionals with generalized subject represents additional restrictions.

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