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Word Order

(1) Dei profughi ungheresi sono rimasti nel paese
some refugees Hungarian are remained in-the country
“Some Hungarian refugees remained in the country.”

(2) Sono rimasti nel paese dei profughi ungheresi.
are remained in-the country some refugees Hungarian
“Some Hungarian refugees remained in the country.”

(3) Sono rimasti dei profughi ungheresi nel paese
are remained some refugees Hungarian in-the country
“Some Hungarian refugees remained in the country.”

Ne-Cliticization

Given a structure \([DP \ Q \ NP]\), the preverbal clitic \(ne\) (meaning roughly ‘of them’) functions as a pronominalization of the NP constituent.

Cliticization is possible from the object of a transitive verb

(4) a. Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano
will-spend three weeks at
“Gianni will spend three weeks in Milan.”

b. Gianni ne trascorrerà tre a Milano
of-them will-spend three at
“Gianni will spend three (of them) in Milan.”

Cliticization is impossible from the preverbal subject

(5) a. Tre settimane passano rapidamente
three weeks pass quickly
“Three weeks pass quickly.”

b. *Tre ne passano rapidamente
three of-them pass quickly
“Three (of them) pass quickly.”

Cliticization is impossible from the post-verbal subject of an unergative verb

(6) a. Hanno parlato tre ragazze
have spoken three girls
“Three girls have spoken.”

b. *Ne hanno parlato tre
of-them have spoken three
“Three of them have spoken.”
CLITICIZATION IS POSSIBLE FROM THE POST-VERBAL SUBJECT OF AN UNACCUSATIVE VERB

(7) a. Sono passate tre settimane
   are elapsed three weeks
   “Three weeks have elapsed.”
b. Ne sono passate tre
   of-them are elapsed three
   “Three (of them) have elapsed.”

CLITICIZATION IS IMPOSSIBLE FROM THE PRE-VERBAL SUBJECT OF A PASSIVE

(8) a. Molti esperti saranno invitati
   many experts will-be invited.”
   “Many experts will be invited.”
b. *Molti ne saranno invitati
   many of-them will-be invited
   “Many of them will be invited.”

(9) a. Due macchine sono state vendute
   two cars were been sold
   “Two cars have been sold.”
b. *Due ne sono state vendute
   two of-them were been sold
   “Two (of them) have been sold.”

CLITICIZATION IS POSSIBLE FROM THE POST-VERBAL POSITION OF A PASSIVE

(10) a. Furono invitati molti esperti
    were invited many experts
    “Many experts were invited.”
b. Ne furono invitati molti
    of-them were invited many
    “Many of them were invited.”

RAISING

(11) Sembra che i bambini siano stanchi
    seems that the children are tired
    “It seems that the children are tired.”

(12) Molti profughi ungheresi sembrano essere rimasti nel paese.
    many refugees Hungarian seem be[-FIN] remained in-the country
    “Many Hungarian refugees seem to have remained in the country.”

(13) *Molti ne sembrano essere rimasti nel paese.
    many of-them seem be[-FIN] remained in-the country
    “Many of them seem to have remained in the country.”

(14) Sembrano essere rimasti dei profughi ungheresi nel paese.
    seem[Ps3] be[-FIN] remained some refugees Hungarian in-the country
    “Some Hungarian refugees seem to have remained in the country.”

(15) Sembrano esser ne rimasti molti nel paese.
    seem[Ps3] be[-FIN] of-them remained many in-the country
    “Many of them seem to have remained in the country.”
AND A LITTLE ICELANDIC

(16)  a. það grefur kona gröf í garðinum.

   there digs a-woman[NOM] a-grave[ACC] in garden-the
   ‘There digs a woman and a grave in the garden.’

   b. það hefur einhver borðað epli.

   there has someone eaten an-apple
   ‘There has someone eaten an apple.’