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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[P₃] 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[P₃] 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.'