

On the Final-Over-Final Condition, the Head-Final-Filter and their exceptions

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1. Introduction. In *On Linearization*. MIT Press, 2023 I submitted that the following tenets are at the base of a restrictive theory of word order variation across languages:

i) Linear order is a function of movement (Internal Merge), in one of the forms movement can take, as we see from *wh*-movement, a standard case of movement: without pied piping (as in (1)a.), or with pied piping of the *whose-pictures* type, as in (1)b., or with pied piping of the *pictures-of-whom* type, as in (1)c., or with a combination of the two types of pied piping, as in (1)d.:

- (1)a. Aylan, [**who**] you have certainly seen [pictures of [_]],..
- b. Aylan, [[**whose**] pictures] you have certainly seen [_],..
- c. Aylan, [pictures of [**whom**]] you have certainly seen [_],..
- d. Aylan, [pictures of [[**whose**] body]] [_] have stirred great global sympathy,..

ii) Only the Heads of each of the sub-projections that make up an extended projection can move (in the way the *wh*- of (1) does) strictly within their projection. This is the crucial restriction holding of the movements that derive the neutral orders.

iii) Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, which applies to the hierarchies built by External and Internal Merge.

As argued for in Cinque (2023) these tenets manage to discriminate between the **possible** (attested, attestable) **orders** and the **impossible** (non attested, unattestable) **orders**.

In this talk I focus on how the same tenets can shed light on the **relative frequencies** of the attested orders and on the **exceptions** to two important generalizations: the **Final-Over-Final Condition** of Sheehan, Biberauer, Roberts, and Holmberg 2017 and Williams's (1982) **Head-Final-Filter**, which appear to show the same pattern of frequencies.