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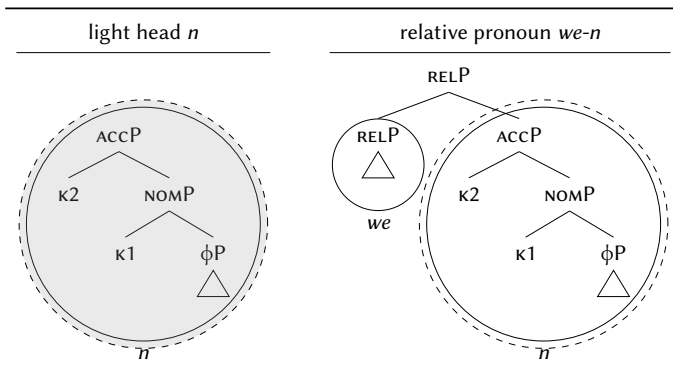
(1) Ich lade   n̶   ein, **wen   auch Maria mag**.
     I   invite$_{[ACC]}$ LH.ACC   RP.ACC also Maria like$_{[ACC]}$
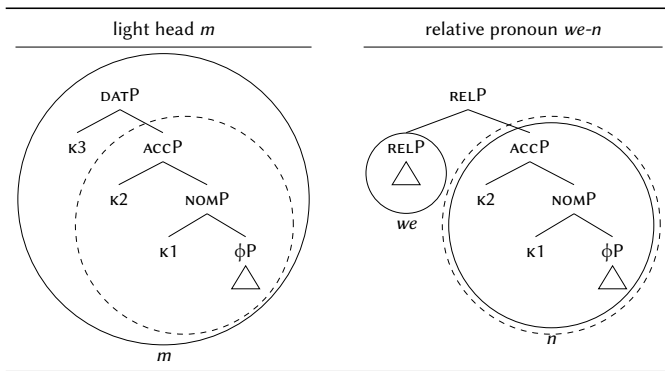   'I invite who Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)

(2) *Ich vertraue ~~m~~, **wen   auch Maria mag**.
     I   trust$_{[DAT]}$ LH.DAT RP.ACC also   Maria like$_{[ACC]}$
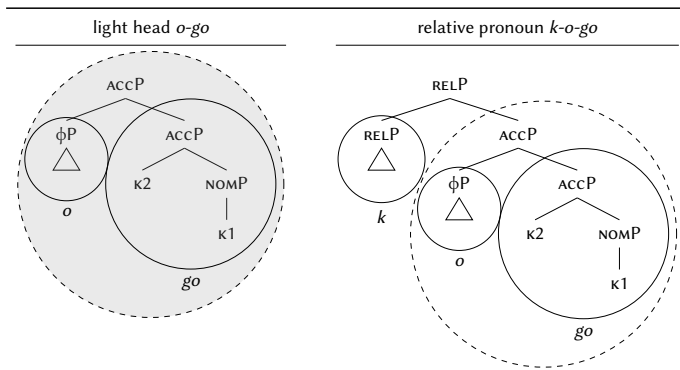   'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 345)

(3)   Jan lubi   ~~ogo~~   **kogo -kolkwiek Maria lubi**.
       Jan like_{[Acc]} LH.ACC RP.ACC ever   Maria like_{[Acc]}
       'Jan likes whoever Maria likes.'
                     (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

(4) *Jan ufa   ~~omu~~   **kogo -kolkwiek wpuścil do domu**.
     Jan trust$_{[DAT]}$ ELH.DAT RP.ACC ever   let$_{[ACC]}$ to home
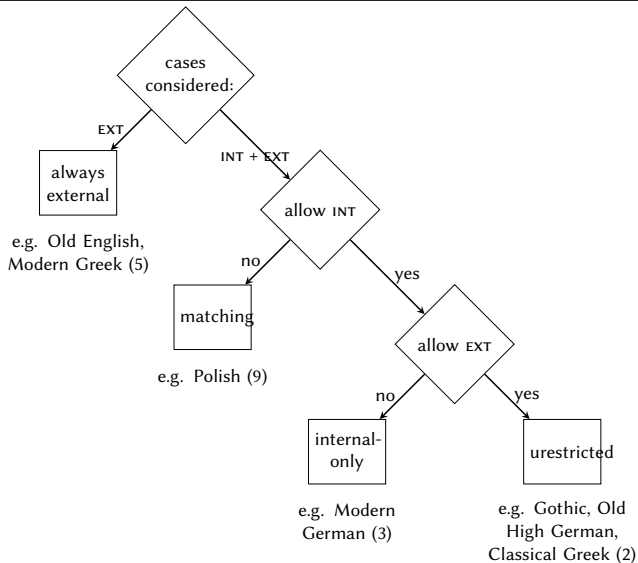   'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'
                    (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)
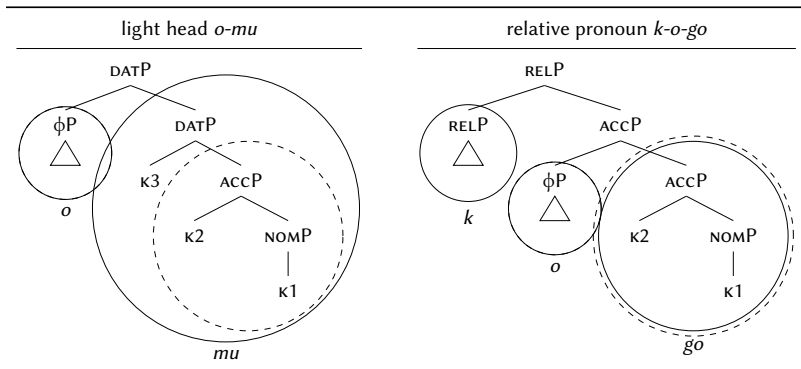
(5) *Fritz ist jetzt im   Haus, das er   sich letztes Jahr gebaut hat.
     Fritz is now in the house that the REFL last   year built   has
     'Fritz is now in the house that he built last year.'
                              (Modern German, Schwarz 2009: 22 after **hartmann1978**: 77)

(6) Fritz ist jetzt in dem Haus, das er   sich letztes Jahr gebaut hat.
     Fritz is now in the house that the REFL last   year built   has
     'Fritz is now in the house that he built last year.'
                              (Modern German, Schwarz 2009: 22 after **hartmann1978**: 77)

Three descriptive parameters generate four language types

e.g. Old English, Modern Greek (5)

e.g. Polish (9)

e.g. Modern German (3)

e.g. Gothic, Old High German, Classical Greek (2)

Logically possible patterns for headless relatives

	[INT]>[EXT]		[EXT]>[INT]		
	INT	EXT	INT	EXT	language
1	⊠	*	⊠	*	n.a.
2	⊠	*	*	⊠	e.g. Old High German
3	⊠	*	*	*	e.g. Modern German
4	*	⊠	⊠	*	n.a.
5	*	⊠	*	⊠	e.g. Old English
6	*	⊠	*	*	n.a.
7	*	*	⊠	*	n.a.
8	*	*	*	⊠	n.a.
9	*	*	*	*	e.g. Polish

Greek examples

(7) Irθan ópji **káleses**.
come.PST.3PL[NOM] RP.PL.M.NOM invite.PST.2SG[ACC]
'Whoever you invited came.'

(Modern Greek, adapted from Daskalaki 2011: 80)

(8) Me efχarístisan ópji **tus íχa**
CL.1SG.ACC thank.PST.3PL[NOM] RP.PL.M.NOM CL.3PL.GEN have.PST.1SG
ðósi leftá.
give.PTCP[GEN] money
'Whoever I had given money to, thanked me.'

(Modern Greek, adapted from Daskalaki 2011: 80)

(9) a. ópjos/ ópjon epiléksume θa pári to vravío
RP.SG.M.NOM/ RP.SG.M.ACC choose.1PL[ACC] FUT take.3SG[NOM] the price.ACC
'Whoever we may choose, he will get the price.'

b. ópjos/ ópjon me aγapá ton
RP.SG.M.NOM/ RP.SG.M.ACC CL.1SG.ACC love.3SG[NOM] CL.3SG.M.ACC
aγapó
love.1SG[ACC]
'Whoever loves me, I love him.'