

Appendix: BCS light-headed relative paradigm

(1) Nominative

- a. Ti si (on-o) što jesi.
 you are that-NOM what.NOM are
 'You are what you are.'
- b. Ti si (on-o) što jedeš.
 you are that-NOM what.ACC eat
 'You are what you eat.'
- c. Ti si (on-o) čega se boje.
 you are that-NOM what.GEN REFL fear
 'You are what they fear.'
- d. Ti si (on-o) o čemu se radi.
 you are that-NOM about what.LOC REFL be.about
 'You are what it's all about.'
- e. Ti si (on-o) čemu se rugaju.
 you are that-NOM what.DAT REFL mock
 'You are what they mock.'
- f. Ti si (on-o) čime se baviš.
 you are that-NOM what.INSTR REFL pursue
 'You are what you do.'

(2) Accusative

- a. Vide *(on-o) što jesi.
 see that-ACC what.NOM are
 'They see what you are.'
- b. Tražiš (on-o) što voliš.
 seek that-ACC what.ACC love
 'You seek what you love.'
- c. Otkrivaš (on-o) čega se bojiš.
 reveal that-ACC what.GEN REFL fear
 'You reveal what you fear.'
- d. Vidiš (on-o) o čemu se radi.
 see that-ACC about what.LOC REFL be.about
 'You see what it's all about.'

e. Vidiš (on-o) čemu se rugaju.
 see that-ACC what.DAT REFL mock
 'You see what they mock.'

f. Voliš (on-o) čime se baviš.
 see that-ACC what.INSTR REFL pursue
 'You love what you do.'

(3) Genitive

a. Boje se *(on-oga) što jesi.
 fear REFL that-GEN what.NOM are
 'They fear what you are.'

b. Bojiš se *(on-oga) što vidiš.
 fear REFL that-GEN what.ACC see
 'You fear what you see.'

c. S(j)ećaš se (on-oga) čega se boje.
 remember REFL that-GEN what.GEN REFL fear
 'You remember what they fear.'

d. Bojiš se *(on-oga) o čemu razgovaraju.
 fear REFL that-GEN about what.LOC talk.about
 'You fear what they talk about.'

e. Bojiš se *(on-oga) čemu se rugao.
 fear REFL that-GEN what.DAT REFL mocked
 'You fear what he mocked.'

f. Bojiš se *(on-oga) čime se bave.
 fear REFL that-GEN what.INSTR REFL pursue
 'You fear what they do.'

(4) Locative

a. Govoriš o *(on-ome) što jesi.
 speak about that-LOC what.NOM are
 'You talk about what you are.'

b. Govoriš o *(on-ome) što vidiš.
 speak about that-LOC what.ACC see
 'You talk about what you see.'

- c. Govoriš o *(on-ome) čega se bojiš.
 speak about that-LOC what.GEN REFL fear
 ‘You talk about what you fear.’
- d. Govoriš o (on-ome o) čemu se radi.
 speak about that-LOC about what.LOC REFL be.about
 ‘You talk about what it’s all about.’¹
- e. Govoriš o %(on-ome) čemu se rugala.
 speak about that-LOC what.DAT REFL mocked
 ‘You talk about what she mocked.’²
- f. Govoriš o *(on-ome) čime se ponosiš.
 speak about that-LOC what.INSTR REFL take.pride
 ‘You talk about what you’re proud of.’

(5) Dative

- a. Rugaju se *(on-ome) što jesi.
 mock REFL that-DAT what.NOM are
 ‘They mock what you are.’
- b. Pristupaš *(on-ome) što trebaš.
 access that-DAT what.ACC need
 ‘You access what you need.’
- c. Rugaju se *(on-ome) čega se bojiš.
 mock REFL that-DAT what.GEN REFL fear
 ‘They mock what you fear.’
- d. Rugaju se *(on-ome) o čemu govoriš.
 mock REFL that-DAT about what.LOC speak
 ‘They mock what you talk about.’

¹ Five responses indicated a difficulty omitting the head in locative, dative, and instrumental examples, even in instances of case matching, as in (4d), (5e), and (6f). Since these informants could omit the head predictably in the other examples, this difficulty seems likely to be due to the degree of markedness of these cases.

² Though they tended more toward ‘unacceptable,’ the judgments regarding the omission of the head in this locative-dative example were more varied than in the other examples. This is not necessarily concerning, since parallel examples with BCS free relatives that require strict case matching between clauses can be saved if the pronoun realizes a syncretic form (Milićević 2011), which is true of *čemu*. For those that could not omit the head, the inability of syncretism to save the construction could be attributed to effects of case complexity and markedness (as discussed in the previous footnote), as well as a simple case clash. It remains unclear why syncretism does not have a strong effect in example (2a), with the accusative-nominative pairing. This is more evidence that the light-headed relatives cannot be analyzed precisely on par with free relatives and that impoverishment may be well-suited to analyze syncretism (see Footnote 5 in the main text).

- e. Rugaju se (on-ome) čemu se diviš.
 mock REFL that-DAT what.DAT REFL admire
 ‘They mock what you admire.’
- f. Rugaju se *(on-ome) čime se ponosiš.
 mock REFL that-DAT what.INSTR REFL take.pride
 ‘They mock what you’re proud of.’

(6) Instrumental

- a. Ponose se *(on-ime) što jesi.
 take.pride REFL that-INSTR what.NOM are
 ‘They are proud of what you are.’
- b. Ponose se *(on-ime) što ste pronašli.
 take.pride REFL that-INSTR what.ACC AUX.2PL found
 ‘They are proud of what you discovered.’
- c. Bave se *(on-ime) čega se bojiš.
 pursue REFL that-INSTR what.GEN REFL fear
 ‘They do what you fear.’
- d. Ponosiš se *(on-ime) o čemu govoriš.
 take.pride REFL that-INSTR about what.LOC speak
 ‘You are proud of what you talk about.’
- e. Upravljaš *(on-ime) čemu pristupaju.
 manage that-INSTR what.DAT access
 ‘You manage what they access.’
- f. Ponosiš se (on-ime) čime se baviš.
 take.pride REFL that-INSTR what.INSTR REFL pursue
 ‘You are proud of what you do.’