

## Appendices

### A. Distribution of *shenme* in child-directed Mandarin

Semantic contexts	Count (%)
In <i>wh</i> -questions	976 (97.7%)
In the restriction of universals	2 (0.2%)
In (bare) conditional clauses	3 (0.3%)
In polar questions	3 (0.3%)
In imperfectives	9 (0.9%)
In imperatives	2 (0.4%)
In epistemic uncertainty contexts	4 (0.4%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>999</b>

### B. Frequency of different licensers of *shenme* in child Mandarin<sup>1</sup>

Licensers or licensing contexts for <i>shenme</i>	Age < 4 years	Age > 4 years
<i>bu</i> 'not'	1009	890
<i>mei</i> 'not'	471	617
<i>dou</i> 'all'	122	126
Epistemic modal adverbs	56	26
Non-factive predicates	201	162
Imperfective aspects	>50	>50
Imperatives	>50	>50
Polar questions	>50	>50
Conditional clauses	>50	>50

### C. Experimental design

Experimental conditions	Number of stimuli
<i>Wh</i> -questions	4
In the scope of sentential negation	4
Conditional clauses	4
Epistemic uncertainty contexts introduced by a modal adverb	4
Polar questions	4
Perfect tense	4
Grammatical filler condition	14
Ungrammatical filler condition (with word order error of <i>dou</i> )	4
Trials	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>

<sup>1</sup> Not all licensers or licensing conditions for *shenme* can be automatically tracked for their frequency in the child speech of the included subcorpora. Therefore, some licensing contexts were manually analysed for frequency, for which a maximum value of 50 was employed. Thus, '>50' in the table means that the frequency of the relevant licensing context is at least 50.

#### D. Examples of stimuli per condition

- (1) *Wh*-questions:  
 Weinixiong wen Xiaozhu: “Xiaoguanzi li you shenme  
 Winnie the Pooh ask Piglet little jar inside have *shenme*  
 haochi-de ne?”  
 delicious-ADJ Q-marker  
 ‘Winnie the Pooh asks Piglet: “What is there in the little jar that is delicious?”’
- (2) Negative contexts introduced by sentential negation:  
 Xiaozhu he ta-de pengyou-men jintian shenme zuoye  
 Piglet with he/she-GEN friend-PL today *shenme* homework  
 ye bu yong zuo.  
 even not need do  
 ‘Piglet and her friends do not need to do any homework today.’
- (3) Conditional clauses:  
 Buguan Weinixiong you shenme mafan, pengyou-men  
 regardless of Winnie the Pooh have *shenme* trouble friend-PL  
 dou hui qu bangmang.  
 all will go help  
 ‘Whatever trouble Winnie the Pooh has, (his) friends are willing to help.’
- (4) Epistemic uncertainty contexts introduced by an epistemic modal adverb:  
 Taotiaohu he Weinixiong keneng zhengzai kan  
 Tiger with Winnie the Pooh possibly PROG read  
 shenme gushi shu.  
*shenme* story book  
 ‘Tiger and Winnie the Pooh are possibly reading a storybook.’
- (5) Polar questions:  
 Xiaozhu dui Weinixiong shuo: “Xiangzi li hai you  
 Piglet to Winnie the Pooh say suitcase inside still have  
 shenme binggan me?”  
*shenme* biscuit Q-marker  
 ‘Piglet says to Winnie the Pooh: “Are there still any biscuits in the suitcase?”’
- (6) Unlicensed condition of the perfect tense:  
 \* Weinixiong zuotian xiawu mai-le shenme da  
 Winnie the Pooh yesterday afternoon buy-PERF *shenme* big  
 nangua song gei Xiaozhu.  
 pumpkin send for Piglet  
 Intended: ‘Winnie the Pooh bought a pumpkin for Piglet yesterday afternoon.’
- (7) Grammatical filler condition:  
 Weinixiong zuotian dai pengyou-men qu canjia-le  
 Winnie the Pooh yesterday take friend-PL go participate-PERF  
 yi-ge shengrihui.  
 one-CL birthday party  
 ‘Winnie the Pooh took his friends to a birthday party yesterday.’

(8) Ungrammatical filler condition with post-positioned restriction of the universal *dou* 'all':

\* Meici xiaxue de shihou, dou Tiaotiaohu he pengyou-men  
 every time snow REL while all Tiger with friend-PL  
 dui xueren.  
 build snowman  
 Intended: 'Every time it snows, Tiger builds a snowman with his friends.'

## E. Model summaries

### I. The test condition of *wh*-questions

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	0.60023	0.7747
	Item	(Intercept)	0.03448	0.1857

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	2.1254	0.4884	4.352	1.35e-05 ***
Age	0.1861	0.2252	0.827	0.408

---  
 Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

### Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
 Age -0.821

### II. The test condition of negative contexts introduced by sentential negation

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	3.34198	1.8281
	Item	(Intercept)	0.09643	0.3105

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	-2.0251	0.6529	-3.102	0.00192 **
Age	2.3405	0.4094	5.718	1.08e-08 ***

---  
 Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

### Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
 Age -0.878

### III. The test condition of conditional clauses

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	3.211e+00	1.7919494
	Item	(Intercept)	1.047e-07	0.0003235

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	-3.7520	0.6867	-5.464	4.65e-08 ***
Age	2.9071	0.4232	6.869	6.48e-12 ***

---  
 Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

## Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
Age -0.936

## IV. The test condition of epistemic uncertainty contexts

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	3.4771	1.8647
	Item	(Intercept)	0.2495	0.4995

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	-4.9386	0.7762	-6.362	1.99e-10 ***
Age	2.4604	0.3666	6.711	1.93e-11 ***

---

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

## Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
Age -0.901

## V. The test condition of polar questions

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	1.72583	1.3137
	Item	(Intercept)	0.07049	0.2655

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	-2.5387	0.5149	-4.931	8.19e-07 ***
Age	1.8983	0.2900	6.546	5.89e-11 ***

---

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

## Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
Age -0.900

## VI. The test condition of perfect tense

Random effects:	Groups	Child	Variance	Std.Dev.
	Child	(Intercept)	1.762	1.327
	Item	(Intercept)	0.000	0.000

Number of obs: 488, groups: Child, 122; Item, 4

Fixed effects:	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z )
(Intercept)	3.9065	0.5375	-7.267	3.66e-13 ***
Age	1.7100	0.2546	6.715	1.88e-11 ***

---

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

## Correlation of Fixed Effects

(Intr)  
Age -0.944