
(H1) Partial Movement illustrated in (1) is a wh-Scope Marking (SM) strategy involving Indirect Dependency (ID - à la Dayal 2000). Semantically, the matrix CP1 is a question over propositions. The subordinate CP2 is a question over individuals forming the restriction of the matrix wh-quantifier. Movement takes place simultaneously either overtly (1a) or covertly (1b) in both clauses. Crucially, PM occurrences follow from the fact that movement is confined to the subordinate - as CP2 is not a complement clause. CP2 is merely a question on its own right adjoined to the matrix.

The goal of this talk is to give further support to H1 based on the results of a pilot study with 11 French children. We conducted three tests to determine whether the structural relation holding between the two clauses in (1) is adjunction or genuine subordination.

I- Temporal (in)dependency test: to determine the temporal readings of the subordinate clause relative to the matrix. For Hollebrandse (2000), the acquisition of Sequence of Tense depends on the acquisition of complementation. As is well known, a complement clause only allows dependent construals (backward shifted, simultaneous) of the subordinate clause on the matrix. In contrast, relative clauses allow an independent (forward shifted) construal of the subordinate past relative to the matrix past.

II- Multiple questions test. If indeed, the subordinate clause is not a complement but interpreted as a question on its own right, we expect children to answer the medial wh- to multiple questions such as (2 a-b).

III- Bound Variable Anaphora test: to determine whether a QP in the matrix clause can bind a pronoun in the subordinate clause.

We argue that the results of the tests support H1:

For test I, children allow a forward shifted reading before Utterance Time (UT) but not after UT (see table 1). Following Hollebrandse, this pattern of results shows that children have indeed acquired past tense but haven’t yet acquired complementation.

For test II, children answer the medial wh-phrase. Moreover, some children answered both wh’s, as the pair answers in (2c) illustrate.

Finally, test III is not conclusive. Most children allow the QP to bind the pronoun in the subordinate clause. We argue however that this test doesn’t provide empirical arguments against H1:

- Adult grammars differ as to whether they allow bound variables reading: it is possible in Hindi SM (Lahiri 2002) but not in German SM.
- Under Dayal’s ID analysis, the subordinate clause can be adjoined to CP1, IP1/VP1; adjunction to IP1/VP1 allows the matrix subject QP to bind the pronoun in CP2.

We argue that these results confirm H1, that is, exceptional questions in French L1 as illustrated in (1) semantically involve two adjoined questions.
(1) Indirect Dependency

   a. Qu’est-ce que tu penses l’assiette où elle est cachée?
      what-is-it that you think the-plate where it-FEM is hidden
      ‘Where do you think the plate is hidden?’

   b. Tu crois quoi # Lala elle aime bien quoi?
      you believe what Lala she likes well what
      ‘What do you believe Lala likes?’

   c. Qu’est-ce que tu penses, Koko, ce qui est sous le tabouret?
      what-is-it that you think Koko that who is below the stool
      ‘What do you think is hidden below the stool?’

(2) Multiple Wh-Questions (based on De Villiers & Roeper 1991)

   a. A qui le garçon demande quoi apporter?
      Who did the boy ask what to bring?

   b. Quand est-ce que la petite fille a dit comment elle s’est blessée?
      When did the girl say how she hurts herself?

   c. Pair answers to 2b
      E. (4.08) «eh ben elle était tombée et après elle dit sa maman en pleurant qu’elle s’est mal»
      (well, she fall and then she tells her mom, crying, that she hurts herself)
      A. (5.04): «elle a dit à sa maman le soir elle était tombée du tabouret et pis elle s’était fait mal»
      (she said to her mom during the evening she fall from the stool and she hurts herself)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% expected answer</th>
<th>‘backward shifted’ answer expected ‘yes’</th>
<th>Simultaneous answer expected ‘yes’</th>
<th>‘forward shifted’ before UT answer expected ‘no’</th>
<th>‘forward shifted’ after UT answer expected ‘no’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 years old n=3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years old n=3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years old n=4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>