

## Number-marking in *wh*-questions: Uniqueness and mention-some

Facts about singular-marked questions (1) and  $\diamond$ -questions (2) cast doubt on current theories of questions: Dayal's (1996) presuppositional ANS-operator predicts the uniqueness requirement in (1) but not the MS reading in (2); a weaker ANS-operator from Fox (2013) captures the MS reading in (2) but not the uniqueness requirement in (1).

- (1) Which boy came?
- (2) Who can chair the committee?

In this talk, I propose an analysis to capture both facts. My main claims are (i) a question denotes a family of answer sets (notation:  $\mathbf{Q}$ ) and (ii) an  $\mathfrak{R}$ -operator applies to  $\mathbf{Q}$  and  $w$  and returns the set of complete true answers (which amounts to the intersection of all the strongest true answer sets). In particular, the presupposition and assertion of  $\mathfrak{R}$  predict the uniqueness requirement in (1) and the MS reading in (2), respectively. Further, I extend this analysis to the (un)availability of MS in other forms of questions, including plural-marked  $\diamond$ -questions (3), questions with a cumulative predicate (4), and multiple-*wh* questions (5).

- (3) a. Which professors can teach (or co-teach) Ling 101?  
b. Which professors can chair the committee?
- (4) a. Which boys lifted the piano?  
b. Which boys can lift the piano?
- (5) a. Which girl kissed which boy?  
b. Who bought what?