

***Only* as a form-meaning mismatch**

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While *only* is classically defined as a propositional operator, it exhibits variability in its syntactic position. *Only* does take propositional scope at the vP in (1a). But, in (1b), *only* attaches to an object DP. This talk will present arguments that the composition is uniform, nonetheless. I will pursue an analysis where overt *only* is not itself interpreted in (1b), but realizes a semantically inert focus marker, whose morphology reflects concord with a covert propositional operator (after e.g. Bayer 1999, Lee 2004, Hole 2015, 2017, Quek & Hirsch 2017, Hirsch 2017). Evidence for *only* concord will come from scope taking, as well as the interpretation of multiple focus constructions and intervention effects.

- (1) a. Mary *only* read one book.
 b. Mary read *only* one book.