

dem.adj, num.adj, and ind.adj conditions; 2. the sources that do not show agreement only license plural pivots as is seen in the pos.non condition. The third prediction, however, is not confirmed. Shen’s theory predicts that sources containing adjectives such as def.adj and pos.adj only license singular pivots because of the covert agreement between the adjectives and the pivot noun. As is shown in Table 1, however, pos.adj doesn’t show a preference either way and dem.adj shows a significant preference towards the plural target.

sources	example	singular (count / %)	plural (count / %)	total	prediction	P-value	predicted?
dem.non	this and that N	44 / 91.7%	4 / 8.3%	48	singular	1.514e-09	yes
dem.adj	this tall and that short N	43 / 89.6%	5 / 10.4%	48	singular	1.368e-08	yes
num.adj	one tall and one short N	44 / 91.7%	4 / 8.3%	48	singular	1.514e-09	yes
ind.adj	a tall and a short N	45 / 93.8%	3 / 6.2%	48	singular	1.313e-10	yes
pos.non	John’s and Mary’s N	4 / 8.3%	44 / 91.7%	48	plural	1.514e-09	yes
pos.adj	J’s tall and M’s short N	18 / 37.5%	30 / 62.5%	48	singular	.1114	no
def.adj	the tall and the short N	11 / 22.9%	37 / 77.1%	48	singular	.0002	no

Table 1: Results for Experiment 1

The unexpected patterns could result from two confounds: 1. participants did not pay attention to the interpretation restricted by predicates like *are a couple*, 2. the plural marker on the verb biased the participants against the singular when the sources do not show number marking: *the tall and the short student are*. To avoid these confounds, **Experiment 2**, also a forced choice task, made the following modifications: an image depicting the scenario is added to each item so the intended interpretation is more salient; only verbs that do not show number agreement are used e.g. *came*. As is shown in Table 2, pos.adj now shows a significant preference toward the singular pivot as is predicted, while the patterns in ind.adj and pos.non remain the same (also predicted). This shows that the unexpected pattern in Exp. 1 was partly due to the confounds.

sources	singular (count / %)	plural (count / %)	total	prediction	p-value	predicted?
ind.adj	45 / 97.8%	1 / 2.2%	46	singular	1.336e-12	yes
pos.non	9 / 20%	36 / 80%	45	plural	6.575e-05	yes
pos.adj	32 / 74.4%	11 / 25.6%	43	singular	.0019	yes
def.adj	22 / 53.7%	19 / 46.3%	41	singular	.7552	no

Table 2: Results for Experiment 2

However, the results show that even with the modification the def.adj condition does not show a significant preference toward the singular pivot, contrary to the prediction. I postulate that a subset of the participants dropped the 2nd definite article which is functionally superfluous as in (5). This processing related error enabled the phrase to refer to 2 individuals (the duality reading).

(5) the tall and **the** short *students* (# duality) → the tall and **the** short *students* (OK duality)

The forced choice task in Exp 1-2 reveals relative preference between two types of pivots. To test the absolute acceptability of the pivots, **Experiment 3** asks the participants to rate the sentences with singular and plural pivots on a 1-7 scale. Table 3 shows the representative results. As is predicted, only the singular pivot is acceptable under sources showing agreement e.g. ind.adj. Only the plural pivot is acceptable under sources like pos.adj which does not show agreement. Pos.adj and def.adj did not show significant differences between the singular and the plural pivot, similar to Exp. 1.

sources	singular mean	plural mean	predicted?	sources	singular mean	plural mean	predicted?
ind.adj	6.33	2.13	yes	pos.adj	4.21	3.79	marginal
pos.non	2.33	6.46	yes	def.adj	4.25	5.25	no

Table 3: Results for Experiment 3

Selected References

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