

Numbers that don't count: the case of plural 'one' in Slavic

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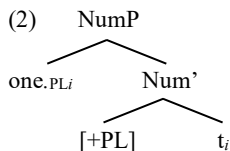
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The present work aims to characterize the properties of the plural numeral 'one' ('one.PL') in some Slavic languages (Russian [Ru], Polish [Pl], and Bulgarian [Bg]) in which singular one ('one.SG') has grammaticalized to different extents (see Geist 2010 for Ru, Hwaszcz & Kędzierska 2018 for Pl, Geist 2013 for Bg), although not reaching the status of an indefinite article (a partial overview is given in (1)). The use of 'one.PL', in fact, is not limited to *pluralia tantum* nouns (*ptNs*).

(1) Other functions of 'one' (beyond that of the numeral)	Ru <i>odin</i>		Pl <i>jeden</i>		Bg <i>edin</i>	
	one.SG	one.PL	one.SG	one.PL	one.SG	one.PL
a. Specific marker	+	+	+	+	+	+
b. Nonspecific in generic contexts	-	-	-	-	+	-
c. Predicative position	-	-	-	-	-	-

The general picture in (1) shows that 'one.PL' seems to slightly lag behind 'one.SG' in the grammaticalization path (with special reference to Bg). Capitalizing on some insights by Smith (2014), I propose that this lesser degree of grammaticalization of 'one.PL' could be found in the syntactic make-up of the numeral. Combining in the first instance with *ptNs* which require plural morphology on their modifiers, 'one.PL' requires an independent NumP layer introducing plural features, as in (2).



In line with the grammaticalization process, 'one.PL' (like its singular counterpart) undergoes semantic bleaching (losing the upper bound) and combines with count nouns. This represents stage (1a), where 'one.PL' indicates an *identified plurality*, i.e. it is anchored to the speaker, and can be taken to sit in SpecDP (Molinari, to appear). The reason why 'one.PL' stopped at (1a) could

be explained by the fact that the shift to (1c) involves the reanalysis of the SpecDP into the head D. 'One.PL' fails to undergo such reanalysis because of its extra layer which makes its structure bigger than that on 'one.SG'.

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