

## Morphosyntactic features of the indefinite *tot* in old Romanian

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### Abstract

This article establishes and discusses a series of morphosyntactic features of the indefinite *tot* ‘whole, all’ in old Romanian, relating them to modern Romanian: forms that disappeared from the language, a wider variety of singular and plural genitive-dative markers (synthetic, analytic and mixed), the more permissive word order and the possibility to occur in a structure with an undetermined noun. The description of the grammatical characteristics of the quantifier *tot* highlights a great variation: (i) between the synthetic, analytic and mixed realization of the genitive-dative case (*toatei* all.F.SG.GEN≡DAT ‘of/to the whole’ + genitive-dative noun, *a/la/de toată* A/LA/DE all.F.SG.NOM≡ACC ‘of/to the whole’ + nominative-accusative noun, *a toată* A all.F.SG.NOM≡ACC ‘of/to the whole’ + genitive-dative noun); (ii) between the (pronominal and adjectival) form with the final particle *-a* and the one without *-a* (*tuturor*, *tuturora* ‘of all / to all’; *tuturor oamenilor* ‘of/to all the people’, *tuturora fraților* ‘of/to all the brothers’); (iii) between the postposition and anteposition of *tot* relative to certain pronouns (*ei toți*, *toți ei* ‘all of them’); (iv) between structures with a determined and an undetermined noun (*toate zilele*, *toate zile* ‘all the days’). The comparison with the modern language shows that, in some cases, this variation has been eliminated, and in other cases, it is preserved.

## 1. Introduction

In old Romanian (the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century), the indefinite pronoun and pronominal adjective *tot* ‘whole, all’, with the function of universal quantifier, has a series of morphological and syntactic characteristics, of which the most important ones will be discussed in this study.

The contexts extracted from the old Romanian corpus illustrate the globalizing value of the universal quantifier *tot* (1a), as well as its distributive value, which occurs when the structure contains a singular noun with generic use, synonymous with *fiecare* ‘each’ (1b) (see Giurgea, 2013, p. 169; Stan, 2016b, p. 352 for the value of distributive universal quantifier of *tot* in prenominal position).

- (1) a. cistitul împărat și cu *tot* svatul  
honourable.M.SG.DEF emperor.NOM and with all.M.SG council.DEF.ACC  
și cu *toată* țara mării lui și  
and with all.F.SG country.DEF.ACC Highness.GEN his.GEN and  
cu *toți* domnii creștinești să aibă a  
with all.M.PL voivodes.DEF.ACC Christian.M.PL SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> have.SUBJ.3PL A<sub>INF</sub>  
îmbla și a griji pentru nevoia mea, *toți*  
walk.INF and A<sub>INF</sub> take.care.INF for need.DEF.ACC my all.M.PL  
să mă scumpere den robie (DÎ.1600, XXXIV)  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> CL.ACC.1SG ransom.SUBJ.3PL from captivity.ACC  
‘the honourable emperor and all his council and all his people and all the Christian princes  
should see to my need, all of them should buy my freedom’

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- b. *tot* creștinul, oare păcătos, oare drept, are  
 each.M.SG Christian.DEF.NOM or sinner or right has  
 cineș îngerul său socotitoriu (CazV.1643, 22<sup>r</sup>)  
 each.NOM angel.DEF.ACC his.POSS judging(ADJ)  
 ‘all the Christians, be they sinners or righteous men, have their angel judging them’

## 2. Morphological characteristics of the pronoun and pronominal adjective *tot*

Just like in modern Romanian, the indefinite *tot* has different gender and number forms: *tot* M.SG, *toată* F.SG, *toți* M.PL, *toate* F.PL. The—partial—differences with modern Romanian arise in the marking of oblique cases, only in the singular, because the plural genitive-dative form does not undergo changes in the two periods of the language: *tuturor(a)*. While in modern Romanian *tot* does not mark the genitive-dative inflectionally, in old Romanian, when used as an adjective, it has the feminine form *toatei* (2a–e), attested, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Pană Dindelegan, 2013, p. 166–167), in original and translated texts<sup>1</sup>.

- (2) a. făcătoriu a *toatei* ființe, Dumnezeu (FN.1693–704, 69)  
 creator AL.INV all.F.SG.GEN being.GEN God  
 ‘God, creator of all beings’
- b. otârmuitori romani *toatei* Dachii (Cist.1700–50, 24<sup>f</sup>)  
 rulers Roman.M.PL all.F.SG.DAT Dacia.DAT  
 ‘Roman rulers of the entire Dacia’
- c. voievodul *toatei* Ghermanii (Cist.1700–50, 79<sup>v</sup>)  
 voivode.DEF all.F.SG.GEN Germany.GEN  
 ‘the prince of the entire Germany’
- d. au mijlocit viața a *toatei*  
 AUX.PERF.3SG mediate.PPLE life.DEF.ACC AL.F.SG all.F.SG.GEN  
 lumi (AD.1722–5, 167<sup>r</sup>)  
 world.GEN  
 ‘it made the life of all the people possible’
- e. ajutoriul a *toatei* oști (Bvs.1763, 21<sup>v</sup>)  
 help.DEF AL.INV all.F.SG.GEN army.GEN  
 ‘the help of the entire army’

The masculine singular genitive-dative form *totului* is rare and is encountered in collocations like *cu totului*, *cu totului tot*, *de totului tot* ‘completely, fully, definitively, very’ (3a–c)<sup>2</sup>.

- (3) a. Trupurile lor întregi cu toată carnea și pelița,  
 bodies.DEF their whole.PL with all.F.SG flesh.DEF.ACC and skin.DEF.ACC  
 cum ar hi de vro lună adormiți și zvîntați,  
 how AUX.COND.3SG be.INF since about month dead.PL and dry.PL  
 palmele, unghile, urechile, nasul, *cu totului*  
 palms.DEF nails.DEF ears.DEF nose.DEF with all.M.SG.GEN  
 întregi, neprăbușiți (Dvs.1682–6, 487<sup>v</sup>)  
 whole.PL NEG-break.down.PPLE.M.PL  
 ‘Their whole bodies, with all their flesh and skin, as if they had been dead and dry for about a month, palms, nails, ears, nose, all of them complete, not broken down’

<sup>1</sup>The adjectival form *toatei* is very rarely attested as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Croitor, 2015, p. 149).

<sup>2</sup>Collocations like *cu totului*, *cu/in totului tot* are rarely attested as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Croitor, 2015, p. 149–150).

- b. Iar altă oaste, câtă au avut Şfedul  
 and other army how.many AUX.PERF.3SG have.PPLE Swede.DEF.NOM  
 în Țara Căzăcească, doo obuzuri, cu totul au  
 in land.DEF Cossack two shells with all.M.SG AUX.PERF.3PL  
 luat-o moscalii, cu ghenărari,  
 take.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG Russians.DEF.NOM with generals  
 cu ofițeri, cu cară, cu puști, cu totului tot  
 with officers with carts with guns with all.M.SG.GEN all  
 și cu multă avere (NL~1750–66, 187)  
 and with many wealth  
 ‘And another army, as many men as the Swede had in the land of the Cossacks, two bomb shells, was all captured by the Russians, including generals, officers, carts, guns, everything and many belongings’
- c. Împărțirea căsașilor când să va  
 separation.DEF.NOM spouses.GEN when CL.REFL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG  
 face pentru aceaste vini (...) să  
 do.INF for these.F.PL faults.ACC CL.REFL.ACC.3SG  
 înțelege să fie până la o vreme,  
 understand.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> be.SUBJ.3SG until at a time  
 iară nu de totului tot (Prav.1646, 115)  
 and not of all.M.SG.GEN all  
 ‘The separation of the spouses when it is done for these faults (...) it is understood that it should be only for a period of time, not forever’

The analytic marking of the singular genitive-dative in NPs featuring the quantifier *tot* in anteposition is more frequent – and is attested in the earliest texts. In these contexts, the following case markers occur: the preposition *a* (most often) (4a–g) and *la* for the genitive and the dative (4h–i), and *de* for the genitive (4j); *tot* has a nominative-accusative form. In many texts, such as PH.1500–10, DÎ, CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, MC.1620, ȘT.1644, SVI~1670, the feminine singular genitive-dative of *tot* is marked exclusively analytically. In other texts, the form *toatei* is either numerically inferior to the prepositional realization of the genitive-dative case (for example, in BVS.1763, *toatei* has 27,59% of the total of attestations and *a/la/de toată*, 72,41%), or absent, or, on the contrary, the only variant used (in CDicț.1691–7, only the prepositional construction occurs, not also *toatei*; however, in FN.1693–704, *toatei* has eight occurrences, while the prepositional construction is absent, and in Cist.1700–50, *toatei* has two occurrences and the prepositional construction has no attestations).

- (4) a. peirea a toată creștinătatea (DÎ.1600, XXXIII)  
 disappearance.DEF A.GEN all.F.SG Christianity.DEF  
 ‘the disappearance of all Christianity’
- b. împărat a tot pământul (PH.1500–10, 40<sup>r</sup>)  
 emperor A.GEN all.M.SG earth.DEF  
 ‘emperor of all the world’
- c. Dat-au hrană a toată peșița (PH.1500–10, 116<sup>r</sup>)  
 give.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG food A.DAT all.F.SG people.DEF  
 ‘He fed all the people’
- d. împăratul a totu iaste Tatăl nostru  
 emperor.DEF A.GEN all.M.SG is Father.DEF.NOM our  
 den ceriu (CS<sub>XV</sub>.1619, 122<sup>r</sup>)  
 from heaven.ACC  
 ‘the master of all is our heavenly Father’

- e. naintea *a* *toată* curtea (MC.1620, 44<sup>v</sup>)  
 in.front.of A.GEN all.F.SG court.DEF  
 ‘in front of all the court’
- f. nește începuturi *a* *tot* răul (SVI~1670, 257<sup>t</sup>)  
 some beginnings A.GEN all.M.SG evil.DEF  
 ‘the beginning of everything bad’
- g. veni-va Hristos, Dumnezeu nostru, să  
 come.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG Christ.NOM God.DEF our SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub>  
 judece *a* *toată* lumea (SVI~1670, 60<sup>v</sup>)  
 judge.SUBJ.3SG A.DAT all.F.SG people.DEF  
 ‘Christ, our Lord, will come, to judge everyone’
- h. au dat poroncă *la* *toată*  
 AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE order.ACC LA.DAT all.F.SG  
 boierimea (NL~1750–66, 386)  
 nobility.DEF  
 ‘he ordered to all the boyars’
- i. toate le-au împărțit *la* *toată*  
 all.F.PL CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG share.PPLE LA.DAT all.F.SG  
 oastea (BVS.1763, 140<sup>v</sup>)  
 army.DEF  
 ‘he divided everything among the entire army’
- j. asupra *de* *tot* copaciul (DPar.1683, II/8<sup>f</sup>)<sup>3</sup>  
 above DE.GEN all.M.SG tree.DEF  
 ‘above the whole tree’

As far as the plural genitive-dative is concerned, in old Romanian, just like in modern Romanian, the synthetic (pronominal or adjectival) form is used, with the ending *-or* (5a–c).

- (5) a. desupra *tuturora* (DĪ.1600, XXXII)  
 above all.PL.GEN  
 ‘above all’
- b. Faraon dzise *tuturor* egipteanilor (PO.1582, 145)  
 Pharaoh say.PS.3SG all.PL.DAT Egyptians.DEF.DAT  
 ‘Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians’
- c. să facă voia *tuturor* dracilor (NT.1648, 192<sup>t</sup>)  
 SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> do.SUBJ.3SG will.DEF.ACC all.PL.GEN devils.DEF.GEN  
 ‘to do as all the devils’ wish’

The synthetic plural genitive-dative form (just like the singular genitive-dative form) is in competition with the construction with the preposition *a* (6a–d), or, more rarely, *la* (6e) or *de* (for the genitive) (6f), followed by *tot* (and the noun) in the nominative-accusative.

- (6) a. rădăcina *a* *toate* bunătașile iaste  
 root.DEF.NOM A.GEN all.F.PL good.things.DEF is  
 dragostea (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581, 47)  
 love.DEF  
 ‘the root of all the goodness is love’

<sup>3</sup>In the structure with the genitive marker *de*, the preposition is followed by a noun phrase with a definite determiner. This type of structure has disappeared.

- b. judecătoriu *a* *toți*, viiloru și  
 judge A.GEN≡DAT all.M.PL alive.PL.DEF.GEN≡DAT and  
 morților (cc<sup>2</sup>.1581, 509)  
 dead.PL.DEF.GEN≡DAT  
 ‘everyone’s judge, alive and dead’
- c. duminica *a* *toți* sfinții (cs<sub>iv</sub>.1590–602, 36<sup>v</sup>)  
 Sunday A.GEN all.M.PL saints.DEF  
 ‘the Sunday of all the saints’
- d. denaintea *a* *toți* (svi~1670, 227<sup>r</sup>)  
 in.front.of A.GEN all.M.PL  
 ‘in front of everyone’
- e. zîoa cea dintîi *la* *toate* lunile (CDict.1691–7, 276)  
 day.DEF CEL.F.SG first LA.GEN all.F.PL months.DEF  
 ‘the first day of all the months’
- f. cărticică înșamnătoare *de* *toate* lucrurile  
 booklet noting DE.GEN all.F.PL things.DEF  
 zilești (CDict.1691–7, 159)<sup>4</sup>  
 daily.PL  
 ‘booklet containing all the daily events’

The plural genitive-dative pronominal form includes, though not obligatorily, the final particle *-a*, like in the modern language [compare (7a–b) with (8a–d)]. In many texts, the pronominal forms with and without final *-a* coexist (DÎ, cc<sup>1</sup>.1567, mc.1620, svi~1670, DPar.1683, CLM.1700–50, Bvs.1763); more rarely, a single form is used (for example, in PH.1500–10, șT.1644, and Prav.1780, only *tuturor* occurs, used as a pronoun and as an adjective).

- (7) a. da *tuturora* den dăstul *toate* (svi~1670, 262<sup>r</sup>)  
 give.IMPERF.3SG all.PL.DAT of enough all.F.PL  
 ‘he gave everyone everything in abundance’
- b. *Tuturora* această muștrare făcea (CLM.1700–50, 177<sup>r</sup>)  
 all.PL.DAT this reprimand.ACC make.IMPERF.3SG  
 ‘He reproached this to all of them’
- (8) a. fața *tuturor* unul cătră alalt să  
 face.DEF all.PL.GEN one.DEF to other SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub>  
 stea (PO.1582, 262)  
 stay.SUBJ.3SG  
 ‘they should all face one another’
- b. Facem *de* scire *tuturoru* (DÎ.1593, CXIII)  
 make.IND.PRES.1PL of know all.PL.DAT  
 ‘We let everyone know’
- c. ziditoriul *tuturor* (șT.1644, 203)  
 creator.DEF all.PL.GEN  
 ‘the creator of all (things)’
- d. Însă nu era cu știrea *tuturor* pentru  
 but not be.IMPERF.3SG with knowledge.DEF.ACC all.PL.GEN for  
 Dabijea vodă (CLM.1700–50, 318<sup>r</sup>)  
 Dabijea voivode  
 ‘But not everyone knew about prince Dabijea’

<sup>4</sup>As far as example (6f) is concerned, which is attested by Pană Dindelegan (2013, p. 168), the author shows that the nominal phrase in the genitive has the feature [+ Definite], and *de* is selected by postverbal adjective derived with *-tor*.

However, the plural genitive-dative adjectival form has a different behaviour than in modern Romanian (which does not accept the final particle *-a*: \**tuturora copiilor* ‘of/to all the children’). In old Romanian texts, it is attested without *-a* (9a–b), as well as with *-a* (10a–d). In some texts in the corpus, only the adjectival *tuturor* occurs (DÎ, PH.1500–10, MC.1620, ȘT.1644, DPar.1683, Prav.1780), and in others, *tuturor*, as well as *tuturora*, are attested as adjectives (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, PO.1582, NT.1648, SVI~1670, BVS.1763).

- (9) a. înaintea *tuturor* oamenilor (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, 128<sup>r</sup>)  
 in.front.of all.PL.GEN people.PL.GEN  
 ‘in front of all the people’
- b. izvorul a *tuturor* răutăților (CLM.1700–50, 239<sup>r</sup>)  
 source AL.INV all.PL.GEN evil.PL.GEN  
 ‘the source of all evil’
- (10) a. au porîncit apostolilor și *tuturora*  
 AUX.PERF.3SG order.PPLE apostles.DAT and all.PL.DAT  
 popilor (CM.1567, 255<sup>r</sup>)  
 priests.DAT  
 ‘he ordered to the apostles and to all the priests’
- b. făcea bucurie mare *tuturora* fraților (NT.1648, 154<sup>v</sup>)  
 make.IMPERF.3PL joy great all.PL.DAT brothers.DAT  
 ‘they caused great joy to all the brothers’
- c. Știi cîte făcuiu celora ce se  
 know.IND.PRES.2SG how.many make.PS.1SG those.DAT that CL.REFL.ACC.3PL  
 chema călugări și *tuturora* creștinilor? (SVI~1670, 19<sup>f</sup>)  
 call.IMPERF.3PL monks and all.PL.DAT Christians.DAT  
 ‘Do you know how much I did for the ones called monks and for all the Christians?’
- d. imperator al *tuturora* părților lumii (BVS.1763, 107<sup>r</sup>)  
 emperor AL.M.SG all.PL.GEN parts.GEN world.GEN  
 ‘emperor of all the parts of the world’

In modern Romanian, the particle *-a* marks the absence of the noun with a definite determiner and distinguishes the indefinite plural genitive-dative pronoun *tot* from the indefinite adjective. The reference of the empty nominal head implied by the pronoun *tuturora* can be retrieved, both in modern and old Romanian, by its relation with an antecedent (11a) or, when it is not in relation with an antecedent, it receives a generic interpretation (11b) (see Giurgea, 2010, p. 169–171 for the analysis of the empty nominal head as *pro-N* and for its possible readings).

- (11) a. împle sacii acestor oameni cu grîu, atîta  
 fill.IMP.2SG sacks.DEF.ACC these.M.GEN people with wheat so.much  
 cît vor putea duce și banii *tuturora* [Ø<sub>i</sub>]  
 as AUX.FUT.3PL can.INF carry.INF and money.DEF.ACC all.PL.GEN  
 pune desupra în sacii lor (PO.1582, 155)  
 put.IMP.2SG above in sacks.DEF.ACC their  
 ‘fill the sacks of these people with grain, as much as they can carry and put everyone’s money in the sacks on top of the grain’
- b. Soarele dreptu iaste Dumnezeu, cumu iaste scrisu  
 sun.DEF.NOM right is God.NOM how is write.PPLE  
 că *tuturora* [Ø] întru un chipu luminează  
 that all.PL.DAT in a manner light.IND.PRES.3SG  
 lucirea dulceției sale (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581, 439)  
 shine.DEF.NOM sweetness.GEN his.POSS

‘God is the true sun, as it is written that the glitter of his sweetness shines to everyone in the same way’

The structures containing an adjectival form with the particle *-a* and a noun with a definite determiner show that, in old Romanian, the occurrence of the final particle *-a* does not necessarily imply the ellipsis of *N* (a *pro-N*). Also, in other old Romanian structures, such as the ones with the indefinite *fiecare* ‘each’ (12a) or with the relative *care* ‘which’ (12b), the adjectival genitive-dative form can take the final *-a* (just like the pronominal form), differently from modern Romanian.

- (12) a. Cu greu și cu strimt iaste neștine a  
with difficult and with complication is somebody.NOM A.INF  
da cap și începătură *fiștecăruia* lucru (CIST.1700–50, 1<sup>r</sup>)  
give.INF head and beginning each.DAT thing  
‘It is difficult to start each thing’
- b. au tăbărit în coasta unui deal, ce  
AUX.PERF.3SG camp.PPLE in slope.DEF.ACC a.GEN.SG hill which  
ai lui oameni mai nainte îl  
AL.M.PL his.GEN people more before CL.ACC.M.3SG  
cuprinsease, deasupra *căruia* deal, trimițându-se  
encompass.PLUPERF.3PL above which.GEN hill send.GER=CL.REFL.ACC  
viglele, să putea dăscoperi  
guards.DEF.NOM CL.REFL.ACC can.IMPERF.3SG find.out.INF  
și a vedea oastea nepriiatenului (BVS.1763, 77<sup>v</sup>)  
and A.INF see.INF army.DEF.NOM enemy.GEN  
‘he set camp on the slope of a hill that his people had conquered before, from whose top, sending his guards, he could spot and see the army of his enemy’

When *tot* is the first element of the nominal phrase, the singular and plural genitive-dative marking can also be mixed, with the preposition *a* and the genitive-dative inflection attached to the nominal stem (13a–g)<sup>5</sup>. In such structures, that have been eliminated, case is expressed redundantly, on both elements of the nominal phrase. The double expression of case is possible in old Romanian in other structures as well, such as those in which the article marks case on more elements of the phrase (14) (Stan, 2016a, p. 291–292).

- (13) a. Și-l puse domnu casei sale și  
and=CL.ACC.M.3SG put.PS.3SG master house.DEF.DAT his.POSS and  
giudețu a toată *agonisiteei* sale (PH.1500–10, 88<sup>v</sup>)  
judge A.DAT all.F.SG fortune.DEF.DAT his.POSS  
‘And he appointed him head of his house and master of all his wealth’
- b. gice a toți creștinilor (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, 6<sup>v</sup>)  
says A.DAT all.M.PL Christians.DEF.DAT  
‘he says to all the Christians’
- c. muma a toți viilor (PO.1582, 21)  
mother.DEF A.GEN all.M.PL alive.PL.DEF.GEN  
‘mother of all those living’
- d. Și dziseră Moisi și Aron a toți filor  
and say.PS.3PL Moses and Aaron A.DAT all.M.PL sons.DEF.DAT  
lu Israil (PO.1582, 231)  
LUI.GEN Israel

<sup>5</sup>This type of marking has traces in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pană Dindelegan, 2013, p. 169; Nedelcu, 2015, p. 56).

- ‘And Moses and Aaron said to all the sons of Israel’
- e. *sîntem slugi credincioase a toată*  
 be.IND.PRES.1PL servants.F faithful.F.PL A.DAT all.F.SG  
*creștinătăței* (DÎ.1600, XLIV)  
 Christianity.DEF.DAT  
 ‘we are faithful servants of all of Christianity’
- f. *înaintea a tot săborului* (AD.1722–5, 127<sup>v</sup>)  
 before A.GEN all.M.SG synod.DEF.GEN  
 ‘before the whole synod’
- g. *cu multă părare rea a tot*  
 with much.F.SG opinion bad.F.SG A.GEN all.M.SG  
*norodului creștinescu* (BVS.1763, 102<sup>v</sup>)  
 people.DEF.GEN Christian  
 ‘with much regret of all the Christian people’
- (14) *cinstitului și preaosfințitului părintelui*  
 honoured.M.SG.DEF.DAT and most.sacred.M.SG.DEF.DAT father.DEF.DAT  
*nostru arhiepiscop* (DRH,B.1653, 14, *apud Stan, 2016a*, p. 291)  
 our archbishop  
 ‘to our honoured and most sacred archbishop’

### 3. Syntactic characteristics of the indefinite *tot*

As far as the syntactic behaviour of the indefinite *tot* is concerned, there is to note both similarities with the modern language and oscillations and distinctive features of old Romanian.

#### 3.1. The word order of the indefinite *tot*

Just like in modern Romanian, the indefinite *tot* can occur both anteposed (15a), and postposed to the nominal phrase (15b–c) (for the possibility of movement of the quantifier *tot*, analysed as ‘floating’ or ‘external’, see Stan, 2015, p. 599; Nicolae, 2016, p. 152).

- (15) a. *toate slugile lui* (CS<sub>XI</sub>.1583–619, 94<sup>r</sup>)  
 all.F.PL servants.DEF his.GEN  
 ‘all his servants’
- b. *chemă slugile lui toate* (CS<sub>XI</sub>.1583–619, 96<sup>v</sup>)<sup>6</sup>  
 call.PS.3SG servants.DEF.ACC his.GEN all.F.PL  
 ‘he called all his servants’
- c. *sfinții toți* (CS<sub>IV</sub>.1590–602, 36<sup>v</sup>)  
 saints.DEF all.M.PL  
 ‘all the saints’

In old Romanian, the word order of *tot* is more permissive, as the quantifier can move to positions that it does not accept any longer, as in examples (16a–e), where *tot* is anteposed (16a–d) or postposed to pronouns (16e). In this type of structure, the word order encountered is more frequently similar to that of modern Romanian (17a–c).

- (16) a. *toți voi* (CL.1570, 34<sup>v</sup>, *apud Stan, 2016b*, p. 352)  
 all.M.PL you.PL  
 ‘all of you’

<sup>6</sup>In modern Romanian, similar structures are attested: *rudele lui toate* ‘all his relatives’ (internet).

- b. *Toți voi vă veți sminti în*  
 all.M.PL you.PL CL.REFL.ACC.2PL AUX.FUT.2PL trouble.INF in  
*Mine în ceastă noapte (NT.1648, 35<sup>r</sup>)*  
 me.ACC in this.F.SG night.ACC  
 ‘You will all deny me tonight’
- c. *căzu frică spre toți ei (NT.1648, 160<sup>v</sup>)*  
 fall.PS.3SG fear.NOM on all.M.PL them  
 ‘fear fell on all of them’
- d. *Pentru cari toate aceaste pricini tuturor dumneavoastră*  
 for which all.F.PL these.F.PL causes all.PL.DAT you.POL  
*trebuie a fi cunoscut (BVS.1763, 15<sup>v</sup>)*  
 must A.INF be.INF know.PPLE  
 ‘For which all these causes must be known to all of you’
- e. *În acest chip fu dat lui Avraam ocină*  
 in this way be.PS.3SG give.PPLE LUI.DAT Abraham property  
*lui pământul lui Efron (...) pre vederea feciorilor*  
 his land.DEF.NOM LUI.GEN Ephron for sight.DEF.ACC sons.GEN  
*lui Het și acelora tuturor, carii intra și*  
 LUI.GEN Het and those.GEN all.PL.GEN who enter.IMPERF.3PL and  
*eșia pre poarta orașului lor (PO.1582, 74)*  
 exit.IMPERF.3PL through gate.DEF.ACC town.GEN their.GEN  
 ‘This way Ephron’s land was given to Abraham to own (...) in the sight of the sons of Het and all of those that went through the gate of their town’
- (17) a. *Împreună întru alu meu iubovu împreunai pre voi, cumu*  
 together in AL.M my love.ACC unite.PS.1SG DOM you.PL how  
*iaste și uriciunea împreună spre voi toți (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581, 470)*  
 is also hate.DEF.NOM unite.PS.3SG DOM you.PL all.M.PL  
 ‘I have made all of you come together in my love the same as hate made all of you come together’
- b. *ei toți giudecară pre El a fi*  
 they all.M.PL judge.PS.3PL DOM Him A.INF be.INF  
*vinovat morției (NT.1648, 61<sup>v</sup>)*  
 guilty death.DAT  
 ‘they all judged Him to be guilty of death’
- c. *zise Iacov casei sale și tuturor*  
 say.PS.3SG Jacob.NOM house.DAT his.POSS and all.PL.DAT  
*acelora carii era cu el (PO.1582, 119)*  
 those.DAT who be.IMPERF.3PL with him  
 ‘Jacob said to his family and to all those that were with him’

An explanation for the different word order of *tot* in relation to certain pronouns as compared to modern Romanian can be the influence of the original text (for instance, as Stan, 2016b, p. 352 shows referring to example (16a), the position of the quantifier *tot* can be analysed as copying the word order of Slavonic).

*Tot* has lost its ability to occur after the alternative form *alt*, both in a nominal phrase with an overt head noun (18a), and in one with nominal ellipsis (18b–c). In modern Romanian, only phrases with *toate* and the indefinite *alte* taking a so-called ‘definite article’ are possible (*toate altele*)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup>Analysing the period between 1521–1640, Frâncu (2009, p. 69) considers that one of its characteristics is the frequent use of the ‘undetermined’ forms of the pronoun *alt*.

- (18) a. Hatmanii amîndoi au cădzut la robiie,  
 commanders.DEF.NOM both AUX.PERF.3PL fall.PPLE at captivity.ACC  
 Sinavschii și alte toate capete (CLM.1700–50, 246<sup>r</sup>)  
 Sinavschii and other all.F.PL heads  
 ‘Both commanders became prisoners, Sinavschii and all the other leaders’
- b. alte toate va tocmi Dumnezeu (Dî.1593, XCIII)  
 other all.F.PL.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG establish.INF God.NOM  
 ‘God will decide all the others’
- c. Ceteaște și alte toate (cc<sup>1</sup>.1567, 182<sup>v</sup>)  
 read.IMP.2SG also other all.F.PL.ACC  
 ‘Read also all the other (writings)’

### 3.2. Determination/non-determination of the noun in structures with *tot*

Just like in modern Romanian, in old Romanian, the quantifier *tot* selects a noun—singular or plural—with a definite determiner, that is with an enclitic definite article (19a–b) or with another definite determiner (19c–e). This condition is not systematically obeyed in old Romanian, as *tot* can also select an undetermined noun (20a–p).

- (19) a. totu omulu e ca iarba (cc<sup>2</sup>.1581, 221)  
 all.M.SG man.DEF.NOM is like grass.F.SG.DEF  
 ‘all people are like grass’
- b. Dumnezeu să iarte greșalele ce  
 God.NOM SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> forgive.SUBJ.3SG mistakes.DEF.ACC what  
 greșimu noi în toate zilele și  
 mistake.IND.PRES.1PL we.NOM in all.F.PL days.DEF.ACC and  
 în toate ceasurile (cc<sup>2</sup>.1581, 47)  
 in all.F.PL hours.DEF.ACC  
 ‘God forgive the sins we commit every day and every hour’
- c. toți cei oameni (cc<sup>1</sup>.1567, 146<sup>v</sup>)<sup>8</sup>  
 all.M.PL CEL.M.PL people  
 ‘all those people’
- d. semînteii tale voiu da toate  
 seed.F.SG.DEF.DAT your AUX.FUT.1SG give.INF all.F.PL  
 aceaste ținuturi (po.1582, 85)  
 these.F.ACC lands.ACC  
 ‘I shall give these lands to your people’
- e. toț alalți boiari (Dî.1599, XVIII)  
 all.M.PL others boyars  
 ‘all the other boyars’
- (20) a. spăl în toate nopți așternutul  
 wash.IND.PRES.1SG in all.F.PL nights bed-clothes.DEF.ACC  
 meu (PH.1500–10, 4<sup>r</sup>)  
 my  
 ‘I wash my bed linen every night’
- b. cu toată usîrdie numai ale lu Dumnezeu  
 with all.F.SG diligence.ACC only AL.F.PL LUI.GEN God

<sup>8</sup>The direct association of the demonstrative article *cel* with the noun is no longer possible in the modern language (but a structure like *toți cei trei oameni* ‘all the three men’ is possible).

- învățători să facemu (cc<sup>2</sup>.1581, 466)  
 advice.F.PL.ACC SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> do.SUBJ.1PL  
 ‘with all our zeal, we should do as God teachings’
- c. noi toți-lu așteptămu în toate  
 we all.M.PL=CL.ACC.M.3SG wait.IND.PRES.1PL in all.F.PL  
 zile (cc<sup>2</sup>.1581, 108)  
 days.ACC  
 ‘we all wait for him every day’
- d. Și împlu Domnedzeu în a șaptea zi lucrul  
 and fill.PS.3SG God.NOM in seventh day work.DEF.ACC  
 său ce făcu și odihni în a șaptea  
 his.POSS what make.PS.3SG and rest.PS.3SG in seventh  
 dzi, de toate lucrure ce era făcut (po.1582, 15)  
 day from all.F.PL things what be.IMPERF.3SG make.PPLE  
 ‘And God finished his creation on the seventh day and he rested on the seventh day after making his creation’
- e. Luo iară Isau muierile sale,  
 take.PS.3SG again Esau.NOM women.DEF.ACC his.POSS  
 feciorii și featele sale și toate  
 sons.DEF.ACC and girls.DEF.ACC his.POSS and all.F.PL  
 suflete din casa sa (po.1582, 123)  
 souls.ACC from house.DEF.ACC his.POSS  
 ‘But Esau took with him his wives, his sons and daughters and all the souls in his house’
- f. Culegea drept însă den ea în toate demîneți  
 gather.IMPERF.3SG just but from her.ACC in all.F.PL mornings.ACC  
 cât putea fi destul pre mîncare (po.1582, 233)  
 how.much can.IMPERF.3SG be.INF enough for eating.ACC  
 ‘Every morning he picked from it as much as he needed to eat’
- g. Noi ce-am putut amu făcut  
 we.NOM what=AUX.PERF.1PL can.PPLE AUX.PERF.1PL do.PPLE  
 și isprava ți-am tremes  
 and deed.DEF.ACC CL.DAT.2SG=AUX.PERF.1PL send.PPLE  
 în tot chip pre Iurgachi (dî.1593, XCIII)  
 in all.M.SG way by Iurgachi  
 ‘We did all we could and send Iurgachi what we have done’
- h. nu-l putea toată lume  
 not=CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IMPERF.3SG all.F.SG people.NOM  
 birui (fd.1592–604, 484<sup>r</sup>)  
 defeat.INF  
 ‘nobody in the whole world could defeat him’
- i. el usucă toată iarbă și toț  
 it dry.IND.PRES.3SG all.F.SG grass.ACC and all.M.PL  
 copacii și toată frundză (fd.1592–604, 499<sup>r</sup>)  
 trees.DEF.ACC and all.F.SG leaf.ACC  
 ‘it dries all the grass and all the trees and all the leaves’
- j. Svînta Besearică ce să amesteca  
 holy.F.DEF church what CL.REFL.ACC.3G mix.IMPERF.3SG

- în toată vremea și în toate zile (șT.1644, 238–239)  
 in all.F.SG time.DEF.ACC and in all.F.PL days.ACC  
 ‘the Holy Church that interfered all the time, every day’
- k. Spăla-voiu în toate nopți patul  
 wash.INF=AUX.FUT.1SG in all.F.PL nights.ACC bed.DEF.ACC  
 meu (svi~1670, 96<sup>r</sup>)  
 my  
 ‘I shall wash my bed every night’
- l. aceea de față <este> mărturie toată oaste  
 there present is witness all.F.SG army.NOM  
 îngerească (svi~1670, 181<sup>r</sup>)  
 angelic.F.SG  
 ‘the whole army of angels is present there as a witness’
- m. Cade-să tine în toate vremi  
 ought.IND.PRES.3SG=CL.REFL.IMPERS you.ACC in all.F.PL times  
 a cînta în toate glasuri cuvioase,  
 A<sub>INF</sub> sing.INF in all.F.PL voices.ACC pious  
 Fiule a lui Dumnăzău (DPar.1683, IV/9<sup>r</sup>)  
 son.VOC AL.INV LUI.GEN God  
 ‘Son of God, we ought to sing with devout voices all the time’
- n. au trimis soli pe la toate  
 AUX.PERF.3SG send.PPLE messengers.ACC at all.F.PL  
 țări creștine (CLM.1700–50, 191<sup>r</sup>)  
 countries.ACC Christian.F.PL  
 ‘he sent messengers to all the Christian countries’
- o. îmbla în tot cîas, cum să  
 walk.IMPERF.3PL in all.M.SG hour.ACC how CL.REFL.IMPERS  
 dzice, cu zilele a mîna (CLM.1700–50, 176<sup>r</sup>)  
 says with days.DEF.ACC at hand.ACC  
 ‘they were living dangerously all the time, as they say’
- p. N-au lipsitu nimic den toate  
 not=AUX.PERF.3SG lack.PPLE nothing of all.F.PL  
 podoabe (CLM.1700–50, 237<sup>r</sup>)  
 jewels.ACC  
 ‘None of all his jewelery was missing’

In structures containing an adjective preposed to the noun (21a–b), we also notice oscillations in determination, compared to modern Romanian, where the adjective is obligatorily determined [as in (21a)].

- (21) a. toate blagosloveștile glasuri (svi~1670, 163<sup>r</sup>)  
 all.F.PL blessed.PL.DEF.ACC voices  
 ‘all the blessed voices’
- b. Toată trupească mîngîiare și răpaos,  
 all.F.SG bodily caress.ACC and restfulness.ACC  
 până în sfîrșit o arunca (svi~1670, 102<sup>r</sup>)  
 until in end CL.ACC.F.3SG throw.IMPERF.3PL  
 ‘They refused all the bodily comfort and rest till the end’

Oscillations in articulation also occur when the structure includes a numeric quantifier (22a–b), a context in which modern Romanian has only preserved the possibility for a determined noun to be preceded by the quantifier [as in (22a)].

- (22) a. *Și supt toate doo creangurile câte un*  
 and under all.F.PL two branches.DEF.ACC each one  
*bumb să fie (PO.1582, 263)*  
 adornment S<sub>A</sub><sub>SUBJ</sub> be.SUBJ.3SG  
 ‘And an adornment should be under each two branches’
- b. *în toate șapte zile (SVI~1670, 270<sup>v</sup>)*  
 in all.F.PL seven days.DEF.ACC  
 ‘in all the seven days’

As shown in examples (20a–p), (22b), the non-determination of the noun that is postposed to *tot* is attested both in original and in translated texts. In order to explain the undetermined forms in the construction with *tot*, more frequent in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the influence of foreign models must be considered (see Stan, 2015, p. 600 and the bibliography therein). For example, the absence of the article in Slavonic is relevant for a series of texts in which the noun accompanied by *tot* does not take the article.

The typological and diachronic analysis of the distribution of the quantifier *tot* in relation to the definite determiner made by Stan (2015) shows that Romanian has eliminated the pattern *tot* + undetermined noun, attested in other old Romance idioms as well.

The undetermined nominal structures in old Romanian can be referential—occupying argumental positions or occurring as complements of prepositions<sup>9</sup>—, as well as non-referential (see Stan, 2015, p. 600 for the referential and non-referential reading of structures with *tot* + undetermined noun). The (non-)determination of the noun in structures with *tot* does not depend on the distinction generic (23a) vs. non-generic (referential) (23b).

- (23) a. *În toate dzile miluiaște și împrumut*  
 in all.F.PL days take.pity.IND.PRES.3SG and loan.ACC  
*dă dereptul și sãm<î>nța lui*  
 give.IND.PRES.3SG righteous.DEF.NOM and seed.DEF.NOM his.GEN  
*în blagoslovenie va fi (PH.1500–10, 32<sup>r</sup>)*  
 in blessing.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF  
 ‘He takes mercy and gives loans every day, so that his offspring will live in bless’
- b. *Fură lacrămile meale mie pînre dzua și noaptea*  
 be.PS.3PL tears.DEF.NOM my.F me.DAT bread day.DEF and night.DEF  
*cîndu grăia mie în toate dzile (PH.1500–10, 35<sup>v</sup>)*  
 when tell.IMPERF.3SG me.DAT in all.F.PL days.ACC  
 ‘I cried day and night when he talked to me every day’

#### 4. Conclusions

The morphosyntactic characteristics mentioned in this article—illustrated both by original and translated texts—stand as evidence for the great variation in the behaviour of the indefinite *tot* in old Romanian, which has steadily decreased up to modern Romanian, being preserved in some contexts and being eliminated in other situations.

At the morphological level, the variation regards, on the one hand, the types of oblique case marking for the singular, which are at the same time synthetic, analytic and mixed (*toatei* + genitive-dative noun,

<sup>9</sup>A comparison of examples (20o) and (20p) shows that, although the nominal complement of the quantifier is undetermined (*cias* ‘hour’, *podoabe* ‘jewelry’), their reading is different: in (20o) it is non-referential, while in (20p) is referential. In Romanian, the absence of the article after prepositions can be correlated with the definite reading of the noun (Nedelcu, 2013, p. 459–461).

*a/la/de toată* + nominative-accusative noun, *a toată* + noun in the genitive-dative) and for the plural (*tuturor(a)*, *a/la/de toți/toate* + noun with a nominative-accusative form, *a toți/toate* + noun in the genitive-dative), and, on the other hand, the inconsistent occurrence of the final particle *-a* in the structure of the plural genitive-dative form. In modern Romanian, the variation in the genitive-dative marking is limited to the plural forms *tuturor(a)* all.PL.GEN≡DAT vs. *a/la toți/toate* A/LA all.M.PL/all.F.PL, and the formal variation  $\pm$ particle *-a* is only preserved in the case of the pronoun (the adjective excludes the particle *-a*).

Syntactically, it is important to note the greater word order variation of *tot*, which is also encountered in combinations which have a fixed word order in the present-day language (for example, *tot* + personal pronoun, the alternative form *alt* 'other' + *tot*), and the variation of *tot*-constructions with respect to the articulation of the accompanying noun. The quantifier *tot* has lost a series of syntactic characteristics specific to the old language, among which the most important one is the capacity to select an undetermined noun.

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