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 16th to 18th 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 măriii lui și
and with all.F.SG country.DEF.ACC Highness.GEN his.GEN and
cu *toț* domnii creștinești să aibă a
with all.M.PL voivodes.DEF.ACC Christian.M.PL SĂ_SUBJ have.SUBJ.3PL A_INF
îmbla și a griji pentru nevoia mea, *toți*
walk.INF and A_INF take.care.INF for need.DEF.ACC my all.M.PL
să mă scumpere den robie (Dî.1600, XXXIV)
SĂ_SUBJ 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   dirept,   are
         each.M.SG   Christian.DEF.NOM   or   sinner   or   right   has
         cineș   îngerul   său   socotitoriu   (CazV.1643, 22ʳ)
         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 17ᵗʰ and the beginning of the 18ᵗʰ century (Pană Dindelegan, 2013, p. 166–167), in original and translated texts[1].

(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.   otcîrmuitori   romani   *toatei*   Dachii   (CIst.1700–50, 24ʳ)
           rulers   Roman.M.PL   all.F.SG.DAT   Dacia.DAT
           'Roman rulers of the entire Dacia'

        c.   voievodul   *toatei*   Ghermanii   (CIst.1700–50, 79ᵛ)
           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, 167ʳ)
           world.GEN
           'it made the life of all the people possible'

        e.   ajutoriul   a   *toatei*   oști   (BVS.1763, 21ᵛ)
           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)[2].

(3)   a.   Trupurile   lor   întregi   cu   totă   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, 487ᵛ)
           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'

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[1] The adjectival form *toatei* is very rarely attested as late as the 19ᵗʰ century (Croitor, 2015, p. 149).
[2] Collocations like *cu totului*, *cu/în totului tot* are rarely attested as late as the 19ᵗʰ century (Croitor, 2015, p. 149–150).

b. Iar altă oaste, cîtă au avut Șfedul
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 pușci, *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 cînd să va
separation.DEF.NOM spouses.GEN when CL.REFL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG
face pentru aceste vini (...) să
do.INF for these.F.PL faults.ACC CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
înțeleage să fie pănă la o vreame,
understand.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ~SUBJ 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[1].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* pămîntul (PH.1500–10, 40ʳ)
emperor A.GEN all.M.SG earth.DEF
'emperor of all the world'

c. Dat-au hrană *a* *toată* pelița (PH.1500–10, 116ʳ)
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~XV~.1619, 122ʳ)
from heaven.ACC
'the master of all is our heavenly Father'

e. naintea *a* *toată* curtea (MC.1620, 44ᵛ)
in.front.of A.GEN all.F.SG court.DEF
'in front of all the court'

f. neşte începături *a* *tot* rrăul (SVI~1670, 257ʳ)
some beginnings A.GEN all.M.SG evil.DEF
'the beginning of everything bad'

g. veni-va Hristos, Dumnezeul nostru, să
come.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG Christ.NOM God.DEF our SĂ_SUBJ
judece *a* *toată* lumea (SVI~1670, 60ᵛ)
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 împărţit *la* *toată*
all.F.PL CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG share.PPLE LA.DAT all.F.SG
oastea (BVS.1763, 140ᵛ)
army.DEF
'he divided everything among the entire army'

j. asupra *de* *tot* copaciul (DPar.1683, II/8ʳ)[3]
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* (DÎ.1600, XXXII)
above all.PL.GEN
'above all'

b. Faraon dzise *tuturor* eghipteanilor (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, 192ʳ)
SĂ_SUBJ 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* bunătăţile iaste
root.DEF.NOM A.GEN all.F.PL good.things.DEF is
dragostea (CC².1581, 47)
love.DEF
'the root of all the goodness is love'

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[3]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
morțiloru   (cc².1581, 509)
dead.PL.DEF.GEN≡DAT
'everyone's judge, alive and dead'

c. duminica   *a*   *toți*   sfinții   (cs_IV.1590–602, 36ᵛ)
Sunday   A.GEN   all.M.PL   saints.DEF
'the Sunday of all the saints'

d. denaintea   *a*   *toți*   (svi~1670, 227ʳ)
in.front.of   A.GEN   all.M.PL
'in front of everyone'

e. zîoa   cea   dintîi   *la*   *toate*   lunile   (CDicț.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   însămnătoare   *de*   *toate*   lucrurile
booklet   noting   DE.GEN   all.F.PL   things.DEF
zilești   (CDicț.1691–7, 159)[4]
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, cc¹.1567, 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, 262ʳ)
give.IMPERF.3SG   all.PL.DAT   of   enough   all.F.PL
'he gave everyone everything in abundance'

b. *Tuturora*   această   mustrare   făcea   (clm.1700–50, 177ʳ)
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_SUBJ
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, 318ʳ)
Dabijea   voivode
'But not everyone knew about prince Dabijea'

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[4]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, ŞT.1644, DPar.1683, Prav.1780), and in others, *tuturor*, as well as *tuturora*, are attested as adjectives (CC¹.1567, PO.1582, NT.1648, SVI~1670, BVS.1763).

(9) a. înaintea   *tuturor*   oamenilor   (CC¹.1567, 128ʳ)
         in.front.of all.PL.GEN   people.PL.GEN
         'in front of all the people'

     b. izvorul   a   *tuturor*   răutăţilor   (CLM.1700–50, 239ʳ)
         source   AL.INV   all.PL.GEN   evil.PL.GEN
         'the source of all evil'

(10) a. au   porîncit   apostolilor   şi   *tuturora*
         AUX.PERF.3SG   order.PPLE   apostles.DAT   and   all.PL.DAT
         popilor   (CM.1567, 255ʳ)
         priests.DAT
         'he ordered to the apostles and to all the priests'

     b. făcea   bucurie   mare   *tuturora*   fraţilor   (NT.1648, 154ᵛ)
         make.IMPERF.3PL joy   great   all.PL.DAT   brothers.DAT
         'they caused great joy to all the brothers'

     c. Ştii   cîte   făcuiu   celora   ce   se
         know.IND.PRES.2SG   how.many   make.PS.1SG   those.DAT   that   CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
         chema   călugări   şi   *tuturora*   creştinilor?   (SVI~1670, 19ʳ)
         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*   părţilor   lumii   (BVS.1763, 107ʳ)
         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   oameniᵢ   cu   grîu,   atîta
         fill.IMP.2SG sacks.DEF.ACC   these.M.GEN   people   with   wheat   so.much
         cît   vor   putea   duce   şi   banii   *tuturora* [Øᵢ]
         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   dereptu   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   dulceţiei   sale   (CC².1581, 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 *fieștecăruia* lucru   (CIst.1700–50, 1ʳ)
     give.INF head and   beginning   each.DAT   thing
     'It is difficult to start each thing'

   b. au   tăbărît   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,   trimițîndu-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, 77ᵛ)
     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)[5]. 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   caseei   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, 88ᵛ)
     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   (CC¹.1567, 6ᵛ)
     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*   fiilor
     and   say.PS.3PL   Moses   and   Aaron   A.DAT   all.M.PL   sons.DEF.DAT
     lu   Israil   (PO.1582, 231)
     LUI.GEN   Israel

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[5]This type of marking has traces in the 19th 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
creştinătăţei   (DÎ.1600, XLIV)
Christianity.DEF.DAT
'we are faithful servants of all of Christianity'

f. înaintea   *a*   *tot*   *săborului*   (AD.1722–5, 127ᵛ)
before   A.GEN   all.M.SG   synod.DEF.GEN
'before the whole synod'

g. cu   multă   păreare   rea   *a*   *tot*
with   much.F.SG   opinion   bad.F.SG   A.GEN   all.M.SG
norodului   creştinescu   (BVS.1763, 102ᵛ)
people.DEF.GEN   Christian
'with much regret of all the Christian people'

(14) cinstitu*lui*   şi   preaosfinţitu*lui*   părinte*lui*
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_XI.1583–619, 94ʳ)
all.F.PL   servants.DEF   his.GEN
'all his servants'

b. chemă   slugile   lui   *toate*   (CS_XI.1583–619, 96ᵛ)[6]
call.PS.3SG   servants.DEF.ACC   his.GEN   all.F.PL
'he called all his servants'

c. sfinţii   *toţi*   (CS_IV.1590–602, 36ᵛ)
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. *toţi*   *voi*   (CL.1570, 34ᵛ, *apud* Stan, 2016b, p. 352)
all.M.PL   you.PL
'all of you'

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[6]In modern Romanian, similar structures are attested: *rudele lui toate* 'all his relatives' (internet).

b. *Toți*   *voi*   vă   veţi   sminti   în
     all.M.PL   you.PL   CL.REFL.ACC.2PL   AUX.FUT.2PL   trouble.INF   in
     Mine   în   ceastă   noapte   (NT.1648, 35ʳ)
     me.ACC   in   this.F.SG   night.ACC
     'You will all deny me tonight'

c. căzu   frică   spre   *toți*   *ei*   (NT.1648, 160ᵛ)
     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, 15ᵛ)
     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   pămîntul   lui   Efron (...)   pre   vedearea   feciorilor
     his   land.DEF.NOM   LUI.GEN   Ephron   for   sight.DEF.ACC   sons.GEN
     lui   Het   şi   *acelora*   *tuturora*,   carii   intra   şi
     LUI.GEN   Het   and   those.GEN   all.PL.GEN   who   enter.IMPERF.3PL   and
     eşiia   pre   poarta   oraşului   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   mieu   liubovu   împreunai   pre   voi,   cumu
     together   in   AL.M   my   love.ACC   unite.PS.1SG   DOM   you.PL   how
     iaste   şi   urîciunea   împreună   spre   *voi*   *toți*   (CC².1581, 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   morţiei   (NT.1648, 61ᵛ)
     guilty   death.DAT
     'they all judged Him to be guilty of death'

c. zise   Iacov   caseei   sale   şi   *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*)[7].

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[7] 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, 246ʳ)
          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*   (CC¹.1567, 182ᵛ)
          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   (CC².1581, 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_SUBJ   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*   (CC².1581, 47)
          in   all.F.PL   hours.DEF.ACC
          'God forgive the sins we commit every day and every hour'

      c. *toți*   *cei*   *oameni*   (CC¹.1567, 146ᵛ)[8]
          all.M.PL   CEL.M.PL   people
          'all those people'

      d. semînțeei   tale   voiu   da   *toate*
          seed.F.SG.DEF.DAT   your   AUX.FUT.1SG   give.INF   all.F.PL
          aceaste   *ținuture*   (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*   așternutulu
          wash.IND.PRES.1SG   in   all.F.PL   nights   bed-clothes.DEF.ACC
          mieu   (PH.1500–10, 4ʳ)
          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

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[8]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).

învăţături să facemu (cc².1581, 466)
advice.F.PL.ACC SĂ~SUBJ~ do.SUBJ.1PL
'with all our zeal, we should do as God teachings'

c. noi toţi-lu aşteptămu în *toate*
we all.M.PL=CL.ACC.M.3SG wait.IND.PRES.1PL in all.F.PL
zile (cc².1581, 108)
days.ACC
'we all wait for him every day'

d. Şi împlu Domnedzeu în a şaptea zi lucrul
and fill.PS.3SG God.NOM in seventh day work.DEF.ACC
său ce făcu şi odihni în a şaptea
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 şi featele sale şi *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 derept însă den ea în *toate* *demîneţi*
gather.IMPERF.3SG just but from her.ACC in all.F.PL mornings.ACC
cît 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
şi isprava ţi-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, 484ʳ)
defeat.INF
'nobody in the whole world could defeat him'

i. el usucă *toată* *iarbă* şi toţ
it dry.IND.PRES.3SG all.F.SG grass.ACC and all.M.PL
copacii şi *toată* *frundză* (fd.1592–604, 499ʳ)
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   vreamea   și   în   *toate   dzile*   (șт.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
    mieu   (svi~1670, 96ʳ)
    my
    'I shall wash my bed every night'

l. acolea   de față   <este>   mărturie   *toată   oaste*
    there   present   is   witness   all.F.SG army.NOM
    îngerească   (svi~1670, 181ʳ)
    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_INF   sing.INF in   all.F.PL voices.ACC pious
    Fiiule   a   lui   Dumnădzău   (DPar.1683, IV/9ʳ)
    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, 191ʳ)
    countries.ACC   Christian.F.PL
    'he sent messengers to all the Christian countries'

o. îmbla   în   *tot*   cias,   cum   să
    walk.IMPERF.3PL   in   all.M.SG hour.ACC   how   CL.REFL.IMPERS
    dzice,   cu   dzilele   a   mînă   (clm.1700–50, 176ʳ)
    says   with   days.DEF.ACC   at   hand.ACC
    'they were living dangerously all the time, as they say'

p. N-au   lipsitu   nemică   den   *toate*
    not=AUX.PERF.3SG   lack.PPLE   nothing   of   all.F.PL
    podoabe   (clm.1700–50, 237ʳ)
    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, 163ʳ)
          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, 102ʳ)
          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. Şi   supt   *toate*   *doo*   *creangurile*   cîte   un
          and   under all.F.PL two   branches.DEF.ACC   each   one
          bumb   să   fie   (PO.1582, 263)
          adornment   SĂ_SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3SG
          'And an adornment should be under each two branches'

      b. în   *toate*   *şapte*   *zile*   (SVI~1670, 270ᵛ)
          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 16ᵗʰ 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 occuring as complements of prepositions[9]—, 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*   miluiaşte   şi   împrumut
          in   all.F.PL days   take.pity.IND.PRES.3SG   and   loan.ACC
          dă   dereptul   şi   săm<î>nţa   lui
          give.IND.PRES.3SG   righteous.DEF.NOM   and   seed.DEF.NOM   his.GEN
          în   blagoslovenie   va   fi   (PH.1500–10, 32ʳ)
          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   şi   noaptea
          be.PS.3PL   tears.DEF.NOM   my.F   me.DAT   bread   day.DEF   and   night.DEF
          cîndu   grăiia   mie   în   *toate*   *dzile*   (PH.1500–10, 35ᵛ)
          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,

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[9]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 corellated 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 ±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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