

COMPLETIVE *TODO* IN RIOPLATENSE SPANISH

CAROLINA FRAGA

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

In Spanish, the element *todo* ‘all’ agrees in gender and number with the noun it quantifies over (*todas las ventanas* ‘all.F.PL the.F.PL windows.F.PL’). In this article I discuss a novel construction in Rioplatense Spanish, restricted to existentials and possessives, in which *todo* agrees in gender and number with a given nominal in the structure but is neither syntactically nor semantically related to it (e.g. *Hay toda agua en el baño* (have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the bathroom) ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor’). I argue that the syntax and the interpretation of this construction can be explained only if *todo* ‘all’ is understood to be modifying a silent element (in the sense of Kayne 2004). In particular, I propose that *todo* is the modifier of a PP headed by the silent preposition WITH, and that the nominal that agrees with *todo* is the complement of this silent P. This analysis sheds light on the structure of existential sentences and supports the view put forth in Levinson 2011, contra Freeze 1992, that a single underlying structure for possessive structures cannot be maintained.*

Keywords: *todo*, *all*, existentials, possession, silent WITH, silent SPACE, Spanish

1. INTRODUCTION. It is a well-known fact that in Spanish, the element *todo* ‘all’ quantifies over nominals. When this happens, *todo* always displays gender and number agreement with the nominal, as shown below.¹

- (1) **Todo el documento** está en inglés.
all.M.SG the.M.SG document.M.SG be.PRS.3SG in English
‘The whole document is in English.’
- (2) Juan leyó **toda la novela**.
Juan read.PST.3SG all.F.SG the.F.SG novel.F.SG
‘Juan read the whole novel.’
- (3) **Todos los chicos** llegaron a casa.
all.M.PL the.M.PL kids.M.PL arrive.PST.3PL to home
‘All the kids arrived home.’
- (4) Puse **todas las medias** en ese cajón.
put.PST.1SG all.F.PL the.F.PL socks.F.PL in that drawer
‘I put all the socks in that drawer.’

The noun *documento* ‘document’ in 1 is masculine singular, and the article *el* ‘the.M.SG’ and quantifier *todo* ‘all.M.SG’ agree with it in gender and number. Likewise, the noun *novela* ‘novel’ in 2 is feminine singular, and the article *la* ‘the.F.SG’ and quantifier *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ display feminine and singular agreement. In 3 and 4, the article and the quantifier

* First and foremost I would like to express my immense gratitude to Christina Tortora for her generous help, encouragement, feedback, and guidance in the preparation of this work. I would also like to thank Jason Kandybowicz, Richard Kayne, and Jon Nissenbaum for invaluable discussion of the ideas in this article. Last but not least, I am very grateful to the *Language* editorial board and to two anonymous referees for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. All errors are mine.

¹ The abbreviations used in examples are the following: 1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, CL: clitic, DAT: dative, F: feminine, INF: infinitive, LOC: locative, M: masculine, PL: plural, PRS: present, PST: past, SBJV: subjunctive, SG: singular.

also agree in gender and number with the corresponding nouns *chicos* ‘kids’ and *medias* ‘socks’, appearing in the masculine plural and the feminine plural, respectively.²

Furthermore, it is clear that in all of these cases the quantifier + determiner + noun sequence is a constituent—more precisely, a nominal constituent, as confirmed by the *qué* ‘what’ and *quién* ‘who’ question and answer pairs below.

- (5) A: ¿Qué está en inglés?
 what be.PRS.3SG in English
 ‘What is in English?’
 B: Todo el documento.
 all.M.SG the.M.SG document.M.SG
 ‘The whole document.’
- (6) A: ¿Qué leyó Juan?
 what read.PST.3SG Juan
 ‘What did Juan read?’
 B: Toda la novela.
 all.F.SG the.F.SG novel.F.SG
 ‘The whole novel.’
- (7) A: ¿Quiénes llegaron a casa?
 who.PL arrive.PST.3PL to home
 ‘Who arrived home?’
 B: Todos los chicos.
 all.M.PL the.M.PL kids.M.PL
 ‘All the kids.’
- (8) A: ¿Qué pusiste en ese cajón?
 what put.PST.2SG in that drawer
 ‘What did you put in that drawer?’
 B: Todas las medias.
 all.F.PL the.F.PL socks.F.PL
 ‘All the socks.’

Finally, it is important to point out that although in 1–4 the quantifier *todo* ‘all’ and the nominal surface as a continuous string, *todo* can also appear separated from the nominal it quantifies over in the phenomenon commonly known in the literature as QUANTIFIER FLOAT. An example of this is given in 9.

- (9) a. **Todos** los chicos llegaron a casa.
 all.M.PL the.M.PL kids.M.PL arrive.PST.3PL to home
 b. Los chicos llegaron **todos** a casa.
 the.M.PL kids.M.PL arrive.PST.3PL all.M.PL to home
 ‘All the kids arrived home.’

In 9a the quantifier *todos* ‘all.M.PL’ immediately precedes the DP *los chicos* ‘the.M.PL kids.M.PL’. In contrast, in 9b (the ‘floated’ version), the string is discontinuous: the DP *los chicos* appears linearly before the verb *llegaron* ‘arrive.PST.3PL’, and *todos* after it.

² In this article I do not make any distinction between the notions AGREEMENT and CONCORD. Some authors (for instance, Norris 2014) use the label ‘agreement’ exclusively for cases in which a given extended projection (e.g. that of the verb phrase) expresses features of a DIFFERENT extended projection (e.g. that of the noun phrase). In contrast, they reserve the label ‘concord’ for those cases in which the sharing of features occurs between the members of a single extended projection (e.g. inside the noun phrase). Under this terminology, the discussion on agreement throughout this article would be considered a discussion on concord. Nothing hinges on this.

In this article, I investigate a construction with *todo* in Rioplatense Spanish (spoken in the Río de la Plata Basin of Uruguay and Argentina) that has never been studied in the literature before. In this construction, *todo* displays number and gender agreement with a nominal that immediately follows it, just as was the case in the general Spanish data seen in 1–4. Unlike in 1–4, however, in this case *todo* does not quantify over the nominal. A sentence that illustrates this construction is given in 10.

- (10) Hay **toda** **agua** en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

The relationship between *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ and *agua* ‘water.F.SG’ in 10 is not like the one between *todo* and the corresponding nominals in 1–4. Although in 1–4 *todo* served to pick out the totality of the parts of a whole or the totality of the members of a set denoted by the noun (all the parts of the document and the novel in 1 and 2, and all the members in the sets of kids and socks in 3 and 4), this is not the case in 10. In other words, the interpretation of 10 is not ‘all (of) the water is on the bathroom floor’. Rather, as the translation makes clear, 10 describes a situation in which there is a substance, in this case water, that covers the surface of the bathroom floor in all its extension.

Note that the sentence in 10 is an existential. The same use of *todo* that was seen in 10, which I label COMPLETIVE *TODO*, is also found in *tener* ‘have’ possessive sentences. An example is given in 11.³

- (11) Juan tiene **toda** **arena** en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.F.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’

Just as was the case with the existential sentence in 10, in the *tener* ‘have’ sentence in 11 *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ does not quantify how much sand there is in Juan’s hair (the interpretation of 11 is not ‘all of the sand in a given context is in Juan’s hair’). Instead, what sentence 11 means is that Juan’s hair is completely covered with sand.

In addition to not quantifying over *agua* ‘water’ in 10 and *arena* ‘sand’ in 11, *toda* does not make up a nominal constituent with these nouns, as shown by the impossibility of the answers in 12 and 13 (cf. 5–8).⁴

³ The construction discussed in this work is also available in Peninsular Spanish, albeit with some differences. While Peninsular Spanish allows completive *todo* in possessive sentences like 11, it does not allow it in existential sentences like 10. Furthermore, in Peninsular Spanish agreement between *todo* and the nominal is completely impossible (in other words, the string *toda arena* ‘all.F.SG sand.F.SG’ in 11 surfaces as *toda arena* ‘all.M.SG sand.F.SG’ instead). These aspects of variation are discussed in §4.

⁴ Another piece of evidence that shows that *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ is not quantifying over these nominals (*agua* ‘water.F.SG’ in 10 and *arena* ‘sand.F.SG’ in 11) is that when a Q quantifies over a nominal in Spanish, the nominal has to necessarily be introduced by a determiner, as in (i).

- (i) Todo el saco / todo mi saco / *todo Ø saco está manchado.
 all the jacket / all my jacket / all jacket be.PRS.3SG stained
 ‘My whole jacket is stained.’

A determinerless noun phrase is possible as the complement of a Q only under very restricted circumstances. The context must be that of a regulation or rule, as shown in (ii).

- (ii) Todo alumno deberá firmar este formulario.
 all.M.SG student.M.SG will.have sign.INF this form
 ‘Every student will have to sign this form.’

However, this is not the context for sentences 10 and 11. This constitutes further evidence that *toda agua* ‘all.F.SG water.F.SG’ in 10 and *toda arena* ‘all.F.SG sand.F.SG’ in 11 cannot be QPs.

- (12) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?
 what have.PRS in the bathroom
 ‘What is there in the bathroom?’
 B: *Toda agua.
 all.F.SG water.F.SG
 ‘All water.’
- (13) A: ¿Qué tiene Juan en el pelo?
 what have.PRS.3SG Juan in the hair
 ‘What does Juan have in his hair?’
 B: *Toda arena.
 all.F.SG sand.F.SG
 ‘All sand.’

The fact that *toda* does not make up a QP constituent with the nominals in 10 and 11 is more apparent when the strings *toda agua* ‘all.F.SG water.F.SG’ and *toda arena* ‘all.F.SG sand.F.SG’ are contrasted with the strings *mucha agua* ‘much.F.SG water.F.SG’ and *mucha arena* ‘much.F.SG sand.F.SG’ in 14.

- (14) a. Hay **mucha agua** en el baño.
 have.PRS much.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s a lot of water in the bathroom.’
 b. Juan tiene **mucha arena** en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.F.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has a lot of sand in his hair.’

In 14 *mucha* ‘much.F.SG’ is quantifying how much water and how much sand there is: in particular, a lot. Also, *mucha* makes up a nominal constituent with these nominals, as shown by the fact that both *mucha agua* and *mucha arena* can occur as an answer to a *qué* ‘what’ question, as shown below (cf. 12 and 13).

- (15) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?
 what have.PRS in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘What is there in the bathroom?’
 B: Mucha agua.
 much.F.SG water.F.SG
 ‘A lot of water.’
- (16) A: ¿Qué tiene Juan en el pelo?
 what have.PRS.3SG Juan in the hair
 ‘What does Juan have in his hair?’
 B: Mucha arena.
 much.F.SG sand.F.SG
 ‘A lot of sand.’

So, if the *toda* element does not make up a SEMANTIC constituent with *agua* in 10 and with *arena* in 11 (it does not quantify over these nominals), and it does not make up a SYNTACTIC nominal constituent with them (*toda agua* and *toda arena* cannot serve as answers to a *qué* ‘what’ question), the following questions need to be addressed:

- (i) What element is *toda* quantifying over in 10 and 11? (i.e. what element is it semantically related to?)
- (ii) What syntactic position does *toda* occupy in the structure?
- (iii) If *toda* does not make up a nominal constituent with *agua* and *arena*, how does it come to agree with these nominals?⁵

⁵ Most of the speakers of Rioplatense Spanish consulted require *toda* ‘all’ to agree with *agua* ‘water’ and *arena* ‘sand’. However, there is a subgroup of Rioplatense speakers for whom this agreement is not possible.

Although various researchers working on the syntax of Spanish have discussed the status and behavior of quantifier *todo* (Sánchez López 1991, Zubizarreta 1998, among others), and although there are references to adverb *todo* in the literature as well (for instance, Sánchez López 1998), to the best of my knowledge sentences like those in 10 and 11 have never been described and analyzed before. What is special and thus interesting about these sentences is the tension created by the fact that *todo* is interpreted as ‘completely’, but displays an agreement pattern that makes it look as if it were quantifying over a noun.

In this article I argue that what follows the existential verb *hay* ‘have.PRS’ in 10 is a constituent akin to a small clause. The CODA *en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’ is the modifier of a silent SPACE element (in the spirit of silent PLACE; Kayne 2004), and the PIVOT *agua* ‘water’ is the complement of a silent preposition WITH.⁶ *Toda* is a completive adverb acting as a modifier⁷ of the PP *WITH agua* ‘WITH water’. This structure is sketched in 17.

(17) Hay [_{SC} [_{DP} THE/A SPACE [_{PP} en el baño]] [_{PP} *todo* [_{PP} WITH [_{NP} agua]]]]

The analysis of 11 is just like that of 10. What follows the verb *tener* ‘have’ in 11 is also a small clause; the subject of this small clause is *THE/A SPACE en el pelo* ‘THE/A SPACE in the hair’, and its predicate is the PP *WITH arena* ‘WITH sand’. *Toda* is again a completive adverb modifying the PP *WITH arena* ‘WITH sand’. The structure of 11 is given in 18.

(18) Juan tiene [_{SC} [_{DP} THE/A SPACE [_{PP} en el pelo]] [_{PP} *todo* [_{PP} WITH [_{NP} arena]]]]

I show in this work that the presence of the silent elements SPACE and WITH, coupled with the idea of *todo* as a PP modifier, successfully captures the interpretation of these sentences. Furthermore, in 10 and 11 *todo agua* ‘all.F.SG water.F.SG’ and *todo arena* ‘all.F.SG sand.F.SG’ are PPs. This is why these strings cannot be an answer to a *qué* ‘what’ question. However, as is discussed in §3, the *todo* + noun strings in 10 and 11 can be coordinated and clefted. These facts serve to confirm that *todo agua* and *todo arena* are indeed constituents, but crucially not nominal ones. Moreover, I relate the agreement between *todo* ‘all.F.SG’ and the nouns in 10 and 11 to the cases of long-distance agreement in dialectal Spanish studied by Gallego and Uriagereka (2016). Gallego and Uriagereka point out that in impersonal constructions in some varieties of Spanish, agreement between the verb and the nominal object of its prepositional com-

In other words, these speakers seem to exhibit the same agreement pattern as the speakers of Peninsular Spanish, as mentioned in n. 3. This ‘agreementless’ pattern is discussed briefly in §4.

⁶ As is standard in the semantic literature on existential sentences (Francez 2007, McNally 2016, among others), I use the term PIVOT to refer to the noun phrase that occurs immediately after the copula, and the term CODA to refer to ‘any additional phrase after the pivot’ (McNally 2016:218). This means that in an existential sentence like *There is a book on the table*, *a book* is the pivot and *on the table* is the coda.

⁷ There are parts of this article in which the terms ‘quantifier’ and ‘quantifies over’ are used, and there are others in which the terms ‘modifier’ and ‘modifies’ appear instead. The use of these two different sets of labels is not random. The terms ‘quantifier’ and ‘quantifies over’ are reserved for those cases in which *todo* ‘all’ serves to pick out the totality of the members in a set or the totality of the parts of a whole, as in *todos los alumnos* ‘all the students’ and *toda la mesa* ‘all the table’, respectively. The other set of labels, ‘modifier’ and ‘modifies over’, are used in those cases in which *todo* ‘all’ is a degree word akin to *completely*, as in *María está toda confundida* ‘María is all confused’. These terms, quantifier/quantifies over on the one hand, and modifier/modifies on the other, are the ones standardly used in the literature to refer to these kinds of elements. Note the typical use of the former in the literature on floating quantifiers, and the use of the latter to make reference to elements like *completely*, *totally*, *partially*, *half*, and so forth in the work of Kennedy and McNally (2005), among others.

plement is possible. They propose that this agreement ‘across’ the P is enabled because P incorporates into the verb, thus ‘unshielding’ the DP. I propose, in the same vein, that silent WITH in 10 and 11 also incorporates into the verb, making agreement between *toda* and the nominal possible. Finally, I discuss how the new data and novel analysis presented here bear on the analysis of existentials as a whole, and how the current proposal lends support to the presence of silent elements in the grammar.

This article is organized as follows. In §2 I explore two possible analyses for the structure in 1: an analysis in which *toda* quantifies over the lower nominal (*el baño* ‘the bathroom’ in 1),⁸ and an analysis in which *toda* quantifies over a silent nominal SPACE. After ruling out both analyses, I present a third analysis that remedies the shortcomings faced by the previous two (§3): *toda* is a completive adverb in a structure that contains silent SPACE and a silent preposition WITH. I make some preliminary observations on the variation of completive *toda* across dialects in §4, with a special emphasis on the contrast between Rioplatense Spanish and Peninsular Spanish. I then discuss some implications of the proposal and point out some areas for future research (§5), and conclude and present some open questions (§6).

2. TOWARD AN ANALYSIS: *TODO* QUANTIFIES OVER A NOUN. In this section, I explore the idea that *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ in 10, repeated here as 19, is a quantifier that makes up a QP constituent with a nominal.⁹

- (19) Hay **toda** **agua** en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

The fact that *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ does not make up a QP constituent with the higher nominal *agua* ‘water.F.SG’ in 19 seems to be quite clear. If it did, we would expect *toda* to quantify how much water there is, but the interpretation of 19 makes it evident that this is not what *toda* is doing. Another possibility might be to think that *toda* makes up a QP constituent with the lower nominal, *el baño* ‘the M.SG bathroom.M.SG’. In this section, I take this idea to its limit. I conclude that such an analysis cannot be right, however, as it would leave the interpretation of 19, the agreement facts, and the constituency of 19 unexplained. Having found that *toda* does not make up a QP with the higher nominal *agua*, and that it does not make up a QP with the lower nominal *baño*, I explore yet a third possibility: that *toda* should make up a QP constituent with a silent noun SPACE. While this analysis succeeds in accounting for the interpretation of 19, it fails to explain the constituency and agreement facts. After having ruled out the Q status of *toda* in 19, in §3 I propose an analysis where *toda* is not a Q but a completive adverb, acting as a modifier of the PP *WITH agua* ‘with water’.

2.1. DOES *TODO* ‘ALL’ QUANTIFY OVER THE LOWER NOMINAL? In order to arrive at the syntax of 19, I believe a natural first step is to address question (i) above. In other words, I focus on the interpretation of 19. If the interpretation of this sentence is that there is water over the whole bathroom floor, one possibility might be to think that 19, repeated here as 20a, is related to 20b.

⁸ Throughout this article I use the term HIGHER NOMINAL to refer to the pivot (e.g. *agua* ‘water’ in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*) and the term LOWER NOMINAL to refer to the nominal contained in the coda (e.g. *el baño* ‘the bathroom’ in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*).

⁹ In this section, I illustrate most of the discussion with the existential sentence *Hay toda agua en el baño* ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor’. However, the points made here are equally true of possessive *tener* ‘have’ sentences like *Juan tiene toda arena en el pelo* ‘Juan has sand all in his hair’.

- (20) a. Hay **toda** agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’
- b. Hay agua en **todo** el baño.
 have.PRS water.F.SG in all.M.SG the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

That *toda* ‘all’ might be quantifying over the lower nominal appears to be suggested by other examples, like those in 21 and 22. The identical translations for the (a) and (b) examples appear to confirm the synonymy in meaning between the pairs.

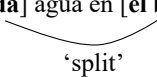
- (21) a. Había **toda** sangre en el piso.
 have.PST all.F.SG blood.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG
 ‘There was blood over the whole floor.’
- b. Había sangre en **todo** el piso.
 have.PST blood.F.SG on all.M.SG the.M.SG floor.M.SG
 ‘There was blood over the whole floor.’
- (22) a. Juan tiene **toda** arena en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.F.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’
- b. Juan tiene arena en **todo** el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG sand.F.SG in all.M.SG the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’

In each of the (b) examples in 20–22, *todo* ‘all.M.SG’ clearly makes up a QP with the nominals *el baño* ‘the bathroom’, *el piso* ‘the floor’, and *el pelo* ‘the hair’. Just as *mucha* ‘much.F.SG’ in *Hay mucha agua en la baño* ‘There’s a lot of water on the bathroom floor’ was providing information about how much water there was on the bathroom floor, in all of these examples, 20b, 21b, and 22b, *todo* ‘all.M.SG’ is quantifying how much of the nominal is affected. Furthermore, the strings *toda el baño* ‘all the bathroom’, *todo el piso* ‘all the floor’, and *todo el pelo* ‘all the hair’ behave like constituents according to standard constituency tests. Although questioning the complement of a P in *haber* ‘have’ (20b and 21b) and *tener* ‘have’ (22b) sentences seems to be ruled out for independent reasons, other standard constituency tests such a clefting/pseudo-clefting and coordination confirm the status of the *toda* + determiner + noun strings as constituents. I apply these constituency tests to the string *toda el baño* ‘all the bathroom’ in 20b, as an example.

- (23) a. Coordination
 Hay agua en [**toda el baño**] y [toda
 have.PRS water.F.SG in all.M.SG the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG and all.F.SG
 la cocina].
 the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG
 ‘There’s water in the whole bathroom and the whole kitchen.’
- b. Pseudo-clefting
 Es [**toda el baño**] donde hay agua no
 be.PRS all.M.SG the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG where have.PRS water not
 toda la cocina.
 all.F.SG the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG
 ‘The whole bathroom is where there is water, not the whole kitchen.’

It might be possible to think then that *toda* and *el baño* start out as a constituent in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*, and that the *toda* ‘all’ element and the corresponding associ-

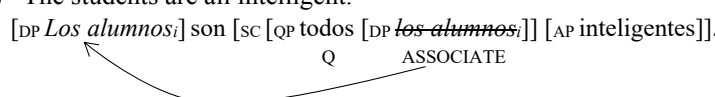
ate *el baño* ‘the bathroom’ somehow ‘split’ in the course of the derivation, giving rise to the linear order we see in 10. This is sketched informally in 24.¹⁰

- (24) Hay [**toda**] agua en [**el baño**].


The attractiveness of an analysis that proposes that *toda* and *el baño* originate together but then split in the course of the derivation is that it would seem to provide us with a satisfactory answer to question (i): the interpretation of the sentence would follow straightforwardly from a structure in which *todo* ‘all’ quantifies over the lower nominal, *el baño* ‘the bathroom’ in 10. However, as we will see shortly, this analysis faces serious semantic and syntactic problems (questions (i) and (ii), respectively), and it fails to account for the agreement facts (question (iii)).

In the following subsection I go over work by Valmala (2008) which suggests that quantifiers can in principle split from their associates along the lines of what is sketched in 24. I then apply Valmala’s analysis to our data and conclude that a splitting analysis is not tenable for 10. This leads me to propose an alternative analysis under which *toda* modifies a silent noun, in particular silent SPACE. This analysis is the focus of §2.3.

VALMALA 2008. Under standard analyses of floating (standard since Sportiche 1988), the associate moves higher up in the structure, leaving the quantifier stranded, as shown in 25.

- (25) ‘The students are all intelligent.’


However, Valmala (2008) proposes that quantifiers can also move and ‘float away’ from their associates. He argues that at least in Spanish both quantifiers and their associates can be subject to movement. This movement is triggered by a ‘mismatch’ in the discourse features ([Topic] or [Focus] feature) of the quantifier and the associate. When the quantifier and the associate agree in discourse features (i.e. if they are both positively specified for the same [Topic] or [Focus] feature), they undergo movement together. Example 26 shows a sentence in which both the quantifier and the nominal are positively specified for the [Focus] feature. This results in the quantifier and the associate undergoing movement to the left periphery together.¹¹

- (26) [TODOS_{FOC} LOS ESTUDIANTES_{FOC}]_i creo que han llegado *t_i* tarde.
 all the students think.PRS.1SG that have arrived late
 ‘I think that all the students have arrived late.’ (Valmala 2008:844)

If neither the quantifier nor the associate is specified for the features [Topic] or [Focus], they both stay in situ (i.e. in [Spec,VP]), as shown in 27.

- (27) Si consiguen [*todos los estudiantes*] beca ...
 if get.PRS.3PL all the students grant
 ‘If all the students get a grant ...’ (Valmala 2008:844)

However, (i) if only one of the elements is marked for either [Focus] or [Topic] and the other one is unmarked, or (ii) if there is a mismatch in features between the quantifier

¹⁰ I intentionally leave unspecified the direction of the split and how it comes about at this point, as these questions are discussed in detail in the following subsection.

¹¹ In the examples in this section, the elements that bear a [Focus] feature appear in SMALL CAPS, and unmarked (neutral) ones are shown in *italics*.

and the associate (i.e. one element is marked for [Focus] and the other one is marked for [Topic]), the result will be a split. That is to say, the element that carries the discourse feature will move, and the one that is not marked for either [Topic] or [Focus] will stay in situ. We see one such example in 28.

- (28) [LOS ESTUDIANTES_{Foc}] creo que han llegado [todos] tarde.
 the students think.PRS.1SG that have arrived all late
 ‘The students, I think, have all arrived late.’ (Valmala 2008:844)

In 28, the DP *los estudiantes* ‘the students’ is marked for [Focus], and the Q *todos* ‘all’ is unmarked; the DP moves, leaving the quantifier stranded.

A fundamental question to ask is whether the split between the associate and the quantifier can result in a configuration in which the quantifier linearly precedes the associate, like the one we have in 24. If this is so, then a splitting analysis for the data presented here would be viable. The answer to this question is affirmative. Valmala gives the example in 29.

- (29) Creo que han conseguido todos beca [LOS
 think.PRS.1SG that have.PRS.3PL got all.M.PL grant.F.SG the
 ESTUDIANTES DE FÍSICA_{Foc}].
 students of physics
 ‘I think that all the students of physics have received a grant.’
 (Valmala 2008:841)

In 29 the quantifier *todos* is neutral, and its associate, *los estudiantes de física* ‘the students of physics’, is marked for [Focus]. The derivation of this sentence proceeds as follows: (a) *los estudiantes de física* ‘the students of physics’ moves to the specifier of a focus phrase, and (b) the TP undergoes remnant movement to the specifier of a higher topic phrase. This is schematized in two steps in 30a and 30b, respectively.¹²

- (30) a. [_{FocP} [_{DP} los estudiantes de física]_i [_{Foc'} Foc [_{TP} consiguieron_j [_{VP} t_j [_{QP} todos [_{DP} t_j] [_{VP} t_j [_{NP} beca]]]]]]]]
 b. [_{TopP} [_{TP} consiguieron_j [_{VP} t_j [_{VP} [_{QP} todos [_{DP} t_j] [_{VP} t_j [_{NP} beca]]]]]]]]_z [_{Top'} [_{Top} [_{FocP} [_{DP} los estudiantes de física]_i [_{Foc'} [Foc [_{TP} t_z]]]]]]]]

What this means is that if there can be a mismatch in features between a Q and its associate, and if this mismatch in features leads to a split, then we can at least assume that the Q *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ and the lower nominal could start out as a single constituent and split in the course of the derivation, like *todos* ‘all.M.PL’ splits from its associate *los estudiantes de física* ‘the students of physics’ in 29. However, there seems to be evidence that this is not what is going on in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*.

AGAINST A SPLITTING ANALYSIS OF *TODA*: SPLITTING AND AGREEMENT. To begin with, unlike what was the case with *los estudiantes de física* ‘the students of physics’ in 29, the potential associate in *Hay toda agua en el baño, el baño* ‘the bathroom’, does not carry a contrastive focus feature. Sentence 10 is repeated as 31 below.

- (31) Hay toda agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

More importantly, a splitting analysis like the one sketched in 30 would not allow us to explain the agreement facts. In instances of floating in Spanish, the associate and the

¹² The derivation proposed by Valmala rests on the assumption that movement can only take place leftward, following Kayne 1994.

quantifier always agree in gender and number, even if they split in the course of the derivation, as seen in 29, repeated as 32.

- (32) Creo que han conseguido [todos] beca [los
 think.PRS.1SG that have.PRS.3PL got all.M.PL grant.F.SG the
 estudiantes de física].
 students of physics
 ‘I think that all the students of physics have received a grant.’

(Valmala 2008:841)

In 32 the Q *todos* ‘all.M.PL’ agrees in gender and number with its associate *los estudiantes de física* ‘the students of physics’. If *todo* does not show agreement with its associate, as in 33, or if it agrees with a nominal different from its associate (for instance, the noun *beca* ‘grant’), as in 34, the result is ungrammatical.

- (33) *Creo que han conseguido **todo** beca los
 think.PRS.1SG that have.PRS.3PL got all.M.SG grant.F.SG the.M.PL
 estudiantes de física.
 students.M.PL of physics
 ‘I think that all the students of physics have received a grant.’
- (34) *Creo que han conseguido **toda** beca los
 think.PRS.1SG that have.PRS.3PL got all.F.SG grant.F.SG the.M.PL
 estudiantes de física.
 students.M.PL of physics
 ‘I think that all the students of physics have received a grant.’

Going back to our puzzle, if *todo* must necessarily agree with its associate, as shown by the contrast between 32 on the one hand and 33 and 34 on the other, then this means that under a splitting analysis of sentences like 31, *todo* should agree with the lower nominal, but this is not what we find.

- (35) *Hay **toda** barro en la cocina.
 have.PRS all.F.SG mud.M.SG in the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG
 ‘There’s mud over the whole kitchen floor.’

In 35 *barro* ‘mud’ is masculine and *la cocina* ‘the kitchen’ is feminine. *Todo* ‘all’ needs to agree with *barro* ‘mud’ (*todo barro* ‘all.M.SG mud.M.SG’). If *todo* ‘all’ agrees with the nominal *la cocina* ‘the kitchen’, the sentence is ungrammatical.

These facts show that an analysis in which *todo* is associated with the lower nominal and splits from it in the course of the derivation cannot accommodate the agreement pattern we observe, or at least not without what I consider to be a high theoretical cost. Under the assumption that quantifiers, articles, demonstratives, and adjectives agree with the nominal head of the phrase embedded under them, it would be necessary to posit that in sentences like 35 *todo* FIRST agrees with *cocina* inside the QP *toda la cocina* ‘all.F.SG the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG’. However, *todo* ends up agreeing with the masculine noun *barro* ‘mud.M.SG’ and, crucially, not with the feminine noun *cocina* ‘kitchen.F.SG’. This means that the feminine agreement that first appeared on *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ would THEN need to be somehow ‘overridden’ or ‘undone’, so that *todo* ends up agreeing with *barro* ‘mud.M.SG’ instead. The mere notion that agreement should take place, be undone, and take place again is, at best, suspect.¹³

¹³ As can be seen from the present discussion, this work adopts the view of Agree as a syntactic phenomenon that cannot be altered postsyntactically in the PF branch.

SPLITTING AND INTERPRETATION. Another reason why a splitting analysis does not seem to be correct has to do with interpretation. We mentioned before that a splitting analysis of *todo* provided at first sight a satisfactory answer to our interpretative question (i). However, on closer inspection it looks like this analysis faces problems here as well. Although a sentence like 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*, has a corresponding paraphrase in which *todo* could potentially be interpreted in relation with the lower nominal, in that case in particular with the nominal *el baño* ‘the bathroom’, this is not always the case. Let us consider a sentence like 36.

- (36) Tenés todo chocolate entre los bolsillos de
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG between the.M.PL pockets.M.PL of
 la camisa.
 the.F.SG shirt.F.SG
 ‘There’s chocolate all between the pockets of your shirt.’

Under an analysis in which *todo* originates with the lower nominal and subsequently splits away from it, *entre* ‘between’ would first combine with the nominal *todos los bolsillos de la camisa* ‘all the pockets of your shirt’. However, this is not the interpretation of 36. This sentence does not mean that there is chocolate between all the pockets of your shirt. In other words, *todo* ‘all’ is clearly not quantifying over pockets. The interpretation of this sentence is that all the space between the pockets of your shirt is covered with chocolate. Note, furthermore, that 36 is perfectly felicitous in the standard context of a shirt with two pockets. This is unexpected if *todo* ‘all’ originates with the lower nominal due to the fact that quantifier *todo* ‘all’ cannot quantify over two, as shown by the anomaly of 37.

- (37) #Todas mis manos están sucias.
 all my hands be.PRS.3PL dirty

We can conclude then that the fact that sentences like 36 are possible provides further evidence that an analysis under which *todo* ‘all’ originates together with the lower nominal cannot be correct: it fails to account for both the interpretation and the agreement facts we observe. Further examples that illustrate the same point, that *todo* is not associated with the lower nominal, are given in 38 and 39.

- (38) Tenés todo chocolate al lado de la corbata.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of the.F.SG tie.F.SG
 ‘The/a space next to your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’ (lit. ‘You have all chocolate next to your tie.’)
- (39) Tenés todo chocolate cerca de la corbata.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG near of the.F.SG tie.F.SG
 ‘The/a space near your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’ (lit. ‘You have all chocolate near your tie.’)

Just as was the case with 36, the interpretation of 38 cannot be that there is chocolate next to all (of) your tie. It seems to be a fact that *al lado* ‘next to’ cannot combine with a nominal quantified by *todo* ‘all’. Sentences like 40 and 41, where *al lado* combines with a nominal quantified by *todo*, are clearly ungrammatical in Spanish, just as they are in English.

- (40) *Tenés chocolate al lado de toda la corbata.
 have.PRS.2SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of all.F.SG the.F.SG tie.F.SG
 ‘A space next to your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’ (lit. ‘You have chocolate next to all your tie.’)

- (41) *Tenés chocolate cerca de toda la corbata.
 have.PRS.2SG chocolate.M.SG near of all.F.SG the.F.SG tie.F.SG
 ‘A space near your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’ (lit. ‘You have chocolate near all your tie.’)

The reason why a locative expression like *al lado* ‘next to’ is incompatible with a nominal quantified by *todo* ‘all’ is not clear. However, the fact that this incompatibility does exist is enough evidence for us to say that *todo* cannot be quantifying over *la corbata* ‘the tie’ in 38 and 39.

To sum up, in the introduction to our puzzle I showed that *todo* ‘all’ cannot be quantifying over the higher nominal (*agua* ‘water.F.SG’ in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*). This section showed that it cannot be quantifying over the lower nominal either (*el baño* ‘the bathroom.M.SG’): an analysis along these lines gets both the interpretation and the agreement facts wrong. If we take the strong position that the element *todo* ‘all’ is always a quantifier that combines with a nominal, then the only possibility would be to propose that *todo* in 10 is quantifying over a silent nominal. We explore this possibility next. However, before embarking on this task, which is the focus of §2.3, we look very briefly at the status of *todo* as a quantifier and as an adverb. This will be relevant to the proposal in §3.

2.2. A BRIEF DETOUR: QUANTIFIER AND ADVERB *ALL*. The categorial status of *all* has been discussed in much of the work on floating quantifiers. At least at face value, there seem to be cases where *all* has the interpretation of a quantifier, roughly corresponding to ‘the totality of the members in a set’/‘the totality of the parts of a whole’, as shown in 42 and 43.

- (42) The students are all tall.
 (43) That house is all white.

The interpretation of 42 is that the totality of the members of the set of students (with the set defined by context) are tall, and the interpretation of 43 is that all the parts of the house are white. However, there are other cases in which the interpretation of *all* seems close in meaning to that of an adverb like *completely*, as in 44 and 45.

- (44) John is all upset.
 (45) I am all alone.

The difference between the sentences in 42–43, on the one hand, and 44–45, on the other, is clear. While *all* picks out the totality of the members in the set of students in 42 and all the parts of the house in 43, this is not the case in 44 and 45. The interpretation of 44 is not that ‘all the parts of John are upset’, and the interpretation of 45 is not that ‘all the parts of myself are alone’. Rather, these sentences mean that John is upset TO A COMPLETE DEGREE and that I am alone to a complete degree, something like ‘really upset/alone’ or ‘completely upset/alone’. Another difference between ‘totality’ *all* (as in 42 and 43) and ‘completive’ *all* (44 and 45) is that totality *all* can appear with both stage-level and individual-level predicates, as shown in 46. In contrast, completive *all* is possible only with stage-level predicates, as illustrated in 47.

- (46) a. The students are all tall. (individual-level predicate)
 b. The students are all upset.¹⁴ (stage-level predicate)

¹⁴ This sentence is ambiguous. It can be interpreted either as ‘The totality of the members of the set of students are upset’ or as ‘The students are completely/very upset’. A plural subject with a stage-level predicate will often result in this double reading. The relevant reading is the first: one under which *todo* ‘all’ refers to the totality of the members of the set. The fact that this reading is possible in both 46a and 46b shows that this *all* (unlike completive *all*) is not sensitive to the individual- vs. stage-level distinction.

- (47) a. *John is all tall. (individual-level predicate)
 b. John is all upset. (stage-level predicate)

Without going into the details of the different analyses given to *all* in the literature, I simply point out that ‘categorially’ speaking, the analyses fall into three groups: (i) those that have either assumed or defended the idea that there is only one element *all* that is always a quantifier (Sportiche 1988, among others), (ii) those that have either assumed or defended the idea that there is only one element *all* that is always an adverb (Bowers 1993, Brisson 1998, among others), and (iii) those that have assumed or defended the idea that there are two distinct elements *all*: one that is a quantifier (42–43), and one that is an adverb (44–45) (Cirillo 2009, among others).

It is not clear that attaching the label ‘quantifier’ or ‘adverb’ to *todo* ‘all’ really matters, but what does matter is the issue that these analyses seem to raise: whether *all* always quantifies over a nominal (analyses of type (i)), whether it modifies a syntactic predicate (analyses of type (ii)), or whether it quantifies over/modifies either (analyses of type (iii)). In other words, it is precisely because we are trying to answer the question of what element *todo* quantifies over/modifies in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño*, that these previous analyses are relevant.

We turn next to the predictions made by analyses like those in group (i).

2.3. DOES *TODO* ‘ALL’ QUANTIFY OVER SILENT SPACE? One possibility we may explore is that *todo* is always a quantifier, and that it always quantifies over a nominal. It has been very clear from the beginning that *todo* is not interpreted in relation with the higher nominal (*agua* ‘water’ in 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño* ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor’). We have also seen that *todo* does not quantify over the lower nominal (*el baño* ‘the bathroom’ in 10). This latter fact was confirmed by agreement, and by the fact that prepositions like *al lado* ‘next to’ and *cerca de* ‘close to’ participate in the structure in 10 but disallow a QP headed by *todo* as their complement. Moreover, *todo* can appear in the structure if the lower nominal refers to two entities, but quantifier *todo* cannot quantify over two. All of this means that the lower nominal cannot be the site where *todo* originates. If *todo* indeed quantifies over a nominal, and it does not quantify over the higher nominal or the lower nominal, then it necessarily follows that it must quantify over a silent one.

SILENT SPACE AND INTERPRETATION. We saw in §2.1 that a likely paraphrase of 36, repeated here as 48, is that ‘all the SPACE between the pockets of your shirt is covered with chocolate’.

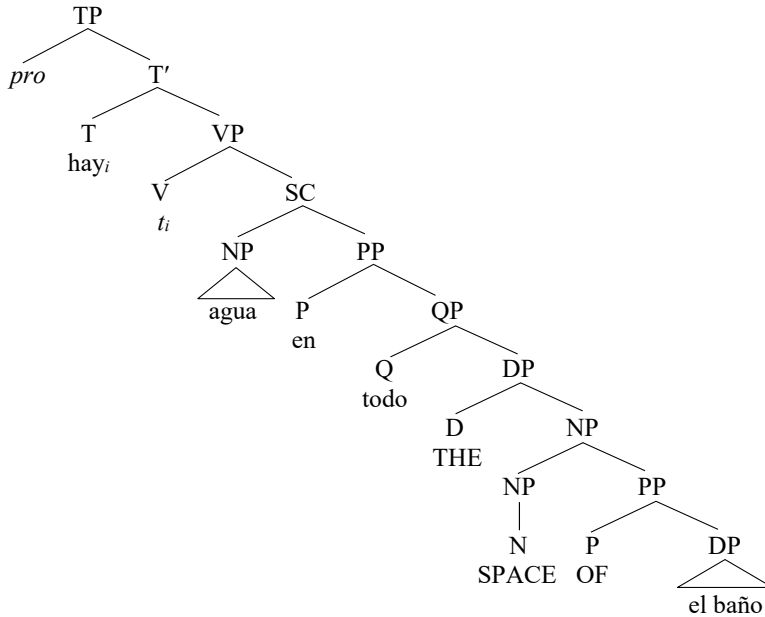
- (48) Tenés todo chocolate entre los bolsillos de
 have.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG between the.M.PL pockets.M.PL of
 la camisa.
 the.F.SG shirt.F.SG
 ‘There’s chocolate all between the pockets of your shirt.’

Taking this paraphrase seriously, we might propose that *todo* is actually quantifying over a silent nominal PLACE/SPACE.¹⁵ A plausible analysis for our original sentence 10, repeated as 49, would then be the one shown in 50.

¹⁵ The existence of a silent PLACE element was initially proposed by Kayne (2004) and was taken up by various authors such as Terzi (2010, and earlier work), Noonan (2010), and Dékány (2018), among others. Here I use the labels PLACE and SPACE interchangeably. It may turn out to be the case that one of these labels is more accurate than the other for the structure we are analyzing here. For the time being, I leave this question open.

- (49) Hay toda agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

- (50) Possible structure for *Hay toda agua en el baño* (*todo* ‘all’ quantifies over SPACE)



In 50, *todo* quantifies over *THE SPACE OF el baño* ‘THE SPACE OF the bathroom’ and would subsequently move higher up in the structure. This analysis succeeds in accounting for the interpretation of *todo* in the sentences we are investigating in a way that was not possible when *todo* was taken to quantify over the higher or the lower nominal. As mentioned in the introduction, the sentences discussed in this work always describe a situation in which a mass covers a surface completely, in all of its extension. That is to say, the situations in question always involve two participants: A SPACE and A MASS. The silent SPACE element in 50 provides the syntax with that previously missing interpretative element.

SILENT SPACE AND AGREEMENT. The analysis in 50 solves the first half of the puzzle mentioned in §1 (it provides us with a satisfactory answer to question (i)). However, it still fails to account for the agreement facts (question (iii)), which we turn to now.

In sentences like 49, *Hay toda agua en el baño*, *todo* shows agreement with the higher nominal and surfaces as *toda* ‘all.F.SG’. However, these agreement facts cannot be made to follow from the structure in 50. There are different agreement situations that I believe might in principle be possible in structure 50, but none of them will lead us to 49. Under 50, we might expect *todo* either (i) to agree with silent SPACE and always display the same agreement (most likely masculine singular, if it carries the same features as overt *lugar* ‘place’ or overt *espacio* ‘space’ in Spanish), (ii) to not agree with any nominal at all, if agreement is somehow not possible with SPACE because it is silent, or (iii) to agree with the lower nominal, if the silent nature of SPACE makes it ‘not count’ for agreement. But this is not what we find. Options (i) and (ii) predict that we should find 51 (lack of agreement/always masculine singular agreement) and option

(iii) that we should find 52 (agreement with the lower nominal *la cocina* ‘the kitchen’), contrary to fact.¹⁶

- (51) *Hay todo agua en la cocina.
 have.PRS all.M.SG water.F.SG in the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole kitchen floor.’
- (52) *Hay toda barro en la cocina.
 have.PRS all.F.SG mud.M.SG in the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG
 ‘There’s mud over the whole kitchen floor.’

Because the analysis sketched in this subsection accounts for half of our puzzle (the interpretation) but makes the wrong predictions regarding the other half of our puzzle (the agreement facts), I propose an alternative analysis in the next section.

3. THE PROPOSAL: *TODO* MODIFIES A SYNTACTIC PREDICATE. We saw in the previous section that *todo* does not seem to be quantifying over a nominal (overt or silent). In this section I pursue an analysis in which *todo* modifies a syntactic predicate (along the lines of analyses (ii) and (iii) mentioned in §2.2).

In §2 we assumed 50, without any special motivation, as an analysis of existential sentences in which the entity whose location is described (*agua* ‘water’ in 10) is the subject of a constituent akin to a small clause, and the location (*en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’) is some kind of predicate. But there seems to be evidence that this may not be correct. Inspired by work by Francez (2007), in the following subsection I propose a different analysis of the existential sentence in 10. Specifically, I propose that the existential verb *hay* ‘have.PRS’ in 10 selects a small clause whose subject is the silent DP THE/A SPACE and whose predicate is a PP constituent headed by silent WITH. The pivot, *agua* ‘water’ in 10, is the complement of the silent preposition WITH, and the coda, *en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’, is a postmodifier of the silent noun SPACE. I describe this analysis and the motivation behind it next.

3.1. SILENT SPACE AND SILENT WITH. Francez (2007) proposes an insightful analysis of existential sentences that goes against the traditional small-clause analysis, which takes the pivot to be the subject and the coda to be the predicate (as in Chomsky 1981, Safir 1982). He proposes that in a sentence like 53 below, the main predicate is not *in the jar* (the coda), but rather the postcopular NP *whiskey* (the pivot). This predicate has a single argument that is implicit. The value of this argument is determined by context or by contextual modifiers expressed by the constituent following the pivot (the coda, e.g. *in the jar* in 53).

- (53) There’s whiskey in the jar.

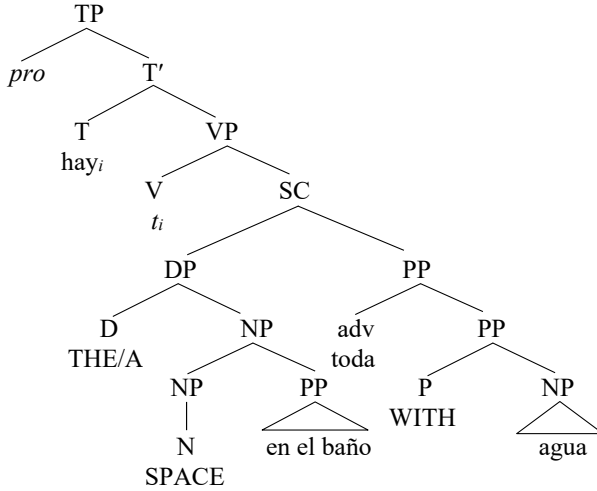
To recap: the argument in existentials is implicit, *in the jar* is a modifier of this implicit argument, and *whiskey* is the predicate.

Francez’s analysis is semantic in nature. However, we will see very shortly how postulating a syntactic structure that mirrors the semantic interpretation proposed by Francez considerably increases the explanatory power. Concretely, I propose for *Hay toda agua*

¹⁶ As mentioned in n. 5, a sentence like 51 is unacceptable to the majority of the speakers of Rioplatense Spanish consulted but is acceptable to a subgroup of these speakers. Furthermore, this is the sole agreement pattern allowed for speakers of Peninsular Spanish. Discussion of this aspect of variation is reserved for §4.

en el baño (10) an analysis in which the coda is a modifier of a silent element and the pivot is (part of) a syntactic predicate. The structure of 10 would be that shown in 54.¹⁷

(54) Structure for *Hay toda agua en el baño* (the proposal)



The structure in 54 reflects the semantic conclusions reached by Francez: the argument of the existential is implicit (THE/A SPACE),¹⁸ the locative is a modifier of this implicit argument (*en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’ modifies SPACE), and the NP (*agua* ‘water’) forms part of the predicate. In this structure *toda* ‘all’ is an adverb close in meaning to *completely*.

For the sake of completeness, the analysis of a *tener* ‘have’ sentence, which would have an identical small-clause structure to the one given in 54, is sketched in 55.

¹⁷ In the structure in 54, the property-denoting WITH-PP is predicated of a DP. Note that while this is not typically possible in English (with the exception of idiomatic expressions such as *She is with child*), this is widely attested in Spanish. Two examples are given below.

- (i) Juan está con piojos.
 Juan be.PRS.3SG with lice
 ‘Juan has lice.’
- (ii) El mantel está con agujeros.
 the tablecloth be.PRS.3SG with holes
 ‘The tablecloth has holes in it.’

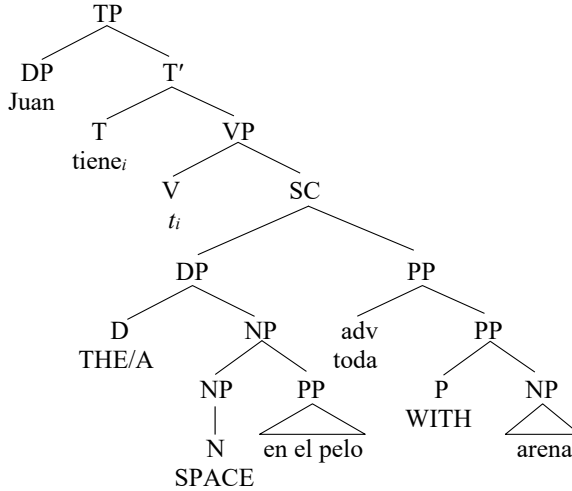
Furthermore, an adverb like *completamente* ‘completely’ can modify a WITH-PP, as shown in (iii) and (iv).

- (iii) Esa cuadra ya está **completamente** con luces.
 that block already be.PRS.3SG completely with lights
 ‘That block is now fully equipped with lights.’
- (iv) Esa zona está **completamente** con agua.
 that area be.PRS.3SG completely with water
 ‘That area is completely covered with water.’

It is for this reason that I propose that the adverb *toda* ‘all.F.SG’ in 54 modifies the PP *WITH agua* ‘WITH water’ directly without the need to propose that it modifies a silent past participle such as *cubierto* ‘covered’ instead.

¹⁸ Francez (2007) posits, contra the proposal made in this work, that the silent argument in existentials is a SEMANTIC argument but not a SYNTACTIC one. Evidence that this argument is indeed present in the syntax in structures like 54 and 55 is given in §3.6.

(55) Structure for *Juan tiene toda arena en el pelo*



We will now see that if existentials and *tener* sentences have the structure inspired by Francez’s work, and *todo* is a modifier of the predicate in 54 and 55, then the puzzle presented at the beginning of this article can be explained. In the following subsections I review all of the issues our analysis needs to capture: the interpretation of *Hay toda agua en el baño* (10), its constituency, and the agreement facts.¹⁹ But before doing so, I would like to point out an important welcome result for Spanish that follows if we adopt an analysis of existentials à la Francez. It has been proposed in the literature (Cuervo 2003, among others) that bare nominals in Spanish cannot occupy A-specifier positions. To illustrate this point, Cuervo gives the example shown in 56.

- (56) **Tu amiga consideraba interesantes películas.*
 your friend consider.pst.3sg interesting movies
 ‘Your friend used to consider movies to be interesting.’

In sentence 56 *películas* ‘movies’ is the subject of a small clause whose predicate is *interesantes* ‘interesting’. Cuervo (2003) argues that the ungrammaticality of 56 is due to the fact that *películas* ‘movies’ is occupying an A-specifier position, and that bare nominals in Spanish are banned from being A-specifiers. It is interesting to point out that

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning that although an analysis of existentials as underlying ‘with’-structures has, to the best of my knowledge, not been proposed for Spanish, an analysis of existentials as ‘with’-structures has been proposed for some existential constructions in Brazilian Portuguese. In particular, Avelar (2009) discusses existential sentences with *ter* ‘have’ like the one shown below.

- (i) *No centro da cidade tinha um engarrafamento enorme.*
 in.the center of.the city had a traffic.jam big
 ‘There was a big traffic jam downtown.’ (Avelar 2009:169)

He proposes for sentences like (i) the structure shown in (ii).

- (ii) $[_{TP} [_{PP} \text{no centro da cidade}]_i [_{T'} T [_{VP} \text{estar} + \text{com}_j = \text{ter}$
 in.the center of.the city be + with = have
 $[_{PP} t_i [_{P'} t_j [_{DP} \text{um engarrafamento enorme}]]]]]]]$
 a traffic.jam big (Avelar 2009:170)

The extent to which these existentials in Brazilian Portuguese resemble or differ from the existentials discussed in this work still needs to be investigated. However, some preliminary comments in this respect are made in §4.

under a standard small-clause analysis of existentials, like the one we simply assumed in 50, the pivot (*agua* ‘water’ in 10) is the subject, and the coda (*en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’ in 10) is the predicate. Note that this would constitute a violation of the constraint proposed by Cuervo, since in this case a bare nominal, *agua* ‘water’, would be occupying an A-specifier position. However, under the analysis in 54 the bare nominal is occupying a COMPLEMENT position (it is the complement of the preposition WITH). This is a perfectly licit position for a bare nominal in Spanish, as the examples below show.

- (57) Fuimos al cine con amigos.
 go.PST.1PL to.the cinema with friends
 ‘We went to the movies with (some) friends.’
- (58) Siempre tomo té con azúcar.
 always drink.PRS.1SG tea with sugar
 ‘I always have sugar in my tea.’

3.2. WITH-PP AND INTERPRETATION. Under the WITH-PP analysis proposed here, *Hay toda agua en el baño* (10) contains as part of its structure a silent SPACE element. However, unlike what was the case with the analysis in §2.3, in this case *todo* does not quantify over this nominal but, rather, modifies the PP *WITH agua* ‘with water’. In other words, *todo* modifies the PP predicate in a fashion parallel to how an adverb like *completely* modifies the predicates *wet* and *destroyed* in *completely wet* and *completely destroyed*. The interpretation that follows, then, is that there is a space (narrowed down by the PP *en el baño* ‘in the bathroom’ in 10) that is COMPLETELY COVERED WITH A MASS (*agua* ‘water’ in 10).

3.3. WITH-PP AND CONSTITUENCY. As to constituency, we observed in §1 that *toda agua* ‘all.F.SG water.F.SG’ could not be a suitable answer to a *qué* ‘what’ question. The question and answer pair in 12 is repeated as 59.

- (59) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?
 what have.PRS in the bathroom
 ‘What is there in the bathroom?’
- B: *Toda agua.
 all.F.SG water.F.SG
 ‘All water.’

The structure in 54 provides us with a possible explanation for the unavailability of 59. The reason why *toda agua* ‘all water’ fails as an answer to a *qué* ‘what’ question is that *toda agua* is a prepositional phrase (and crucially not a nominal constituent), and prepositional phrases are not suitable answers to *qué* questions, as shown in 60.

- (60) A: ¿Qué cocinaste?
 what cook.PST.2SG
 ‘What did you cook?’
- B: *En el horno /*Con manteca /*Para María. [*** as an answer to A]
 in the oven / with butter / for María

If this is indeed the reason why 59 fails, the prediction is that *toda agua* should be able to pass other constituency tests that serve to pick out nonnominal constituents. Coordination and clefting are two such tests. First, in 61 we can see how these tests can ordinarily pick out PP constituents in structures other than the one we are analyzing here. Sentences 61b and 61c show the coordination of a PP with another PP string and the clefting of a PP, respectively.

- (61) a. Juan revolvió la sopa con una cuchara.
 Juan stir.PST.3SG the soup with a spoon
 ‘Juan stirred the soup with a spoon.’
- b. Juan revolvió la sopa [**con una cuchara**] y [con un cucharón].
 Juan stir.PST.3SG the soup with a spoon and with a ladle
 ‘Juan stirred the soup with a spoon and with a ladle.’ (coordination of PPs)
- c. Fue [**con una cuchara**] que Juan revolvió la sopa, no
 be.PST.3SG with a spoon that Juan stir.PST.3SG the soup not
 con un cucharón.
 with a ladle
 ‘It was with a spoon that Juan stirred the soup, not with a ladle.’
 (clefting of PP)

Sentences 62b and 62c, respectively, show that it is possible to coordinate the *todo* + noun string with another one and to have it appear as the focus of a cleft sentence, as expected.²⁰

- (62) a. Juan tiene todo chocolate en las manos.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG in the hands
 ‘Juan has chocolate all over his hands.’
- b. Juan tiene [**todo chocolate**] y [toda crema] en
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG and all.F.SG cream.F.SG in
 las manos.
 the hands
 ‘Juan has chocolate and cream all over his hands.’ (coordination)
- c. ?Es [**todo chocolate**] que Juan tiene en las manos,
 be.PRS all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG that Juan have.PRS.3SG in the hands
 no toda crema.
 not all.F.SG cream.F.SG
 ‘It is chocolate that Juan has all over his hands, not cream.’ (clefting)

To conclude, we can say that the analysis proposed here nicely accounts for why *todo* and the higher nominal cannot serve as an answer to a *qué* question but can be clefted or coordinated with another string. We turn to our final and hardest hurdle next: the agreement facts.

3.4. WITH-PP AND AGREEMENT. In the analysis proposed in 54, *todo* ‘all’ is an adverb akin to *completely*. The first issue we need to address in relation to agreement is whether adverbs can display gender and number agreement in Spanish in the first place. The answer to this question is affirmative. Spanish has quantifier-like elements that modify syntactic predicates, just as *todo* seems to be doing in the sentences we are investigating here. Examples with *bastante* ‘quite a lot’, *nada* ‘nothing’, and *medio* ‘half’ are given in 63.

²⁰ Why sentence 62c is not fully acceptable is not clear. However, the fact that 62b is fully acceptable and that 62c is better than the answer in 59 seem to me to constitute clear evidence that it is not the constituency of the string itself that is at the heart of the impossibility of 59.

- (63) a. Juan es bastante alto.
 Juan be.PRS.3SG quite.a.lot tall
 ‘Juan is quite tall.’
- b. José no es nada responsable.
 José not be.PRS.3SG nothing responsible
 ‘José is not responsible at all.’
- c. Pedro está medio aburrido.
 Pedro be.PRS.3SG half bored
 ‘Pedro is a little bit bored.’

Although *nada* ‘nothing’ does not show agreement, for many speakers (myself included) *medio* ‘half’ does, as in 64. Other speakers also allow *bastante* ‘quite a lot’ to display agreement, as shown in 65.

- (64) María está media aburrida.
 María be.PRS.3SG half.F.SG bored.F.SG
 ‘María is a little bit bored.’
- (65) Sus chistes son bastantes graciosos.
 his.PL jokes.PL be.PRS.3PL quite.a.lot.PL funny.PL
 ‘His jokes are pretty funny.’

In 64 *media* ‘half.F.SG’ agrees in gender with the adjective *aburrida* ‘bored.F.SG’, and in 65 *bastantes* ‘quite a lot.PL’ agrees in number with the adjective *graciosos* ‘funny.M.PL’.²¹ If adverbs can indeed agree in Spanish, the next step is to evaluate how *todo* comes to agree with the higher nominal in the specific structure proposed here.

It is undeniable that the analysis proposed in this section has left us in a much more advantageous situation for the purposes of agreement than the other analyses we entertained. Under the analysis in 54 *todo* ‘all’ and *agua* ‘water’ are inside the same PP constituent. In the previous analyses, *todo* was either in the same nominal projection as the lower nominal or in the same nominal projection as a silent nominal, configurations that made syntactic agreement with the higher nominal impossible. In contrast, under the proposal in this section, it would be possible to think that *todo* agrees with *agua* inside the PP that contains them both. For this account to be viable, it would be necessary for the P WITH to not interfere in the agreement relationship between *todo* and the nominal. One possibility might be to think that WITH does not interfere with this agreement relationship by virtue of being silent. However, if agreement is a syntactic operation, it is not clear why a contrast between the null versus overt nature of an element should exist. A more viable explanation may lie in the long-distance agreement facts discussed in Gallego & Uriagereka 2016.

Gallego and Uriagereka (2016) observe that in some varieties of Spanish it is possible for a verb to show agreement with a nominal across a lexical preposition like *con* ‘with’, *a* ‘to’, or *en* ‘in’ in pseudo-passive structures. Some of their examples are given in 66.

- (66) Dialectal Spanish
 a. Dijo que se **hablaron** con **las autoridades**.
 say that SE talk.PST.3PL with the authorities
 ‘He said that the authorities were talked to.’

²¹ Note, however, that gender agreement is not expected to appear on *bastante* ‘quite a lot’ due to the fact that words ending in ‘e’ in Spanish do not typically show the *a* or *o* agreement marker.

(i) *inteligente*/**inteligenta*/**inteligento* ‘intelligent’
 (ii) *elegante*/**eleganta*/**eleganto* ‘elegant’

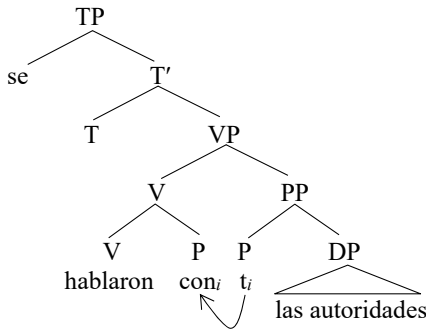
The issue of adverb agreement in Spanish, especially with respect to variation, is discussed in more detail in §4.

- b. Se **llegaron** a los **74,3 millones de operaciones**.
 SE arrive.PST.3PL to the 74.3 million of operations
 ‘74.3 million operations were reached.’
- c. Nunca se **pensaron** en las **condiciones de riesgo**.
 never SE think.PST.3PL in the conditions of risk
 ‘Risk conditions were never considered.’

In 66a, the verb *hablaron* ‘talk.PST.3PL’ agrees in number with the nominal *las autoridades* ‘the authorities’, which is contained inside the PP *con las autoridades* ‘with the authorities’. Sentences 66b and 66c illustrate the same pattern. In 66b, the verb *llegaron* ‘arrive.PST.3PL’ agrees in number with the nominal inside the PP *a los 74,3 millones de operaciones* ‘to the 74.3 million of operations’, and in 66c the verb *pensaron* ‘think.PST.3PL’ agrees with the nominal inside the PP headed by the P *en* ‘in’: *en las condiciones de riesgo* ‘in the conditions of risk’.

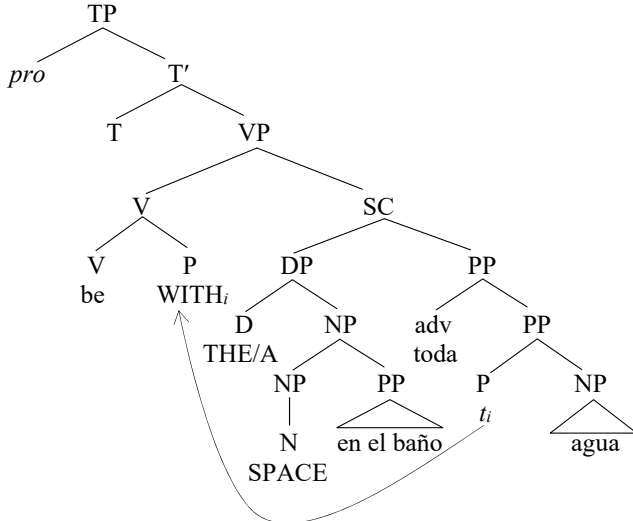
Gallego and Uriagereka account for the agreement facts in 66 by proposing that P undergoes head movement and incorporates into V. This movement of P to V, in their own words, ‘unshields the NP’, granting long-distance number agreement. This incorporation is shown in 67.

(67) Structure of the VP in *Se hablaron con las autoridades* ‘the authorities were talked to’



The fact that *con* ‘with’ is in principle one of the lexical Ps that can undergo head movement to V in the manner just outlined opens the door to the possibility that P-to-V movement also occurs in 54, as sketched in 68.

(68) Incorporation of P into V in *Hay toda agua en el baño*



In 68, silent WITH incorporates into the verb, just as *con* ‘with’ does in 67. This would unshield the NP *agua* ‘water’, making agreement between *todo* ‘all’ and *agua* ‘water’ possible.²² Finally, movement of the entire PP constituent (whose landing site and motivation are beyond the scope of this article) would yield the linear order in 10.²³

3.5. RESTRICTION OF COMPLETIVE *TODO* TO STAGE-LEVEL PREDICATES. In my discussion on quantifier and adverb *all* in §2.2, I mentioned the fact that adverb *todo/all*, unlike quantifier *todo/all*, is restricted to appearing with stage-level predicates. In this subsection I point out that *todo* in sentences like 10, *Hay toda agua en el baño* ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor’, is also subject to this restriction. This lends support to the analysis of *todo* as a completive adverb proposed in this work. In the following paragraphs, I first go over a diagnostic for distinguishing stage-level from individual-level predicates. I then apply this diagnostic to the *todo* construction and show its compatibility with stage-level predicates exclusively.

Note first that a temporal expression such as *cada mañana* ‘every morning’ can modify stage-level predicates but not individual-level predicates,²⁴ as shown below.

- (69) Juan estaba asustado **cada mañana**.
 Juan be.PST.3SG scared.M.SG every morning (stage-level)
- (70) María estaba entusiasmada **cada mañana**.
 María be.PST.3SG excited.F.SG every morning (stage-level)
- (71) #Juan era alto **cada mañana**.
 Juan be.PST.3SG tall.M.SG every morning (individual-level)
- (72) #María es inglesa **cada mañana**.
 María be.PRS.3SG English.F.SG every morning (individual-level)

The predicates *asustado* ‘scared’ (69) and *entusiasmada* ‘excited’ (70) are stage-level predicates and allow modification by *cada mañana* ‘every morning’. In contrast, the predicates *alto* ‘tall’ (71) and *inglesa* ‘English’ (72) are individual-level and disallow this modifier. In a similar fashion, these stage-level predicates allow completive *all* (73 and 74), whereas the individual-level predicates do not (75 and 76).

²² As mentioned in n. 5 and n. 16, agreement in the structure being investigated in this article is subject to dialectal variation, just as the instances of long-distance agreement described by Gallego and Uriagereka (2016).

²³ Another interesting case of agreement of adverbs in Spanish, discussed in Fábregas & Pérez 2008, involves agreement between the adverb *mucho* ‘much’ and a nominal in strings such as *mucho mejor intención* ‘much.F.SG better intention.F.SG’. I am grateful to a referee for bringing the work of Fábregas and Pérez to my attention.

²⁴ Kratzer (1995) claims that a spatiotemporal expression such as *this morning* can modify stage-level predicates but not individual-level predicates. However, individual-level predicates seem to allow this adverbial under specific scenarios.

- (i) I was blond **this morning**.
 (ii) I was single **this morning**.

Although being blond and being single are individual-level properties, the sentences in (i) and (ii) are felicitous under the interpretation that the state ceased to hold during the course of the day (e.g. during the day, the speaker dyed their hair in (i) and got married in (ii)). In contrast, an adverbial such as *every morning* seems to be incompatible with individual-level predicates quite independently of the context, as shown below.

- (iii) #I was blond **every morning**.
 (iv) #I was single **every morning**.

For this reason, the adverbial *cada mañana* ‘every morning’ (instead of *esta mañana* ‘this morning’) has been used to determine the stage-level vs. individual-level status of the predicates in the text.

- (73) Juan estaba **todo** asustado.
 Juan be.PST.3SG all.M.SG scared.M.SG (stage-level)
- (74) María estaba **toda** entusiasmada.
 María be.PST.3SG all.F.SG excited.F.SG (stage-level)
- (75) #Juan era **todo** alto.²⁵
 Juan be.PST.3SG all.M.SG tall.M.SG (individual-level)
- (76) #María es **toda** inglesa.
 María be.PRS.3SG all.F.SG English.F.SG (individual-level)

The examples above show that completive *todo*, just like *cada mañana* ‘every morning’, is restricted to stage-level predicates.²⁶

I now go over the data that is the focus of this work in the light of the stage-level vs. individual-level distinction. Note first the sentences below (without *todo*).

²⁵ A referee points out that in Peninsular Spanish in the register of youth speech, examples such as that in (i) are admitted with individual-level predicates (with *tó* being a colloquial variant of *todo* ‘all’).

- (i) Juan es **tó** alto.
 Juan be.PRS.3SG all tall
 ‘Juan is really tall.’

Although Rioplatense Spanish lacks the *tó* variant, it also allows, in certain contexts, the use of *todo* with individual-level predicates. Some examples are given below.

- (ii) María es **toda** prolija /elegante /cariñosa.
 María be.PRS.3SG all.F.SG tidy.F.SG/elegant.F.SG/caring.F.SG
 ‘María is very tidy/elegant/caring.’

Note, however, that in (i) and (ii) *todo/tó* does not convey the meaning of completeness. Rather, it acts as a degree modifier parallel to *very*. This ‘dual use’ of *todo* ‘all’ as a completive modifier and as a degree modifier is not exclusive to this item; it is also found with other modifiers of maximality like *totally* and *completely* (note the degree interpretation in examples like *I’m totally intrigued by that* or *He is completely gorgeous*). For this reason, I do not consider the examples in (i) and (ii) (with degree *todo*) to constitute counterexamples to the restriction of completive *todo* to stage-level predicates discussed in this section.

²⁶ As can be seen in examples 73–76, *estar* is compatible with completive *todo*, whereas *ser* is not. Note that this observation makes it possible to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences with completive *todo* like those below, where *todo* appears with the copula *ser*.

- (i) *Era **toda** agua en el suelo.
 be.PST.3SG all.F.SG water.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG
- (ii) *El **suelo** era **todo** con agua.
 the.M.SG floor.M.SG be.PST.3SG all.M.SG with water.F.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole floor.’

A sentence with *estar* and completive *todo*, like the one below, is ruled in, as expected.

- (iii) El **suelo** estaba **todo** con agua.
 the.M.SG floor.M.SG be.PST.3SG all.M.SG with water.F.SG
 ‘There was water over the whole floor.’

However, the following sentence with *estar* is, at least at first sight, unexpectedly ungrammatical.

- (iv) *Estaba **toda** agua en el suelo.
 be.PST.3SG all.F.SG water.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG
 ‘There was water over the whole floor.’

Note, though, that if the subject of the small clause following *estar* in (iv) is the DP *A SPACE en el suelo* ‘A SPACE on the floor’, then the ungrammaticality of (iv) might follow from the indefiniteness of this DP. In other words, (iv) would be ruled out on a par with (v).

- (v) *Estaba **un libro** en la mesa.
 be.PST.3SG a book on the table
 ‘There was a book on the table.’

I am grateful to a referee for drawing my attention to the sentences in this footnote.

- (77) Había agua en el piso de la cocina **cada mañana**.
 have.PST water on the floor of the kitchen every morning
 ‘There was water on the kitchen floor every morning.’ (stage-level)
- (78) #Había baldosas grises en el piso de la cocina **cada mañana**.
 have.PST floor.tiles gray on the floor of the kitchen every morning
 ‘There were gray floor tiles on the kitchen floor every morning.’
 (individual-level)

The property assigned to the kitchen in 77 is a stage-level property. The fact that there is water on the kitchen floor is transitory, and a situation that could repeat itself every morning if, for example, there is a leak in the ceiling. Thus, modification by the adverbial *cada mañana* ‘every morning’ is possible. In contrast, the property in 78 is individual-level. The fact that the kitchen floor is covered with gray floor tiles is permanent; it is part of its design. As a consequence, modification by *cada mañana* ‘every morning’ is disallowed.

As expected, the first situation is perfectly compatible with *todo*, as shown in 79, whereas the second one is not (80).

- (79) Había **toda** agua en el piso de la cocina.
 have.PST all.F.SG water.F.SG on the floor of the kitchen (stage-level)
- (80) #Había **todas** baldosas grises en el piso de la cocina.
 have.PST all.F.PL floor.tiles.F.PL gray.PL on the floor of the kitchen
 (individual-level)

The following example serves to illustrate the same point. Having mosquito bites is a stage-level property, whereas having birthmarks is individual-level. Just as was the case in 77 and 78, this is confirmed by the availability of the temporal adverbial *cada mañana* ‘every morning’ with the former (81) but not with the latter (82).

- (81) María tenía picaduras en la espalda **cada mañana**.
 María have.PST.3SG mosquito.bites.F.PL on the back every morning
 ‘María had mosquito bites on her back every morning.’ (stage-level)
- (82) #María tenía manchas de nacimiento en la espalda **cada mañana**.
 María have.PST.3SG birthmarks.F.PL on the back every morning
 ‘María had birthmarks on her back every morning.’ (individual-level)

As expected, completive *todo* is possible with a predicate like that in 81, but not with a predicate like that in 82.

- (83) María tenía **todas** picaduras en la espalda.
 María have.PST.3SG all.F.PL mosquito bites.F.PL on the back
 ‘María had mosquito bites over her whole back.’ (stage-level)
- (84) #María tenía **todas** manchas de nacimiento en la espalda.
 María have.PST.3SG all.F.PL birthmarks.F.PL on the back
 ‘María had birthmarks over her whole back.’ (individual-level)

In this subsection I have briefly shown that adverb *todo* is sensitive to the individual- vs. stage-level distinction and is compatible only with the latter. In contrast, when *todo* quantifies over a nominal, both individual- and stage-level predicates are possible. The fact that the *todo* in the construction we are analyzing patterns with adverb *todo* in this respect confirms the superiority of the present proposal over the two alternative analyses presented at the beginning of this article (*todo* as quantifying over the lower nominal, and *todo* as quantifying over silent SPACE).

3.6. FURTHER EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF SILENT SPACE. I proposed in this section that there is a silent SPACE element in the sentences that are the object of this work. The justification for the presence of silent SPACE in these structures came mainly from interpretation. Note, for instance, sentence 38, repeated as 85.

- (85) Tenés todo chocolate al lado de la corbata.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of the.F.SG tie.F.SG
 ‘The/a space next to your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’ (lit.
 ‘You have all chocolate next to your tie.’)

As is clear from the translation above, the interpretation of 85 is that there is a given space, narrowed down by the PP *al lado de la corbata* ‘next to the tie’, which is completely covered with a substance, in this case, chocolate. Although interpretation is a strong argument for positing a silent element, the possibility exists that an element could be NOTIONALLY present in a given structure without it being SYNTACTICALLY present in it. Just to give an example, consider a sentence like 86.

- (86) John washed the car.

It is clear that in any washing event there has to be some liquid involved. It is not possible to wash something WITHOUT using liquid (typically water, perhaps with some soap in it). However, we would not want to claim that the syntactic structure of 86 contains a silent noun LIQUID (or WATER). We would feel persuaded to do this, though, if we were to find cases in which that noun ‘matters’ to the syntax (for instance, to give an arbitrary example, if we could modify this silent noun with an adjective like *soapy*, *clear*, etc.). In the paragraphs that follow, I provide evidence from pronominalization showing that silent SPACE not only is notionally present in the structures we are analyzing here, but also has a syntactic reality.

Consider the following sentence from Condoravdi & Gawron 1996.

- (87) Every man who bet on the Superbowl won it.

It is obvious that any betting event involves the existence of a bet. Note, however, that in spite of this, sentence 87 cannot mean that every man who bet on the Superbowl won THE BET (even if, pragmatically speaking, this would be the interpretation that would make the most sense). Sentence 87 can only mean that every man who bet on the Superbowl won THE SUPERBOWL, despite its pragmatic oddness. What this example shows is that, when used anaphorically, a pronoun needs to refer back to a nominal antecedent that is present in the syntax (in 87, *the Superbowl* is syntactically present but *the bet* is not).²⁷

Let us apply this line of thinking to the idea that the sentences under discussion in this article contain a silent nominal SPACE. The reasoning goes as follows: if we can refer to strings like *THE/A SPACE en la cara* with a pronoun, then we would have evidence that there is a noun in this structure. In other words, we would have evidence for silent SPACE. In light of this discussion, note the sentences below.

²⁷ Other anaphoric elements, like implicit arguments, do not require a syntactic antecedent. Note the case of the implicit argument appearing after *won* in *Every man who bet on the Superbowl won* (= *won the bet*) (cf. 87).

- (88) a. Había toda agua en la cocina pero ya
 have.PST all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG but already
lo sequé.
 it.M.SG dry up.PST.1SG
 ‘There was water over the whole kitchen floor but I already dried it up.’
- b. Tenés toda sangre entre los ojos, no te
 have.PRS.2SG all.F.SG blood.F.SG between the.M.PL eyes.M.PL not CL_{DAT}
lo toques.
 it.M.SG touch.PRS.SBJV.2SG
 ‘The/a space between your eyes is completely covered with blood, don’t touch!’
- c. Te está saliendo pus de las manos, no te
 CL_{DAT} be.PRS.3SG coming.out pus.F.SG of the.F.PL hands.F.PL not CL_{DAT}
lo toques.
 it.M.SG touch.PRS.SBJV.2SG
 ‘There’s pus coming out of your hands, don’t touch!’

In the sentences above, the pronoun *lo* ‘it.M.SG’ refers back to a space: the space in the kitchen (88a), the space between the eyes (88b), the space of the hands (88c). Note that in all of the examples in 88a–c, the pronoun is masculine singular. This means that it cannot be referring back to *agua* ‘water.F.SG’ or *la cocina* ‘kitchen.F.SG’ in 88a, nor to *sangre* ‘blood.F.SG’ or *ojos* ‘eyes.M.PL’ in 88b, nor to *pus* ‘pus.F.SG’ or *manos* ‘hands.F.PL’ in 88c. Note, furthermore, that the examples in 88a–c contrast sharply with the one in 89.

- (89) #Puse (la) lavandina entre las canillas, no
 put.PST.1SG the.F.SG bleach.F.SG between the.F.PL taps.F.PL not
lo toques.
 it.M.SG touch.PRS.SBJV.2SG
 ‘I put bleach between the taps, don’t touch!’

If one puts bleach between two taps, it is clear that one puts it in the space between them. However, while it was possible to refer to this space using a pronoun (*lo* ‘it.M.SG’) in 88a–c, it is not possible to refer to it with a pronoun in 89. Sentence 89 is available only under a deictic use of *lo* ‘it.M.SG’: that is, it is available if the speaker points at or directs their gaze toward the space, but not otherwise. This is crucially not a requirement for 88a–c. What these facts show is that while a space is NOTIONALLY present in 89, it is not SYNTACTICALLY present, unlike what was the case in 88a–c. Note that the contrast between 88a–c, on the one hand, and 89, on the other, is predicted by our analysis: 88a–c have a silent SPACE element; 89 does not.²⁸

4. SOME COMMENTS ON COMPLETIVE *TODO* AND VARIATION ACROSS DIALECTS.²⁹ In this section I consider some ways in which completive *todo* varies across Spanish dialects. Such variation involves the following aspects: (i) whether completive *todo*

²⁸ In a similar vein, there is a contrast between (i) and (ii).

(i) Let’s go over to John’s. **It**’s near the station.

(ii) John has just moved. #**It**’s near the station.

While in both (i) and (ii) a place is notionally involved (John’s place in (i) and the new place John has moved to in (ii)), the continuation in (i) is perfectly felicitous, while that in (ii) is not. This seems to show that while a silent noun (probably PLACE) is present in (i) (and thus the pronoun *it* can refer back to it), no silent noun is present in (ii).

²⁹ I am very grateful to two anonymous referees for drawing my attention to the Peninsular Spanish data presented in this section.

shows agreement in gender and number or whether it always surfaces in its invariant form *todo*; (ii) whether it is *P de* ‘of’ or *P con* ‘with’ that is present in these structures, and (iii) whether completive *todo* appears solely in possessive sentences or in possessive and existential sentences alike. The goal of the brief discussion that follows (which is preliminary and in no sense exhaustive) is to point out that such variation does exist, and that the present proposal is well equipped to accommodate it. Furthermore, I point out how a look at variation (in particular, at the *de* ‘of’ vs. *con* ‘with’ contrast) has the welcome consequence of lending support to the analysis put forth in this work.

As mentioned in n. 5 and n. 16 above, for some speakers of Rioplatense Spanish, completive *todo* shows no agreement. In other words, for these speakers completive *todo* always appears in the invariant form *todo*, irrespective of the gender and number of the nominal it accompanies. Examples 11 and 83 are repeated below, this time with the invariant agreement pattern.

- (90) Juan tiene ***toda** /**todo** arena en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.F.SG all.M.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’
- (91) María tenía ***todas** /**todo** picaduras en la espalda.
 María have.PST.3SG all.F.PL all.M.SG mosquito.bites.F.PL on the back
 ‘María had mosquito bites all over her back.’

Note that if *todo* in these sentences is an adverb akin to *completely*, as I have proposed in this work, then this agreement pattern is not unexpected. In Spanish, adverbs display quite a lot of variation with respect to the agreement patterns they allow. This variation occurs across dialects, within dialects, and even within the speech of a single speaker. The examples of adverb agreement mentioned in §3.4 are repeated as the (b) examples below (examples 64 and 65 are repeated as 92b and 93b, respectively).³⁰ The (a) examples show the absence of agreement, which is allowed by some speakers and is the form considered standard in most dialects.

- (92) a. María está **medio** aburrida.
 María be.PRS.3SG half.M.SG bored.F.SG (no agreement)
- b. María está **media** aburrida.
 María be.PRS.3SG half.F.SG bored.F.SG (agreement)
 ‘María is a little bit bored.’

³⁰ Some other examples of adverb agreement (in this case in particular, of agreement between an adverb inside the VP and a subject) are given below (adapted from Hummel 2007).

- (i) a. **Nosotros** siempre vamos **directos** al grano.
 we always go.PRS.1PL direct.M.PL to.the grain
 ‘We always get straight to the point.’
- b. **Los chicos** fueron **derechos** a casa.
 the.M.PL kids.M.PL go.PST.3PL straight.M.PL to home
 ‘The kids went straight home.’
- c. **Las puertas** cierran **automáticas**.
 the.F.PL doors.F.PL close.PRS.3PL automatic.F.PL
 ‘The doors close automatically.’

In (ia) the adverb *directos* ‘direct.M.PL’ modifies the PP *al grano* ‘to.the grain’ and agrees with the subject *nosotros* ‘we’. In (ib) the adverb *derechos* ‘straight.M.PL’ modifies the PP *a la casa* ‘to the house’ and agrees with the subject *los chicos* ‘the kids’. Finally, in (ic) the manner adverb *automaticas* ‘automatic.F.PL’ agrees with the DP subject *las puertas* ‘the.F.PL doors.F.PL’.

- (93) a. Sus chistes son bastante gracioso.
 his.PL jokes.PL be.PRS.3PL quite.a.lot.SG funny.PL (no agreement)
- b. Sus chistes son bastantes gracioso.
 his.PL jokes.PL be.PRS.3PL quite.a.lot.PL funny.PL (agreement)
- ‘His jokes are pretty funny.’

Bearing in mind the facts above, three scenarios could lead to the absence of agreement between *todo* and the nominal that we find in *todo* sentences in (all of) Peninsular Spanish and in a subgroup of Rioplatense speakers. One possibility is that the speakers who do not show agreement in *todo* sentences simply do not have in their grammars adverbs that agree. In other words, they do not exhibit patterns of agreement along the lines of what we see in 92b and 93b.³¹ If this is so, this completive adverb would be expected to always surface in the invariant form *todo* ‘all.M.SG’. However, if these speakers do have adverbs that agree, yet do not display agreement in *todo* sentences in particular, then the reason for lack of agreement must lie elsewhere. For instance, it could be that the structure of *todo* sentences in agreeing and nonagreeing grammars is identical, with the sole difference being that in nonagreeing varieties P WITH for some reason fails to incorporate. If it is true, as I have claimed here, that incorporation unshields the DP and makes it eligible for agreement, then lack of this process should result in lack of agreement. Under this second account, it is the incorporation process (and not agreement itself) that would be subject to variation. Finally, it might turn out to be the case that *todo* sentences in agreeing and nonagreeing varieties are structurally different, with P WITH being in a position out of which it can incorporate in one case (resulting in agreement, as in the Rioplatense sentences that are the object of this work) but not in the other (resulting in lack of agreement, as in Peninsular Spanish and the second ‘agreementless’ variety of Rioplatense Spanish). Under this third scenario, the lack of agreement would be a consequence of different configurations. Which of these answers is on the right track for any given variety (with potentially different answers being true of different varieties) can only be determined with further study and is an investigation that must, at the present moment, be left for future work.

A second respect in which Peninsular Spanish differs from Rioplatense Spanish is that alongside 94a, Peninsular Spanish (but not Rioplatense Spanish) also exhibits the structure in 94b, with P *de* ‘of’.

- (94) a. Tenés todo chocolate en la cara.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG on the face
- b. Tienes todo **de** chocolate en la cara.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG of chocolate.M.SG on the face
- ‘There’s chocolate all over your face.’

The existence of the pattern in 94b in Peninsular Spanish raises the following questions: Why does an overt P surface in 94b? (Contrast 94a.) Why is the overt P *de* ‘of’ and not *con* ‘with’? Why is 94b possible in Peninsular Spanish but disallowed in Rioplatense Spanish?

It is clear that we might gain some insight into the presence of P *de* in 94b if we could find an environment where P *con* ‘with’ alternates with P *de* ‘of’. Interestingly, one such environment is the locative alternation, an example of which is given in 95 (example from Mateu 2002).

³¹ I am grateful to a referee for pointing out this possibility.

- (95) a. Juan cargó heno en el carro.
 Juan load.PST.3SG hay on the car
 ‘Juan loaded hay onto the car.’
 b. Juan cargó el carro {**con/de**} heno.
 Juan load.PST.3SG the car with/of hay
 ‘Juan loaded the car with hay.’

(Mateu 2002:207)

In 95a, the DP *heno* ‘hay’ is the direct object of the verb *cargar* ‘load’, and the DP *el carro* ‘the car’ is the complement of the locative P *en* ‘on’. Sentence 95b contains the same participants as 95a, but they are realized in different argument slots: *el carro* ‘the car’ is now the direct object of the verb *cargar* ‘load’, and the DP *heno* ‘hay’ is the complement of the P *con* ‘with’/ *de* ‘of’. The meanings of 95a and 95b are not identical: while 95a stresses the change of location of the hay, 95b describes a possessive relation: the car comes to possess the hay as a result of the loading event. Crucially, in this second possessive sentence we find the Ps *con* ‘with’ and *de* ‘of’ in alternation. The presence of P *de* ‘of’ in this possessive/containment environment is not altogether surprising, since P *de* is also found with a possessive/containment interpretation in examples such as *un vaso de agua* ‘a glass of water’, *una botella de vino* ‘a bottle of wine’, *un plato de fideos* ‘a plate of noodles’, and *una caja de fósforos* ‘a box of matches’.

Although Rioplatense Spanish does not allow 94b, some speakers somewhat marginally allow 96.

- (96) ?Tenés todo **con** chocolate en la cara.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG with chocolate on the face
 ‘There’s chocolate all over your face.’

The fact that 96 is to a certain extent available makes it likely that what we have in 94b and 96 is actually an alternation between the Ps *con* ‘with’ and *de* ‘of’, just like the alternation between *con* and *de* observed in 95b.³² The variants with overt Ps are illustrated in 97.

- (97) a. Rioplatense Spanish
 ?Tenés todo **con** chocolate en la cara.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG with chocolate on the face
 b. Peninsular Spanish
 Tienes todo **de** chocolate en la cara.
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG of chocolate on the face
 ‘There’s chocolate all over your face.’

An important question to address is why we find *de* ‘of’ instead of *con* ‘with’ in Peninsular Spanish, and why Rioplatense Spanish features *con* instead of *de*. While according to Mateu’s data both *de* and *con* are possible in Peninsular Spanish, several speakers of Rioplatense Spanish consulted consider a sentence like 95b with P *de* to be ungrammatical or marginal.

³² Also, while Rioplatense Spanish has sentences with overt *con* ‘with’ like that in (ia) as mentioned in n. 26, Peninsular Spanish exhibits sentences with *de* ‘of’ like that in (ib).

- (i) a. El baño está todo **con** agua.
 the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG be.PRS.3SG all.M.SG with water.F.SG
 b. El baño está todo **de** agua.
 the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG be.PRS.3SG all.M.SG of water.F.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

I thank a referee for providing the example in (ib).

- (98) Juan cargó el carro {**con** /?de} heno.
 Juan load.PST.3SG the car with / of hay
 ‘Juan loaded the car with hay.’

It could then be the case that the absence of *P de* ‘of’ in 98 in Rioplatense Spanish is linked to its absence in 97.

The preliminary observations just sketched leave several questions unanswered. For instance, if *de* ‘of’ and *con* ‘with’ are both available for speakers of Peninsular Spanish in the locative alternation, why is only *de* available in *todo* sentences? Also, why is overt *de* perfectly grammatical in *tener* ‘have’ sentences in Peninsular Spanish, while overt *con* is only marginally so in its counterpart in Rioplatense Spanish (97a)? I leave these questions for future work. However, independently of the explanation of the source of *de* in Peninsular Spanish and the questions just raised, the fact that an overt *P* surfaces in sentences like 97b and marginally so in 97a (in other words, that we can actually ‘see’ it) strengthens one of the fundamental claims made in this work: that there is a *P* in these structures.

Finally, a third respect in which Spanish varieties differ is in whether completive *todo* is available in both possessives and existentials or only in possessive sentences. As discussed extensively in this work, Rioplatense Spanish allows completive *todo* in both. In contrast, Peninsular Spanish allows completive *todo* in possessive sentences but disallows it in existentials.³³ In other words, in Peninsular Spanish 99a is possible but 99b is not.

(99) a. Peninsular Spanish

Juan tiene todo arena en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.M.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’

b. Peninsular Spanish

*Hay todo agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.M.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

An explanation of this contrast is beyond the scope of this work. However, if our analysis of completive *todo* is on the right track, then the most likely hypothesis is that existentials in Peninsular Spanish and Rioplatense Spanish are structurally distinct: the former are possessive structures, whereas the latter are not. Interestingly, a contrast along these lines seems to be true of European vs. Brazilian Portuguese. While both European and Brazilian Portuguese allow existential sentences with the verb *haber* ‘have’ (100) and both va-

³³ A referee points out that although completive *todo* is not possible in existential sentences in Peninsular Spanish, the presence of a possessive pronoun leads to an improvement in acceptability. The referee’s example is given in (i) (cf. (ii), with the corresponding judgment for Peninsular Spanish).

(i) Peninsular Spanish

?Hay todo arena en **mi** pelo.
 have.PRS all.M.SG sand.F.SG in my.SG hair.M.SG
 ‘There’s sand all in my hair.’

(ii) Peninsular Spanish

*Hay todo agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.M.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 ‘There’s water over the whole bathroom floor.’

The structure of sentences like (i) still needs to be investigated. However, the referee’s observation lends support the claim made in this work: that completive *todo* is parasitic on the syntax of possession.

rieties allow possessive sentences with the verb *tener* ‘have’ (101), only Brazilian Portuguese exhibits existentials with *tener* ‘have’ (102), as shown below.³⁴

- (100) a. European Portuguese
 Nesta fruta **há** muitas sementes.
 in.this fruit have.PRS many seeds (Franco & Lorusso 2018:53)
- b. Brazilian Portuguese
 Nesta fruta **há** muitos caroços.
 in.this fruit have.PRS many seeds
 ‘In this fruit there are many seeds.’
- (101) a. European Portuguese
 Esta fruta **tem** muitas sementes.
 this fruit have.PRS.3SG many seeds
- b. Brazilian Portuguese
 Esta fruta **tem** muitos caroços.
 this fruit have.PRS.3SG many seeds
 ‘This fruit has many seeds.’
- (102) a. European Portuguese
 ***Tem** muitas sementes nessa fruta.
 have.PRS many seeds in.this fruit
- b. Brazilian Portuguese
Tem muitos caroços nessa fruta.
 have.PRS many seeds in.this fruit
 ‘In this fruit there are many seeds.’ (Franco & Lorusso 2018:53)

It is plausible then that Rioplatense Spanish is like Brazilian Portuguese in having a single WITH possessive structure for both *tener* ‘have’ sentences and existential sentences (despite the different verbs used in Rioplatense Spanish, *haber* vs. *tener*). In contrast, Peninsular Spanish patterns with European Portuguese in keeping possessives and existentials distinct. If future investigation were to confirm that existentials in Rioplatense Spanish and Peninsular Spanish are indeed structurally different, then completive *todo* will have played a fundamental role in uncovering this hitherto ‘hidden’ structural difference.

5. IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH. In this section I focus on some of the implications of the proposal put forth in this work and discuss some directions for future research. In the first place, I return to a salient property of the *todo* construction: the fact that it is restricted to existential and possessive environments.³⁵ The advantage of this observation is that it makes it possible to use *todo* ‘all’ to probe other constructions. In

³⁴ The use of a possessive verb for both existential and possessive sentences, as show in the main text for Brazilian Portuguese, is not uncommon crosslinguistically. In fact, it is the strategy used by all Creoles (Franco & Lorusso 2018). The following example from Zamboanga Chabacano, a Spanish-based Creole spoken in the Philippines, shows the verb *tyéne* ‘have’ (based on the Spanish verb *tener* ‘have’) used as an existential verb (ia) and as a verb of possession (ib).

- (i) a. **Tyéne** komida na mesa.
 have.PRS food LOC table
 ‘There is food on the table.’
- b. Le **tyéne** tres ermáno.
 he/she have.PRS.3SG three brother
 ‘He/she has three brothers.’ (Franco & Lorusso 2018:52)

³⁵ Note that under the analysis given to existentials in this work, (at least some) existentials ARE indeed possessive (*with*) structures.

the second place, I draw attention to the fact that although speakers of American English do not generally find sentences such as *There's all water behind me* (the English counterpart of 10) grammatical, speakers of other varieties of English (such as British, Australian, and Irish English) do. I briefly mention how this can add value to the study of this construction. I turn to the relationship between *todo* and possession first.

We have seen that the *todo* construction discussed here appears in existential and possessive environments. The existential sentence in 10 and the *tener* sentence in 11 are repeated below as 103 and 104, respectively.

- (103) Hay toda agua en el baño.
 have.PRS all.F.SG water.F.SG in the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG
 'There's water over the whole bathroom floor.'
- (104) Juan tiene toda arena en el pelo.
 Juan have.PRS.3SG all.F.SG sand.F.SG in the.M.SG hair.M.SG
 'Juan has sand all in his hair.'

The double-object construction has been argued for by Harley (2002) to be a possessive structure, too (decomposed into two predicates: V_{CAUSE} and P_{HAVE}). Not surprisingly, *todo* is also possible in these structures, as shown in 105.³⁶

- (105) María le tiró toda leche en la cabeza.
 María CL_{DAT} throw.PST.3SG all.F.SG milk.F.SG on the head
 'María poured milk all over his/her head.'

Crucially, if the sentence is not existential or possessive, completive *todo* is not possible. Two examples with nonpossessive transitive verbs are given below.

- (106) *Juan lavó todas frutas.
 Juan wash.PST.3SG all.F.PL fruit.F.PL
 'Juan washed the fruits completely.'
- (107) *María está pelando todas papas.
 María be.PRS.3SG peeling all.F.PL potatoes.F.PL
 'María is peeling the potatoes completely.'

What these facts reveal is that *todo* is for some reason parasitic on a possessive WITH structure. The validity of this observation is that the presence of *todo* can now serve as a diagnostic for this kind of structure. For the time being, however, we have only ob-

³⁶ Completive *todo* is also possible in the complement of verbs like *encontrar* 'find' and *ver* 'see' and as the complement of the prepositional complementizer *con* 'with', as shown below. (I thank a referee for bringing these examples to my attention.)

- (i) Encontré toda agua en el suelo.
 find.PST.1SG all.F.SG water.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG
 'I found water all over the floor.'
- (ii) Vi toda agua en el suelo.
 see.PST.1SG all.F.SG water.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG
 'I saw water all over the floor.'
- (iii) Con toda agua en el suelo, no se podía pasar a la casa.
 with all.F.SG water.F.SG on the.M.SG floor.M.SG not SE could pass.INF to the house
 'The floor being covered with water, we could not enter/reach the house.'

It could very well be that sentences (i)–(iii) involve more structure than meets the eye: *Encontré/ví que había ...* 'I found/saw that there was ...' for (i) and (ii), and *Con el hecho de que había ...* 'With the fact that there was ...' for (iii). Alternatively, completive *todo* is allowed in a wider range of empirical contexts than those described in this work. For the time being, I leave this question open.

served that this restriction exists. Why it exists is a very interesting question that deserves further investigation.³⁷

I also mentioned at the beginning of this section that some varieties of English exhibit sentences that have many properties in common with the Rioplatense sentences which are the focus of this study. Although speakers of American English generally reject sentences like those in 108–110, speakers of other varieties of English (such as Australian, Irish, and British English) find them perfectly acceptable.³⁸

- (108) There's all water behind me.
- (109) There's all blood in the bed.
- (110) There's all mud in my special wedding shoes.
- (111) There's all sand in my hair!
- (112) The bath had all sand and dirt in it.

Sentences like those in 108–112 have, again to the best of my knowledge, been neither described nor analyzed in the literature previously. Their interpretation seems to be, as was the case with their Rioplatense counterparts, that there is a given space (whose spe-

³⁷ Although completive *todo* is restricted to possessive structures, as mentioned in the text, there appears to be a related use of *todo* in copular sentences with *ser*. Some examples are given below.

- (i) El baño era todo agua.
the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG be.PST.3SG all.M.SG water.F.SG
'The bathroom was all water.'
- (ii) El suelo era todo arañas.
the.M.SG floor.M.SG be.PST.3SG all.M.SG spiders.F.PL
'The floor was full of spiders.'
- (iii) La niña era todo /toda sonrisas.
the.F.SG girl.F.SG be.PST.3SG all.M.SG/all.F.SG smiles.F.PL
'The girl was all smiles.'

However, these sentences show differences from the *todo* sentences discussed in this work. First, agreement between *todo* and the accompanying nominal is impossible in all varieties.

- (iv) *El baño era toda agua.
the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG be.PST.3SG all.F.SG water.F.SG
'The bathroom was all water.'

Second, *todo* may appear in the invariant form *todo* 'all.M.SG', or it may agree with the subject of the sentence, as in (iii). However, if *todo* agrees with the subject, it does so only in gender, never in number. If the subject is plural, instead of showing plural agreement *todo* must appear in the invariant form *todo* 'all.M.SG', as shown in (vi) (cf. sentence 83 where *todo* agrees in both gender and number with the noun *picaduras* 'mosquito bites').

- (v) La cocina era todo /toda barro.
the.F.SG kitchen.F.SG be.PST.3PL all.M.SG/all.F.SG mud.M.SG
'The kitchen was all mud.'
- (vi) Las cocinas eran todo /*todas barro.
the.F.PL kitchens.F.PL be.PST.3PL all.M.SG/all.F.PL mud.M.SG
'The kitchens were all mud.'

Third, in *ser* sentences omission of *todo* leads to ungrammaticality (cf. *Hay agua en el baño*).

- (vii) *El baño era agua.
the.M.SG bathroom.M.SG be.PST.3SG water.F.SG
'The bathroom was all water.'

These three differences make it clear that these sentences cannot be directly assimilated to the ones discussed in this article. A study of this phenomenon is left for future work.

³⁸ Examples 108–112 are taken from Google, and their acceptability has been confirmed by a native speaker of British English.

cific location is ‘narrowed down’ by the PP) that is completely covered with a mass.³⁹ The fact that sentences like 108–112 are possible in some varieties of English has two immediately welcome results. In the first place, it shows that the pattern we are investigating in this work is not an idiosyncrasy of an isolated variety, but rather forms part of a much wider-spread phenomenon. This seems to be living proof once more that languages are indeed much more alike than they appear to be at first sight. In the second place, the fact that sentences like 108–112 form part of the grammar of some varieties of English (such as Australian, British, and Irish English) but crucially not others (for instance, most varieties of American English) opens the door to interesting microcomparative work. It is likely that there is some syntactic property in which most dialects of American English differ from these other varieties, and that this property gives rise to the contrast in acceptability that we find. It is clear that getting to the root of this contrast will also help us gain a better understanding of the Rioplatense sentences studied here. I leave the study of this construction across different varieties of English for future work.⁴⁰

6. CONCLUSION. In this article I have discussed the special behavior of completive *todo* in Rioplatense Spanish. I pointed out that what is special about its behavior is that although this element seems to be interpreted in relation with a nominal lower in the structure, it unexpectedly shows agreement with another nominal that appears higher up. I presented two analyses that attempted to account for the data, but ended up dismissing both on syntactic and/or semantic grounds. I then presented a third analysis in

³⁹ In addition to appearing in the position in (i) (where we find it in 108–112), *all* can appear in the position in (ii).

- (i) There’s **all** water around the fountain.
- (ii) There’s water **all** around the fountain.

Furthermore, at least some speakers allow *all* to appear in both positions simultaneously.

- (iii) There’s **all₁** water **all₂** around the fountain.

An interesting question to ask is whether (i) and (ii) have the same interpretation. The answer to this question seems to be no. Whereas (i) requires a stage-level interpretation (the fact that the water surrounds the statue needs to be a transitory property), this is not the case in (ii). Sentence (ii) can describe a transitory situation, just like (i), but it can also describe a permanent one (e.g. the statue is in the center of a fountain). Note that the analysis proposed for *todo* ‘all’ in Rioplatense Spanish can account for these facts. I proposed in §3 that the Rioplatense structures under discussion have a silent SPACE element and a silent PP headed by WITH. It might be possible to think then that *all₁* in (iv) is quantifying over the WITH-PP, whereas *all₂* is quantifying over silent SPACE. This is sketched in (iv).

- (iv) [_{QP} **all₂** THE SPACE around the fountain] [_{PP} **all₁** WITH water]

The fact that *all₁* requires a stage-level reading (i) but *all₂* does not (ii) would follow directly from this analysis: *all₂* is not completive *all*, but *all₁* is.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, the Rioplatense sentences like the one we are analyzing here also seem to have properties in common with English sentences like (i).

- (i) I have **all** *As* on my transcript.

In (i) *all As* does not seem to be a QP constituent. An *all N_{plural}* QP as in (ii) is roughly interchangeable with an *all (of) the N_{plural}* QP, as shown in (iii).

- (ii) **All students** should register by Monday.
- (iii) **All (of) the students** should register by Monday.

This is not the case for (i).

- (iv) *I have **all of the As** on my transcript.

Appropriate paraphrases of (i) seem to me to be *All the grades that I have on my transcript are As* or *The grades that I have on my transcript are all As*. This makes it highly likely that the constituent *all As* is not a QP but some kind of small-clause constituent. I leave the study of sentences like (i), and how they relate to the Rioplatense sentences in this work, for future investigation.

which *todo* forms part of a structure that contains both a silent noun SPACE and a silent preposition WITH. I showed how this analysis succeeds in accounting for the interpretation of *todo*, its constituency with the higher nominal, and its behavior with respect to agreement. Furthermore, I brought attention to the fact that the restriction of this construction to stage-level predicates follows from the fact that *todo* is modifying a syntactic predicate. Lastly, I presented interesting implications of the analysis put forth in this work. In the first place, we seem to have arrived at the inescapable conclusion that at least Spanish existentials like the one in 10 are built on a WITH-PP structure. This allows us to now ask questions such as: are all Spanish existentials built on WITH-PP structures? Or even, are all existentials crosslinguistically built on WITH-PP structures? As pointed out in §4, the fact that completive *todo* is not possible in existentials in Peninsular Spanish seems to show that existentials are not WITH-PP structures in this variety. However, only future work will make it possible to confirm or disconfirm this claim. In the second place, I pointed out that the grammars of some varieties of English, such as Australian, British, and Irish English (some varieties of American English apparently excluded), exhibit sentences that appear to be direct counterparts of the Rioplatense sentences discussed in this work. I briefly discussed how this discovery enriches our future research agenda.

Before closing this section, I would like to make some final remarks about how the analysis proposed here relates to the overall study of possession. To account for the completive *todo* sentences, I proposed a structure in which the possessor is the subject of a small clause and the possessum is a complement (specifically, of the silent preposition WITH). The existence of such a structure goes against the tradition initiated by Freeze (1992) (and further developed by den Dikken 1995, among others) that posits that all possessive constructions are derived from a single underlying structure that features the possessum as a specifier and the possessor as a complement of a locative P.⁴¹ In this sense, the present proposal aligns with the work of Levinson (2011). In her analysis of the *vera með* construction in Icelandic, Levinson argues, contra Freeze, that a unified underlying structure for all possessive structures cannot be maintained. She proposes that the Icelandic *vera með* construction is built from a nonlocative preposition akin to *with*. The possessor is the specifier of this PP and the possessum is its complement. The structure I have proposed here is also a possessive one that features a preposition akin to *with* (albeit a silent one), with the possessor occupying a subject position and the possessum as the complement of P. In this sense, this work, just like Levinson's, supports the idea that at least some possessive constructions map the possessor as a subject/specifier and the possessum as a complement, and cannot be unified in the sense proposed by Freeze.

There are many questions that of course remain. I mention just two here. First, I proposed as part of this analysis two silent elements: the silent noun SPACE and the silent

⁴¹ Freeze proposes a unified analysis for the three structures below (examples from Freeze 1992:553).

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (i) a. The book is on the bench. | (predicate locative) |
| b. There is a book on the bench. | (existential) |
| c. Lupe has a book. | (have) |

For Freeze all three sentences are derived from the single locative structure in (ii).

- (ii) [_{IP} [_{XP}] [_{I'} [_{PP} [_{SPEC} **Theme** [_{P'} [_{NP} **Location**]]]]]]]]

The possessive sentence in (ic) (and all possessive structures crosslinguistically, for that matter) would have the structure in (iii).

- (iii) [_{IP} [_{XP}] [_{I'} [_{PP} [_{SPEC} **a book** [_{P'} \emptyset [_{NP} **Lupe**]]]]]]]]

preposition WITH. Although their motivation is clear, the details of the licensing of these silent elements still need to be worked out. Second, as discussed in §4, completive *todo* exhibits several aspects of variation across dialects. It is clear that microcomparative work in this domain holds the promise of enriching our knowledge of adverbial modification, possessives, and existentials. I leave these questions for future research, too.

REFERENCES

- AVELAR, JUANITO. 2009. On the emergence of *ter* as an existential verb in Brazilian Portuguese. *Historical syntax and linguistic theory*, ed. by Paola Crisma and Giuseppe Longobardi, 158–75. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199560547.003.0010.
- BOWERS, JOHN. 1993. The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24(4).591–656. Online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178835>.
- BRISSON, CHRISTINE. 1998. *Distributivity, maximality and floating quantifiers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University dissertation.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- CIRILLO, ROBERT. 2009. *The syntax of floating quantifiers: Stranding revisited*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam dissertation. Online: <https://www.lotpublications.nl/the-syntax-of-floating-quantifiers-the-syntax-of-floating-quantifiers-stranding-revisited>.
- CONDORAVDI, CLEO, and JEAN MARK GAWRON. 1996. The context-dependency of implicit arguments. *Quantifiers, deduction, and context*, ed. by Makoto Kanazawa, Christopher Piñón, and Henriëtte de Swart, 1–32. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- CUERVO, MARIA CRISTINA. 2003. *Datives at large*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. Online: <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/7991>.
- DÉKÁNY, ÉVA. 2018. The position of case markers relative to possessive agreement: Variation within Hungarian. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 36.365–400. DOI: 10.1007/s11049-017-9379-7.
- DEN DIKKEN, MARCEL. 1995. *Particles*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FÁBREGAS, ANTONIO, and ISABEL PÉREZ. 2008. Gender agreement on adverbs in Spanish. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 7(2).25–45. DOI: 10.5334/jpl.126.
- FRANCEZ, ITAMAR. 2007. *Existential propositions*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University dissertation.
- FRANCO, LUDOVICO, and PAOLO LORUSSO. 2018. On the morpho-syntax of existential sentences in Romance-based Creoles. *Quaderni Di Linguistica E Studi Orientali* 4.47–72. DOI: 10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-23839.
- FREEZE, RAY A. 1992. Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68(3).553–95. DOI: 10.2307/415794.
- GALLEGO, ÁNGEL, and JUAN URIAGEREKA. 2016. Long-distance agreement through prepositions in Spanish dialects. Paper presented at the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL 46), Stony Brook.
- HARLEY, HEIDI. 2002. Possession and the double object construction. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 2.29–68. DOI: 10.1075/livy.2.04har.
- HUMMEL, MARTIN. 2007. Adjectives with adverbial functions in Romance. *Adjective adverb interfaces in Romance*, ed. by Martin Hummel and Salvador Varela, 13–46. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- KAYNE, RICHARD S. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- KAYNE, RICHARD S. 2004. Here and there. *Lexique, syntaxe, et lexique-grammaire/Syntax, lexis and lexicon-grammar: Papers in honour of Maurice Gross*, ed. by Christian Leclère, Éric Laporte, Mireille Piot, and Max Silberstein, 254–73. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- KENNEDY, CHRISTOPHER, and LOUISE McNALLY. 2005. Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates. *Language* 81(2).345–81. DOI: 10.1353/lan.2005.0071.
- KRATZER, ANGELIKA. 1995. Stage-level and individual-level predicates. *The generic book*, ed. by Gregory N. Carlson and Francis J. Pelletier, 125–75. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LEVINSON, LISA. 2011. Possessive WITH in Germanic: HAVE and the role of P. *Syntax* 14(4).355–93. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9612.2011.00159.x.

- MATEU, JAUME. 2002. *Argument structure: Relational construal at the syntax-semantics interface*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona dissertation.
- MCNALLY, LOUISE. 2016. Existential sentences crosslinguistically: Variations in form and meaning. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 2.211–31. DOI: 10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011415-040837.
- NOONAN, MAIRE. 2010. *Á to zu. Mapping spatial PPs: The cartography of syntactic structures, vol. 6*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi, 161–95. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195393675.003.0005.
- NORRIS, MARK. 2014. *A theory of nominal concord*. Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz dissertation. Online: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/80q2t91n>.
- SAFIR, KENNETH. 1982. *Syntactic chains and the definiteness effect*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. Online: <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/15616>.
- SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, CRISTINA. 1991. Condiciones semánticas sobre los cuantificadores flotantes. *Lenguajes naturales y lenguajes formales: Actas del VII Congreso de Lenguajes Naturales y Lenguajes Formales*, 585–92.
- SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ, CRISTINA. 1998. Los cuantificadores: Clases de cuantificadores y estructuras cuantificativas. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española, vol. 1: Sintaxis básica de las clases de palabras*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, 1025–1128. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- SPORTICHE, DOMINIQUE. 1988. A theory of floating quantifiers and its corollaries for constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19(3).425–49. Online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25164903>.
- TERZI, ARHONTO. 2010. Locative prepositions and Place. *Mapping spatial PPs: The cartography of syntactic structures, vol. 6*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi, 196–224. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195393675.003.0006.
- VALMALA, VIDAL. 2008. Topic, focus and quantifier float. *Gramatika Jaietan: Papers in honour of Professor Patxi Goenaga*, ed. by Xabier Artiagoitia and Joseba Lakarra, 837–57. Donostia: Supplements of ASJU.
- ZUBIZARRETA, MARIA LUISA. 1998. Las funciones informativas: Tema y foco. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española, vol. 3: Entre la oración y el discurso*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, 4215–44. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

[cfraga@gradcenter.cuny.edu]

[Received 10 November 2020;
revision invited 28 March 2021;
revision received 23 July 2021;
accepted pending revisions 27 October 2021;
revision received 26 November 2021;
accepted 11 December 2021]