

0. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon

Speakers of Rioplatense Spanish exhibit sentences like the one in (1).

- (1) Hay toda agua en el baño
have.PRE all.FEM water.FEM in the.MASC bathroom.MASC
'There's water over the whole bathroom floor.'

Interpretation of (1): there is a substance, in this case water, which covers the surface of the bathroom floor in all its extension.

The puzzle

Toda 'all.FEM' does not make up a *semantic constituent* with *agua* 'water.FEM': the interpretation of (1) is **not** 'all (of) the water is on the bathroom floor.'

Toda 'all.FEM' does not seem to make up *syntactic constituent* with *agua* 'water.FEM': (2b) cannot be an answer to (2a) [Cf. *mucha agua* 'much.FEM water.FEM']

- (2) a. ¿Qué hay en el baño? b. *toda agua
what have.PRE in the.MASC bathroom.MASC all.FEM water.FEM
'What is there in the bathroom?' 'all water'

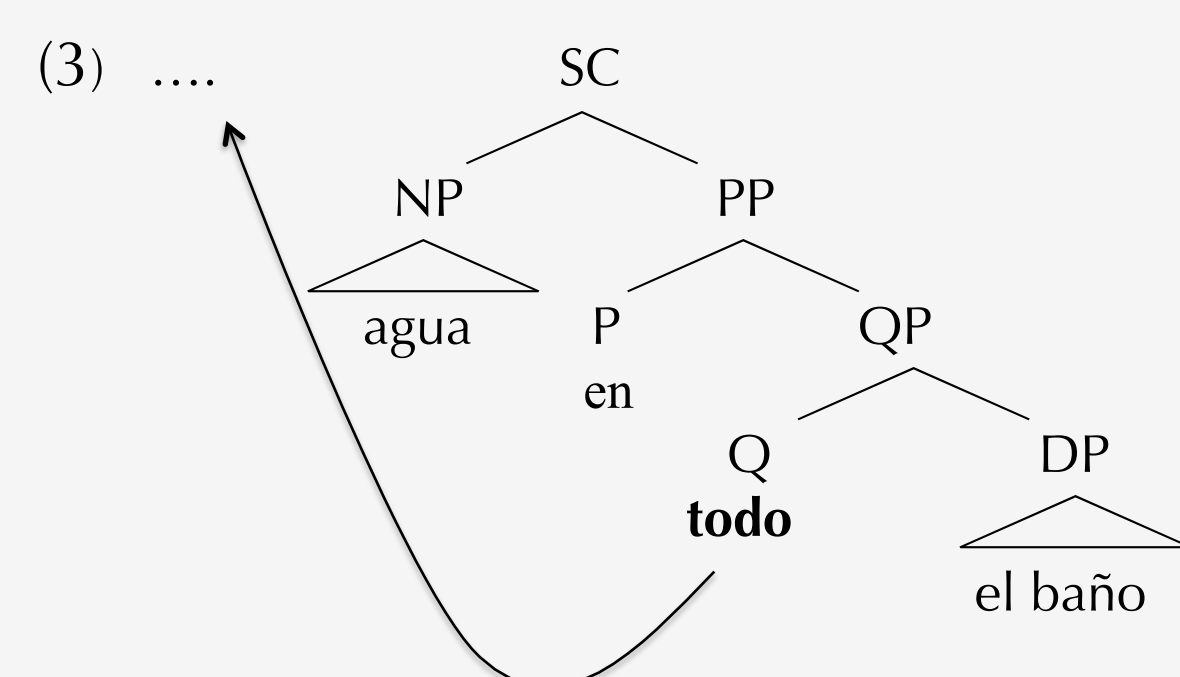
Questions we would like to answer:

- (A) What element is *toda* 'all.FEM' modifying in (1)? (i.e. what element is it semantically related to?)
(B) What syntactic position does *toda* 'all.FEM' occupy in the structure?
(C) If *toda* 'all.FEM' does not make up a constituent with *agua* 'water.FEM', how does it come to agree with it?

1. HYPOTHESIS 1 (FIRST PASS)

Toda 'all' quantifies over the lower nominal (*el baño* 'the bathroom' in (1)).

Hypothesis 1: The analysis



Toda 'all' is a quantifier that makes up a constituent with the nominal *el baño* 'the bathroom'.

Toda 'all' moves higher up in the structure, "splitting" from *el baño* 'the bathroom' (its "associate") in (1).

At least **three reasons** why Hypothesis 1 does **not** seem to be correct:

- **Interpretation:** This analysis seems to work for sentences like (1) (*Hay toda agua en el baño* = *Hay agua en todo el baño*). However, note (4).

- (4) Tenés todo chocolate al lado / cerca de la corbata.
have.2SG all.MASC chocolate.MASC to.the.side near of the.FEM tie.FEM
'You have chocolate next to/near your tie.'

✗ *Interpretation:* You have chocolate next to/near all your tie.

✓ *Interpretation:* The/a space next to/near your tie is completely covered with chocolate.

- **Quantification over 2:** *Toda* 'all' can appear in the structure when the lower nominal refers to two entities (5).

- (5) Tenés todo chocolate entre los bolsillos
have.2SG all.MASC chocolate.MASC between the.MASC.PL pockets.MASC.PL
'You have chocolate between the pockets (of your shirt).'

But, *todo* 'all' cannot normally quantify over two (6).

- (6) #Todas mis manos están sucias.
all my hands are dirty

- **Agreement:** Qs agree in gender and number with their associates (7). We would expect *todo* 'all' to agree with the lower nominal (8), contrary to fact.

- (7) Consiguieron todos beca los estudiantes de física
get.PAST.3PL all.MASC.PL grant.FEM.SG the students of Physics
'All the students of Physics got a grant.'

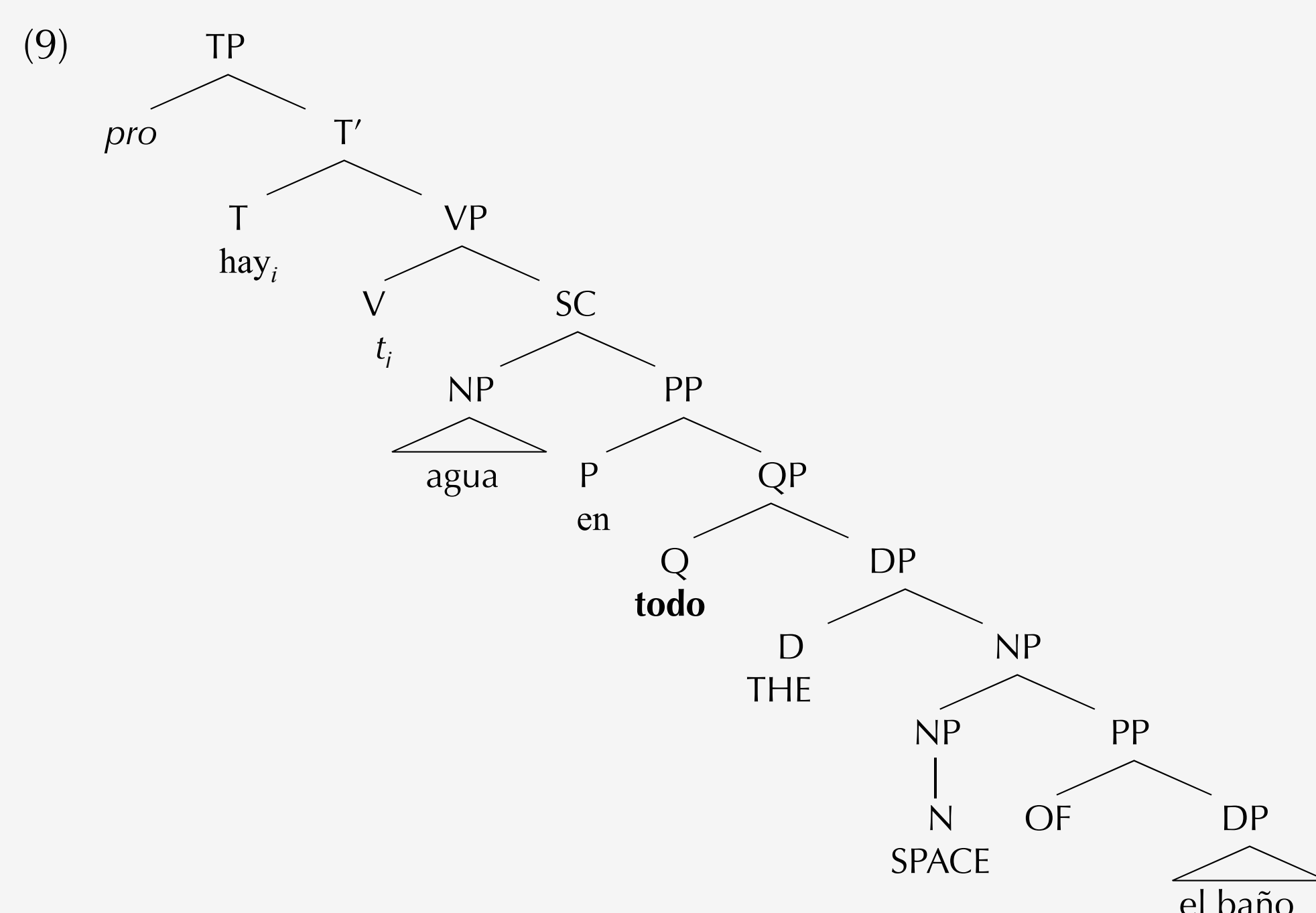
- (8) *Hay *toda / todo barro en la cocina.
have.PRES all.FEM all.MASC mud.MASC in the.FEM kitchen.FEM
'There's mud over the whole kitchen floor.'

Conclusion: *Toda* 'all' in (1) does not quantify over the lower nominal.

2. HYPOTHESIS 2 (SECOND PASS)

Toda quantifies over silent PLACE/SPACE.

Hypothesis 2: The analysis



Advantages of Hypothesis 2:

- **Interpretation:** That there is a given space saturated with a substance follows from (9) (i.e. There is water in the whole space of the bathroom).
- **Quantification over 2:** We do not expect any anomaly when the lower nominal refers to two entities (*todo* 'all' is not quantifying over the lower nominal under this analysis).

However, at least **two reasons** why Hypothesis 2 does **not** seem to be correct:

- **Agreement:** Under Hypothesis 2, we would expect *todo* 'all' to:
 - agree with silent SPACE and always display the same agreement (most probably masculine singular, as overt *lugar* 'place' or *espacio* 'space');
 - not agree at all (default form), if agreement is not possible with SPACE because it is silent;
 - agree with the lower nominal, if SPACE does "not count" for agreement.

Options (i) and (ii) predict we should find (10). (iii) predicts (11).

- (10) *Hay todo agua en el baño
have all.MASC water.FEM in the.MASC bathroom.MASC
'There's water over the whole bathroom floor.'

- (11) *Hay toda barro en la cocina.
have.PRES all.FEM mud.MASC in the.FEM kitchen.FEM
'There's mud over the whole kitchen floor.'

- **Constituency:** *toda agua* 'all.FEM water.FEM' can be clefted and coordinated [See following section]

Conclusion: *Toda* 'all' in (1) does not quantify over silent PLACE/SPACE

3. HYPOTHESIS 3: THE FINAL PROPOSAL

Toda 'all' modifies a syntactic predicate.

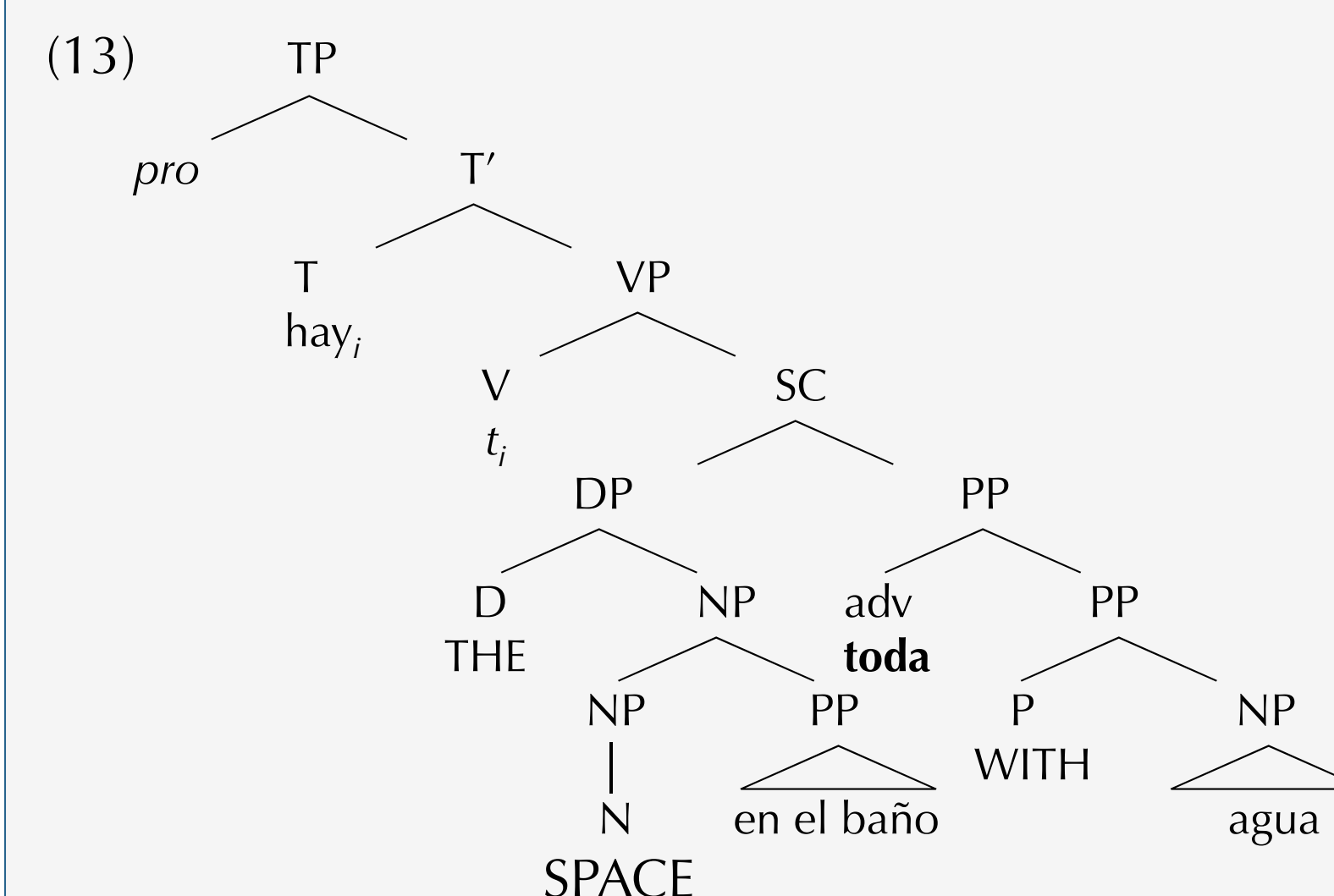
Three ingredients to this analysis:

1. Silent PLACE (Kayne 2006)
2. A novel analysis of existentials (inspired in Francez 2007)
3. Long distance agreement, parallel to what we find in (12) (Gallego & Uriagereka 2016).

- (12) Dijo que se *hablaron* con *las autoridades*. DIALECTAL SPANISH
say that SE talk.PAST.3PL with the authorities.
'He said that the authorities were talked to.'

Analysis of (12): *con* 'with' incorporates into the verb (*hablaron* 'talked'). This movement "unshields" the NP *las autoridades* 'the authorities', making agreement between *hablaron* 'talked' and the NP possible.

Hypothesis 3 (the proposal): The analysis



Advantages of Hypothesis 3 (the proposal):

- **Interpretation:** *todo* 'all' is an adverb akin to *completely*. It modifies the PP, giving rise to/reinforcing the saturation effect of the construction.
- **Quantification over 2:** No anomaly expected (idem Hypothesis 2).
- **Constituency:** Under (13) *toda agua* 'all.FEM water.FEM' is a PP. The impossibility of (2b) is parallel to that of (14b).

- (14) a. ¿Qué cocinaste? b. *en el horno/*con manteca
what cook.PAST.2SG in the oven/ with butter

Furthermore, *toda agua* 'all.FEM water.FEM' can be coordinated (15) and clefted (16) (tests that pick out PP constituents).

- (15) Juan tiene [todo chocolate] y [todo dulce]
Juan have.PRES.3SG all.MASC chocolate.MASC and all.MASC jam.MASC
en las manos.
in the.FEM.PL hands.FEM.PL
'Juan's hands are all completely covered with chocolate and jam.'

- (16) ?Es [todo chocolate] que Juan tiene
be.PRES.3SG all.MASC chocolate.MASC that Juan have.PRES.3SG
en las manos, no todo dulce.
in the hands not all.MASC jam.MASC
'It's with chocolate that Juan's hands are completely covered, not with jam.'

- **Agreement:** We would need to make sure that:

- (i) adverbs can agree in Spanish and
(ii) they can agree with a nominal in the configuration in (13).

- (i) Adverbs can agree in Spanish (17).

- (17) Maria está media aburrida.
Maria is half.FEM bored.FEM
'Maria is a little bit bored.'

- (ii) Agreement between *toda* 'all.FEM' and *agua* 'water.FEM' in (13):

Possibility 1: WITH does not block agreement because it is silent;

Possibility 2: agreement between *toda* 'all.FEM' and *agua* 'water.FEM' in (13) is some kind of long-distance agreement, along the lines of G&U (2016).

WITH incorporates into the verb. This "unshields" *agua* 'water', making agreement with *todo* 'all' possible.

- (18) [_{TP}pro [_TT [_{VP}WITH+be [_{SC}DP_iTHE SPACE en el baño] [_{PP}toda [_{PP}WITH [_{NP}agua]]]]]]

Conclusion: *Toda* 'all' in (1) modifies the predicate WITH *agua* 'with water'.

4. IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

with-existentials and the *spray/load* alternation

Sentence (1) has properties in common with (19b).

- (19) a. He sprayed the paint on the wall.
b. He sprayed the wall with paint.

Interpretation of (19a): the whole amount of paint has been sprayed on the wall (though not specified if the wall is now entirely covered with paint).

Interpretation of (19b): **the wall is completely covered with paint** (though not specified whether the whole amount of paint has been used).

In both (1) and (19b) a surface is completely saturated with a substance.

Contrary to (1), sentence (20), without *toda* 'all.FEM', is ambiguous:

- (20) Hay agua en el baño.
have.PRES water.FEM in the.MASC bathroom.MASC
'There's water in the bathroom.'

Interpretation of (20): (i) the bathroom floor is completely saturated with water; (ii) there are pools of water on the bathroom floor; (iii) there is water in a bottle in the bathroom. (ii) and (iii) are not compatible with (13).

Question: Is there an alternation in Spanish existentials, like the one in (19)?

all in some varieties of English

Speakers of American English generally reject sentences like those in (21). However, speakers of other varieties of English (e.g. Australian English, Irish English and British English) find them perfectly acceptable.

- (21) a. There's all water behind me.
b. There's all mud in my special wedding shoes.
c. There's all sand in my hair!

Two welcome results that follow from this finding:

- The structure in (1) is not an idiosyncrasy of an isolated variety.
- It opens the door to micro-comparative work.

Some questions:

- Do the sentences in (21) have the same interpretation as their Rioplatense counterparts?
- Do they have the same constituency?
- Can the availability of (21) be linked to some other phenomena?

REFERENCES

- Francez, Itamar. 2007. Existential Propositions, Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
Gallego, Angel and Juan Uriagereka. 2016. Long-distance agreement through prepositions in Spanish dialects. Paper presented at LSR 46, Stony Brook, May.
Kayne, Richard. 2004. Here and there. In *Syntax, Lexis and Lexicon Grammar. Papers in honor of Maurice Gross*, ed. by Christian Leclère, Éric Laporte, Mireille Piot and Max Silberstein, 254-273. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.