

# Completive *todo* in Rioplatense Spanish

Romance Linguistics Circle

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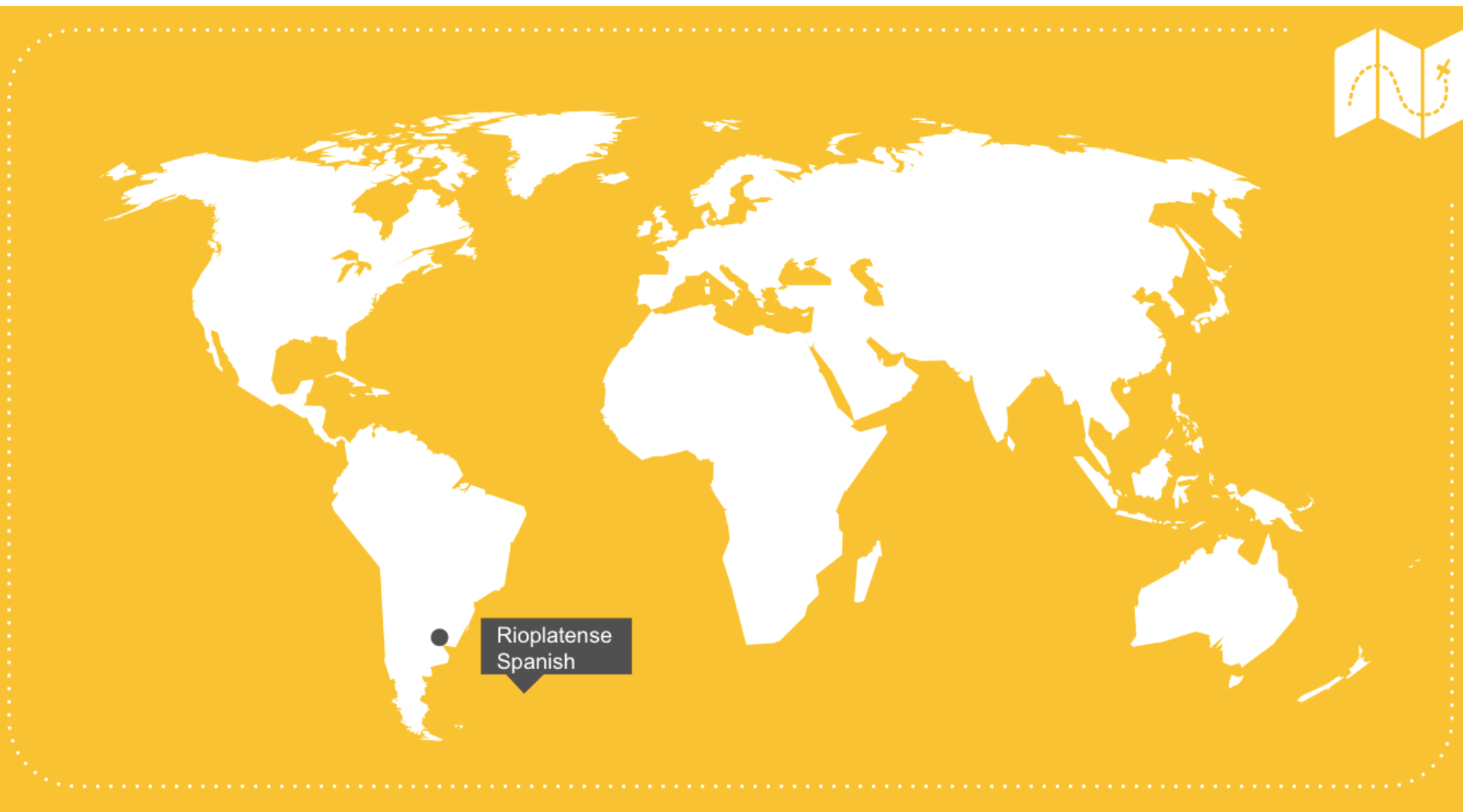
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# Agenda

1. Introduction
2. Toward an analysis: 3 hypotheses
3. The proposal
4. Completive *todo* and variation across dialects
5. Implications and future research

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- (1) 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.'



- Completive *todo* in Rioplatense Spanish is available in

➤ **Existentials**

- (2) Hay **todo polvo** en la mesa.  
have.PRS all.M.SG dust.M.SG on the.F.SG table.F.SG  
‘There is dust all over the table.’

➤ **Possessive sentences**

- (3) 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.’

- (4) Tenés **todo chocolate** en la cara.  
have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG on the.F.SG face.F.SG  
‘You have chocolate all over your face.’

- It is not available in other environments.

(5) \*Juan tomó **toda leche**.

Juan drink.PST.3SG all.F.SG milk.F.SG

‘Juan drank the milk completely.’

(6) \*María está lavando **toda lechuga**.

María be.PRS.3SG washing all.F.SG lettuce.F.SG

‘María is washing the lettuce completely/thoroughly.’

(7) \*Pedro pintó **toda pared**.

Pedro paint.PST.3SG all.F.SG wall.F.SG

‘Pedro painted the wall completely.’

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## Hypothesis 1

*Todo* makes up a nominal constituent with the higher noun.

(8) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> **toda agua**] [<sub>PP</sub> en [el baño]]].

## Evaluating Hypothesis 1

(8) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> **toda agua**] [<sub>PP</sub> en [el baño]]].

- **Agreement**

*Toda* agrees in gender and number with *agua*.

- **Interpretation**

The interpretation of (1) is not ‘all (of) the water.’

- **Constituency**

*Toda agua* cannot be an answer to a *qué* question.

(9) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?  
‘What is there in the bathroom?’

B: \***Toda agua**.  
‘All water.’

## Evaluating Hypothesis 1 *con't*

- **Toda agua** vs. **mucha agua**

(10) 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 on the bathroom floor.'

- **Interpretation**

*Mucha* quantifies over *agua*.

- **Constituency**

*Mucha agua* **can** be an answer to a *qué* question.

(11) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?  
'What is there in the bathroom?'

B: **Mucha agua.**  
'A lot of water.'

## Evaluating Hypothesis 1 *con't*

(8) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> **toda agua**] [<sub>PP</sub> en [el baño]]].

• <b>Agreement</b>	✓
• <b>Interpretation</b>	✗
• <b>Constituency</b>	✗

**Hypothesis 1** cannot be right.

## Questions

- (i) What element is *todo* quantifying over in these sentences? (i.e. What element is it semantically related to?)
- (ii) What syntactic position does *todo* occupy in the structure?
- (iii) If *todo* does not make up a nominal constituent with the noun (e.g. *agua* ‘water.F.SG’ in *Hay toda agua en el baño*), how does it come to agree with it?

## Hypothesis 2

*Todo* makes up a nominal constituent with the lower noun.

(12) Hay [**toda**] agua en [\_\_\_\_ **el baño**].

‘split’



## Evaluating Hypothesis 2

(12) Hay [**toda**] agua en [\_\_\_\_ **el baño**].

‘split’



- **Agreement**

Under (12) we expect agreement between *todo* and the lower nominal (\**todo agua*), contrary to what we find.

(13) \*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.’  
 [Cf. *todo barro*]

## Evaluating Hypothesis 2 *con't*

### • Interpretation I

(14) a. Tenés **todo** chocolate entre los  
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG between the.M.PL  
 bolsillos de la camisa.  
 pockets.M.PL of the.F.SG shirt.F.SG

b. #Tenés chocolate entre **todos** los  
 have.PRS.2SG chocolate.M.SG between all.M.PL the.M.PL  
 bolsillos de la camisa.  
 pockets.M.PL of the.F.SG shirt.F.SG  
 ‘There’s chocolate all between the pockets of your shirt.’



## Evaluating Hypothesis 2 *con't*

### • Interpretation II

- (15) a. Tenés **todo** chocolate al lado de/cerca de  
 have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of/ near of  
 la corbata.  
 the.F.SG tie.F.SG
- b. #Tenés chocolate al lado de/cerca de **toda**  
 have.PRS.2SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of/ near of all.F.SG  
 la corbata.  
 the.F.SG tie.F.SG  
 ‘A space next to/near your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’

## Evaluating Hypothesis 2 *con't*

- **Constituency**

The *todo* + nominal string can be clefted and coordinated.

- (16) Juan tiene [**todo chocolate**] y [**toda crema**] en las manos.  
'Juan has chocolate and cream all over his hands.' (Lit. 'Juan has all chocolate and all cream on his hands.')
- (17) ?Es **todo chocolate** que Juan tiene en las manos, no toda crema.  
'It is chocolate that Juan has all over his hands, not cream.'  
(Lit. 'It is all chocolate that Juan has on his hands not all cream.')

## Evaluating Hypothesis 2 con't

(12) Hay [**toda**] agua en [\_\_\_\_ **el baño**].

‘split’

• <b>Agreement</b>	<b>X</b>
• <b>Interpretation</b>	<b>X</b>
• <b>Constituency</b>	<b>X</b>

**Hypothesis 2** cannot be right.

## A brief detour: Quantifier and adverb *all/todo*

- **All:** ‘the totality of the members in a set’/ ‘the totality of the parts of a whole’

(18)a. The students are **all** tall.

b. That house is **all** white.

- **All:** ‘completely’

(19)a. John is **all** upset.

b. I am **all** alone.

## A brief detour: Quantifier and adverb *all/todo* con't

- ‘Totality’ **all** can appear with stage-level and individual-level predicates.

(20) a. The students are **all** tall. [INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL]  
b. The students are **all** upset. [STAGE-LEVEL]

- ‘Completive’ **all** is only possible with stage-level predicates.

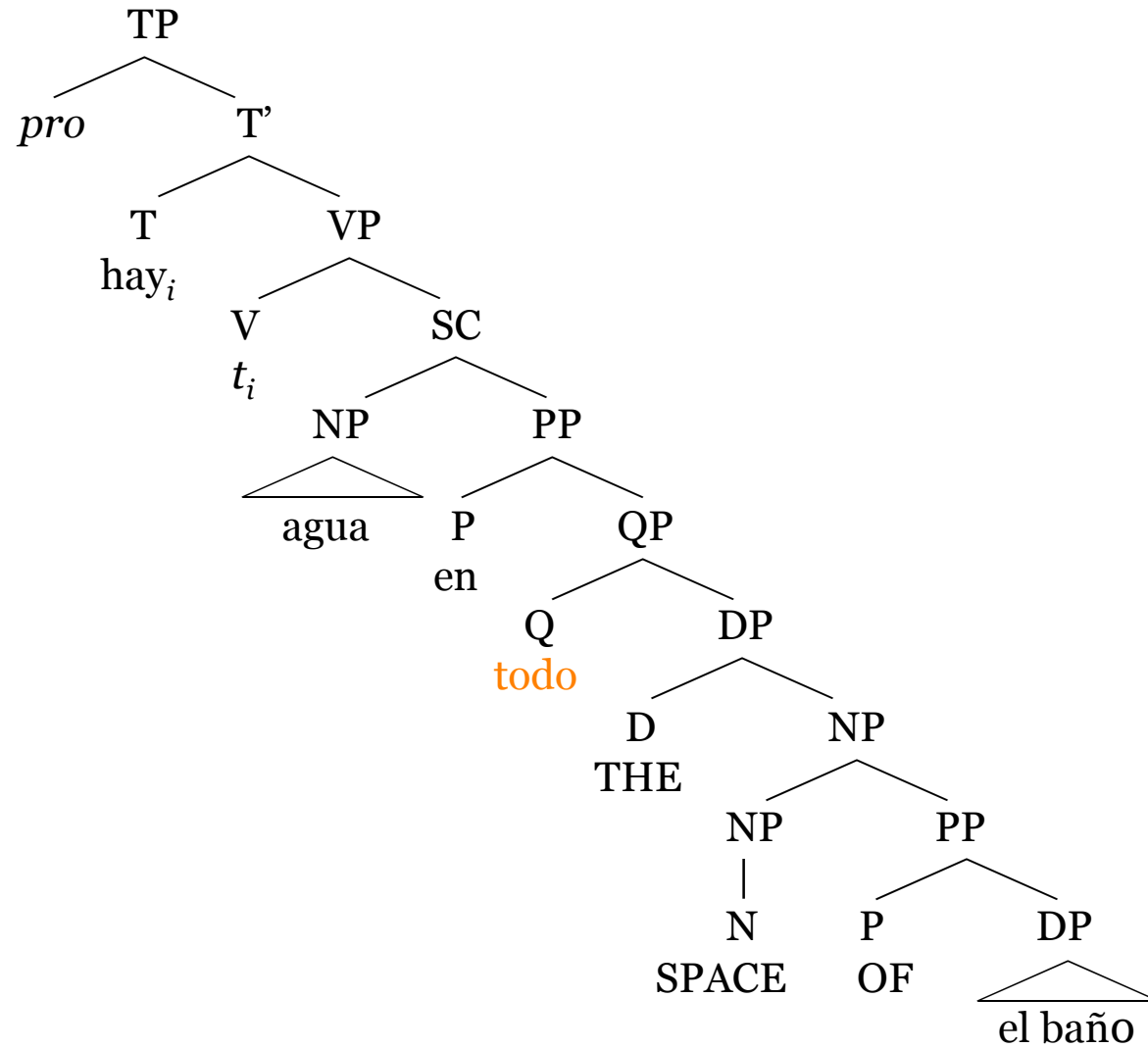
(21) a. #John is **all** tall. [INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL]  
b. John is **all** upset. [STAGE-LEVEL]

## Hypothesis 3

*Todo* quantifies over silent SPACE.

(22) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> agua] [<sub>PP</sub> en [<sub>DP</sub> *todo* THE SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> OF el baño]]].

(23)



## Evaluating Hypothesis 3

(22) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> agua] [<sub>PP</sub> en [<sub>DP</sub> **todo** THE SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> OF el baño]]].

- **Agreement**

Expectations: (i) **Todo** should agree with silent SPACE

(ii) **Todo** should not agree with any nominal at all

(iii) **Todo** should agree with the lower nominal

**Wrong prediction** made by (i) and (ii)

(24) \*Hay **todo** agua en la cocina.

**Wrong prediction** made by (iii)

(25) \*Hay **toda** barro en la cocina.



## Evaluating Hypothesis 3 *con't*

(22) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> agua] [<sub>PP</sub> en [<sub>DP</sub> **todo** THE SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> OF el baño]]].

- **Interpretation**

‘There is water in the whole space of the bathroom.’

- **Constituency**

It does not follow from (20) why *toda agua* can be clefted and coordinated with another string.

## Evaluating Hypothesis 3 *con't*

(22) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> agua] [<sub>PP</sub> en [<sub>DP</sub> **todo** THE SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> OF el baño]]].

• <b>Agreement</b>	<b>X</b>
• <b>Interpretation</b>	✓
• <b>Constituency</b>	<b>X</b>

**Hypothesis 3** cannot be right.

## Interim summary

(1) Hay **toda** agua en el baño.

- **Todo** is not quantifying over the higher noun (*agua*) [HYPOTHESIS 1]
- **Todo** is not quantifying over the lower noun (*baño*) [HYPOTHESIS 2]
- **Todo** is not quantifying over a silent noun (SPACE) [HYPOTHESIS 3]

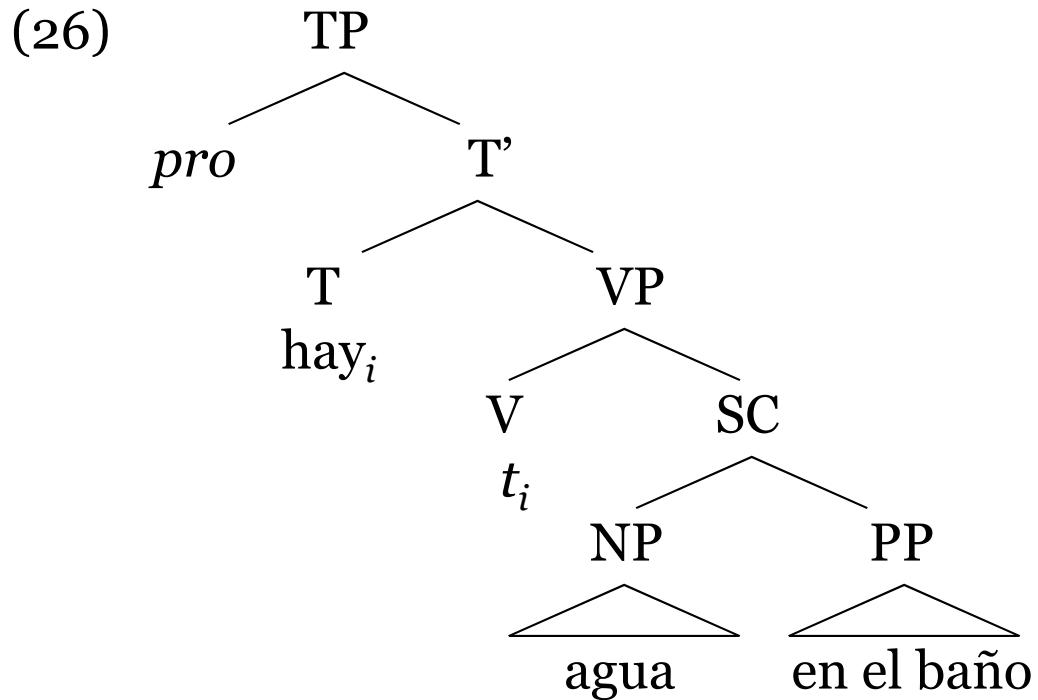
**Conclusion:** **Todo** is not quantifying over a noun.

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## The structure of existential sentences

The structure we have been assuming so far



## The structure of existential sentences *con't*

Francez (2007): Semantic analysis of existentials

(27) There is whiskey in the jar.

pivot

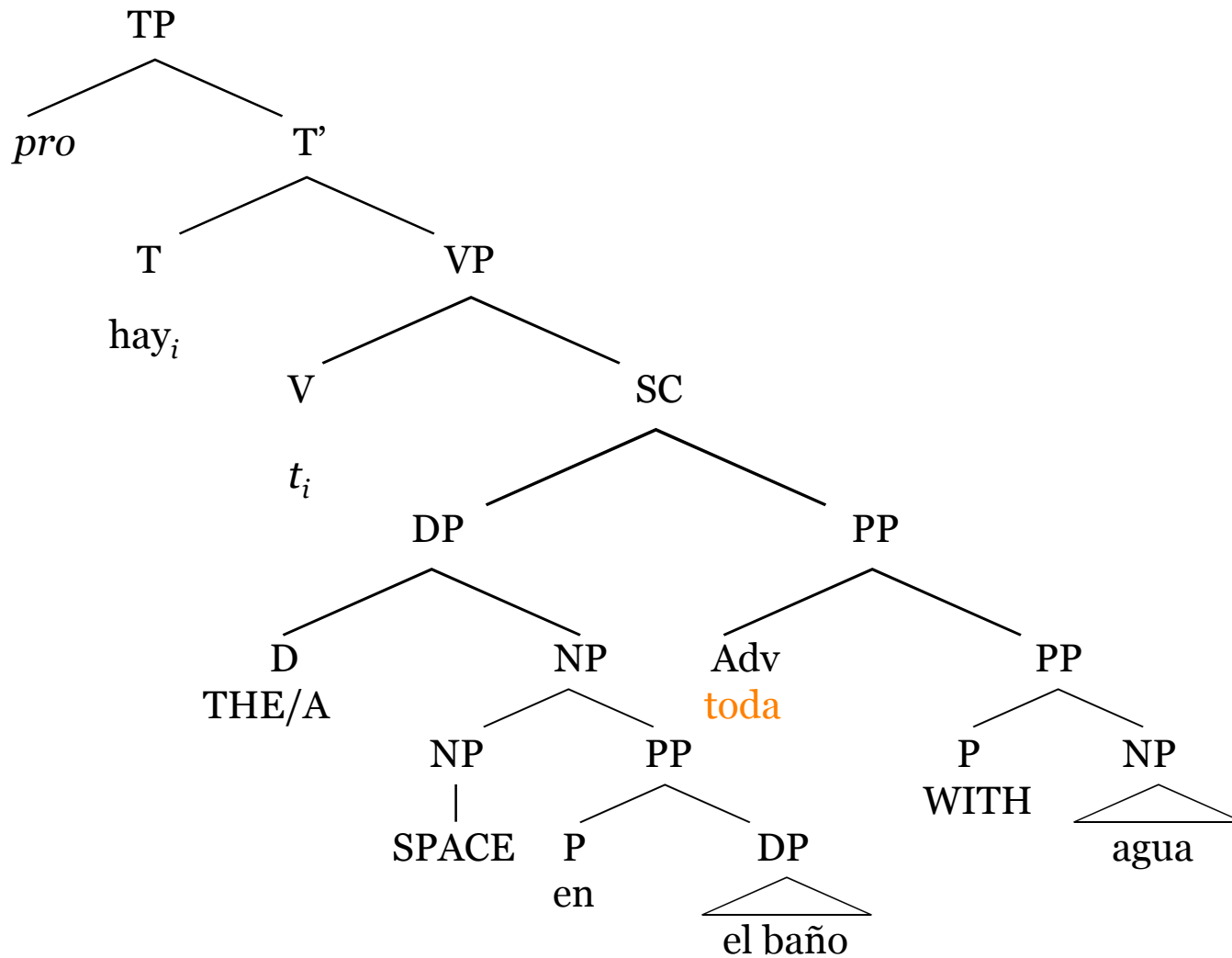
coda

- The coda (in the jar) is **not** the main predicate.
- The pivot (whiskey) is.
- Existentials have an implicit argument.
- The value of the implicit argument is determined by context or by contextual modifiers expressed by the coda (in the jar).

## **Proposal**

*Todo* is the modifier of a PP headed by silent WITH.

(28) Structure for *Hay toda agua en el baño*





## Evaluating the proposal

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> *toda* [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

- **Agreement**
- Question 1: Can adverbs agree in Spanish?
- Question 2: Can *toda* agree with *agua* in the structure in (29)?

## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> **toda** [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

- **Agreement**
- **Question 1:** Can adverbs agree in Spanish? **Yes.**

(30) María está                    media**a**    aburrida**a**.  
 María be.PRS.3SG   half.**F.SG** bored.**F.SG**  
 ‘María is a little bit bored.’

(31) Sus    chistes    son            bastantes**s**    gracioso**s**.  
 his.PL jokes.PL be.PRS.3PL quite.a.lot.**PL** funny.**M.PL**  
 ‘His jokes are considerably funny.’

## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> *toda* [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

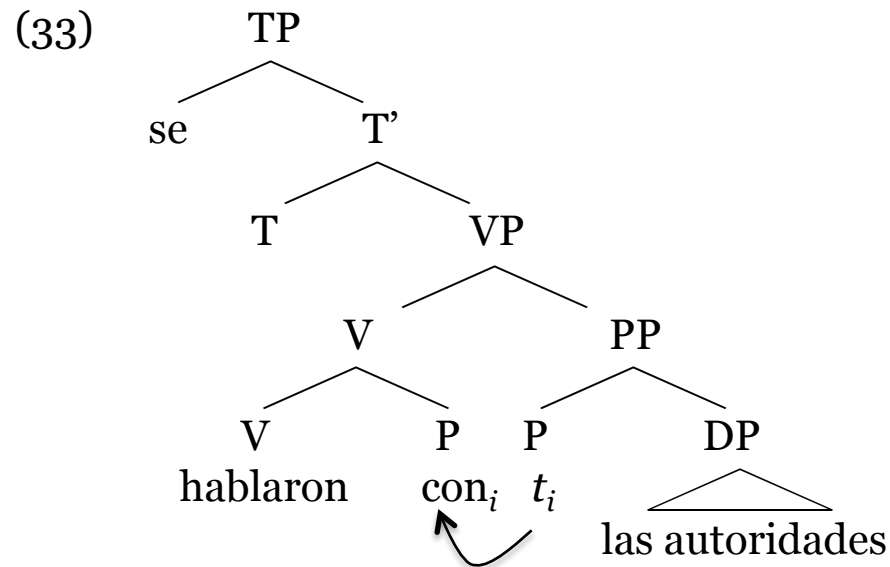
- **Agreement**
- **Question 2:** Can *toda* agree with *agua* in the structure in (29)? **Yes.**

## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

Gallego & Uriagereka 2016

### (32) *Dialectal Spanish*

Dijo que se **hablaron** con **las** **autoridades**.  
 say.PST.3SG that SE talk.PST.3PL with the.PL authorities.PL  
 ‘He said that the authorities were talked to.’

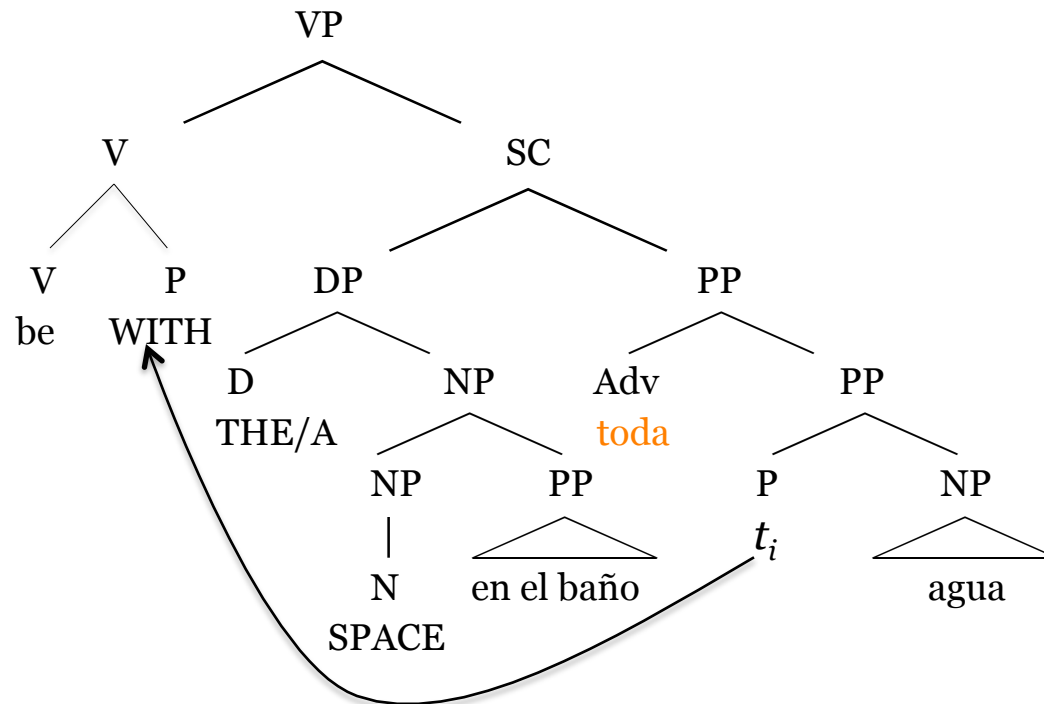


## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> **toda** [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

- **Agreement**

(34)



## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> toda [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

- **Interpretation**

We predicate of a surface (that of the bathroom floor) that is completely covered with a substance/mass (water).

## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> **toda** [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

- **Constituency**

*Toda agua* is a PP. This is why it cannot be an answer to a *qué* question, but it can be clefted and coordinated with another string.

(35) A: ¿Qué hay en el baño?

‘What is there in the bathroom?’

B: \***Toda agua**

‘All water.’

A: ¿Qué cocinaste?

‘What did you cook?’

B: \*En el horno/\*con manteca

‘in the oven’/ ‘with butter’

## Evaluating the proposal *con't*

(29) Hay [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> THE/A SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño]] [<sub>PP</sub> **toda** [<sub>PP</sub> WITH [<sub>NP</sub> agua]]]].

• <b>Agreement</b>	✓
• <b>Interpretation</b>	✓
• <b>Constituency</b>	✓

**The proposal** can account for the agreement, interpretation and constituency of *Hay toda agua en el baño*.



## Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE

The justification for the presence of silent SPACE came mainly from interpretation.

(36) Tenés            **todo**       chocolate            al       lado de/cerca de la  
have.PRS.2SG all.M.SG chocolate.M.SG to.the side of/ near of the.F.SG  
corbata.  
tie.F.SG

‘A **space** next to/near your tie is completely covered with chocolate.’

However, an element can be **notionally** present without it being **syntactically** present.

## **Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE**

Liquid or water in (37)

(37) Juan washed the car.

Consider (38) from Condoradvi & Gawron 1996.

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

it = the Superbowl

it ≠ the bet

## Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE

### Hypothesis

If we can refer to strings like *THE/A SPACE en el baño* with a pronoun, we would have evidence that there is a silent noun in this structure.

## Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE

- (39) 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.’

*agua* = water.**F.SG**  
*cocina* = kitchen.**F.SG**  
**lo** = **M.SG**

## Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE

- (40) 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<sub>DAT</sub>  
**lo** toques.  
 it.**M.SG** touch.PRES.SBJV.2SG  
 ‘The/a space between your eyes is completely covered with blood,  
 don’t touch!’

*sangre* = blood.**F.SG**  
*ojos* = eyes.**M.PL**  
**lo** = **M.SG**

## Further evidence in favor of silent SPACE

- (41) #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.PRES.SBJV.2SG  
 ‘I put bleach between the taps, don’t touch!’

*lavandina* = bleach.F.SG  
*canillas* = taps.F.PL  
*lo* = M.SG

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## Three aspects of variation between Rioplatense Spanish and Peninsular Spanish

- Variation I: Agreement
- Variation II: Prepositions
- Variation III: Distribution of completive *todo*



## Variation I: Agreement

- (42) a. Juan tiene **toda** **arena** en el pelo. [✓RS, \*PS]  
 b. Juan tiene **todo** **arena** en el pelo. [%RS, ✓PS]  
 ‘Juan has sand all in his hair.’

- (43) a. María tenía **tod****as** **picadur****as** en la espalda. [✓RS, \*PS]  
 b. María tenía **todo** **picadur****as** en la espalda. [%RS, ✓PS]  
 ‘María had mosquito bites all over her back.’

- If *todo* is an adverb akin to *completely* this is not unexpected.
- In Spanish, adverbs display quite a lot of variation with respect to the agreement patterns they allow.

## Variation I: Agreement *con't*

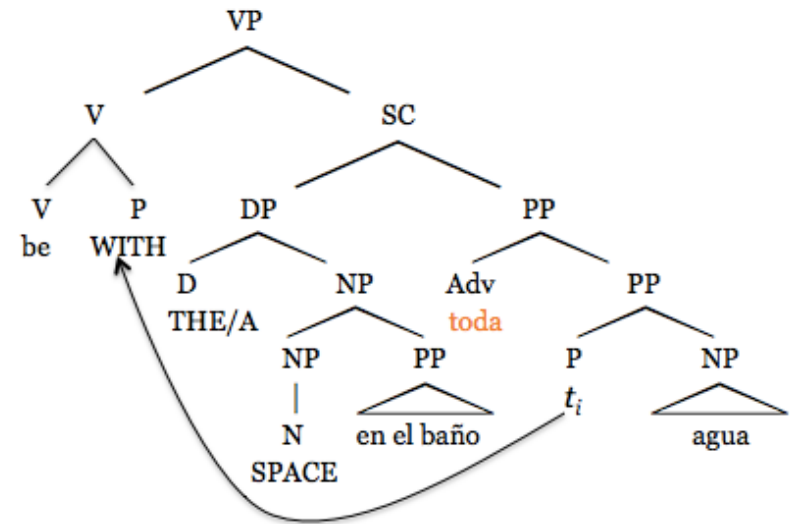
- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| (44) a. María está medi <b>o</b> aburrid <b>a</b> .      | [No Agreement] |
| b. María está medi <b>a</b> aburrid <b>a</b> .           | [Agreement]    |
| 'María is a little bit bored.'                           |                |
|  |                |
| (45) a. Sus chistes son bastante gracioso <b>s</b> .     | [No Agreement] |
| b. Sus chistes son bastante <b>s</b> gracioso <b>s</b> . | [Agreement]    |
| 'His jokes are considerably funny.'                      |                |

## Variation I: Agreement *con't*

### TWO SCENARIOS

- A. Speakers of Peninsular Spanish don't have adverbs that agree.
- B. In non-agreeing (PS) grammars, WITH fails to incorporate.

(34)



## Variation II: Prepositions

(46) Juan tiene **todo** *de* **arena** en la cabeza.  
 ‘Juan has sand all over his head.’

[\*RS, ✓PS]

- *Con/de* alternation: Locative alternation

(47) a. Juan cargó heno en el carro.  
 ‘Juan loaded hay onto the truck.’

[Theme object]

b. Juan cargó el carro {*con/ de*} heno.  
 ‘Juan loaded the car with hay.’

[Location object]  
 (Mateu, 2002:207)

## Variation II: Prepositions *con*'t

- (48) a. Juan cargó el carro **con** heno. [✓ RS, ✓ PS]  
 b. Juan cargó el carro **de** heno. [?\*RS, ✓ PS]  
 'Juan loaded de car with hay.'

### Hypothesis

The absence of the **de** variant in the locative alternation is linked to the absence of the **de** variant in the *todo* construction.

- Some evidence that this may be on the right track.

- (49) a. ?Tenés todo **con** chocolate en la cara. [RS]  
 b. Tenés todo **de** chocolate en la cara. [PS]

### Variation III: Distribution of completive *todo*

- (50) a. Juan tiene **todo barro** en la cabeza. [✓ RS, ✓ PS]  
‘Juan has mud all over his head.’
- b. Hay **todo barro** en el baño. [✓ RS, \*PS]  
‘There’s mud over the whole bathroom (floor).’

#### Hypothesis

Existentials in RS and PS are structurally distinct. Existentials in RS are possessive WITH structures; existentials in PS are not.

### Variation III: Distribution of completive *todo* con't

- A contrast along these lines is found in **European** vs. **Brazilian Portuguese**.

- (51) a. Nesta fruta **há** muitas sementes. [EP]  
       b. Nesta fruta **há** muitos caroços. [BP]  
       ‘In this fruit there are many seeds.’ (Franco & Lorusso 2018:53)
- (52) a. Esta fruta **tem** muitas sementes. [EP]  
       b. Esta fruta **tem** muitos caroços. [BP]  
       ‘This fruit has many seeds.’
- (53) a. \***Tem** muitas sementes nessa fruta. [EP]  
       b. **Tem** muitos caroços nessa fruta. [BP]  
       ‘In this fruit there are many seeds.’ (Franco & Lorusso 2018:53)

### Variation III: Distribution of completive *todo* con't

- **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: *haber* vs. *tener*).
- **Peninsular Spanish** patterns with **European Portuguese** in keeping possessives and existentials distinct.

<b>Rioplatense Spanish</b>	<b>Peninsular Spanish</b>
<b>Brazilian Portuguese</b>	<b>European Portuguese</b>



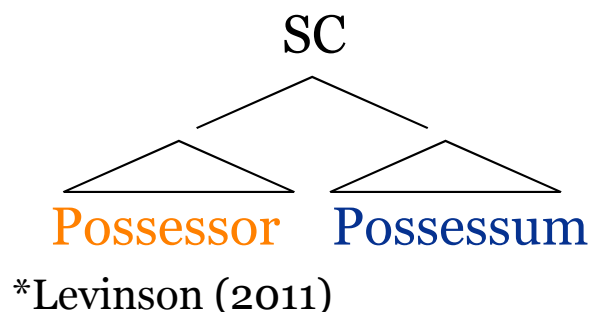
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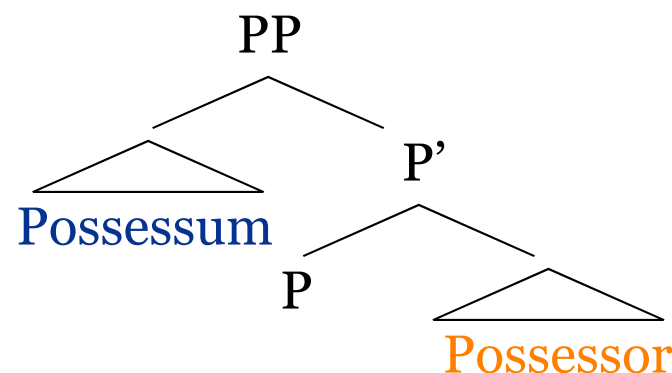
## Implications

- In the structure proposed the possessor is the subject (of a small clause) and the possessum is a complement (of the silent P WITH).
- This goes against the tradition that claims that all possessive constructions are derived from a single underlying structure like the one in (55).

(54)



(55)



Freeze 1992, den Dikken 1995

## Future research: Completive *all* in English

- Speakers of some varieties of English (e.g. Australian, Irish, and British English) allow sentence like those in (56).

(56) a. There's *all* water behind me.

b. There's *all* blood in the bed.

c. There's *all* mud in my special wedding shoes.

d. There's *all* sand in my hair!

e. The bath had *all* sand and dirt in it!

## Conclusion

- We discussed sentences like *Hay toda agua en el baño*.
- We proposed the **analysis below**:  
[<sub>SC</sub> [A/THE SPACE [<sub>PP</sub> en el baño] [<sub>PP</sub> **todo** [<sub>PP</sub> WITH agua]]]
- We showed how this analysis accounts for the **interpretation**, **constituency**, and **agreement pattern** of the construction.
- We discussed **three aspects of variation** between RS and PS: agreement, prepositions, distribution of completeive *todo*.
- We reviewed the theoretical consequences of the analysis for the syntax of possession.
- **Future work**: *John has all sand in his hair!*