Completive *todo* across Spanish dialects

Overview. Many colloquial varieties of Spanish exhibit the "completive *todo*" construction, an example of which is given in (1).

(1) *Rioplatense Spanish*

Juan	tiene	**toda**	**arena**	en	la	cabeza.
Juan	have.PRES.3SG	all.FEM.SG	sand.FEM.SG	on	the	head

'Juan has sand all over his head.'

Sentences like (1) describe a situation in which a substance (sand) covers a surface (Juan's head) in all its extension. Although this construction exists in several varieties of Spanish, I show that it displays variation across dialects, in particular with respect to (i) its availability in existential (*haber* 'have') and/or possessive (*tener* 'have') environments, (ii) the realization of overt Ps (*todo de arena* 'all of sand', ?*todo con arena* 'all with sand'), and (iii) the presence vs. absence of agreement (**toda** arena vs. **todo** arena). In this talk, I discuss these aspects of variation with a special emphasis on the contrasts between the Rioplatense and Peninsular varieties. In doing so, I argue, among other things, that the study of completive *todo* sheds light on the internal structure of existential sentences in Spanish and I claim that the study of this phenomenon lends support to the existence of silent elements in the grammar (in the spirit of Kayne 2004).

The basic proposal. I argue that what follows the verb *tener* 'have.PRES.3SG' in (1) is a constituent akin to a small clause. The subject of this small clause contains a silent SPACE element and the PP *en la cabeza* 'on the head' is a modifier of silent SPACE. The predicate of the small clause is a PP headed by a silent P WITH, with the nominal *arena* 'sand' as the complement of this silent P. In this structure, *todo* 'all' is a completive adverb acting as a modifier of the WITH-PP. This analysis is sketched in (2).

(2) Juan tiene [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP\ Subj}$ THE/A SPACE [$_{PP}$ en la cabeza]] [$_{PP\ Pred}$ **toda** [$_{PP}$ WITH [$_{QP/NP}$ arena]]]]

The analysis in (2) successfully captures the interpretation, the constituency, and the agreement of this construction. The ***interpretation*** of (1) follows from the fact that (2) predicates about a given space that it is completely (covered) with a substance (sand). Furthermore, in (2) *toda arena* 'all sand' is a PP. This explains the ***constituency*** facts: (a) the *todo* + nominal string cannot be an answer to a *qué* 'what' question (*¿Qué tiene Juan en al cabeza?* 'What does Juan have on his head?' *Toda arena 'All sand') but (b) it can be coordinated (*Juan tiene [toda arena] y [todo barro] en la cabeza* 'Juan has all sand and all mud on his head'), and (c) it can be clefted (*Es [toda arena] que Juan tiene en la cabeza, no todo barro* 'It is all sand that Juan has on his head, not all mud'). These constituency facts remain mysterious under any analysis that takes *toda arena* 'all sand' to be a QP (such an account wouldn't explain (a)), or any analysis which considers *toda* 'all.FEM.SG' to be an adverb on the clausal spine (such an account wouldn't explain (b) and (c)). In order to derive the ***agreement*** between *toda* 'all.FEM.SG' and the nominal in (1), I propose that the silent P WITH incorporates into the verb. This movement "unshields" the DP, making agreement between *toda* 'all.FEM.SG' and the nominal possible.

Variation in Spanish varieties. There are at least three ways in which the Rioplatense and Peninsular varieties differ with respect to this construction. First, while speakers of Rioplatense Spanish allow completive *todo* in possessives (3a) and existentials (3b) alike, speakers of Peninsular Spanish allow completive *todo* in possessives (3a), but disallow it in existentials (3b) (***Variation I***).

(3) a. Juan tiene **todo** **barro** en la cabeza. [✓RS, ✓PS]
    Juan have.PRES.3SG all.MASC.SG mud.MASC.SG on the head
    'Juan has mud all over his head.'

   b. Hay **todo** **barro** en el baño. [✓RS, *PS]
    have.PRES all.MASC.SG mud.MASC.SG in the bathroom
    'There's mud over the whole bathroom (floor).'

Second, Peninsular Spanish exhibits a variant with the overt preposition *de* 'of'(4), which is completely absent from the grammars of Rioplatense speakers (***Variation II***).

(4) Juan tiene **todo** *de* **arena** en la cabeza. [*RS, ✓PS]
    Juan have.PRES.3SG all.MASC.SG of sand.FEM.SG on the head
    'Juan has sand all over his head.'

Third, as seen in (1), for most speakers of Rioplatense Spanish, *todo* 'all' must agree in gender and number with the nominal that accompanies it. However, for speakers of Peninsular Spanish agreement between *todo* 'all' and the nominal is absolutely impossible (5) (***Variation III***).

(5) Juan tiene **todo** **arena** en la cabeza. [%RS, ✓PS]
    Juan have.PRES.3SG all.MASC.SG sand.FEM.SG on the head
    'Juan has sand all over his head.'

Discussion & conclusions. The study of the completive *todo* construction in Rioplatense and Peninsular Spanish has the merit of having brought to light three independent aspects of variation across Spanish dialects not studied in the literature before. I propose that the first aspect of variation (***Variation I***) is due to the fact that, despite being superficially identical, existential sentences in Rioplatense and Peninsular Spanish are structurally distinct. If it is true, as has been argued, that completive *todo* is parasitic on a possessive structure, then this leads to the inevitable conclusion that (at least some) Rioplatense existentials are possessive structures (they allow completive *todo*), whereas Peninsular existentials are not (they disallow it). The contrast between these varieties would then be parallel to the one found in existential sentences in Brazilian vs. European Portuguese, in that Brazilian Portuguese allows possessive existentials (i.e. *Tem muitos caroços nessa fruta* 'have many seeds in.that fruit', Franco & Lorusso 2018), but European Portuguese does not. As to the second aspect of variation (***Variation II***), I argue that P *de* 'of' is an alternative realization of the possessive P WITH in (2). I propose that the presence of P *de* 'of' in this construction in Peninsular Spanish and its absence in Rioplatense Spanish is due to a general dispreference for the P *de* 'of' in other possessive/containment contexts in Rioplatense Spanish. For instance, while speakers of Peninsular Spanish allow both *de* 'of' and *con* 'with' in locative sentences like *Juan cargó el camión **de/con** heno* 'Juan loaded the truck of/with hay' (Mateu 2002), speakers of Rioplatense Spanish either reject or show a marked dispreference for the *de* 'of' variant. In a similar fashion, Rioplatense speakers reject **todo de arena* 'all of sand' but marginally accept ?*todo con arena* 'all with sand'. Moreover, I argue that the presence of these overt Ps lends support to the analysis proposed in (2). Finally, I evaluate different potential explanations for the absence vs. presence of agreement (***Variation III***) and outline the future work that would need to be done in order to decide between these alternatives.

Selected References. Franco, L. & P. Lorusso. 2018. On the morpho-syntax of existential sentences in Romance-based creoles. *Working papers in linguistics and oriental studies* 4.47-72. **Kayne, R. S. 2004**. Here and there. In *Lexique, syntaxe, et lexique-grammaire (Syntax, Lexis and Lexicon-Grammar) Papers in honour of Maurice Gross*, ed. by C. Leclère, E. Laporte, M. Piot & M. Silberzstein, 254-273. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, **Mateu, J. 2002.** *Argument structure: relational construal at the syntax-semantics interface*. Barcelona, Spain: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona dissertation.