

Consider the following examples:

- (1) a La niña vino toda manchada de barro
 b Tu vestido está todo roto

Traditionally *todo* in cases such as these is viewed as an 'intensifier' and is often compared to adverbials like *completamente* or *enteramente*. Treating *todo* here as an adverbial, however, does no justice to the agreement it manifests. In my paper I will propose that these instances of *todo* are 'floating quantifiers' and have essentially the same status as e.g. *todos* in (2).

- (2) Sus estudiantes son todos inteligentes

As is well known, Spanish *todo* can be followed by a definite DP, which may either be plural (*todos los estudiantes*) or singular (*toda la casa*). For the first case I will use the term 'plural *todo*' and for the second 'singular *todo*'. Plural *todo* quantifies universally over a set of individuals, and singular *todo* - I will assume - over a set of segments of one individual. Singular *todo* thus produces reference to the complete set of segments of the individual, i.e. reference to the individual as a whole. In this sense it is clearly related to the adverbial *enteramente*.

In my proposal the syntactic structure of phrases containing singular *todo* is identical to the structure of phrases with plural *todo*: in both cases *todo* is a Q^0 which selects the DP it quantifies over. The agreement between *todo* and the DP is a consequence of Spec-Head Agreement checking. For this checking to apply the DP must move to the specifier of Q^0 , which happens covertly in cases like *todos los estudiantes* or *toda la casa*. The post-Spell Out structure of these phrases is thus as in (3).

- (3) $[_{QP} DP_i [_Q Q^0 [e_i]]]$

Sportiche (1988) in discussing French plural *tous* as a 'floating' quantifier characterizes it as occurring in phrases containing an empty DP bound by an antecedent. I take over the core of his analysis. More technically, I assume that the specifier position of Q^0 acts as an 'escape hatch' through which the DP selected by it can move to a higher position:

- (4) $DP_i \dots [_{QP} e_i [_Q Q^0 [e_i]]] \dots$

This analysis applies directly to the cases exemplified in (1) and (2), where the QP containing *todo* is the subject of the PartP/AP predicate that follows it, and with which it forms a small clause. The agreement between the quantifier and the antecedent-DP is a result of the presence of the intermediate trace in spec,QP.

The proposed analysis can be extended without problems to cases in which the predicate is an NP/DP or a PP, cf. (5).

- (5) a Este pescado es todo espinas
 b Estos chicos son todos estudiantes
 c Esta niña es toda una mujer
 d Sois todos unos pesados
 e La caja es toda de plata
 f Los anillos son todos de oro

In the remainder of my talk I will discuss a number of other parallels between plural and singular *todo*, as well as some dissimilarities. I will concentrate on 1) the types of DP (other than the NP traces of the examples above) that may appear in spec,QP prior to Spell-Out 2) the distribution of QPs headed by ('floating' or non-'floating') *todo*.