

On mismatches between strong and emphatic pronouns: Pronoun + *mismo* ‘same/self’ in Spanish

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Emphatic subject pronouns (+*mismo* ‘same/self’) and strong pronouns show some mismatches between their phonological form (both overt) and the anaphoric relations they enter: Emphatic pronouns behave differently from strong ones in that they can be bound like null *pro* (Montalbetti 1984; Alonso-Ovalle/D’Introno 2001).

- (1) (Juan_i/Ningún estudiante_i) piensa que **ÉL (mismo)_i** pasó el examen.
John/no student thinks that he same passed the exam
‘John/No student thinks that he (himself) passed the exam’

Pronouns combined with *mismo* can also be doubled by *se* (above all in contrastive contexts) where strong pronouns without the addition of *mismo* or without an emphatic reading are marginal (NGLE 2009: 16.4n/ñ):

- (2) **Luisa_i** se quiere (a sí misma_i / ?? a ella_i / a ella misma_i)
Luisa SE loves P SE same P her P her same
‘Luisa loves herself’

Furthermore, strong pronouns cannot refer to inanimate antecedents (Cardinaletti/Starke 1999). However, corpus examples show that pronouns with *mismo* can be inanimate:

- (3) [...] generará **expectativas erróneas_i** que pueden ser perversas si **ellas mismas_i** se van autocumpliendo (CORPES XXI)
‘[...] it will generate wrong expectations_i which can be pervasive if they themselves_i [fem] are fulfilled’

Strong pronouns have further been related to topic shift, unlike null subjects which are continuous (Frascarelli 2007). Emphatic pronouns, like *pro*, readily appear in continuous contexts (ex. (4) from CORPES XXI):

- (4) [**el director general** de personal del Ministerio de Defensa]_i / [**el almirante Pita de Veiga**]_i / ha pasado a la situación de retiro y **él mismo_i** ha considerado oportuno que [...]
‘[The general personnel director of the Ministry of Defense]_i – the admiral Pita de Veiga_i – has come into the situation of retirement and he himself_i has considered it appropriate [...]

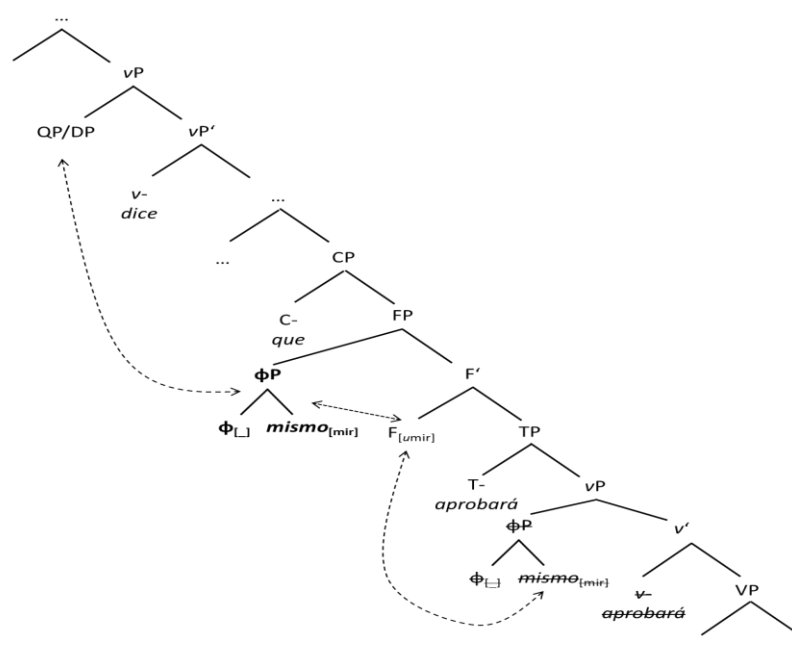
Alonso-Ovalle/D’Introno (2001) argue that focused pronouns are “minimal pronouns” (Kratzer 2009). In this paper, we argue that it is not merely ‘focus’ that is decisive, as indicated by the possibility of pronoun+*mismo* to be combined with other focus particles (5) or to be clefted (6):

- (5) No sé, creo que **hasta ellos mismos** tienen algo de lío.
not know.1SG think.1SG that even they same.PL have something of trouble
‘I don’t know, I think that even they themselves have a bit of trouble’ (CORPES XXI)
(6) y **él mismo** fue quien paralizó ese proceso que se había iniciado en el Ayuntamiento
and he same was who paralyzed this process that SE had initiated in the city-council
‘and it was he himself who paralyzed the process that had been initiated by the city council’

Towards an analysis: Pronoun+*mismo* can enter anaphoric dependencies untypical of strong pronouns, which, however, cannot be solely reduced to logophoricity (cf. inanimates; ex. (3)). Sánchez (1994) suggests that *mismo* triggers a ‘scale of expectancy’ and its use implies unexpectedness from the hearer’s perspective (cf. Rooryck&Vanden Wyngaerd 2011 for intensifiers). In the spirit of recasting some phenomena traditionally related to ‘focus’ in terms of mirativity (cf. Bianchi et al. 2015; Cruschina 2019), we suggest that *mismo* can be used as a mirativity marker and the pronoun it associates with is simultaneously bound by an antecedent

and by a left-peripheral projection encoding “point-of-view” on top of TP (Uriagereka’s 1995 FP; cf. Speas & Tenny’s 2003 SAP). Building on Bianchi et al. (2015:13), a left peripheral projection bears a mirativity feature. We argue that a corresponding feature is located on *mismo* which triggers an *Agree* relation optionally combined with Internal Merge (see (7)). We further follow Grano & Lasnik (2018) in that bound pronouns lack inherent ϕ -features and value them across a suspended CP phase boundary. Thus, adjunction of *mismo* is possible to nominal elements of different internal structures – DPs and ϕ Ps with valued or unvalued phi-features. In a pro-drop language, null is the default realization of ϕ P, but, if combined with *mismo*, null realization is blocked in post-syntactic morphology until phi is valued. On the interpretative side, ϕ P+*mismo* enters two dependencies: (i) bound variable construal (via phi-valuation) and (ii) a relation to FP/SAP in the left periphery (by means of the mirativity feature introduced by *mismo*):

(7)



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