

1. Introduction. "Ideation reigns supreme in language, [...] volition and emotion come in as distinctly secondary factors." With these words, Edward Sapir (1921:217) claimed that language is primarily a tool for the expression of thought (ideas). The expression of affect is only secondary. This secondary role is reflected in the form of language: "[T]he emotional aspect of our psychic life is but meagerly expressed in the build of language;" (Sapir *ibidem*). Roman Jakobson (1960) acknowledges the supremacy of the expression of thought but emphasizes "[...] that this supremacy does not authorize linguistics to disregard the 'secondary factors'." Jakobson argues that "[I]f we analyze language from the standpoint of the information it carries, we cannot restrict the notion of information to the cognitive aspect of language."

The aim of this talk is to examine the "meager" formal expression of affective information in the build of human language by closely considering and analyzing a number of affect-related formal properties that are manifest in varieties of Dutch and languages closely related to Dutch. At a more descriptive level, these formal strategies of encoding affective information can be characterized as being augmentative: they make the structure 'bigger' and effectuate a concomitant intensifying meaning. Three types of augmentative strategies will be considered: (i) augmentation by local dislocation; (ii) augmentation by "information spreading" (affective concord); (iii) augmentation by coordination.

2. Augmentation by local dislocation. Starting from Pos's (1933/34:328) intuition that the expression of affect involves the "inverse use" of functional material ("Mais la fonction logique des particules n'est pas la seule qui leur appartienne. Elles ont un autre emploi qui suit un sense inverse: l'usage émotif et affectif."), I will propose an analysis in which this "inverse use of functional information" is implemented by means of the displacement property. Crucially, this affect-related displacement is not operative *in* (narrow) syntax but *after* syntax, in the sense of Embick and Noyer (2001). More specifically, I will argue that functional material (e.g., the categories D or Deg) is reordered by means of *Local Dislocation*, a morphological merger operation that operates on a linear string and inverts the order of two adjacent elements: i.e., $[X * [Z * Y]]$ is changed into $[[Z^{\circ} Z+X] * Y]$. Inversion yields a "structurally augmented" head (i.e., Z is turned into $[Z^{\circ} Z+X]$). As we will show, in many varieties of Dutch, the augmenting affix surfaces phonologically as the sound 'schwa', which may be considered a 'default/dummy sound' which spells out the augmentative part Z.

As an illustration of this linguistic encoding ("packaging") of affective information, consider the data in (1), drawn from Katwijk Dutch (Overdiep 1937; Corver 2004). As indicated, the quantity designating noun in pseudopartitive constructions can be augmented by means of *e* (schwa), yielding an affective "color" (surprise, astonishment).

- (1) a. Toe kregē we 'n *hoop waeter*, en toe riep de skipper... (neutral)
 then got we a lot water, and then shouted the boatsman ...
- b. Toe kregē we-n-om 'n uur of drie toch 'n *hoope waeter*, man! (affective)
 then got we-n around an hour or three PRT a lot-E water, man
 'Oh man, around three o'clock we really got a lot of water in our boat!'

It will be argued that the augmented form *hoope* results from displacement (Local Dislocation) of the functional category D onto the measure noun *hoop*, yielding the augmented head $[N+D]$, which spells out as *hoop+e*. It will further be shown that this strategy of augmentation is attested in different structural environments in varieties of Dutch: e.g., (i) pronominals (*ik* 'I', *ikke*, I+-e), (ii) proper names (*de Miel*, the + Miel; *de Miele*), (iii) *die* ('that', referential use) *den dieje* ('that', affective use), (iv) degree adverbs (*verdomd duur* 'damned expensive'; *verdomde duur*), and (v) attributive adjectives (Afrikaans: 'n *mooi konyn* 'a beautiful rabbit' (neutral reading), 'n *mooie konyn* (affective reading).

3. Augmentation by spreading. Another phenomenon that relates to the linguistic encoding of affect may be neutrally labeled as "spreading". In colloquial Dutch, certain degree adverbs can "inherit" the adjectival inflectional morphology that is associated with the attributive adjectival head modified by the degree adverb. For example, besides *een (heel) erg dure fiets* (a (so) terribly expensive-INFL bike) we find *een (heel) erge dure fiets*; and we even find: *een hele erge dure fiets*. This spreading of inflectional morphology affectively "colors" the complex adjectival expression. Importantly, spreading seems to be subject to an adjacency requirement: if a PP intervenes, spreading is blocked. Compare: *een erg(*e) [PP daarvan] afhankelijke man* (a very(*-INFL) thereupon dependent-INFL man) versus *een [PP daarvan] erg(-e) afhankelijke man*. An analysis will be given in which the phi-features associated with the attributive head can spread onto a left-adjacent degree adverb by means of (leftward) Local Dislocation. From there it can spread further onto the next adjacent degree element.

3. Augmentation by coordination. In the final part of the paper, I will discuss certain properties of Dutch curse expressions that can also be characterized as being "augmentative". Structural augmentation can first of all be realized by means of the computational procedure (Merge). An increasingly heightened emotional state can be expressed by an increasingly more complex curse expression: For example, besides the simplex curse expression *godver* (goddamit!), we also find more complex (i.e. augmented) ones such as *godver de ju*, *godver de sakker de ju*, and *godver de sakker de non de ju*. An analysis will be proposed according to which the augmented curse expressions involve coordination; more specifically coordination of roots ($\sqrt{\text{godver}}$, $\sqrt{\text{sakker}}$, etc.), which is permitted given the category-less nature of Conj. The linking element *de* will be decomposed into two items: *d* and *e*. The former will be analyzed as an augmentative paragogic dental obstruent that gets attached to the curse atom ending in *er* (e.g., *godver+d*), the latter will be analyzed as an augmentative sound 'schwa' that externalizes the Conj-head of the coordinate structure, yielding, for example, [_{Conj}P *godver+d* [_{Conj}'-e [ju]]].

4. The language-emotion interface. A core question in the Minimalist study of human language is whether it is well designed for the interaction with other systems that are internal to the mind. One of those systems, arguably, is the emotion system, which, just like language, is a biological system (Damasio 1999:51). In *Cartesian linguistics* (1966; 2009:78), Chomsky explicitly mentions the expression of feelings through language: "We have observed that the study of the creative aspect of language use develops from the assumption that linguistic and mental processes are virtually identical, language providing the primary means for the free expression of **thought and feeling**, [...]" (boldface NC). The primacy of thought over feeling is clear from Chomsky's claim that "[...] language evolved, and is designed, primarily as an instrument of thought;" (Chomsky 2009:29). According to Sapir, this asymmetry between thought and emotion/feeling is reflected in the build of human language. In line with Pos (1933/34), this paper implements the secondary role of affect in terms of the secondary (inverse) use and externalization of functional material (e.g., functional categories, inflection) at the Syntax-PF interface. Such an approach is in line with Chomsky's (2009:386) recent characterization of externalization as a secondary process.

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