

On the Marked Usage of Demonstratives: Toward the Typology

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1 Introduction

Demonstratives in many, if not all, languages have three distinct uses: (i) exophoric (ii) anaphoric, and (iii) recognitional (Diessel 1999), as exemplified in (1), (2), and (3) respectively.¹

- (1) (pointing to a painting) Look at *this* painting. [exophoric]
- (2) My neighbor has a dog, and *this* dog always barks at me. [anaphoric]
- (3) Do you still have *that* painting Joe gave you on your birthday?
[recognitional]

¹ Diessel (1999) also recognizes the “discourse-deictic” use, where a demonstrative refers to a proposition mentioned or speech act carried out in the surrounding discourse. We consider it to be subsumed in the anaphoric use.

It has also been acknowledged that demonstratives in individual languages may exhibit less typical, or marked, uses.

This study develops a three-dimensional taxonomy of the usage of demonstratives, which combines (i) the trichotomy of [exophoric]/[anaphoric]/[recognitional], (ii) the feature: [\pm non-restrictive], and (iii) the feature: [\pm affective], and demonstrates that this taxonomy facilitates cross-linguistic/typological comparison.

Four languages—English, (Mandarin) Chinese, Japanese, and Korean—are used as samples. English and Chinese have a two-term system of demonstratives with the proximal/distal distinction, whereas Japanese and Korean have a three-term system with the proximal/medial/distal distinction. This work focuses on adnominal (noun-modificational) demonstratives of the four languages, shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 The adnominal demonstratives in the four sample languages

	Proximal	(Medial)	Distal
English	<i>this/these</i>		<i>that/those</i>
Chinese	<i>zhe, zhei</i> (colloquial)		<i>na, nei</i> (colloquial)
Japanese	<i>kono</i>	<i>sono</i>	<i>ano</i>
Korean	<i>i</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ce</i>

2 Two ways in which a demonstrative may be marked: Non-restrictivity and affectivity

Many types of demonstratives that have been recognized as marked or exceptional have one or both of the following two properties: (i) non-restrictivity and (ii) affectivity. The following English example, characterized as “emotional-deictic” by Lakoff (1974), is a case in point.

- (4) ***That*** Henry Kissinger sure knows his way around Hollywood!
(Lakoff 1974: 352)

Here, adnominal *this* is used non-restrictively, like the adjective *beautiful* and the genitive pronoun *my* in (5b), not serving to pick out a particular member of, or otherwise narrow down, the denotation of the modified nominal.

- (5) a. the *beautiful* city, *my* husband
b. *beautiful* Paris, *my* Johnny

Non-restrictive modification is generally considered a marked type of modification; thus, non-restrictivity is one way a demonstrative may be marked.

The occurrence of *that* in (4) is also marked in being affective. Here, affectivity is understood relatively narrowly, as the property of conveying, as conventional implicature, heightened emotion of the speaker toward the propositional content (Davis & Potts 2010, Potts & Schwarz 2010). Because of this feature, using the same phrase in a factual, emotionally neutral statement leads to unnaturalness.

(6) **That* Henry Kissinger is 5'8" tall. (Lakoff 1974: 353)

The two features—[+n(on-)r(estrictive)] and [+aff(ective)]—are separable; a demonstrative may be [+nr, -aff] or [-nr, +aff], as will be discussed below. Also, the two features are orthogonal to the aforementioned distinction between exophoric, anaphoric, and recognitional demonstratives. The marked occurrence of *that* in (4), for example, may also be regarded as an instance of recognitional demonstrative, referring to an entity that (i) is not present in the discourse situation, (ii) is not (necessarily) mentioned in the previous discourse, but (iii) has been known to both interlocutors.

The features: (i) [exo(phoric)]/[ana(phoric)]/[rec(ognitional)], (ii) [\pm nr], and (iii) [\pm aff] make 12 (= 3 \times 2 \times 2) theoretically possible combinations. Among them, [exo, -nr, -aff], [ana, -nr, -aff], and [rec, -nr, -aff] correspond to the three unmarked uses attested in a wide variety of languages including our sample languages. We will discuss that many of the remaining nine combinations are instantiated in at least one of the four languages.

3 Non-restrictive/non-affective ([+nr, -aff]) demonstratives

3.1 [exo, +nr, -aff]

In Chinese and Japanese, demonstratives may be used (i) exophorically and non-restrictively but (ii) without conveying affective meaning. In other words, the combination [exo, +nr, -aff] is possible.²

² Abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, Acc = accusative, Attr = attributive, Ben = benefactive auxiliary, Clf = classifier, Concl = conclusive ending, Cond = conditional, Cop = copula, D = distal, Dat = dative, DAux = discourse auxiliary, Dem = demonstrative, Dim = diminutive, DP = discourse particle, EvidAux = evidential auxiliary,

- (7) [Chinese] (pointing to Wang)
 {*Zhe/na*} wei Wang xiansheng dai wo lai
 Dem.P/Dem.D Clf.Hon Wang Mr. bring Pro.1 come
 de.
 DP
 ‘*Zhe/na* Mr. Wang brought me here.’ / ‘Mr. Wang, who is {here/there}, brought me here.’
- (8) [Japanese] (pointing to Yamada)
 Wakaranai koto ga attara, {*kono/sono/ano*}
 know.not.Prs thing Nom exist.Cond Dem.P/Dem.M/Dem.D
 Yamada ni kiite kure.
 Yamada Dat ask.Ger Ben.Imp
 ‘If you have any questions, ask {*kono/sono/ano*} Yamada.’ / ‘If you have any questions, ask Yamada, who is {here/there/over there}.’

Interestingly, Japanese *sono* (medial) and *ano* (distal) in this use seem to sound somewhat rude and inconsiderate when the referent is a human.

English and Korean demonstratives lack the corresponding use.

- (9) (pointing to Ken) If you have any questions, ask (**this*) Ken.
- (10) [Korean] (pointing to Minhø)
 Molu-nun kes-i issu-myen,
 not.know-Attr.Prs thing-Nom exist-Cond
 (**i*) Minhø-eykey cilmunhay cwu-sey-yo.
 Dem.P Minhø-Dat ask Ben-Hon-Concl
 ‘If you have any questions, ask Minhø.’

Note that the head modified by a non-restrictive demonstrative is not limited to a proper name. In both Chinese and Japanese, an [exo, +nr, –aff] demonstrative may occur with a common noun receiving generic interpretation, as in (11) and (12).³

Gen = genitive, Ger = gerund, Hon = honorific, Imp = imperative, Inf = infinitive, M = medial, Nom = nominative, P = proximal, Pft = perfect, Pl = plural, Plt = polite, Pro = pronoun, Prog = progressive, Prs = present, Pst = past, Top = topic.

³The subject NP in (12) also allows a subkind interpretation (as in: “This (kind of) racoon is an alien species, while that (kind of) racoon is a native species”), on which the demonstrative is restrictive. The one in (11), in contrast, does not; to obtain the subkind interpretation, the classifier *zhong* must be inserted (“*Zhe zhong huanxiong ...*”).

- (11) [Chinese] (In a Japanese national park, a guide says to a group of Chinese tourists, pointing to a raccoon.)

Zhe huanxiong zai riben shi wailaizhong, yuanchan
 Dem.P raccoon in Japan Cop alien.species origin
 zi beimeizhou.
 from North.America

'*Zhe* raccoons are an alien species in Japan, they are native to North America.'

- (12) [Japanese] (pointing to a raccoon in a Japanese national park)

Kono araiguma wa gairaishu desu.
 Dem.P raccoon Top alien.species Cop.Plt.Prs
 '*Kono* raccoons are an alien species.'

In Chinese, an [exo, +nr, -aff] demonstrative cannot be used with a pronoun, such as *wo* 'I' and *ta* '(s)he'. In Japanese, an [exo, +nr, -aff] demonstrative can be used with a (quasi-)pronoun⁴ like *watashi* 'I' and *kare* 'he'. These remarks carry over to [{ana/rec}, +nr, -aff] demonstratives in the two languages to be discussed presently.

3.2 [ana, +nr, -aff]

Chinese and Japanese also allow demonstratives to be used (i) anaphorically and non-restrictively but (ii) without conveying affective meaning. (13) and (14) are constructed examples of the Chinese and Japanese cases, respectively.

- (13) [Chinese]

Bafuluofu jiangjun gongxun zhuozhu. Ran'er ye
 Pavlov general exploit outstanding however also
 zhengshi *zhe* wei Bafuluofu daozi le
 exactly.Cop Dem.P Clf.Hon Pavlov cause Pft
 xibufangmianjun de dabai
 the.Western.front Gen crushing.defeat

'General Pavlov had performed notable exploits. However, *zhe* Pavlov also caused the crushing defeat of the Western Front.'

⁴ It is controversial whether words like *watashi* and *kare* count as genuine pronouns, and whether Japanese have non-null pronouns at all (Sugamoto 1989, Frellesvig 2010).

(14) [Japanese] (A, B, and Yamada work for the same company.)

A: Yamada wa saikin zan'gyoo ga ooi na.
 Yamada Top recently overtime.work Nom
 much.Prs DP

'Yamada has been working overtime a lot recently.'

B: *Sono* Yamada ga, sakki shokudoo de taoreta
 Dem.M Yamada Nom a.while.ago cafeteria in fall.Pst
 rashii.

EvidAux.Prs

'I hear that *sono* Yamada passed out in the cafeteria a while ago.'

The choice of medial *sono* in (14) is noteworthy. As discussed in such works as Kuno (1973) and Oshima & McCready (2017), in Japanese conversations (as opposed to e.g. formal writing), generally distal forms must be chosen to anaphorically refer to entities that both interlocutors are familiar with; otherwise, medial forms, or in some limited environments distal ones (see below), are chosen. As such, the interlocutors in (14) would use *ano hito* 'that person', rather than *sono hito*, to anaphorically refer to their mutual acquaintance Yamada. Yet, the choice of *sono* in (14) is felicitous, and furthermore replacement with *ano* would lead to oddity. This implies that the familiarity-based principles affecting the choice of demonstratives in Japanese conversations do not straightforwardly carry over to non-restrictive demonstratives.

English and Korean adnominal demonstratives cannot occur in environments parallel to those in *zhe/sono* in (13)/(14). English *this*, however, has a use that can be characterized as [exo, +nr, -aff] and is exemplified in (15).

(15) *George*: [...] I'm gonna bring Dr. Shepherd to see you, [...] He's the brain specialist.

Mrs. Hayes: Doctor? Is he good, *this* Dr. Shepherd?

(*Grey's Anatomy*, Season 1, Episode 7: *The Self-Destruct Button*)

As discussed in Oshima & McCready (2017), in conversations, the use of anaphoric *this* conveys that one interlocutor is significantly more familiar with the referent than the other. Non-restrictive *this* in (15), likewise, can be regarded as a marker of "information asymmetry", conveying that the speaker is significantly less familiar with the referent than the hearer is.

The use of non-restrictive *this* in the opposite situation, where the speaker knows the referent significantly better than the hearer does, seems to be marginal. The use of *this* in (16) (a constructed example) was judged

as okay by some native speaker consultants, but considered unnatural or unacceptable by some others.

- (16) We hired two new employees this year. One is Miguel Sanchez, who you met yesterday. The other is Clair Ming. *This* Clair Ming is an IT engineer.

3.3 [rec, +nr, -aff]

In all of the four languages under discussion, distal demonstratives have a recognitional use. Chinese and Japanese, again, contrast with English and Korean, in allowing recognitional, non-restrictive, and non-affective demonstratives.

- (17) [Chinese] (Both interlocutors are acquainted with Wang. Wang is not present in the discourse context.)

Na wei Wang xiansheng lai le.
Dem.D Clf.Hon Wang Mr. come Pft
'*Na* Mr. Wang has come.'

- (18) [Japanese] (speaking of the sequela of meningitis)

Ano Heren Keraa mo giseisha no hitori ne.
Dem.D Helen Keller also victim Cop.Attr one DP
'*Ano* Helen Keller too is a victim (of meningitis-related impairment).'

(BCCWJ⁵, adapted)

4 Restrictive/affective ([-nr, +aff]) demonstratives

4.1 [ana, -nr, +aff]

Japanese proximal demonstratives, when used anaphorically in conversations, have the effect to add an affective tone to the utterance. As such, they cannot be felicitously used in an emotionally neutral, factual statement; the following example, adapted from Oshima & McCready (2017), illustrates this point.

⁵ National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (2011–) *The Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese* (ver. 1.1).

(19) [Japanese]

- a. Kinoo konbini de retoruto no
 yesterday convenience.store at retort.pouch Cop.Attr
 karee o katta n da kedo, {sono/kono}
 curry Acc buy DAux Cop.Prs and Dem.M/Dem.P

karee ga sugoku oishikute bikkuri shita yo.
 curry Nom very tasty.Ger be.surprised do.Pst DP
 ‘I bought a bag of ready-to-eat curry at a convenience store, and it surprised me that {sono/kono} curry tasted very good.’

- b. (in reply to: “What did you eat last night?”)

Kaeri ni konbini de retoruto no
 return Dat convenience.store at retort.pouch Cop.Attr
 karee o katte, uchi de {sono/??kono} karee
 curry Acc buy.Ger home at Dem.M/Dem.P curry

o gohan ni kakete tabeta.
 Acc rice Dat pour.Ger eat.Pst

‘I bought a bag of ready-to-eat curry at a convenience store on my way home, and I poured {sono/kono} curry on rice and ate it at home.’

This use, characterized as “semianaphoric” by Kuno (1973), can be regarded as carrying the feature combination: [ana, -nr, +aff].

Chinese has three types of what may be characterized as an [ana, -nr, +aff] demonstrative. First, like in Japanese, in conversations, an anaphorically used proximal form adds an affective tone to the utterance, and is incompatible with a plain factual statement.

(20) [Chinese] (A has lost her bag in a supermarket, and goes to the customer service counter.)

A: Wo bao mei le.
 Pro.1 bag not.exist Pft
 ‘My bag is gone.’

B: {**Zhe/na*} bao shenme yanse?
 Dem.P/Dem.D bag what color?
 ‘What color is *na* bag?’

(21) [Chinese] (A and B work for different companies.)

- A: Wo yi tongshi, jingchang chidao zaotui, danshi
 Pro.1 one colleague often be.late leave.early but
 lingdao conglai bu shuo ta.
 boss never not admonish Pro.3
 ‘One of my colleagues, she often comes late and leaves early, but
 the boss has never admonished her.’
- B: {*Zhe/na*} ren shi
 Dem.P/Dem.D person Cop
 guanxihu ba?
 person.receiving.preferential.treatment DP
 ‘{*Zhe/na*} person has an in with someone, doesn’t she?’

Second, distal *na* has a use whereby it cataphorically refers to a proposition mentioned in the subsequent discourse (in the case of (22), what is denoted by the second sentence), and conveys that the speaker has heightened emotion toward it.

(22) [Chinese]

- Wo you *na* zhong ganjue:
 Pro.1 have Dem.D Clf feeling
 diqiu shengming zhende shi yuzhou zhong
 earth life really Cop universe in
 ouran li de ouran, [...].
 accident among Gen accident
 ‘I had *na* idea. Life is truly an accident among accidents in the uni-
 verse [...].’

[*San Ti Quan Ji* (novel)]

In Chinese, as in English, it is typically the proximal form that is used for the purpose of cataphoric reference (e.g., “Listen to {this/*that}_{*i*}. [You must go to Athens]_{*i*}”). The choice of distal *na* brings about a special pragmatic effect.

The third type occurs in a construction schematized in (23) (Lü 1985: 211, Liu 2000: 12–17).

(23) Nominal₁ + [Demonstrative ((+ Numeral) + Classifier) + Nominal₂]

In this construction, Nominal₁ stands in an anaphoric (appositive) relation with the demonstrative phrase headed by Nominal₂. When Nominal₁ refers to a specific sentient entity (rather than a non-sentient entity or a

group of individuals), the construction necessarily conveys an affective tone, and is incompatible with an emotionally neutral statement.⁶

(24) [Chinese]

- a. Ni *zhe* (ge) ren ye tai lan le!
 Pro.2 Dem.P Clf person DP too lazy DP
 ‘You_i, [*zhe* person]_i, are too lazy!’
- b. ??Ni *zhe* (ge) ren shi xuesheng.
 Pro.2 Dem.P Clf person Cop student
 ‘You_i, [*zhe* person]_i, are a student.’

(25) [Chinese] (Wang is a mutual friend of the interlocutors. He is not present in the discourse context.)

- Xiao-Wang {*zhe/na*} (ge) ren zhen bucuo!
 Dim-Wang Dem.P/Dem.D Clf person really not.wrong
 ‘Wang_i, [*zhe/na* person]_i, person, really is a good guy!’

4.2 [exo, -nr, +aff] and [rec, -nr, +aff]

We have not been able to find any cases of [-nr, +aff] demonstratives in English or Korean, and any cases of [{exo/rec}, -nr, +aff] demonstratives in the four sample languages (but see footnote 6).

5 Non-restrictive/affective ([+nr, +aff]) demonstratives

5.1 [rec, +nr, +aff]

As mentioned in Section 2, English distal *that* has a use that can be characterized as: [rec, +nr, +aff]. *This* has a comparable use, too.

(26) I see there’s going to be peace in the mideast. *This Henry Kissinger*
 really is something! (Lakoff 1974: 347)

The pragmatic meanings of *that* and *this* in the use in question may be slightly different, but it is not clear to us how (see Lakoff 1974: 347, 352 for some discussion).

(27) exemplifies a [rec, +nr, +aff] demonstrative with generic interpretation.

⁶ Unlike in (25), proximal *zhe* in (24a) cannot be replaced with distal *na*. This might be because the use of a demonstrative here has an exophoric feature, in addition to being anaphoric, the referent (= the addressee) necessarily being present in the discourse situation.

- (27) (A conversation between two Americans; there are no Japanese people in the room.)
I have lived in Japan for many years, you know. **Those** Japanese people are really hard-working.

5.2 [exo, +nr, +aff]

The occurrences of *this/these* and *that/those* in (28), which generically refer to a commercial product, count as: [exo, +nr, +aff] (Bowdle & Ward 1995).

- (28) a. (in front of a computer)
These IBM ThinkPads are amazing! / **This** IBM ThinkPad is amazing! (Bowdle & Ward 1995: 33)
- b. (pointing to a computer at a distant place)
Those IBM ThinkPads are amazing! / (?)**That** IBM ThinkPad is amazing!

As pointed out by Bowdle & Ward, English “generic demonstratives” always carry an affective tone, and are appropriate only when a relatively specific genus is referred to; e.g., while *those sportscars* may be interpreted generically, *those cars* resist generic interpretation. Generic demonstratives in Chinese and Japanese (Section 3) do not share the first property; they seem to have the second property, although there may be some difference in terms of the required degrees of specificity.

Phrases of the form “{*this/that*} + proper name” too appear to allow the [exo, +nr, +aff] use, though judged as marginal by some speakers.

5.3 [ana, +nr, +aff]

(29) illustrates what can be regarded as a case of [ana, +nr, +aff] demonstratives in English.

- (29) A: My cousin just returned from Canada with an adorable Labrador retriever puppy.
B: **Those** Labradors are extremely loyal, you know.
(Bowdle & Ward 1995: 34)

Phrases of the form “{*this/that*} + proper name” seem not to easily allow a parallel use. However, the naturally occurring instances shown below may count as [ana, +nr, +aff].

- (30) Robert says when they get overseas there won't be any more Yankees and Southerners, just Americans. [...] He's watching out the window and reciting a poem to himself. He's a great one for poems, *this* Robert. He has poems for running and poems for drill and poems for going to sleep, and poems for when the corn-pones start getting him down.

(COCA⁷, *Harper's Magazine*, 1992 (Dec), vol. 285)

- (31) Danny was still trying to be in two places at once. He was racing between USC and Gramercy Tavern [...] and running himself into the ground as well. Danny, the perfectionist. Danny, the stickler for detail. Danny, the quintessential host. *That* Danny was showing wear and tear for the first time.

(COCA, *Town and Country*, 1998 (Nov), vol. 152)

As discussed in 4.1, Japanese proximal demonstratives convey affective meaning when used anaphorically in conversations. This feature carries over to non-restrictive cases.

- (32) [Japanese] (a conversation between two college students at a party)
- a. Sakki Mori Nozomi tte onnanoko to hanashita
 a.while.ago Mori Nozomi called girl
 with speak.Pst
 n da kedo, *kono* Mori-san ga suggoi
 DAux Cop.Prs and Dem.P Mori-Hon Nom very
 oshaberi de akirechatta yo.
 talkative Cop.Inf be.appalled.end.up.Pst DP
 'I talked to a girl called Mori Nozomi a while ago, and I was appalled by how talkative *kono* Ms. Mori was.'
- b. Sakki Mori Nozomi tte onnanoko to hanashita
 a.while.ago Mori Nozomi called girl
 with speak.Pst
 yo. (??*Kono*) Mori-san wa bungakubu no
 DP Dem.P Mori-Hon Top faculty.of.letters Gen
 ichinen da soo da.
 first.year Cop.Prs EvidAux Cop.Prs
 'I talked to a girl called Mori Nozomi a while ago. Ms. Mori is a first year student at the Faculty of Letters.'

⁷ Davies, Mark (1990–) *Corpus of Contemporary American English*.

A similar phenomenon is observed in Chinese. In Chinese conversations, when anaphorically referring to a mutual acquaintance of the interlocutors with a (non-restrictive) demonstrative, typically the distal form is used, and the choice of the proximal form induces an affective tone.

(33) [Chinese] (A and B work at the same university. Both of them know of Professor Wang, who gave a talk last year at their university.)

A: Qunian Wang jiaoshou lai shi, wo zai
 last.year Wang professor come time Pro.1 Prog
 chuchai, zhen kexi.
 travel.on.business very be.a.pity
 'I was traveling on business when Professor Wang came last year, what a pity!'

B₁: Ni bu zhidao ma? {**Zhe/na*} wei Wang
 Pro.2 not know DP Dem.P/Dem.D Clf.Hon Wang
 jiaoshou you yao lai wo-men daxue le.
 professor again will come Pro.1-Pl university Pft
 'Don't you know? *Na* Professor Wang will come to our university again.'

B₂: Shi ting kexi, {*zhe/na*} wei Wang
 Cop very be.a.pity Dem.P/Dem.D Clf.Hon Wang
 jiaoshou qeshi hen lihai.
 professor indeed very outstanding
 'It's a pity indeed, {*zhe/na*} Professor Wang really is something!'

6 Conclusion

Table 2 summarizes what types (if any) of marked demonstratives can be found in English, (Mandarin) Chinese, Japanese, and Korean.

TABLE 2 (Un)marked demonstratives in the four sample languages

	[-nr, -aff]	[+nr, -aff]	[-nr, +aff]	[+nr, +aff]
[exophoric]	E, C, J, K	C, J		E
[anaphoric]	E, C, J, K	E, C, J	C, J	E, C, J
[recognition- al]	E, C, J, K	C, J		E

Japanese and Chinese can be said to be more "liberal" as to the use of demonstratives than English, allowing non-restrictive modification without necessarily conveying affective meaning. It is plausible that this contrast

has to do with (i) the less systematic use of explicit personal pronouns and (ii) the lack of grammatical encoding of definiteness in the former two languages. Personal pronouns, definite NPs, and demonstratives have similar roles as reference(-tracking) devices, a major factor affecting the choice between them being givenness in Gundel *et al.*'s (1993) sense. The freer use of demonstratives arguably reflects their carrying a more significant functional load as such a device (Figure 1).

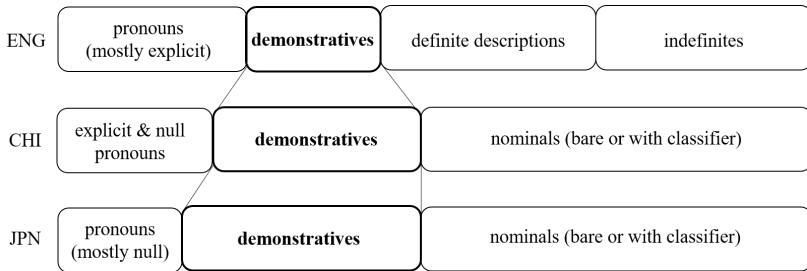


FIGURE 1 Different niches of demonstratives
in English, Chinese, and Japanese

However, the highly restricted usage of demonstratives in Korean—where generally reference(-tracking) is made in similar ways as in Japanese—implies that this cannot be the whole story. A cross-linguistic investigation, involving a wider range of languages will be necessary to firmly establish typological generalizations.

Finally, it must be noted that there are additional marked uses of demonstratives which do not easily fit in our 12-way taxonomy. One example is demonstratives that occur in certain expressive set phrases, as in (34).

(34) [Japanese]

a. **Ano** baka (ga)!
Dem.D idiot Nom
'That idiot!'

b. **Kono** yaroo!
Dem.P guy(vulgar)
'You bastard!'

Another example is what Kinsui (1999) refers to as the “category conversion (*katēgorii tenkan*)” use, where the head of a demonstrative phrase serves to ascribe new descriptive information—information that the hearer cannot be expected to know prior to the use of the phrase—to the referent, as in (35) and (36).

(35) [Japanese]

Gosai no tanjoobi ni Machiko wa ryooshin ni
 five.year.old Gen birthday Dat Machiko Top parents Dat
 kuma no nuigurumi o moratta. *Kono* yuujin o,
 bear Gen stuffed.animal Acc receive.Pst Dem.P friend Acc
 Machiko wa issfoo taisetsu ni shita.
 Machiko Top lifetime important Cop.Inf do.Pst
 ‘Machiko was given a stuffed bear by her parents on her fifth birth-
 day. Machiko cherished *kono* friend for her whole life.’ (Kinsui
 1999: 80)

(36) Jones was playing chess. *This* new hobby that he had just discovered
 was taking up all his time. (Payne & Huddleston 2002: 373)

A fuller account of marked demonstratives will need to cover such
 (arguably) marginal uses.

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