

Frustrated expectation and conditional modality: The Japanese concessive *no-ni*

Lukas Rieser

Yamagata University

lukasjrieser@gmail.com

In this talk, I propose linking concessive meaning and (implicated) frustrated expectation via conditional modality. I base the analysis on Japanese *no-ni*, a concessive conjunction, as shown in (1), that interacts with a variety of modal flavors. *No-ni* also has a sentence-final, non-connective use on which it conveys frustrated expectation.

- (1) *Taro-wa okanemochi na no-ni, shiawase dewa-nai.*
PN-TOP rich COP *no-ni* content COP-NEG
'Even though Taro is rich, he is not content.'

Assuming that conditional meaning underlies concessive meaning (cf. König 1986), I claim that *no-ni* (φ) roughly denotes what is shown in (2), i.e. it asserts φ and indicates the existence of a salient ψ which is (typically) false when φ is true (in (1), ψ is also asserted). The notation $\Box_{[\varphi]}$ stands for conditional necessity with the restrictor φ and underspecified modal flavor.

- (2) $[[no-ni(\varphi)]] = \varphi \wedge \exists \psi . \Box_{[\varphi]} \neg \psi$

The analysis in terms of conditional modality explains interaction of *no-ni* with modals as in (3), assuming the truth of ψ to be (conventionally) implicated by sentence-final *no-ni* conveying frustrated expectation as in (4).

- (3) *Taro-wa iru #(hazu) na no-ni, (i-nai).*
PN-TOP be *hazu* COP *no-ni* be-NEG
'Taro should be [here], but he's not.'

- (4) *Hontoo-ni iki-ta-katta no-ni.*
PN-TOP go- BOUL-PST *no-ni*
'[But] I really wanted to go....'

I claim that the modal base of *no-ni* is fixed as circumstantial while the ordering source is underspecified. When interacting with a "human necessity"-type modal (cf. Kaufmann & Schwager 2009) such as *hazu*, the ordering source is stereotypical, so that (3) conveys that the consequent *inai* is typically false given the antecedent. Without an additional modal, I assume *no-ni* by default adopts a stereotypical ordering source, so that (1) conveys that when one is rich, one is typically (not dis-)content.

As for other modal flavors, *no-ni* in (4) inherits the bouletic ordering source from *-ta(i)*, that is, given the speaker's wish to go, the bouletically best worlds are such in which the speaker goes. While not asserted, the implicature arises that this is not the case, yielding the frustrated expectation reading.