

indicates by the presence of *vac* that his conclusion is in fact an inference, but that since he has just heard the information on which it was based, it is also in a sense based on perceived evidence. For instance, immediately preceding the utterance given in (474), the hearer has just informed the speaker that it takes a day and a half to walk to his ranch from where they are now talking.

- (474) *Uʔ, jir-mic dʔo vac.*
 INT EXS-far PE INF
 Wow, it's a long way then.

Another thing all occurrences of *dʔo* and *vac* have in common is that they all describe states. In fact, all inferences in Southeastern Tepehuan are either based on existing states or on past actions; no inferences are known to be made about present actions or future states or actions.

9.3 Agent-oriented modality

Up to this point, the discussion of modality in this chapter has been concerned with how the speaker uses his description of a given situation to carry out different kinds of communicative acts and how he indicates his own attitude toward what he is saying. These two broad areas of meaning are discussed under modes of speech (§9.1) and epistemic modality (§9.2). A third area of modality is also prevalent in languages, one which concerns not the situation as a whole, but rather the AGENT of the action involved. Because this area of meaning covers much more than the traditional domain of deontic modality, borrowed from modal logic, I here refer to this broad area as agent-oriented modality, following Bybee (1985). That is, this area covers not only permission and obligation, but also ability, desire, intention, and other related meanings.

The expression of these meanings in Southeastern Tepehuan follows the general tendency for the expression of modal meanings predicted by Bybee (1985:166), namely that markers of modal meanings designating conditions on the AGENT of the situation described WILL NOT occur often as inflections on verbs, while markers designating the way the SPEAKER uses his description to interact with his hearer WILL occur often as inflections. As can be seen from the discussion in the preceding sections, nearly all modes of speech and markers of epistemic modality are grammatical morphemes, either inflections or particles. The discussion in the following sections shows that, in contrast, few of the markers of agent-oriented modality are expressed solely by grammatical morphemes. Rather, most of these mean-

ings are expressed by periphrastic means, some of which include grammatical morphemes.

In §9.31, I discuss meanings related to purposeful action—intention, deliberate action, andative and venitive. Two of these meanings are expressed inflectionally, the other two periphrastically. In §9.32, I discuss meanings expressing lack of purpose or lack of fulfillment of purpose—attempted and unintended action. One of these is expressed using a particle, the other using an adverb of manner. In §9.33, I discuss desire and tendency, both of which are expressed as states, i.e., with stem-formation morphemes. And in §9.34, I discuss ability, obligation, and permission, all of which are expressed by periphrasis.

9.31. Intention, deliberate action, and objective. Three agent-oriented modal meanings are closely connected to the notion of PURPOSEFUL ACTION. Two of these are marked by the use of the imperative prefix *xi-* with a nonsecond-person subject; intention is marked by first person, and deliberate action by third person. A third meaning, immediate intention, is marked by an interjection expressing anticipation. And two other meanings, andative and venitive, are marked by the combination of the objective suffix (*nɛ/ra*) and the appropriate directional prefix.

INTENTION is the agent's premeditated purpose to perform an action. In Southeastern Tepehuan, two types of intention are expressed, both of which are always in the first person. The less common form of intention is expressed by the use of the imperative prefix *xi-* with the future tense. This same prefix is used with the present tense for commands (§9.14) and with the past tense for deliberate action, as discussed below. The expression of intention is always in the first-person singular, as in (475) and (476).

- (475) *Na-n̄ pai'dyuc mu-jimi-a' mu-ja'c Juc-t̄ir, xi-ja'-águ'i'n-dya-'-iñ*
 SUB-1s when AWY-go-FUT AWY-DIR pine-in INT-3p-tell-APL-FUT-1s

na jax chu-tu'm-cam ya' Mejic.
 SUB how EXT-appear-like here Mexico

When I go (back) to Pine Grove, I'm going to tell (everyone) what it's like here in Mexico City.

- (476) *Va-sava'h-l-añ-ich dʔo. Xi-gámo-'-iñ ya'-ni*
 RLZ-buy-1s-PRF PE INT-put'in pocket-FUT-1s here-PR

jĩñ-'arpus a'm.
 1s-bag into

I just bought it. I'm going to put it here in my bag.